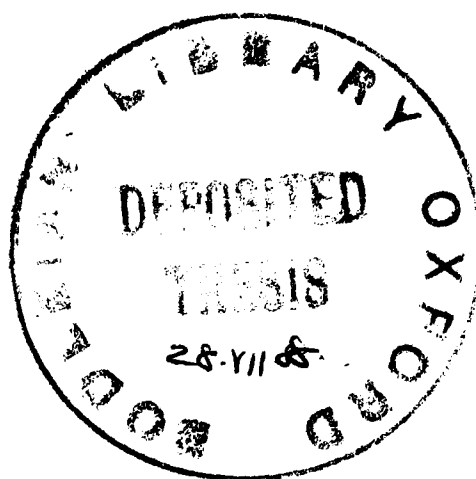


SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN THE MAEANDER
REGION OF WESTERN ASIA MINOR ON THE EVE OF THE
TURKISH INVASION

by

M. Whittow

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PART THREE

Elites and Society

1. See supra 2 - 10.
2. See G. OSTROGORSKY, History of the Byzantine State 95 -8; W. E. KAEGI, 'Some Reconsiderations on the Themes (Seventh to Ninth Centuries)', JÖB XVI (1967) 39 - 53; A. PERTUSI, 'La formation des thèmes byzantines' Berichte zum XI. International Byzantisten - Kongress, Munich (1958) I, 1 - 40; J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung Munich (1959) passim; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'Les premières mentions des thèmes dans la chronique de Théophane' Zbornik Radova Vizantinoloskog Instituta XVI (1975) 1 - 8; R - J. LILIE, Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber 287 - 338; J. F. HALDON, Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c. 550 - 950, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil. - Hist. klasse, Sitzungsberichte 357, Vienna (1979) 28 - 40. More could be added to this list.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Themes and Boundaries.

The Maeander region was defined in chapter one as including the great river valleys of the Maeander, the Cayster and the Hermos, together with their adjacent mountains, so as to be bordered to the east by the Ak dağ, to the west by the sea, to the north by the limestone mountains and open plain beyond the Hermos and to the south by the watershed which marks the limits of the Maeander drainage system.[1] On the eve of the Turkish invasions this area was divided between the themata - themes or provinces - of the Thrakesioi, the Anatolikoi, Samos and the Kibyrrhaiotai.

The oldest themes date back to the 7th century, a period of dramatic changes but of very few and obscure surviving sources. Consequently the origin of this important Byzantine institution has produced a lively and lengthy controversy.[2] If, however, one avoids contentious details the main points are in fact quite clear. The Roman Empire ruled over by Constantine and Justinian was destroyed by a combination of powerful enemies who successively assaulted the Empire in the 7th century. The vital heartland of the late Roman Empire before this crisis lay in the eastern provinces. The key areas were Constantinople, western Asia Minor, Syria and most important of all, Egypt. The rest of the Empire, including the Balkans and eastern Anatolia, was probably a net loss to the Empire's budget. The Empire depended on a large well equipped army paid for by taxation raised and

3. See M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 613 - 20; F. M. DONNER, The Early Islamic Conquests Princeton (1981) 99 - 101 et passim.

dispensed by a sophisticated bureaucracy. In the early 7th century war broke out with the rival Persian Empire. Persian victories led to the abandonment of the Balkans to the Avars and to a twenty five year loss of the vital eastern provinces. The final Roman victory in 628 was the result of a long and debilitating struggle. It was also only temporary. Within ten years the Islamic revolution had united the desert tribes and set them to conquer the Near East. The Roman defences had hardly been reestablished after the Great Persian War and the Empire's control over the east rapidly collapsed.[3]

The Imperial government of these years faced a desperate and chronic crisis. Its very survival depended on keeping the army in the field, yet the rump of an Empire confined to western and central Asia Minor and little more had no longer the necessary fiscal base to support it. With hindsight, and I think it is reasonable to suppose this was true at the time, it is quite plain that the only long term solution was to base the Roman army on the land - land in Asia Minor being the only considerable resource still available to the Imperial government. It is open to question how long the Imperial authorities managed to struggle on with the existing late Roman system of an army paid in cash out of the proceeds of taxation; it is also possible to differ on the exact terms of the new dispensation; but at some stage in the 7th century change clearly did take place. By 700 the main units of the late Roman army had all been transferred to Asia Minor where they were now financed by a sharing out of

4. See M. HENDY, op.cit. 619 - 26.
5. See infra 292 - 4.
6. R. - J. LILIE, 'Thrakien und Thrakesion. Zur byzantinischen Provinzorganisation am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts' JÖB XXVI (1977) 18 - 28; M. HENDY, op.cit. 621 - 2.
7. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. I, 663; Notitia Dignitatum ed. O. Seeck, Berlin (1876) 12, 14.

land.[4] The effective political realities which this system embodied meant that the districts allotted to particular army corps became the basic territorial divisions of Asia Minor, and the units' generals, the strategoi, took over nearly all aspects of administration. The late Roman civilian system withered and disappeared as a political irrelevance. By the beginning of the 8th century the medieval Byzantine landscape of themes and strategoi was in place.[5]

In the Maeander region the Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi were both part of the original theme system. Their names in fact reflect the years of crisis in the 7th century when the survivors of the major units of the late Roman army were withdrawn into the only land mass still in Roman hands. The Anatolikoi are the descendents of the army of the Magister Militum per Orientem. This had been the main field army on the Persian front and had been pulled back from Syria and redeployed in Anatolia. The Thrakesioi were the remnants of the army of the Magister Militum per Thraciam, withdrawn from Thrace when that was abandoned to the Avars and redeployed in western Asia Minor.[6] As late as the 10th century the component regiments of the theme army of the Thrakesioi still bore names that went back to the late Roman army of the 4th century.[7]

The first major reorganization of the theme system to effect the Maeander region was carried out in the first half of the 8th century by the Emperor Leo III (716 - 40). Up to that

8. H. ANTONIADIS BIBICOU, Etudes d'histoire maritime de Byzance à propos du 'Thème des Caravisiens' Paris (1966) 63 - 98; H. AHRWEILER, Byzance et la mer Paris (1966) 19 - 26; P. LEMERLE, Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius Paris (1981) I, 231; II, 155 - 7 and n. 244.
9. H. AHRWEILER, La mer, 31 - 5, 87 - 3; H. ANTONIADIS BIBICOU, Etudes d'histoire maritime 88f, 92, 94; for the fact that it was landed see J. and P. Zepos, Jus Graecoromanum I, 222 - 3.
10. See infra 273.
11. H. AHRWEILER, La mer 35 - 40; THEOPHANES II, 424.
12. H. AHRWEILER, La mer 40 - 4; E. W. BROOKS, 'The Relations between the Empire and Egypt from a new Arabic source' BZ XXII (1913 - 14) 383 - 4.

date the naval strength of the Empire had been provided by a centrally equipped fleet called the Karabisianoï. [8] For reasons of political security, and no doubt operational efficiency and economy, Leo III divided the Imperial fleet between a central naval squadron based in Constantinople and a provincial fleet concentrated in south western Asia Minor. The former was directly paid for by the government; the latter, called the Kibyrrhaiotai, was supported by a provision of land in exactly the same manner as the existing army themes. [9] The territory of the Kibyrrhaiotai included ancient Lycia and some of Caria, most of which seems to have been previously part of the Anatolikoi. [10]

The early years of the new theme were ones of considerable success. In 747 an important victory was gained in the destruction of a large Arab fleet sent from Alexandria. [11] The rest of the 8th century was a period of relative security for the Byzantines at sea and it seems likely that the Empire's naval forces were allowed to decline. [12] Whatever the case, the early 9th century saw a resurgence of the Arab naval threat and a series of Byzantine disasters.

The renewed threat at sea came from the west and Africa. The Arab conquest of Sicily began in 827 and African fleets were soon dominating the Adriatic as well. In both the 820s and 830s large Arab fleets from Africa raided all over the Aegean Sea. The Byzantine response was ineffectual and Arab success

13. H. AHRWEILER, La mer 93 - 7; A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 49 - 88, 194 - 8; II/1, 52 - 65, 157 - 8, 160, 177 - 8, 200 - 11, 222, 320 - 41, 365; V. CHRISTIDES, 'The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea: Piracy and Conquest (800 - 961 AD)', Byzantion LI (1981) 76 - 111; H. AHRWEILER, 'L'administration militaire de la Crète byzantine', Byzantion XXXI (1961) 220 - 21.
14. H. AHRWEILER, La mer 31 - 8.

culminated in the capture of Crete by a group of refugees from Spain. From this base Arab raiders could terrorize the whole Aegean basin. Worse, the island's new rulers proved extremely difficult to expel. It was to be nearly a century and a half, three costly failures and one Imperial expedition which never put to sea, before Crete was back in Byzantine hands.[13]

The attacks of the western Arabs and even more so the raids launched from Crete effectively turned the Byzantine flank. The Kibyrrhaiotai had been set up with a view to countering an enemy operating from Syrian and Egyptian ports. It was now attacked from behind and from relatively very close range.[14]

The Byzantines needed a greater concentration of naval strength in the Aegean and possibly also a greater flexibility in command. Local raiding required a more localized response which might not be well organized by a single unitary authority.

The changes in the organisation of the Aegean coastlands which took place from the 9th century onwards look like the Byzantine response to these problems. The first development was the separation of those parts of the Kibyrrhaiotai which faced Crete under independent commanders. They were originally under droungarioi but by about the middle of the century they had become full naval themes each under their own strategos. The first two were the Aegean Sea and Samos. The commander of the latter first appears in 842/3 as the droungarios of the Kolpos

- 15 Droungarioi: Aegean Sea: N. OIKONOMIDES, Les listes de présence 57, 523; Kolpos: ibid. 53; strategoi: Aegean Sea; 'Acta graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii, Mitylenae in insula Lesbo', AB XVIII (1899) 253, 258 - the first reference actually reads ho tes nesou strategos, i. e. of Lesbos, the second is a repetition, N. OIKONOMIDES, op.cit. 46 - 7, 353; Samos: THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 357: the same event is described in SYMEON MAGISTER 701, where the account is prefaced, "In the third year of Leo's reign...", i. e. 889; a case has been made for 893, see A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/1, 159 and n. 4; c.f. W. T. TREADGOLD, 'Notes on the numbers and organisation of the ninth-century Byzantine Army', Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies XXI/3 (1980) 277 - 8.
16. SKYLITZES 346, 373, 378, 398; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les listes de présence 267, 361.

but the rank was soon raised to strategos and the name changed to Samos.[15]

The system must have been a success from the start for it set the pattern for the reorganization of the Byzantine naval forces. By the mid 11th century when Arab naval raids had finally ceased there were five small naval themes in the Aegean, excluding reconquered Crete, and together or separately they had achieved a series of notable victories over their Arab enemy.[16]

The division of the Maeander region between these four themes raises a number of fairly intractable problems. The question is important in the present context partly because it reflects so closely on the administration of the region and partly also because a great deal of the available evidence refers to the themes rather than to otherwise identifiable place-names. If someone is said to come from the theme of the Thrakesioi to what parts of the Maeander region may this refer?

At the heart of the problem are the difficulties raised by Constantine Porphyrogenitos' De Thematribus. As has already been discussed in the section on sources in chapter two, the De Thematribus is far from being an official survey of the Empire's provinces. Instead it is an eccentric compilation of materials varying in date from the Hellenistic period to at least somewhere close to the time of writing. Much of the information it

17. See supra. 27-37.
18. e.g. H. AHRWEILER, La mer.
19. De Thematibus 60 - 63, 67 - 8; see supra 33-4.

contains is irrelevant, and some is almost certainly wrong. The whole work is a piece of literary antiquarianism and reflects no credit on Constantine's critical acumen.[17]

Nonetheless, since there is a general dearth of other information, the De Thematibus is still generally treated as the basic source for theme boundaries.[18] Yet in practice its evidence does little more than confirm the approximate areas which the themes occupied.

The chapter on the Thrakesioi is perhaps of the least use to the historian of the themes. Its contents, including the list of the twenty cities of Asia, is almost wholly antiquarian and there is no reason to believe that it forms any useful guide to 10th century reality. That on the Anatolikoi is only slightly more useful, and its information is complicated by the inclusion of material dating from before the creation of the Kibyrrhaiotai. Lycia, for example, which had certainly been part of the Kibyrrhaiotai since the 8th century, still appears in the De Thematibus as part of the Anatolikoi.[19]

The chapter on the Kibyrrhaiotai is equally arcane and uninformative despite its impression of greater geographical precision. In the first part of the chapter Constantine lists the cities along the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts from Miletos as far as Seleukia in Pamphylia. Some of the information may be valid for the 10th century but there seems to be no means of

20. ibid. 78 - 9. 153.
21. ibid. 79.
22. See W. M. CALDER, G. E. BEAN, A Classical Map of Asia Minor; for Pisye and Mogola, see L. and J. ROBERT, La Carie II, Paris (1954) 91 n. 8; L. ROBERT, Etudes Anatoliennes Paris (1937) 473; G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander 2nd edn. 129.
23. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/1, 374.
24. De Thematibus 152; HIEROKLES 27.

disinterring this level of material from whatever was his ancient source. Clearly Constantine's principal inspiration in this section was not a contemporary document but either Strabo himself or something written in the same tradition of ancient geography.[20]

The chapter then continues with various notes before Constantine gives what is usually interpreted as the theme's northern boundary:

"North towards the interior of the continent, where the theme of the Thrakesioi ends, it starts from Miletos itself, then passes over Stratonikeia and the place called Mogola and the city of Pisye; it passes by the place Hagia and by Tauropolis; it unites Tlos and Oinianda, then goes by Phileta and Podaleia itself; it passes by the place called Anemoteichos and unites the city of Sagalassos; it then ends towards the region of the Taurus, where the race of the Isaurians live. And this is the extent of the Kibyrrhaiotai."[21]

The meaning of this passage is obscured by the lack of precision in the verbs and by the unidentified place names. Most are well known - the sites of Miletos, Stratonikeia, Mogola, Pisye, Tlos, Oinianda, Podaleia, Sagalassos and the Taurus can be readily identified[22] - but the others raise difficulties. Hagia is unknown although an equally unknown bishopric of Hagiodoula appears in some of the notitiae.[23] Tauropolis is usually read as Stauropolis, formerly Aphrodisias, but for no very pressing reason. It could equally be a deformation of Isauropolis, known to Hierocles in the Taurus mountains of Isauria.[24] On the grounds that the two do not appear together in either the

25. W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 19; IDEM, Historical Geography of Asia Minor 424, this was in commenting on KINNAMOS 198, which records the capture of Phileta by the Turks in 1159.
26. J. DARROUZES, 'Sur les variations numériques des évêchés byzantins' REB XLIV (1986) 17 - 19, 32 - 40.
27. W. TOMASCHEK, 'Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter', Sitzungsberichte der Phil. Hist. Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften CXXIV (1891) Abhandlung VIII, 55.
28. A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 143 - 4; HIEROKLES 31.
29. See infra 3, n. 9.
30. e. g. Grosser Historischer Weltatlas Munich (1970) II, 75; A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world Oxford (1973) Map 5.

notitiae or the lists of councils, Ramsay identified Phileta with Phaselis, on Lycia's eastern shore.[25] Phaselis does in fact appear earlier in the chapter as one of the theme's coastal cities, but given Constantine's working methods that need not be a decisive objection. More important, Darrouzès' recent work on the notitiae has done so much to undermine the force of any such argument based solely on the presence or absence of a particular suffragan see in the notitiae,[26] that there is now no reason to identify Phileta with Phaselis above any other site. Tomaschek's suggestion of the Elmali region of north eastern Lycia has just as much, or little, evidence behind it.[27] Anemoteichos can with much more confidence be identified as Panemouteichos. The site is uncertain but it seems to lie somewhere in the Pamphylia-Pisidia borderland, north of Termessos.[28]

Wherever these little known sites may have been, and whatever Constantine may have intended by his choice of verbs, it is quite clear that if one plots the identifiable placenames on a map it does not reveal a coherent northern boundary. In fact it looks more like a possible route to be taken through south western Asia Minor. Apart from Miletos, which other evidence proves to have been in the Thrakesioi,[29] most of these sites probably were in the Kibyrrhaiotai, but the chapter really does no more than indicate approximately where the theme was to be found. The division of the Kibyrrhaiotai from the Thrakesioi based on this chapter and found in so many maps and historical atlases can be safely disregarded.[30]

31. De Thematibus 81 - 2.

The chapter on the theme of Samos is equally unclear but it does contain information which appears to refer to the 10th century. The problem however is not only a matter of deciding what weight to give particular passages, but also of simply understanding what Constantine is saying:

The relevant passage reads as follows;

"Οτε γοῦν ἐγένετο ὁ μερισμὸς τῶν θεμάτων, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐπιφανεστάτην τὴν νῆσον, μητρόπολιν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀρχὴν τοῦ θέματος τῶν πλωϊζομένων τεδείκασιν. Ἡ γὰρ μεσόγειος καὶ ἡ καταντικρὺ ἄκρα τῆς Σάμου, αὐτὴ τε ἡ Ἐφεσος καὶ Μαγνησία καὶ Τράλλεις ἢ τε Μύρινα καὶ Τέως καὶ Λέβεδος καὶ ἕως τοῦ Ἀτραμυτίου, τὰ ἄνω καὶ πρόσγεια τῷ τῶν Θρακησίων στρατηγῷ, ἦγουν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος, ἐκείνῳ ἐκληροδοτήθησαν. Διήρηται δὲ τὸ θέμα τῆς Σάμου εἰς τούρμας δύο, μίαν μὲν τὴν Ἐφέσιον, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν Ἀτραμυτινήν. Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τοῦ θέματος αὐτὴν ἔλαχε Σμύρναν τὴν πόλιν πραιτώριον. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ θέματος Σάμου.

[31]

The first sentence raises few difficulties and may be translated as, "when therefore the division of the themes took place, because it was a very famous island, it was made the metropolis, and headquarters of the theme of the fleet." Partly because it is contradicted two sentences later, and partly in view of the expressions "the division of the themes" and "the theme of the

32. J. B. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century London (1911) 109; H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, Etudes d'histoire maritime 71; c.f. H. AHRWEILER, La mer 81.
33. e.g. A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus 261 and Map 5; H. AHRWEILER, La mer 402 - 3; c.f. the remarks of C. Foss, Ephesus after Antiquity 117 n. 3.
34. See H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H. S. JONES, A Greek-English Lexicon 9th edn. Oxford (1940) s.v. katantikru.

fleet", this section seems best to fit the conditions of the 7th century and the Karabisianoi. As in the chapter on the Anatolikai Constantine has included material from an early Byzantine source which need no longer apply in the 10th century.[32]

The second sentence has usually been taken to mean that when the theme of Samos was set up in the 9th century it was formed by detaching a large section of coastal territory from the theme of the Thrakesioi.[33] This requires some such translation of the sentence as the following:

"For the mainland and peninsula opposite
[belong to] Samos, being Ephesos, Magnesia, Tralles,
Myrina, Teos, Lebedos and as far as Adramyttion; the
northerly and coastal areas were [previously?]
apportioned to the strategos of the Thrakesioi; namely
that man who commands the cavalry tagma."

However this seems to be straining the grammatical sense. In the first place Katantikru takes the genitive and therefore Samos is in the genitive in this sentence because of this preposition, not because of some hypothetical part of the verb 'to be' implying that the subsequent list of towns 'belonged' to the theme of Samos.[34] As a result the list now requires a verb which can only be eklerodotethesan. The alternative demands that this verb applies to ta ano kai prosgeia and hence that there is a contrast between the territory belonging to Samos and that belonging to the Thrakesioi. This is in theory possible since elsewhere in the De Thematibus Constantine does ignore the classical grammatical principle that neuter plural nouns take

35. e.g. De Thematibus 83 ll. 18 - 21.
36. H. ANTONIADES-BIBICOU, Etudes d'histoire maritime 77; see H. G. Liddell et al, op.cit. s. v. prosgelos.
37. This translation takes into account a comma after tagmatos, De Thematibus 81, ll. 10 - 13; this does not appear in Pertusi's edition but is an emmendation by H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, Etudes d'histoire maritime 77 n. 2.

singular verbs.[35] However the easiest and obvious explanation is that the whole sentence is a simple statement of the lands of the Thrakesioi, all following from the single verb at the end of the sentence.

A few minor difficulties remain. He... mesogeios might mean 'mainland', but there is also a fairly common usage by which it means 'interior' as in the interior of an island. This could be the case here. Ta... prosgeia obviously has a basic meaning derived from its constituent parts of 'near the earth' or 'near the ground'. It can as an extension of this mean 'close to the shore' and there are examples where in the neuter plural it means 'inshore islands'. If the use of he...mesogeios was intended to mean that the interior of Samos was part of the Thrakesioi, it might also be correct to translate ta...prosgeia as 'inshore islands' here, and thus perhaps assign Chios and Lesbos to the Thrakesioi.[36]

With these points kept in mind the sentence can be translated thus:

"Now the interior [of the island?] and the promontory opposite Samos, being Ephesos, Magnesia, Tralles, Myrina, Teos and Lebedos, and as far as Adramyttion, and the northern parts and the coastal islands, were allotted to the strategos of the Thrakesioi, that is to say the commander of the cavalry tagma."[37]

38. See supra n. 15.

It follows from this translation that the Thrakesioi controlled the whole of the western Asia Minor coastlands and that in any case this sentence, like the first one, refers to the earliest years of the theme. The only sentence of the whole passage which appears to describe the 10th century is - typically of the De Thematibus - the short last sentence, which can be identified as part of a later stratum by its contradiction of what was said in the rest of the chapter:

"The theme of Samos is divided into two tourmai, one is Ephesos, the second is Adramyttion. The strategos of the theme has the city of Smyrna as his headquarters."

All that this shows is that as one would have expected the theme fleet of Samos in the 9th and 10th centuries was based in the largest west coast ports. How this was organized in terms of jurisdiction and territory is unclear, but certainly the De Thematibus gives no evidence that the theme of Samos included a large mainland territory.

The other evidence for the division of the Maeander region between the four themes is confined to scattered references, but it does confirm the impression given by the De Thematibus that the greater part of the Lower Maeander region formed part of the Thrakesioi.

The theme of Samos was formed about the middle of the 9th century. Its predecessor, under the droungarios of the Kolpos, is first mentioned in 842/3; the theme thus, at the earliest, dates from the following decade.[38] Before this in the 8th and

39. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 117, 195 - 6.
40. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae ed. H. Delehay, Brussels (1902) 62, 711; C. FOSS, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis 64, 118.
41. 'S. Theodori Studitae Epistolarum' PG XCIX, Ep. LXII, 1277; Ep. LXVI, 1289; 'Vita Theodori Studitae' ibid., 190, 204 - 5; in the early 11th century, Euthymios Peribleptos refers to heretics, 'en tois tōn Thraikōn meresin en te tēi topothesiai tēs Smyrnēs kai en allois pollois topois...'. If anything Euthymios appears to be drawing a contrast between 'the parts of the Thracians', i.e. the Thrakesioi, and 'the district of Smyrna'; however, the passage does not seem to be intended as specific and cannot be used as evidence either way, G. FICKER, Die Phundagiagiten Leipzig (1908) 67, 11. 9 - 10; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 38; C. FOSS, Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor 492.
42. 'Vita Theodori Studitae' Pg XCIX.
43. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137.
44. ibid. 240; GEORGIUS MONACHUS 912; SKYLITZES 328; F. HALKIN, 'Saint Antoine le jeune et Pétronas le vainquer des Arabes en 863 (d'après un texte inédit); AB LXII (1944) 218 - 19; see supra
45. MB V, 459 - 61, nrr. 180; se also GEORGES and DEMETRIOS TORNIKES, Lettres et Discours ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris (1970) 150 - 51 n. 1, 173; see supra
46. F. HALKIN, 'Saint Antoine le jeune et Pétronas' 218 - 19.
47. GENESIOS 86; A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/1, 27.

early 9th century Ephesos,[39] Sardis,[40] Smyrna[41] and Mastaura[42] are all described as lying in the theme of the Thrakesioi. In the 820s an Arab raid is described as having attacked the coast of the Thrakesioi and penetrated as far as mount Latros.[43]

The evidence from after the mid century shows no sign that this arrangement had changed. At various dates over the 9th to 11th century, Plateia Petra, the fortress in Lydia, is described as being in the Thrakesioi.[44] In the 11th century Philadelphia too was part of the theme.[45] Clearly the Thrakesioi continued to include the greater part of the western Asia Minor river valleys and extended beyond the lower Maeander region to the north.

The account given in the Life of St. Anthony the Younger of the events of 863 implies that Ephesos was in the theme. The saint went there to meet Petronas, the strategos of the Thrakesioi, and together they went to Plateia Petra.[46] Shortly after 867 the Paulician leader, Chrysocheir, raided as far west as the Thrakesioi and sacked Ephesos.[47] The natural interpretation of both these references is that Ephesos was part of the theme.

Throughout the period up to the Turkish invasions there is no sign that the coast was part of a separate jurisdiction. In 935 a small contingent from each of the three tourmai of the

48. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITS, De Cer. I, 663; see supra and n. 7.
49. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENTOS, De Cer. I, 652; see supra
50. SKYLITZES 378, 398 - 9; see H. R. IDRIS, La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides, Xe - XIIe siècles Publication de l'Institut des Etudes Orientales, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines d'Alger, Paris (1962) I, 167f.
51. LAZAROS 529, 536, 538, 558.
52. ibid. 535, 539; SKYLITZES 478; see also MB V, 299 - 300, Ep. 68: Psellos writes to the Patriarch Constantine Leichoudes praising the wine he is sending him and saying that it comes from Kouzenas.
53. MM IV, 307 - 8; for judges sent from Constantinople to adjudicate a particular case in the provinces, see H. AHRWEILER, 'Recherches' 78.

Thrakesioi was sent to Italy as part of a diplomatic expedition to Hugh of Arles. Two of the tourmai had names current in the late Roman army, the third was called the tourma of the shore.[48] The plain implication is that the Thrakesioi included the coast. This appears to be confirmed by the documents recording the Cretan expedition of 911 which note the Armenians based at Priene to guard the shores of the theme.[49] In the 11th century the Arab raids, which continued to trouble the coasts of western Asia Minor, are always described as being against the Thrakesioi.[50] The mid 11th century Life of St. Lazaros, who lived on mount Galesion, 15 kilometres north of Ephesos, makes no direct reference to either the Thrakesioi or Samos. Themes in fact are only mentioned as an indication of the distant places from which visitors or disciples come to the Holy Father. Thus the Life refers several times to the Anatolikoi and the Opsikion.[51] However the Life does name Kouzena near Magnesia on the Maeander as a neighbouring monastery and this is known from Skylitzes to have been in the Thrakesioi.[52] At the least the Life shows that the coastlands were not divided between two themes in any way which affected the geographical perception of the monks of Galesion.

Further south it is unfortunate that so little documentary evidence has survived from the monasteries on mount Latros, however there is a record of a pittakion of Basil II dated 985, where significantly a judge was sent to the Thrakesioi to settle a dispute between the monks of Latros and those of Lamponion.[53]

54. PAUL OF LATROS 106 - 35.
55. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 204, 235 - 6; GEORGIUS MONACHUS 829 - 30; A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 259 - 60; W. TOMASCHEK, 'Zur historischen Topographie' 36; c.f. W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor III, 423.
56. EP II, nr. 52, 51 - 9; nr. 53, 72; other documents concerned with this translation are EP I, nr. 5, 44 - 7; nr. 46, 329 - 30; nr. 47, 333 - 4; for the date see EP II, 46, 61 - 2, 64.
57. EP II, nr. 52, 59 l. 183.
58. See H. AHRWEILER, 'Recherches' 50 n.4; N. BANESCU, 'La signification des titres de praitor et pronoetes à Byzance aux XIe et XIIe siècles' Studi e Testi CXXIII (1946) 395 - 8; E. HERMAN 'Ricerca sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine', Orientalia Christiana Periodica VI (1940) 334, c.f. T. WASILEWSKI, 'Les titres de duc, de catepan et de pronoetes dans l'empire byzantin du IXe jusqu'au XIIe siècle Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines Ochrid (1961) II, 237; note also the suggestion that even in this context the title implies the administration of ecclesiastical land, N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle (1025 - 1118)' TM VI (1976) 149 - 50: the idea is not quite convincing, but even if correct would only serve to reduce yet further the evidence for the administrative responsibilities of the strategos of Samos.

A few years earlier, the Life of St. Paul of Latros gives no indication that this region was part of any theme other than the Thrakesioi.[54]

More exact evidence concerns Miletos and the Didyma peninsula. In 865 Michael III and the Caesar Bardas gathered an army at Kepoi near the mouth of the Maeander. All the chronicle accounts of this episode agree that Kepoi was in the Thrakesioi. Since the late medieval portulans show the port of Kepoi to have been south of Miletos, it follows that both Miletos itself and the Didyma peninsula were under the jurisdiction of the Thrakesioi.[55]

No territorial jurisdiction is recorded for the strategos of Samos until the late 1080s when Eustathios Charsianites was involved in the transfer of property from the Sekreton of the Myrelaion to the monastery of St. John on Patmos. The property in question was two proasteia and a kastron on the small island of Leros.[56] That the strategos did have administrative duties by this date is underlined by Eustathios exact title of strategos and pronoetes of Samos.[57] Pronoetes is a slightly vague title in the 11th century but it implies some sort of administrative role.[58]

Some documentary evidence for the personnel of the theme is preserved in the dossier on the Cretan expedition of 911. In that year the theme of Samos could muster a force of 22 ships and

59. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. I, 653.
60. J. and P. ZEPOS, Jus Graecoromanum I, 222 - 3.
61. For a full discussion of the extent of military lands and the income they may have produced see infra 487 f.

4,680 men. Of the latter 3,980 were rowers and other naval personnel, and 700 were soldiers.[59] Later, during Constantine Porphyrogenitos' personal rule between 945 and 959, a novel was issued stating that those serving in the naval themes of the Aegean Sea, the Kibyrrhaiotai and Samos should have immovable property worth two pounds of gold. Since the novel explicitly refers to their service as rowing, the marines of the text are at the least the 3,980 rowers and probably also include the 700 soldiers.[60]

Thus one must presume that in the 10th century there was land worth about 10,000 pounds of gold set aside for the support of the theme of Samos. However this need not imply either an extensive territorial bloc or a major judicial and administrative role for the theme's strategos on the mainland. The land assigned to each marine was only half the value of a cavalryman's property in a theme such as the Thrakesioi, and it would have produced an income of no more than 20 - 40 nomismata per annum. Many marines may have been rather wealthier than lands worth two pounds of gold would imply, but even so, 5,000 such properties, divided between the cities of Smyrna, Ephesos and Adramyttion, and including the island of Samos, would not have amounted to any great territory.[61]

The choice of name, Samos, rather than that of the fleet's headquarters at Smyrna, or some other mainland designation, carefully avoids the impression that the theme had taken anything

62. On the depopulation and recovery of the Aegean islands during the Byzantine period, see E. MALAMUT, 'Les îles de la mer Egée de la fin du XI^e siècle à 1204', Byzantion LII (1982) 310 - 12, 328 - 32; for islands dependent on an export trade in one local product, the impact of the Arab conquest of Crete must have been devastating: see e.g. Santirini, a bleak and treeless island, dependent in the 19th century on a trade in wine, J. T. BENT, The Cyclades London (1885) 120 - 22; see also the evidence for the better documented impact of Turkish raids on these islands in the 15th century, F. W. HASLUCK, 'Depopulation in the Aegean Islands and the Turkish conquests', BSA XVII (1910 - 11) 151 - 75.
63. EP II, nr. 52, 51f.; nr. 53, 72 -3.
64. On the judicial responsibilities of the strategos see infra
65. See e.g. supra n. 30.
66. supra n. 55.

from the jurisdiction of the Thrakesioi. The theme of Samos would appear to have been set up as a military response to the conquest of Crete by the Arabs, not as a new means of administering Asia Minor. Following the Byzantine recovery of Crete in 961, the Aegean islands were repopulated and returned to the Empire's effective control. In default of any other suitable alternative their administration was turned over to the strategoi of the naval themes, including Samos.[62] Yet even by the 1080s there is no sign that the strategos of Samos actually had a very important administrative responsibility. The archives of the monastery of St. John suggest that the theme included no more than Leros, Leipsoi and possibly Kos, in addition to Samos itself.[63] On the mainland the strategos may have judged disputes among his own marines,[64] but the overall responsibility for the coastlands of western Asia Minor and its cities, including Ephesos and Smyrna, remained with the strategos, and later judge, of the Thrakesioi. For the history of the Maeander region the strategos of Samos need no longer be of interest.

The southern border of the theme, where the Thrakesioi marched with the Kibyrrhaiotai, is less well attested and the consequent confusion is reflected in the various lines taken by modern maps of the themes.[65] On the northern side the fixed points are Miletos, Magnesia on the Maeander and Kepoi. In particular the fact that Kepoi was in the Thrakesioi proves that the theme included both banks of the Maeander.[66] There is no

67. H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 124; SKYLITZES 398.
68. A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus 258 - 9.

question of Ramsay's suggestion that the Byzantine themes, like the Roman or the ecclesiastical provinces, divided along the line of the river. Otherwise, however, there is no firm evidence for a southern limit until one reaches Lycia. Even Strobilos, south east of Halikarnassos, has been claimed as part of the Thrakesioi, but this is based only on a misunderstanding of Skylitzes. The text gives no indication as to what theme Strobilos belonged.[67]

For the Kibyrrhaiotai the evidence is even less. This has led some commentators, on the basis of the De Thematibus alone, to assign central and eastern Caria to the Thrakesioi.[68] Aside from the dangers in such a dependence on Constantine's words, there is good evidence that on the contrary this area belonged to the Kibyrrhaiotai.

The evidence depends on the city after which the theme was named. In both the 10th and the 20th centuries it has been presumed that because the Kibyrrhaiotai was a naval theme it must have been named after a port, and the only possibility seemed to be Pamphylian Kibyrra. That such a small, totally insignificant and otherwise unknown coastal town in Pamphylia should have given its name to the theme seemed a problem even to Constantine Porphyrogenitos, who gave the bizarre explanation that it was so named as an insult. One of his modern successors, equally puzzled, has instead suggested that this tiny port was so honoured as a reward for a conspicuous - but unrecorded - deed

69. De Thematibus 79, 149 - 53; A. TOYNBEE, op.cit. 258 - 9; H. AHRWEILER, La mer 51.
70. A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus 252 - 74; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les listes de présence 348 - 63.
71. '2. Kibyra' RE XI/1, 377; a strong candidate for the site of Pamphylian Kibyra has been discovered near the village of Guney, 20 kilometres east north east of Karaburun. Inscriptions show that the site enjoyed civic status down to the 3rd century AD and there are also the remains of a chapel. One of the inscriptions dates to the 5th/6th century. The settlement may have moved to the site of Mylorne-Justinianopolis at Karaburun, but this does not have any important bearing on whether Kibyra was the capital of the Kibyrrhaiotai. The name is still unattested in the late Roman and Byzantine periods. G. E. BEAN, T. B. MITFORD, Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964 - 1968 Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse, Derkschriften 102, Vienna (1970) 59 - 66; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provines 215. If Pertusi is correct in seeing Strabo, book XIV, as a source, either direct or indirect, for Constantine's chapter on the Kibyrrhaiotai, it may be more significant that Strabo refers to this area as Hē Kiburatōn paralía ton mikrōn, STRABO XIV, iv, 2; De Thematibus 153.
72. '1. Kibyra' RE XI/1, 374 - 7; A. H. M. JONES, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 74 - 6; PLINY, Naturalis Historia V, xxix, 105; HIEROKLES 33; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. 1, nr. 465, et passim; V. LAURENT, Corpus V/1, 382 nr. 520.

at sea against the Arabs. Both explanations are incredible.[69]

Older Byzantine themes were named after the late Roman institutions on which they were based - thus, for example, the Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi; more recent themes were either named after their chief city or by the contemporary name for the region.[70] There is no parallel for naming the Kibyrrhaiotai after Pamphylian Kibyrra. The town is hardly mentioned in antiquity, and in the late Roman period it was neither a city nor a bishopric; in the middle ages there is no reason to think it even existed. It does not appear in any source, not even the notitiae.[71] Inland, however, in eastern Caria there is a much more important Kibyrra and it was after this city that the theme must have been named. Carian Kibyrra had been the centre of a Roman judicial district, a late Roman city and was subsequently the protothronos of the metropolitan province of Caria.[72]

Why the Kibyrrhaiotai was named after this city is not clear, but the most likely explanation is that Kibyrra had been the centre of an important group of Imperial estates which formed the core of the theme's original landed endowment. In the 2nd century BC very large areas of inland Caria centred upon Kibyrra were owned by a certain Moagetes and his successors. When the area was conquered by the Romans the Moagetid dynasty was suppressed and the whole of these extensive lands passed first to the Roman people, and then into the Imperial patrimony. There, since there is no evidence to the contrary, they may be presumed

73. A. H. M. JONES, op.cit. 75 - 6; se also T. R. S. BROUGHTON, 'Roman Landholding in Asia Minor', Transactions of the American Philosophical Association LXV (1934) 207 - 39, esp. 224 - 9; B. LEVICK, Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor Oxford (1967), Appendix VI, 215 - 26.
74. See W. T. TREADGOLD, 'The Military Lands and Imperial Estates in the Middle Byzantine Empire' Harvard Ukrainian Studies VII (1983) 619 - 31, esp. 630 n. 37.
75. W. TOMASCHEK, 'Zur historischen Topographie' 38 - 9; the site is now called the Çifitkalesi near the village of Aspat, 12 kilometres south west of Bodrum, L. ROBERT, Etudes Epigraphiques et Philologiques Paris (1938) 165 - 6 and n. 4; G. E. BEAN, J. M. COOK, 'The Halicarnassus Peninsula' BSA L(1955) 129 and n. 184; IDEM 'The Carian Coast III' BSA LII (1957) 88; P. WITTEK, Das Fürstentum Mentesche 172; see also infra 395 f.
76. See V. RUGGIERI, 'Tracce bizantine nella penisola di Cnido', Orientalia Christiana Periodica LII (1986) 179 - 201.
77. See supra 138-9.
78. G. E. BEAN, J. M. COOK, 'The Carian Coast III' BSA LII (1957) 97 - 7.
79. See supra 2 - 10.

to have remained into the late Empire and beyond.[73] There is not much evidence for Imperial estates in the middle Byzantine period, but there are sufficient references for the 10th and 11th centuries, including those to kouratores in the Taktika, to suggest that had such an extremely large group of estates still been in Imperial possession the fact would be known. It has been suggested that the disappearance of the late Roman Imperial estates in the early Byzantine period is to be explained by their distribution as the original landed endowment of the themes in the 7th century. It seems likely that the disappearance of the estates based on Kibyrra and the establishment of the theme of the Kibyrrhaiotai is a particular example of this general process.[74]

If the Kibyrrhaiotai was named after Carian Kibyrra and the Imperial estates, then the theme must have included central and eastern Caria. Beyond that all is uncertain. As a naval theme founded to fight the Arabs coming from Syria and Egypt against Constantinople it would have included the major coastal fortresses of south western Asia Minor. Thus Strobilos[75] and the fortresses of the north Carian coast were probably in the Kibyrrhaiotai.[76] Iasos[77] and Bargylia[78] would therefore have been in this theme rather than in the Thrakesioi. If so then a likely division of the themes would follow the watershed between the central Carian hills and those bordering the Maeander - in other words the southern limit of the Maeander region.[79] The route system and the landscape naturally divide along this

80. De Thematibus 79.
81. 'Vita Theodori Studitorum', PG XCIX, 190; 'S. Theodori Studitae Epistolarum' ibid. Ep. LXII, 1277; Ep. LXVI, 1289; 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 176 - 7; see supra
82. See supra 6-10.
83. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 195 - 6; see supra 192 .

line. It is no more than a hypothesis but is one which would give both themes a geographical coherence.

The only area where this approach gives no help is the plain of Mylasa. If Iasos and Bargylia were in the Kibyrrhaiotai it does suggest that the plain behind them would have been too. The De Thematibus assigns Mylasa to the Kibyrrhaiotai but there is really no compelling reason to decide either way.[80]

The remaining theme frontier in the Maeander region can be dealt with briefly. To the east of the Thrakesioi lay the Anatolikoi. The evidence in the lives of St. Theodore the Stoudite and St. Luke the Stylite is quite plain that the whole Upper Maeander region, including specifically the Banaz and Baklan ovalarsi and the valley of the Acı Tüz gölü were in the Anatolikoi.[81] The only doubt centres on the valley of the Lykos, and as with the border between the Thrakesioi and the Kibyrrhaiotai geographical coherence appears to offer the best solution. The Lykos is naturally a part of the Lower Maeander region and could only have been ruled from the central plateau with considerable inconvenience.[82] Indeed there is much to be said for C. Foss's suggestion that a capital in the Lykos would have been much more convenient than Ephesos for a theme fighting the Arabs coming overland from the east.[83]

As interpreted here the Maeander region was divided along natural lines of geography so that the Upper Maeander was in the Anatolikoi and the Lower Maeander almost entirely in the

84. De Thematibus 115; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 123.

Thrakesioi. Both the naval themes of the Kibyrrhaiotai and Samos were marginal to the administration of the region.

However the association between the Lower Maeander and the Thrakesioi is much closer than that between the Upper Maeander and the Anatolikoi. The latter stretched east over the central plateau; the Upper Maeander played a key role in the theme, but in terms of territory it was no more than a small part of an institution whose capital lay 200 kilometres to the north east.[84] By contrast the Lower Maeander made up about two-thirds of the Thrakesioi containing the strategically most vital and economically most productive districts of the theme. The rulers of the Lower Maeander can be fairly identified with the rulers of the Thrakesioi. Analysis of the relatively well documented theme hierarchy brings one close to one aspect of the region's power structure.

1. See infra, chapter eleven.
2. See infra, chapter twelve.
3. H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 36-8, 42-3; LEO VI, Taktika c. 680.
4. H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 67-78.

CHAPTER EIGHT. The Official Hierarchy: strategoi and Judges
 (7th-11th centuries).

Throughout the Byzantine period up to the Turkish invasions the formal administration of the Thrakesioi, and thus of the lower Maeander region, was divided between the military hierarchy of the theme, the officials of the fisc and the customs, judges sent out from Constantinople, the kouratores of the Imperial estates, the church and the private administrations of lay estates. Of these the most important were successively the military hierarchy under the strategos and the judges sent out from Constantinople. These will be the subject of this chapter, while the Church[1] and the lesser hierarchies[2] will be discussed elsewhere below.

Between the 7th and the late 11th century provincial government went through two distinct phases. During the first the governor was the strategos, the commander of the theme army, who exercised authority over all matters civilian, military, fiscal, public and private;[3] in the second, which developed from the later 10th century, civil authority was gradually transferred into the hands of judges.[4] In some themes strategoi seem no longer to have been appointed after the first half of the 11th century, and even those such as the Thrakesion where strategoi are attested, they and their troops were liable to be posted away from the province, and in those cases where

5. IDEM, 46-63, 76; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XI siècle (1025-1118)' TM VI (1976) 148-50.
6. See supra 267-70.

they stayed their authority was probably confined to military affairs.[5]

Thus on the eve of the Turkish invasions the effective governor of the lower Maeander region was the theme judge of the Thrakesioi. By as early as the mid 11th century the sole rule of the strategos was probably only a distant memory, but it is important to see how the judges inherited an administrative system embodying a relationship between Constantinople and the province going back over four centuries. As the study of Maeander towns has shown, the structures of Maeander society had taken centuries to develop and in view of the rather slight evidence, their form only becomes clear when seen over a long period. Hence, although this chapter is looking toward the 11th century, it will first explore the background, appointment and political role of the strategoi of the Thrakesioi, before considering that of the later theme judges.

As with the development of themes discussed above, the sole rule of the strategoi was a product of the crisis of the 7th century.[6] In the late Roman period the lower Maeander region had instead been divided between the provinces of Asia and Caria, both governed by a civilian proconsul whose responsibilities included acting as a judge of first instance, the supervision of revenue, the post and public works, and the activities of city councils. The proconsul was also responsible for the general maintenance of law and order, and the execution of central government

7. A. H. M. JONES, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602 Oxford (1964) 373-6, map II.
8. R.-J. LILIE, 'Thrakien und Thrakesion. Zur byzantinischen Provinzorganisation am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts' JOB XXVI (1977) 12-15; F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang - und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert Berlin (1985) 140-41.
9. See for some examples of J. M. WAGSTAFF, The Evolution of Middle Eastern Landscapes London (1985) 25-6; for the Roman period see W. M. RAMSAY, 'The speed of the Roman Imperial Post' JRS XV (1925) 60-74; a form of the Imperial post survived into the middle Byzantine period, M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary economy 602-13; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 863: "hamstringing the public horses at each change"; more important than the fastest journey times was the possibility of making journeys deliberately slow when the occasion demanded, see F. MILLAR, 'Emperors, Frontiers and Foreign Relations, 31 BC to AD 378' Britannia XIII (1982) 9-11.

commands. The proconsul had no authority over any army unit based in the province, and equally army commanders in the region had no authority to interfere in the civilian sphere.[7]

The crisis of the 7th century overturned this arrangement. The civilian world, centred on the late Roman cities, was in ruins - often literally - and the landing of the army gave the military commanders a de facto authority which in course made the civilian administration redundant. By the early 8th century at the latest, the themes - in this sense the military districts on which the theme armies had been landed - were the main effective administrative units of the Empire. The strategos was the new provincial governor; civilian proconsuls and eparchs continued to be appointed in the 7th century, but the post fulfilled no actual role and gradually disappeared.[8]

The central Imperial government's reluctance to abandon a civilian administration is not so much evidence of inertia, as a reflection of its uneasiness about the political consequences of the landing of the late Roman army. With good reason officials in Constantinople were concerned lest they lose control. In terms of medieval speeds of communication, Asia Minor was a huge land mass. An order sent from Constantinople could take months to reach distant commands, and further months to find out if it had been obeyed.[9] In the 6th century central financial control had usually been decisive, but although there was still an element of payment in the Byzantine soldier's income, the basis

10. M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 181-7, 625, 634-40, 645-54.
11. See W. E. KAEGI, Byzantine Military Unrest 471-843: an Interpretation Amsterdam (1981) passim, 154-330; for separatist developments in Byzantine Italy see T. S. BROWN, Gentlemen and Officers British School at Rome (1984) 150-55, 159-63, 205-20.
12. See W. E. KAEGI, op.cit. 170, 203-4, 206.

of his support was a landed estate.[10] If the theme soldiers saw their loyalty as owed primarily to the local commander rather than to the central government, then the Empire faced a major political problem. At best this would be reflected in recurrent rebellions by the theme armies, intent on toppling the current regime and installing their own strategoi as Emperor; at worst there was the threat of the Empire's dissolution into semi-independent militarized fiefdoms - effectively hereditary because the Emperor could only appoint a strategos acceptable to the local soldiers.[11]

In great part because of the existence of Constantinople as a secure Imperial capital, the seat of the court and source of all official status in Byzantine culture the Byzantine Empire managed to avoid the fragmentation which overcame the post-Carolingian west. The fact that again and again rebels launched their attacks on Constantinople rather than setting up as independent rulers shows the continuing unity of the Empire, but the recurrent rebellions equally demonstrate the insecurity of Constantinopolitan regimes. The cultural pull of Constantinople was not enough to guarantee the coherence of the Empire and central authority had to be reinforced by other means.[12]

By the end of the 7th century the Imperial government appears to have given up the attempt to maintain civilian governors in the provinces. At the end of the 9th century the Emperor Leo VI recognized in his Taklika what had clearly been

13. LEO VI, Taktika c. 680.
14. J. B. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System 89; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 313; F. DÖLGER, Finanzverwaltung 70-71, 117; F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur 133-5.
15. N. OIKONOMIDES 'Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of the Kommerkiarioi' DOP XL (1986) 34, 38-9; F. WINKELMANN, op.cit. 135-7.
16. W. T. TREADGOLD, 'The Military Lands and the Imperial Estates in the Middle Byzantine Empire' HUS VII (1983) 630-31.
17. See infra 374f.
18. The Bessai at Ataia belonging, apparently in 1054, to St. George of the Mangana from which Constantine IX Monomarchos made a grant of 1000 modioi of wheat to the Nea Moni on Chios, is unlikely to be the same as the Bessai near Ephesos which was given to St. Lazaros of Galesion before November 1053, K. KANELLAKIS, Chiaka Analekta Athens (1890) 553-5; B. K. STEPHANIDES, 'Hoi kodikes tēs Adrianoupoleos' BZ XIV (1905) 593; LAZAROS 79, 246; E. MALAMUT, 'A propos de Bessai d'Ephèse' REB XLIII (1985) 243-51; however the latter Bessai was given to Lazaros by Maria Skleraina; she in turn held the estates of the Mangana from which she made other donations. It is therefore quite probable that whatever the relationship between the two Bessai, that near Ephesos had previously belonged to the Mangana, LAZAROS 584-5; PSELLOS I, 147; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'St. George of Mangana, Maria Skleraina, and the Malyj Sion of Novgorod' DOP XXXIV-XXXV (1980-81) 241-3.

the practice for a long time. The strategos had the supreme authority in the theme, and Leo explicitly includes all things fiscal, military, private and public.[13]

Some counterweight to the strategos was achieved by having various administrative tasks performed by officials who reported directly to Constantinople. Thus the tax districts - dioikeseis each under a dioiketes responsible for the assessment and collection of direct taxation - were not part of the theme hierarchy but came under the logothete of the genikon in Constantinople.[14] Similarly the 9th and 10th century lists of court precedence shows the kommerkiarioi, who by that date collected customs duties, as part of the same logothete's office.[15]

Most of the late Roman Imperial estates had been dispersed in the 7th century,[16] but those which remained and those which increasingly were accumulated from the later 9th century were never placed under the strategos. By the mid 11th century the Imperial estates of the Myrelaion[17] and possibly St. George of the Mangana[18] controlled considerable parts of the Thrakesion, effectively outside the strategos' jurisdiction. An incident in the second half of the 10th century shows this in practice. In 968-9 the newly appointed archbishop of Miletos, Nikephoros arrived in his see to discover that the archiepiscopal estates were being pillaged by agents of the Myrelaion. The strategos played no part in the subsequent dispute; instead the archbishop

19. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4.
20. See in particular EP I, nr. 2, 17-18; nr. 3, 25-7; nr. 4, 33-4; MM IV, 307-17: lack of proper documents could put land rights at risk, and as in the west created a demand for forgeries, ibid. 310, 323, 324-5; KEKAUMENOS c. 122, 51; see M. T. CLANCHY, From Memory to Written Record London (1979) 248-57.
21. F. DOLGER, J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre I. Die Kaiserurkunden Byzantisches Handbuch III/1, Munich (1968) 117-25.

went straight to Constantinople to protest to the Emperor.[19]

Such appeals over the strategos to Constantinople were not confined to cases where the local officials reported directly to superiors in the capital, but instead appear to have been a widespread feature of middle Byzantine provincial life which the Emperor and the Constantinopolitan government were keen to encourage. Most of the surviving documentation comes from the archives at Patmos, mount Athos and the Latros cartulary. These monasteries enjoyed Imperial patronage and exempt status and hence would have been more likely to appeal to Constantinople than others less favoured, but their archives do contain evidence for the same appeals from laymen and smaller non-Imperial monasteries. It is clear from this evidence that some sections of provincial society were able to appeal to Constantinople for judgement on certain issues.[20] The Imperial court could not only provide the best documentary support for any land claim, but it was the only possible legal source for the very valuable privilege of tax exemption.[21]

The rarity of documents from the Strategoi may well be a distortion imposed by the pattern of survival. Only mount Athos has preserved more than half its original archives; at the monastery of St. John on Patmos 150 out of about 400 have survived; from the Nea Moni on Chios copies of about 20 documents are all that remain from about 600 destroyed in 1822. The fragmentary cartulary of the monastery of St. Paul on Latros

22. E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Les archives de Nea Moni de Chio. Essai de reconstitution d'un dossier perdu', BNJ XXII (1979) 277-8.
23. H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 67-71; see MM IV, 307; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 323-4; see also R. MORRIS, 'Dispute settlement in the Byzantine provinces in the tenth century' in The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe ed. W. Davies, P. Fouracre, Cambridge (1986) 131-5, 139: a land dispute of 942-3 which involved an appeal to Constantinople.
24. For a discussion of the evidence suggesting an important civilian role in provincial administration during the 8th and 9th centuries, see F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang - und Ämterstruktur 118-37, 138-43.

is the remains of what was probably a similarly large original total.[22]

Once one person or group, however, had Imperial confirmation of their rights, their neighbours were under pressure to do the same, and as the economy of Byzantine Asia Minor revived from the 9th century onwards so the demand grew. The development coincided with, and no doubt in part encouraged the rise of the theme judges to take over administrative responsibility for the theme. Up to the 10th century the numbers involved were still sufficiently few for demand to be met by sending Constantinopolitan judges to the themes on temporary and particular assignments, but the body of work appears to have been growing so that by the 11th century, even without other administrative changes, the strategos would have found his judicial role reduced by the presence of a permanent civilian judge sent as a representative of the Constantinopolitan courts.[23]

Such administrative and judicial arrangements[24] did provide some check on the strategos' power, but even appeal to Constantinople could only be a secondary factor. To control the strategoi and to maintain Imperial authority in the provinces, the Emperor had to keep control of their appointment and their length of service.

The official ideal at the end of the 9th century was set

25. LEO VI, Taktika c. 680-93; P. NOAILLES, A DAIN, Les Nouvelles de Léon VI le sage Paris (1944) 282-5; the length of a strategos' period of office appears to have been about three or four years. The positive evidence for this is rather slight, no more than a disputed passage in Kekaumenos' Strategikon and a report in the De Ceremoniis that 10th century strategoi were paid once every four years; however it seems to fit most of the other evidence, H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 45 ns. 1 and 2, 78 n. 4; KEKAUMENOS 65; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. I, 493; very long periods of office were probably exceptions, see for example A. GUILLOU, 'Notes sur la société dans le katépanat d'Italie au XIe siècle' Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Âge LXXVIII (1966) 459-61; the career of Michael Lachanodrakon, see infra
26. H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 36; however c.f. ibid 39-40.

out by the Emperor Leo VI in the Taktika and in an Imperial Novel issued in the decade before 896 whose terms entered the later legal codes. The law stated that save in the most extraordinary circumstances and with express Imperial permission, a man should not become strategos in his own country of origin. Once in office he was only to hold the post for a limited period and during that time he was forbidden to build a house there or to acquire property on pain of confiscation of his personal fortune. The strategos was also strictly prohibited from arranging the marriage of any one of his sons, daughters or other relatives to any inhabitant of the theme.[25]

The Imperial government clearly intended that the Strategos be an outsider in the theme acting as a representative of the Emperor in Constantinople, not as a representative of the provincial community. To make the point clear the strategos could be referred to as the ek prosopou of the Emperor - one who acts in the name of.[26]

The fact that the legislation was enacted can however suggest that Leo VI and his successors were not confident that all strategoi fulfilled this role in practice. Indeed in other aspects the evidence shows that the strategoi's behaviour fell short of the ideal. As with virtually all official posts in any European state up until very recent times, the strategos was intended to make a profit out of his period of office. An 11th century judicial source, the Peira, actually states this as part

27. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 34.
28. ibid I, 209, 211, 213, 215, 226; J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 148, Ep. 86; see R. MORRIS, 'The Powerful and the Poor' 11.
29. KEKAUMENOS 14-15, 18-19.
30. LEO VI, Taktika c. 681.
31. See KEKAUMENOS 18.
32. P. NOAILLES, A. DAIN, Les nouvelles de Léon VI le sage 282-5.
33. I. DJURIC, 'Porodica Foka' ZRVI XVII (1976) 227-8.

of a judgement,[27] but from the 10th century onwards there are numerous complaints of extortion, exploitation and bias. The mid 10th century Novels list the strategoi among the dunatoi who were oppressing the penetes,[28] and Kekaumenos in the mid 11th century lectures the would-be strategos on rectitude and fair dealing as qualities too often lacking in his colleagues.[29] It is presumably significant that Leo VI saw aphilarguria - 'having no love of money' as one of the paramount moral virtues of a strategos.[30]

There is nothing in these accusations that need imply that the strategoi were part of local society in their own right. Indeed corruption and exploitation may be easier to practise as an outsider, in the theme on a temporary assignment;[31] they are not usually the vices of the resident local aristocrat. However Leo's Novel does acknowledge the possibility that under exceptional circumstances a man might be made strategos in his own country,[32] and there are examples from the eastern frontier themes to show that this was sometimes the case. The Phokades, for example, may already have been powerful in Cappadocia before members of the family were appointed to the theme as strategoi.[33] The Argyroi are another example. Leo Argyros was a mid-9th century tourmarch possibly in the theme of Charsianon. He later founded the monastery of St. Elizabeth at Charsianon which became the burial ground and a focus of family sentiment for generations of Argyroi. Leo's son, Eustathios Argyros, had a house in Charsianon and was to be buried in the family monastery,

34. J.-F. VANNIER, Familles Byzantines. Les Argyroi (IXe-XIIe siecles) Paris (1975) 19-20, 22-4.
35. KEKAUMENOS 65-6.

yet in spite of this he was appointed to command Charsianon as its strategos.[34] If Kekaumenos' words are correctly understood, the Book of Advice seems to be showing a similar pattern of strategoi with family links and property in the western frontier theme of Larissa.[35]

The evidence on which to judge whether the strategoi of the Thrakesioi came closer to Leo VI's ideal, or rather to these examples of local power and influence on the eastern and western frontiers, is confined to fifteen strategoi, known from the mid-8th to the late-11th century. The names of another fifty strategoi are recorded, but without any indication of their careers or background.

8th century -

1. Sisinnakios
2. Leo
3. Michael Lakhanodrakon
4. Bardanes

9th century -

5. Bardas
6. Constantine Kontomytes
7. Petronas
8. Symbatios
9. Nikephoros Phokas the Elder

36. THEOPHANES 414-5, 420; NIKEPHOROS, Opuscula Historia
ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig (1880) 67, 70; R. GUILLAND,
'Patrices de Leon III a Michel II' B XL (1970) 324-5;
regarding the name, Sisinnios may be preferable to
Sisinnakios on the grounds of the seal of Sisinnios,
patrikios, and strategos of the Thrakesioi, G.
SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 699.

10th century -

10. The anonymous addressee of three letters from
the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos

11. Nikephoros Pastilas

12. (Symeon) Ampelas?

11th century -

13. Constantine Diogenes

14. Romanos Skleros

15. Andronikos Aronios

The first of these strategoi are only very slightly more than mere names. Sisinnakios, or Sisinnios - both versions are recorded - was made strategos of the Thrakesioi by Leo III. After Leo's death in June 741, Sisinnakios, together with Lankinos, strategos of the Anatolikoi, was persuaded to join Leo's son, Constantine V. The Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi were victorious in the civil war which followed, but Sisinnakios was given little opportunity to take advantage of his support for the winning side. In 743, after the conquest of Constantinople and the celebration of a triumph over the defeated rival Emperor, Artavasdos, Sisinnakios himself was arrested and blinded.[36]

These events underline the military strength of the

- 37. C.f. H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 23, 32.
- 38. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 463.
- 39. SKYLITZES 426.
- 40. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 169.

Thrakesioi and the difficulties an Emperor could have in controlling it. The cavalry of the Thrakesioi formed a major part of the Byzantine army, and although this would decline in relative importance over the following centuries as successive Emperors raised new guard regiments and founded new themes, the Thrakesioi would still be a major military unit into the 11th century.[37] In April 958 the Thrakesioi together with the Boukellarioi and the Opsikion, can be found serving in the Balkans where they totally defeated a Magyar invasion;[38] in 1041 a section of the tagma of the Thrakesioi was part of the katepan's army in southern Italy;[39] and in 1074, 'the phalanx of the Asianoi' - a literary circumlocution for the tagma of the Thrakesioi - was an important contingent in the Imperial forces at the battle of Zompos.[40] The political importance of these troops and their commander should not be overlooked.

Theophanes' account gives no indication as to Sininnios' background or relationship to any of the Imperial claimants, but it is clear that in 741 his support had had to be bought by major bribes and concessions. It is not surprising that Constantine took the first opportunity to remove this powerful figure, and he no doubt chose his successor with great care.

Of the next strategos, Leo, it is only recorded that he was a patrikios - a very exalted rank in the 8th century - and that he was killed by the Bulgars in 760 when Constantine's army failed to force a way over the Haemus mountains at the Bergaba

41. THEOPHANES 431; G. SCHLUMBERGER, 'Sceaux byzantins inédits (sixième série) RN IV (1916) 298: the seal might refer to this Leo.
42. THEOPHANES 437-8.

pass.[41]

Twenty years into his reign, Constantine was still having difficulty with the theme commanders and their loyalty could not be assured. In 766 the summer campaign against Bulgaria was another disaster due to unseasonal foul weather. In the wake of this ill omened campaign Constantine had tried to divert attention by stage managing the ritual humiliation of iconodule monks in the hippodrome, but at the end of August a very serious plot to depose him was brought to light. This was claimed to involve 19 strategoi and senior officials, who were all promptly executed.[42]

The new strategos of the Thrakesioi was Michael Lakhanodrakon. Thanks to the very hostile iconodule writings of Theophanes and Stephen the deacon, Michael is one of the best known commanders of the theme. However their accounts are partial, and instead of the familiar image of the ruthless iconoclast fanatic it is equally important to see Michael Lakhanodrakon as a loyal and highly capable soldier and administrator, whose career marks something of a success in Imperial attempts to control the themes. The scarcity of evidence is certainly distorting, but in the surviving sources his period of office may even suggest the opening of a new stage in relations between the Emperor and the strategoi - one which came closer to the ideal expressed in Leo VI's Novel.

43. ibid. 440, 445-6, 451; 'Vita Stephani Iunioris' PG C, 1164-5.
44. THEOPHANES 456.
45. ibid.
46. E. W. BROOKS, 'Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the early Abbasids' EHR XV (1900) 737-9; R.-J. LILIE, Die byzantinische Reaktion 173-5.

Michael was strategos of the Thrakesioi for 16 years, energetically fighting the Arabs and the Bulgars, and persecuting the iconodule enemy within.[43] After Constantine V's death in 775, he continued to be commander of the Thrakesioi under the new Emperor, Leo IV, and into the early years of the reign of Constantine VI and Eirene.[44] The new Iconodule Empress was probably looking to dismiss such a prominent iconoclast strategos as Michael Lachanodrakon, and the opportunity appears to have come in 782. In that year the future Caliph, Harun al-Rashid, launched a major assault on the Empire, aiming it would seem at Constantinople itself. While Harun pressed on to Chrysopolis and one army corps held the northern flank of the plateau, another was sent towards the western Asia Minor coastlands. Michael Lachanodrakon and the Thrakesioi were forced to give battle. According to Theophanes, the ensuing bloody struggle half the Thrakesioi were killed.[45]

In the event the Arabs could not press home their advantage and Harun's army became trapped in Asia Minor. Only the desertion of Tatzatios, the Armenian Strategos of the Boukellarioi, and a Byzantine blunder which allowed Harun to hold a number of very senior generals and officials hostage, allowed the Arabs to return to Syria bearing their booty.[46]

The slaughter of the Thrakesioi would have weakened Michael's position just as the temporary easing of the Arab threat made his military expertise for the moment

- 47. ibid. 176-8.
- 48. THEOPHANES 466.
- 49. ibid. 466, 468.

dispensable.[47] Shortly after this, and well before 786, when the the themes were clearly under reliable, iconodule command, Eirene must have removed him from office.

Michael is next recorded in 790 when Constantine VI rebelled against his mother, and he seems to have been one of the young Emperor's chief supporters. Theophanes describes how the rebellion began with the themes overthrowing their strategoi.[48] Evidently Michael's replacement in the Thrakesion must have been both a reliable supporter of Eirene and her iconodule reaction, and equally someone without any strong local support.

In 790 Michael was entrusted with the critical task of bringing the Armeniakoi on to Constantine's side. In this he was successful and he was duely promoted from patrikios to magistros, and possibly domestic of the scholai. Unfortunately he did not survive long enough under the new regime to show how the relationship with Constantine VI would have progressed. On the 20 July 792 he was killed fighting the Bulgars.[49]

The sources do not give any direct information on either Michael's background or family, but a number of details which they do record of his career can show that he was not a countryman of the Thrakesioi and that his power did not depend on local support.

As strategos of the Thrakesioi he made himself for the

50. ibid. 445-6; 'Vita Stephani Iunioris', 1164-5.
51. THEOPHANES 466, 468; W. E. KAEGI, Byzantine Military Unrest 236, 326-30.
52. E. PATLAGEAN, 'Les débuts d'une aristocratie byzantine et le témoignage de l'historiographie: système des noms et liens de parenté aux IXe-Xe siècles' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 29, and 23-43 passim.

future an iconoclast bogeyman by his ruthless execution of Imperial orders to attack monks and monasteries.[50] Given the vital role of these institutions in local society, this constituted an attack not only on a belief but on a whole network of spiritual and financial investments. A strategos whose power depended on local support would have to have temporized; Michael Lachanodrakon could clearly afford to defy local opinion.

This can be confirmed by his actions between 790 and 792. He made no appeal to the Thrakesioi but instead turned to the Armeniakoi who in the 8th century tended to be on the opposite political side; after Constantine's victory he was rewarded by a post in the Imperial court far from western Asia Minor.[51] His control of the Thrakesioi in the years following 766 was the result of his access to Imperial power, not the reverse.

It is not known whether Michael was in any way related to the Isaurian Imperial family but he was clearly part of an inner circle close to Constantine V, Leo IV and then Constantine VI, and as such he is typical of the kind of men who would command the Thrakesioi for the next three centuries. His rather curious name, Lachanodrakon, 'caterpillar', also fits in this context. As E. Patlagean has pointed out, nicknames like this were common among the close circle of soldiers and officials at the Imperial court. Others, as for example Choirosphaktes, 'pig-killer', went on to become respected family names; that of Lachanodrakon, tainted by Iconoclasm, disappeared from use.[52]

53. THEOPHANES 474.
54. H. ACARYAN, Hayoc' Anjnanunneri Bararan Beirut (1972) V, 74-107; e.g. ibid. 438, 445, 470-1, 474; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 6; G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals, nr. 1749: Bardanes, Spatharios, protostator; DO 55.1.712: Bardanes, strator; DO 58.106.4070: Bardanes, hypatos, spatharios, protostrator; DO 58.106.2016: Bardanes s[], tourmarch; F 2754: (Ba)rd(ani)os, • protospatharios, domestic of []; V. LAURENT, Vatican 18, nr. 24: Bardanes, koubikoularios, papias; several of these seals bear similar marial monograms on the obverse, but without personal examination one cannot suggest if one or more belonged to the same individual.
55. THEOPHANES 438.
56. ibid. 445.
57. ibid. 470-1.

The next strategos about whom anything is known is Bardanes, whom Thophanes describes taking part in the Empress Eirene's triumphal procession from the church of the Holy Apostles on Easter Monday 799. As an Empress, instead of riding a splendidly caparisoned horse, Eirene was carried in a golden chariot drawn by four horses led by four patrikioi, who included Bardanes, strategos of the Thrakesioi.[53]

That is strictly all the sources say about Bardanes. Although not as common a name as Bardas, Bardanes or Bardanios, from the Armenian Vardan, was quite widespread amongst the Armenian related military and official circles of Byzantium. There are at least twelve references to the name in the half century either side of 800.[54]

Amongst these references it is quite possible that the patrikios Bardanes, whose son was executed in the purge of 766,[55] was the same Bardanes who was strategos of the Armeniakoi in 772.[56] Just possibly, he could also have been the Bardanes, patrikios and domestic of the scholai, who was sent to arrest Abbot Plato, 24 years later in 796.[57] Michael Lachnodrakon's long career gives grounds for caution, but the latter identification seems to stretch this hypothetical Bardanes' career too far. The Bardanes of 766 was not a very young man. He already held the high rank of patrikios and he had a son old enough to be a spatharios and protostrator, and sufficiently important to be executed.

58. ibid. 474.
59. ibid. 479-80; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 6-7; GENESIOS 8-10.
60. See P. SPECK, Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer
fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft Munich
(1978).

These must remain unprovable possibilities, but it is certain that the Bardanes who was strategos of the Thrakesioi in 799 was none of these men.[58] Age again and iconoclast sympathies would seem to rule out the first two, while the Bardanes of 796 is out of the question because Eirene could hardly have dismissed him as domestic of the scholai only to re-appoint him to the lesser but still powerful post of strategos of the Thrakesioi.

The only possible identification amongst the other known Bardanes is one with Bardanes Tourkos, the strategos of the Anatolikoi who rebelled against Nikephoros I in 803. This Bardanes was an iconodule and an enemy of the new Emperor, which suggests a former supporter of the Empress Eirene. A case can be made linking the two references into a coherent career, but the evidence surviving for the politics and prosopography of these years is too slight for this to be a very fruitful hypothesis.[59]

However as a general point it has been noticed that Eirene's reign seems to be characterized by an attempt to place senior military commands in secure political hands.[60] The contrast has been drawn between the role of such courtier eunuchs as Aetios and Staurakios, and the angry theme commanders, but the theme armies' rejection of their strategoi in 790 and Aetios' control of the Anatolikoi and the Opsikion in 801-2 does suggest

61. THEOPHANES 466, 475.
62. Several members of the Boilas family are known from the 10th and 11th centuries: see G. MORAVCSIK, Byzantinoturcica II, 93-4.
63. THEOPHANES 476-7, 479, 491; two later seals of the Triphyllos family are known: DO 58.106.5696: John Triphyllios, asekretis, judge of Thrace (probably late 10th century); DO 58.106.1855: Constantine Triphyllos, asekretis, strategos of Thrace (10th/11th century); also note a Constantine Triphyles who was a land-owner in Macedonia in 1097, LAVRA I, 275-8; J. LEFORT, Villages de Macédoine I, Paris (1982) 101.

that Eirene and her supporters were attempting a more general control of military commands.[61] Michael Lachanodrakon's successful career as strategos of the Thrakesioi showed the advantages of a politically dependable ally in such a post.

Of the four patrikoi who led Eirene's horses in the 799 procession, Constantine Boilas is otherwise unknown,[62] but the two Triphylloi, Niketas and Sisinnios, reappear several times in Theophanes' narrative as prominent supporters of Eirene's regime.[63] Bardanes' presence in the procession cannot be made into evidence for his background but it does underline the position of the strategos of the Thrakesioi at this date at the centre of Byzantine political life. At the least it is clear that the filling of this post would have been one of the Empress's major concerns. If she could impose a choice of candidates anywhere she would wish to do it in the Thrakesioi.

The pattern of appointment becomes more clear in the 9th century. All the strategoi can be shown to have owed their command to their place in the elite group close to the Emperor. Non shows any previous link with the Thrakesioi. In fact in the case of the first four 9th century strategoi they were all related to the ruling Emperor.

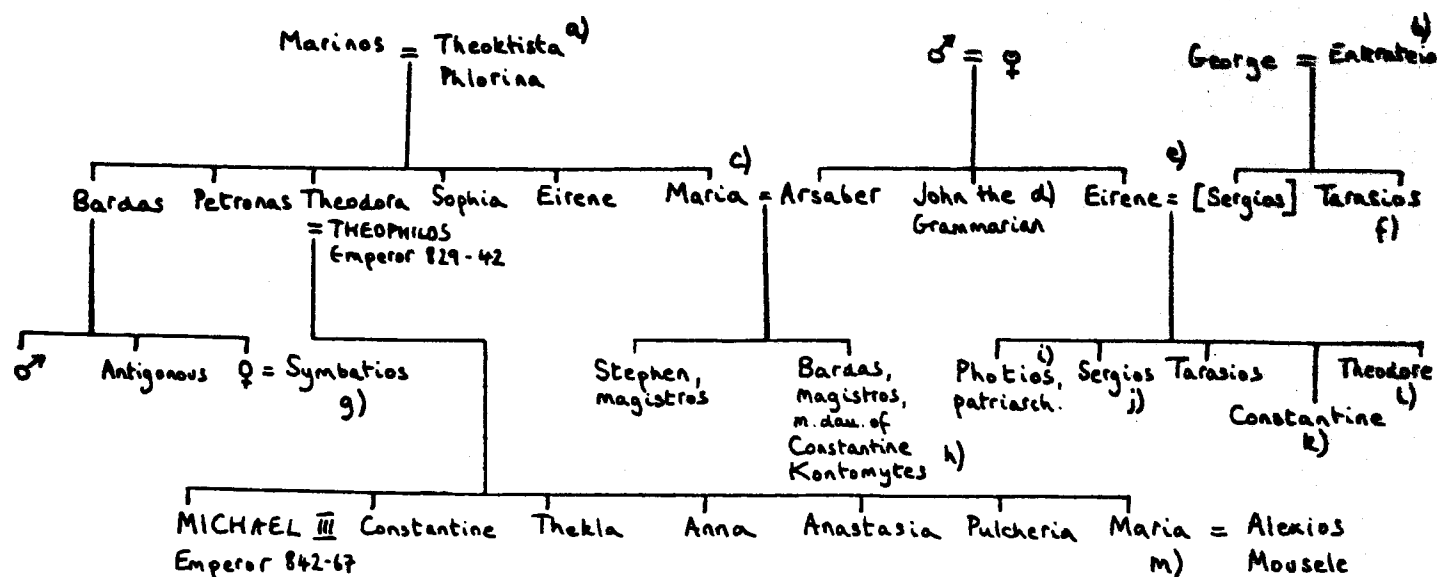
The first strategos, Bardas, was the nephew of the Emperor Leo V. He is known only from a passage in the Life of St. Theodore the Stoudite, written by Michael, another monk of the

64. 'Vita Theodori Studitae' PG XCIX, 204-5, 300.
65. SCRIPTOR INCERTUS, De Leone Bardae Armenii Filio
336, the 10th century sources add that he was brought
up at Pidra in the Anatolikon, GENESIOS 8, 36;
THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 6; K. BELKE, Galatien und
Lykaonien 215-6.
66. THEOPHANES 479-80; GNESIOS 8-10; THEOPHANES
CONTINUATUS

Stoudion. In about 820 when Theodore was in exile in the Thrakesioi, Bardas was lying ill in Smyrna close to death. In this state he turned for help to the iconodule holy man whom his iconoclast uncle had banished. In front of St. Theodore Bardas repented of his sins and was cured, but later, according to the hostile stoudite hagiographer, he returned to his Iconoclasm and in consequence died.[64]

The Emperor Leo V was an Armenian, the son of a certain Bardas the Armenian, patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi.[65] Leo had at the beginning of his career served in the immediate entourage of Bardas Tourkos, strategos of the Anatolikoi, and himself also an Armenian.[66] It was from this background of Armenian soldiers and Imperial service that he rose to power. His nephew's Armenian name, and the fact that the relationship must have long pre-dated Leo's accession in 815, suggest that the strategos Bardas was part of the same Armenian group, and that he had been deliberately chosen by his uncle as a loyal and interested supporter to be placed in a key position. Both Bardas and Theodore would have been outsiders in the Thrakesioi and perhaps it was exactly that which brought them together as the strategos lay dying.

From the 820s onwards a greater body of evidence has been preserved than for the previous two hundred years and it is possible to discern, even if not to delineate with complete accuracy, a network of kinship and political alliance which



- a) THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 89.
- b) 'Ignatii Diaconi, Vita Tarasii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani', ed. I. A. Heikel, *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* XVII (1891) 396-7; c.f. 'Vita S. Euphyrosynae' *AS* Nov. III, 884.
- c) THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 175.
- d) *ibid.* 156; J. B. BURY, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the fall of Prene to the Accession of Basil I (802-867)* London (1912) 156 n. 2.
- e) THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 175; J. B. BURY, 'The Relationship of Photios to the Empress Theodora' *EHR* V (1890) 255-8; IDEM, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* 156 n. 2; PSEUDO-SYMEON MAGISTER 668; c.f. H. AHRWEILER, 'Sur la carrière de Photios avant son patriarcat' *BZ* LVIII (1965) 351 n. 24.
- f) PHOTIOS, *Epistulae* I, 52 ll. 366-7.
- g) THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 205; GENESIOS 107; Bardas' daughter may have been called Eirene, see CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, *De Cer.* I, 647-8.
- h) THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 175.
- i) PHOTIOS, *Apistulae* I, nr. 55, 99; nr. 73, 115; *ibid.* II, nr. 145, 1; nr. 161, 15; nr. 200, 97.
- j) *ibid.* I, nr. 31, 82; nr. 79, 121; nrs. 131-2, 169-70; *ibid.* II, nrs. 152-3, 7-9; nr. 160, 14; nr. 234, 150; nr. 256, 197; nrs. 258-64, 203-11; the *Bibliotheca* is also dedicated to Tarsios, W. T. TREADGOLD, 'The Preface of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius: Text, Translation and Commentary' *DOP* XXXI (1977) 344.
- k) PHOTIOS, *Epistulae* I, nr. 135, 178; *ibid.* II, nr. 196, 95; nr. 255, 195.
- l) *ibid.* I, nr. 138, 190. It is not clear whether these were spiritual brothers or brothers by blood; however comparison with other near contemporary letter collections suggest that the latter is more likely. Fraternal language is antiquous, but whereas spiritual brotherhood is often referred to in the body of a letter, or in letters from the Patriarch to the Pope or his metropolitans, I know of no examples where a lay spiritual brother is simply labeled 'brother' in the letter's title, NICHOLAS I, *Letters* 599 (refs. to use of *adelphos*); J. DARROUZES, *Epistoliers* 397 (refs.); LEO OF SYNADA 141.
- m) THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 107; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 794. See also C. MANGO, 'The liquidation of Iconoclasm and the patriarch Photios', in *Iconoclasm*

ed. A. Bryer, J. Herrin, 133-40.

68. 'Vita S. Ignatii' PG CV, 525.

69. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 175-6.

70. See n. 67 *supra*.

involved in a fairly narrow range of relationships nearly all the leading figures, including the strategoi of the Thrakesioi.

Although possibly not the most important, in the light of the surviving sources the most obvious aspect of this structure is the ties of kinship. Thus Petronas, strategos of the Thrakesioi in the mid 9th century under Michael III, had one nephew who was married to the daughter of Constantine Kontomytes, who had earlier been strategos of the Thrakesioi under Theophilos, and another niece who was married to Symbatios, said by the Vita Basilii to have been strategos of the Thrakesioi for a short period under Basil I.[67]

Kinship should certainly not be seen as determining political allegiance: Petronas championed Ignatios against Photios, his brother Bardas' candidate for the patriarchate;[68] Maria, one of Petronas' sisters, combined with his brother, Bardas, to depose their sister Theodora, from the Imperial throne.[69] Yet even these family feuds serve to highlight their shared interests, and the social and political arena they had in common. When the genealogy is extended sideways it links Theodora, the restorer of Orthodoxy, to the Iconoclast patriarch John the Grammanrian and he to the Iconodules, Tarasios and Photios. This is clearly the world of Constantinople and the Imperial court, rather than a aristocracy looking to its landed base in the provinces.[70]

71. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 89-90; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 790.
72. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 89-90; for other examples, Lekapenos: see infra ; Phokas: see I. DJURIC loc.cit. supra n. 33; Basil I: GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 819-21; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS

Petronas' family, which included the Empress Theodora and the Caesar Bardas, is said to have come from Paphlagonia, but beyond the brief notice of their patria in the chronicles, Paphlagonia deserved no further mention. In all their careers they appear as part of a ruling elite based in Constantinople.[71]

The family's success seems to have been almost wholly due to the marriage of Petronas' sister, Theodora, to the Emperor Theophilos. Why the Emperor chose her as his wife is nowhere recorded, but there is significantly no indication that it brought to Theophilos any land or influence in Paphlagonia, or any other province. Theodora's father, Marinos, is said by the 10th century continuator of Theophanes to have been ouk asemon tina e idioten ten tychen but that hardly implies great wealth. The same source says that Marinos was a "droungarios, or a tourmarch according to some", and it would seem likely that as in several other Byzantine examples, military service and hence attendance at court brought Marinos and his daughter to the Emperor's notice.[72]

Marinos appears to have played no further part in his family's lives and he may well have been dead before his daughter's Imperial marriage. Otherwise the careers of the rest of the family were clearly focused on Constantinople. Marinos' wife, Theoktiste, was created patrikia zoste, the highest female rank at court, by Theophilos. In Constantinople she founded the

73. ibid. 89-90; R. JANIN, Eglises et Monastères 67-8;
CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De Cer. I, 647-8.
74. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 204; GEORGE HARMARTOLOS, PG CX,
1124; R. JANIN, Eglises et Monastères 199-202, 206-7.
75. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 793-4; THEOPHANES
CONTINUATUS 147, 174; R. JANIN, Eglises et Monastères
141.
76. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 793; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les
Listes 331; J. B. BURY, The Imperial Administrative
System 60-62.
77. F. HALKIN, 'Saint Antoine le jeune et Pétronas le
vainquer des Arabes en 863 'Texte inédit)' AB LXII (1944)
198, 215-8.

Gastria monastery in a house that she had bought from the patrikios Niketas in the Psamathia quarter in the south-west of the city. This monastery rather than anywhere in Paphlagonia was the spiritual home of the family. As well as Theoktiste herself, Theodora and three of her daughters, Petronas and Bardas and his daughter, Eirene, were all buried there.[73] Bardas had a house close to the church of Theotokos Hodegetria near the Imperial palace,[74] while both Petronas and his niece Thekla had houses in Blachernai near the famous church of the Virgin which the Emperor Theophilos particularly favoured and visited once a week.[75]

Petronas himself was certainly a Constantinopolitan by career. During Theophilos' reign (829-42) he was bound to stay in the city since he held the important Constantinopolitan command of droungarios of the watch.[76] The city was also the home of his spiritual father, St. Anthony the Younger. In the later 850s Petronas fell very seriously ill. He turned first to a monk at the nearby Blachernai monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian. This monk, called Ephraim, had long been Petronas' spiritual counsellor but recently his own faith had wavered and he had only been able to persevere with his vocation through the support of St. Anthony who also lived close to Blachernai. Thus with his patron on the verge of death Ephraim asked St. Anthony to intervene. The saint did so and Petronas was cured. As a result of this experience St. Anthony became Petronas' constant spiritual guide.[77]

78. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 180-83.
79. G. A. HUXLEY, 'The Emperor Michael III and the Battle of Bishop's Meadow (A.D. 863)' GRBS XVI (1975) 443-50; see also 'Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii, Mitylenae in insula Lesbo' AB XVIII (1899) 252: the account is unreliable and derivative, F. HALKIN 'Saint Antoine le jeune' 200 n. 4.
80. ibid. 218-20; the accuracy of the Life is of course relative to the demands of the hagiographic genre.
81. ibid. 195-6, 220-23.
82. See supra n. 32.

In 863 Petronas, by then strategos of the Thrakesioi, took part as one of the most senior commanders in the defence of Asia Minor against a major Arab invasion. The 10th century continuators of Theophanes describe Petronas as timing for advice to a hermit on mount Latros in the Maeander region who prophesied a great victory.[78] However G. A. Huxley has shown that the accounts given by these later sources of the 863 campaigns are very misleading.[79] Clearly the preferable source is the 9th century Life of St. Anthony. This describes how Petronas' spiritual father came from Constantinople to Ephesos to aid his spiritual son at this moment of crisis. According to the Life, it was the saint who urged Petronas to disregard the Emperor's orders to remain on the defensive instead to bring the Arabs to battle.[80]

The great victory which followed made the reputation of Petronas and to a lesser extent that of his spiritual advisor, but it involved no lasting connection with the Thrakesioi. Petronas soon gave up the command and returned to Constantinople where he installed St. Anthony in his Blachernai house. Both died shortly afterwards in about 865.[81]

The evidence for Petronas and his family makes it almost certain that they had no prior connection with the Thrakesioi. He was an outsider to the theme, just as Leo's novel, drawn up at the end of the century, was to envisage.[82] He was appointed as

83. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137, 175.
84. ibid. 156-7, 175, 340; R. JANIN, Eglises et Monastères 498-9.
85. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 151, 156-7; R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 478.
86. See J. B. BURY, A History of the Eastern Roman Empire 156 n. 2; supra n. 67.
87. 'Vita Tarasii' 396; c.f. 'Vita S. Euphrosyne' AS Nov. III, 884.
88. 'Vita Tarasii' 403, 421; THEOPHANES 500; R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 480-81; IDEM, Eglises et Monastères 481-2.

a politically reliable member of the Emperors entourage linked to the regime in this case by close kinship ties.

Neither Constantine Kontomytes nor Symbatios are as well recorded as Petronas, but it is still possible to show that they were members of the same elite group centred on the Imperial court in Constantinople.

Constantine Kontomytes' place in this group can be inferred from the relationships of his extended family. His daughter married the magistros Bardas who was the son of the Patriarch Photios' uncle, the patrikios Arsaber, and of Maria, Petronas' sister.[83] The importance of Maria, the Empress' sister is evident enough, but the patrikios Arsaber was equally part of the network of Constantinopolitan families who staffed the senior ecclesiastical and secular posts. He himself had a house with porticos, baths and cisterns which later became the monastery of St. Phokas at Ortakoy on the European shore of the Bosphoros.[84] It was said that his natural brother was the Iconoclast Patriarch John the Grammarian, who also owned an estate near Ortakoy and was accused of practising sorcery in his brother's nearby house.[85] Arsaber's sister seems to have been Eirene, who married the brother of the Patriarch Tarasios and was the mother of the Patriarch Photios.[86] Tarasios, who was descended from a line of patrikioi,[87] also had a family estate in the same Ortakoy area where he built a monastery and was later buried.[88] Like Photios after him, Tarasios' early career was spent not in the church but working in the Imperial chancellry as

89. 'Vita Tarasii' 397; H. AHRWEILER, 'Sur la carrière de Photios avant son patriarcat' 349-55.
90. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 137; E. W. BROOKS, 'The Arab Occupation of Crete' EHR CXI (1913) 437-8; c.f. A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 89.
91. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 175; A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I, 219-222, 246, 367; La Cronaca Siculo-Saracena di Cambridge con doppio testo Greco ed. G. Cozza-Luzi, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, 4e Ser. II, Palermo (1890) 28, 101. •

a protoasecretis.[89]

Constantine Kontomytes was strategos of the Thrakesioi under Theophilos (829-42), and he achieved fame for one of the rare victories over the Cretan Arabs at this difficult period. However there is no certain date for the victory and hence not for the tenure of office either, but the most likely suggestion has been late in Theophilos' reign - 841.[90] Like Petronas, there is no question of Constantine being other than an outsider in the theme holding a temporary command. His presence in the Thrakesioi was only one stage in a career which centred on Constantinople. Constantine is next heard of in 859, far from western Asia Minor, as strategos of Sicily and it is then recorded that his daughter was married to Photios' cousin, the magistros Bardas.[91] The marriage would have brought him close to the ruling group around Michael III between 856 and 865, whose most prominent members were the Caesar Bardas and the Patriarch Photios. His commands in the Thrakesioi and Sicily simply reflect his membership of the Empire's ruling elite in Constantinople.

Symbatios' membership of the same ruling group is not in doubt. All the accounts agree that he was a patrikios, logothete of the dromos and married to the Caesar Bardas' daughter. His name, Symbatios or Smbat, suggests that he was of Armenian origin and it seems likely that he was part of the group of Armenian soldiers, officials and in general courtiers, living in

92. H. ACARYAN, Hayoc'Anjnanunneri Bararan IV, 537-65;
P. CHARANIS, The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire
Lisbon (1963) 21-8.
93. See R..J. H. JENKINS, 'The classical Background of the
Scriptores Post Theophonem' DOP VIII (1954) 13-30.
94. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 238, 240; Plateia Petra: see
supra 73.

Constantinople.[92] These included the future Emperor Basil I with whom Symbatios was closely involved in the assassination of the Caesar Bardas in April 865. However their alliance was shortlived and Symbatios soon rebelled against Basil's rise to power. This episode meant that Symbatios was bound to appear in the 10th century chronicles in a highly charged context which has obscured the facts of his career.

The Vita Basilii was produced in the mid 10th century to the orders of Basil's grandson, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos. It is a work deliberately intended to put the ruthless founder of the Macedonian dynasty in the best possible light, and thus has many of the idealizing characteristics of a secular hagiography.[93] According to the Vita Basilii, after the murder Symbatios became jealous of Basil's growing preeminence and refused to stay in Constantinople. Instead he asked for and was given the command of the Thrakesioi. At the same time another of the plotters, George Peganes, was appointed strategos of the Opsikion. Once in Asia Minor they both rebelled, but with no success. Symbatios was soon forced to surrender at the fortress of Plateia Petra and both rebels were taken to Constantinople where they were magnanimously pardoned and invited to the Imperial table. The Vita Basilii says no more but gives the impression that so reconciled they all lived happily ever after.[94]

The Logothete's chronicle, preserved in a number of variant

95. See H. HUNGER, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur
II, 349-51, 354-7.
96. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 828, 833-4; PSEUDO
SYMEON MAGISTER 676, 680.

manuscripts, gives a different account.[95] Symbatios had joined the plot to assassinate the Caesar in the hope of inheriting his father-in-law's dominant position at the Imperial court. In consequence he was bitterly angered by Basil's success, particularly when his request to be made strategos of an unnamed theme was refused and he was dismissed from the office of logothete of the dromos. Symbatios then allied himself with another discontented plotter, George Peganes, who was already strategos of the Opsikion. However their rebellion was rapidly suppressed and the fleeing Symbatios was captured by Nikephoros Maleinos in an inn at Keltzene (Erzincan) on the western edge of Armenia. Both Symbatios and George Peganes were then taken back to Constantinople, savagely punished and paraded through the city in public humiliation.[96]

The Logothete's chronicle was written late in the 10th century, over a hundred years after the event, but it evidently preserves a more accurate account of Basil's bloody rise to power than the dissembling Vita Basilii. The latter's account strains credulity. A man who had murdered and betrayed his way to the Imperial throne would hardly either have shown mercy to a defeated rebel, or have been so naive in the first place as to provide such a discontented rival with the forces for a successful rebellion by appointing him to command the Thrakesioi.

Other details of the Logothete's account also appear convincing. If, as seems probable, Symbatios was an Armenian,

97. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 238.

then with only blinding and amputation to be expected in Constantinople, he would naturally have fled east towards independent Armenia - hence his arrest at Keltzene. The Vita Basilii's story of a last stand at Plateia Petra could well reflect no more than the knowledge that that was the theme's strongest fortress.

It is therefore unlikely that Symbatios ever was made strategos of the Thrakesioi. However even the Logothete notes that he had asked to be given the command of an unnamed theme.[97] Whether or not the Vita Basilii is a reliable account of events it is still found to reflect the assumptions of a well-informed Byzantine. To the authors of both accounts Symbatios was exactly the sort of person who would be appointed to an important theme command.

Symbatios would have been an outsider in the Thrakesioi: probably an Armenian, and a man who had made his career in court circles. If excluded from Constantinople he had nowhere to go but back to the mountains of Armenia. As such it seems that he was typical of a number of prominent figures at court, including Basil the future Emperor who rose to power via service in Constantinople first to a well connected Imperial official and then to the Emperor Michael himself; also Basil's nephew, Asylaon, who after 867 is recorded as having retired to his house in Constantinople where he was later murdered by his servants, or Constantine Toxaras, another of the plotters, who was rewarded by

98. See P. CHARANIS, loc.cit. n. 92 supra; N. ADONTZ, 'L'âge et l'origine de l'empereur Basile I (867-886)' B IX (1934) 228-30.
99. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 312-3, 357, 359-60; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 854-5; H. GREGOIRE, 'La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas' Prosphora eis stilpona P. Kypriakiden Thessalonika (1953) 250-2; Gregoire himself thought that the version contained in the 'Phokas family history' was unreliable, see ibid. 232-50.

promotion to strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotai. The preeminence of these men, many of them Armenians, reflects their access to the Imperial court, rather than any landed base in the provinces.[98]

The last strategos of the 9th century was Nikephoros Phokas the elder, the second recorded member of this famous family. It is often doubted whether he in fact was strategos of the Thrakesioi, but since it is attested by those chronicles which draw on a Phokas family history there seems no strong reason to prefer the contrary account in the Logothete's chronicle.

Fragments of a Phokas family history have been preserved in Theophanes Continuatos Book VI and in the supplemented version of the Logothete's chronicle found in the Vatican manuscript, Vaticanus Graecus 153. According to this account, following a successful period spent in southern Italy during the later 880s, Nikephoros Phokas was recalled to take part in the Byzantine war with Bulgaria in the 890s. After one campaign he fell out with the Basileopater, Zaoutzes, who persuaded Leo VI to dismiss him. There followed a period of disgrace, but he was later recalled and given office as strategos of the Thrakesioi.[99]

The Phokades from Cappadocia have become in modern historical writing about Byzantium the most familiar example of a great military family whose power derived from a network of kin, clients and landed estates in their home province. By the later 10th century this certainly contained an element of truth, but in

100. ibid. 250-2; c.f. I. DJURIC loc.cit. supra n. 33.
101. NICHOLAS I, Letters 464-7, 510-13.
102. ibid. 510.
103. ibid. XV-XXVII.

the 9th century, on the contrary, it is far from clear that Cappadocian support played any significant role in the career of the elder Nikephoros Phokas.[100] Nikephoros always appears an able soldier whose contacts at the Imperial court won for him a series of high commands. Like Petronas and Symbatios before him, he would have been an outsider in the Thrakesion, imposed on the theme from Constantinople. The route to such a command lay in the Imperial court, not in the theme itself. There is no evidence to suggest that the Phokas family ever had a substantial interest in the provinces of western Asia Minor.

Little is known for certain about the strategoi of the 10th century. Between 912 and 925 the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos wrote two letters addressed to an anonymous strategos of the Thrakesioi; whether it is the same man addressed in each case is uncertain.[101] From both letters one can infer that their recipient knew Nicholas quite well, but this sense is strongest in the second where the strategos is called "a wise and God-loving archon and strategos who asks for the prayer of an old father." [102] Since Nicholas had spent most of his career in Constantinople, and gives no sign anywhere in his correspondence of having been to western Asia Minor, this apparent intimacy suggests a Constantinopolitan connection, but one should not press the point.[103]

The next attested strategos is Nikephoros Pastilas who went to Crete in 960 but was killed in a raiding party shortly after

104. LEO DIACONUS 8-10.
105. SKYLITZES 211; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 396; for Romanos Lekapenos see infra
106. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 151.
107. E.g. LEO DIACONUS 7, 24, 105, 111, 173; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 145, 147, 167, 259; ANNA COMNENA I, 63, 88, 113; ibid. III, 229.
108. See Notitia Dignitatum ed. O. Seeck, Berlin (1876) 5, 45-6; HIEROKLES 21-2; the civil administration of Asia did survive into the early Byzantine period and influenced some middle Byzantine terminology: see R.-J. LILIE, 'Thrakien und Thrakesion' 46; F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang - und Ämterstruktur 121-2, 130, 136; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 117, 338; J. B. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System III; PETER OF ATROA 124.

the army had landed.[104] Another member of the Pastilas family is known to have been a supporter of Romanos Lekapenos in 919, and he seems to have been a kinsman of John Toubakes, who was clearly one of Romanos' closest supporters. By 917-19 Romanos had been long established as a member of the Constantinopolitan elite and as commander of the Imperial fleet based in the city. It is likely that his closest supporters came from the same background, but there is insufficient evidence to prove this hypothesis and even less to speculate on Nikephoros Pastilas' place of origin.[105]

The final possible strategos of the Thrakesioi in the 10th century is a certain Ampelas who appears in the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos which was written late in the same century. The hagiographer tells us that the saint had no gold, silver, fine raiment nor wall-hangings; not because none were available but because he did not want them. "Ampelas and the other archontes of Asia" would have made him wealthy had he so wished.[106]

Starting with the identification of the "archontes of Asia", neither archon nor Asia has an exact definition in Byzantine useage. Asia was commonly used to indicate the eastern part of the Empire;[107] it could also be used to refer to western Asia Minor as opposed to central Anatolia, known as the east, the Anatole. This sense derived from late Roman administrative practice,[108] and had been maintained in

109. E.g. Notitiae Episcopatum 206, 310.
110. See Acts 6: 9, 16: 6, 19: 10, 31; Revelations 1: 4, 11.
111. See Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 14, 37, 81, 105, 129, 134-5, 145, 221, 239, 308, 537, 600, 657, 778, 779, 780, 781; the Synaxarium also uses Asia in a more general sense, ibid. 261, 347, 461, 729, 898.
112. See HIEROKLES Map II; infra
113. LEO DIACONUS 5; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 301.
114. PETER OF ATROA 69, 105, 125, 203; PAUL OF LATROS 105; LAZAROS 509, 521.
115. See M. ANGOLD, 'Archons and Dynasts: Local aristocracies and the cities of the later Byzantine Empire' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 237-8; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 342-3; A. P. KAZHDAN, A. W. EPSTEIN, Change in Byzantine Culture 62-3.

Byzantine useage partly through the current terminology of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, according to which Ephesos was the seat of the metropolitan of Asia,[109] and more important by the use of the term in the Bible[110] and in Byzantine hagiography.[111] In neither case did the original definition of Asia coincide with the boundaries of the Thrakesion,[112] but as centuries passed the association appeared quite natural and through the middle Byzantine period several authors used Asia as a synonym for the theme.[113] Among them were the authors of the Lives of St. Peter of Atroa in the 9th century, St. Paul of Latros in the 10th and St. Lazaros of Galesion in the 11th.[114] Almost certainly the author of the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos had the same sense in mind.

Archon can also raise problems of definition. There are signs that the term was being used in the 10th and 11th century to describe anyone who could be regarded as 'powerful'. However the primary meaning of the term, as used for example in Romanos I Lekapenos' chrysobull of 934, was someone who held an Imperial office. Prior to the increased prominence of theme judges in the 11th century this would generally have been applied to the officers of the theme army, and this is almost certainly who the hagiographer had in mind here.[115]

The Ampelas of the Life of St. Nikephoros is included among the archontes of Asia, but he is set apart by name. If they are the senior military officers of the theme then Ampelas may well

- 116. LEO DIACONUS 112-13; SKYLITZES 291-2.
- 117. LEO DIACONUS 113.
- 118. ibid. loc.cit.

have been their strategos. If so it is curious that the Life does not state this; however whatever his position the hagiographer evidently assumed that Ampelas was too well known to require further explanation.

The only Ampelas attested in the 10th century who might fit this description is a certain Symeon Ampelas, mentioned by Skylitzes and Leo the Deacon.[116] Symeon is described as a patrikios and a prominent supporter of Bardas Phokas. He was present when Bardas was proclaimed Emperor at Caesarea in Cappadocia in 970; later he deserted to Bardas Skleros and the Emperor John Tzimiskes, and the rebellion collapsed. This evidence alone shows him to have been a soldier but the case is made plain by Leo the Deacon who says of him that "by his courage and strength of his hands he yielded to no one in reputation for prowess and might"[117] - clearly qualities that could only apply to a military man.

Leo the Deacon also says that Symeon had reached his position not by any family influence - he was not of famous or noble birth - but had attained high rank through military achievement.[118] Since he was a close associate of Bardas Phokas in 970 the likelihood is that he had served in the theme armies and had come to the notice of one of the Phokades. In view of the Phokas dominance at court and among the eastern armies during the 950s and 960s which culminates in Nikephoros Phokas' seizure of the throne in 963, it would hardly be

119. See infra 401-24

surprising that a client of the Phokas family among the eastern armies would rise to high rank and office.

It would also be natural to find Symeon still holding a senior command after 970. His betrayal of Bardas Phokas had been decisive; he could expect no favour if the Phokades returned to power and his interest were now tied to the survival of an anti-Phokas regime. Symeon's rank of patrikios suggest a senior military command; the Thrakesion would be fully appropriate.

If this is the correct interpretation of rather meagre evidence, the career of Symeon Ampelas ironically echoes that of the elder Nikephoros Phokas in the late 9th and early 10th century. Conspicuous valour and military ability brought both to Imperial notice and thence to senior military command.

None of this material indicates where Ampelas came from. Even supposing the identity of Symeon with the patron of St. Nikephoros, the patronage of the saint need imply no local link. As with several figures mentioned in the 11th century Life of St. Lazaros, it seems to have been accepted for outsiders in the theme for a few years to visit the local holy man.[119] In this case the fact that St. Nikephoros was the ex-archbishop of Miletos must have added to the Saint's notoreity.

There is some much later evidence that an Ampelas family did come from western Asia Minor. In the 1250s the monastery of

120. EP II, 194-5, 201, 205; MM IV, 231.
121. See PETER OF ATROIA 207; ANNA COMNENA III, 169-71; PLP nrs. 806-17.
122. W. M. RAMSAY, 'Preliminary Report to the Wilson Trustees on Exploration in Phrygia and Lycaonia' in Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire ed. W. M. Ramsay, Aberdeen (1906) 250-51; = MAMA I (1928) 139-40 nr. 260; K. BELKE, Galatien und Lykaonien 156.

St. John on Patmos obtained possession of the monastery of Christ the Saviour on Kos which had been founded by a certain Kyr Nikephoros Ampelas. The monastery was only endowed on a small scale. The date of the foundation is unrecorded, but for the founder's name to have been repeated in documents of the 1260s suggests that it was within the memory of one or two generations. Later in the 13th century a Constantine Ampelas is recorded as one of the inhabitants of the village of Neochorion near Smyrna.[120]

However, Ampelas, derived from Ampelon, a vineyard, was quite a common name throughout the Greek speaking parts of the Empire.[121] Leo the Deacon's explanation that as Symeon was a cultivator of vines, he was called Ampelas from the name of his work, is clearly not specific to Symeon but holds for the name in general. There is no reason to think that all those called Ampelas were related. Before the first world war W. M. Ramsay saw a 10th or 11th century inscription at the village of Dedeler, 55 kilometres north-east of Konya, which referred to the son of Anpelas (sic). Ramsay wanted to associate this with the patrikios Symeon.[122] The grounds for the identification are very slight but in fact no less than those linking the Ampelas family to western Asia Minor. Even supposing that Ampelas was strategos of the Thrakesioi, there is no need on the evidence available to make him an example of a locally recruited strategos.

123. SKYLITZES 352, 355-6, 365.
124. ibid. 373; V. LAURENT, Vatican 92-4; IDEM, 'Legendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines' EO XXXI (1932) 331 nr. 5; IDEM, 'Le thème byzantine de Serbie au XIe siècle' REB XV (1957) 189-91; V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, 'Eine byzantinische Beamtenurkunde aus Dubrovnik' BZ LXIX (1970) 17.
125. SKYLITZES 384.

More certain is the evidence for the first known strategos of the 11th century, Constantine Diogenes, who made his career as one of the most outstanding and successful of Basil II's generals in the later stages of his Bulgarian war.[123] Following the Byzantine victory in 1018, Constantine was appointed doux, anagrapheos and pronotes of Bulgaria, which gave him the most senior military and civilian command in the conquered territories. As such he is recorded as defeating a Patzinak invasion in 1025/6.[124] After the accession in November 1028 of Romanos III Argyros, to whom he was related by marriage, Constantine was removed from his Bulgarian commands and made doux of Thessalonika. Shortly afterwards he was accused of plotting a rebellion. To begin with no attempt was made to arrest or punish him, but instead he was transferred from Thessalonika to become Strategos of the Thrakesioi. There, soon after his arrival, he was arrested and taken to Constantinople where he was imprisoned. An attempt to escape to Illyricum failed and in despair Constantine committed suicide, beating his brains out against his prison wall.[125]

The only narrative source for these events is the Synopsis Historion of Skylitzes compiled at the end of the 11th century using earlier materials. Skylitzes does not mention Constantine's patria but other accounts which continue Skylitzes' work to cover the 1060s and 1070s describe his son, the Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes as a Cappadocian, and it seems likely that the father too was by origin a Cappadocian. However both

126. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 122; ZONARAS 685; the date of Romanos' coronation, 1st January 1068, was the feast day of St. Basil of Cappadocia, ATTALEIATES 101; Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 364-6; in the summer of the same year he appears to be associated with the Cappadocian troops during the Syrian campaign against Hierapolis, ATTALEIATES 133; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 130; at the battle of Manzikert the right wing of the Imperial army was commanded by a Cappadocian, Theodore Alyates, who is described as synethes toi basilei, NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 115; the Cappadocians were also the last to flee, SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 149. After his release by Alp Arslan, Romanos went first to Cappadocia to raise an army in which Theodore Alyates was again a principal figure, ibid. 153; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 125 n. 5, 127; ZONARAS 704; ATTALEIATES 171; finally, after his defeat by Andronikos Doukas, Romanos retired from the Armeniakon back to Cappadocia and the fortress of Tyropoion where he made his last stand, SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 153, NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 127, ZONARAS 706, ATTALEIATES 171; F. HILD, M. RESTLE, Kappadokien 297-8. This apparent Cappadocian support may however be due as much to his earlier command of the theme and to the inhabitants war-like abilities and political interests in the face of the Turkish invasion, G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 652 nr. 3; K. M. KONSTANTOPOULOS, Byzantiaka Molybdoboulla tou en Athenais Ethnikou nomismartou Mouseiou Athens (1917) 354, nr. 622 a; F. HILD, M. RESTLE, op.cit. 84-105.
127. See infra 416 - 17 ; LAZAROS 536.
128. C.f. W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 79; V. LAURENT, Vatican 91.

Constantine and Romanos actually spent most of their active careers either at court or in the Balkas. Cappadocians may have played a prominent role in Romanos' reign,[126] but by contrast when Constantine attempted to escape from Constantinople shortly before his death it was to Illyricum that he headed rather than to Cappadocia. Evidently his best chance of asylum and support lay with the soldiers whom he had commanded with such success in the Balkans, rather than with any Cappadodian kinsmen. This would also explain his removal from Thessalonika and appointment to the Thrakesioi. Romanos Argyros must have feared that any attempt to arrest their famous commander would provoke a rebellion by the soldiers of the European armies. A transfer to the high ranking theme of the Thrakesioi would be difficult for Constantine to refuse, but once there he would be an outsider. Constantine must have had no previous link with the theme, and he was arrested before he could build up a following.

It is equally possible to demonstrate that the next known strategos of the Thrakesioi had had no prior attachment to the theme. Romanos Skleros is referred to as 'the strategos' in the Life of St. Lazaros of Galesion, written by one of the Saint's closest disciples, Gregory the Kellarites at mount Galesion within a very few years of the Saint's death in 1053.[127] In the mistaken belief that Ephesos and the whole of the west coast of Asia Minor was part of the theme of Samos it has been understood that Romanos was strategos of Samos.[128] However since it has been shown that mount Galesion, Ephesos and the

- 129. See supra 276 - 84.
- 130. LAZAROS 536.
- 131. ibid. 584.
- 132. ibid. 579.

coastal district was part of the Thrakesion, and since also throughout the Life of St. Lazaros the Thrakesion is regarded as the 'home theme', it follows that Romanos is much more likely to have been strategos of the Thrakesioi. Had Romanos been a visitor from Samos, Gregory would almost certainly have made this clear.[129]

The Life also provides quite good evidence with which to date his period of office. Romanos Skleros is described as visiting the saint and being struck by a blinding light as the holy father's sanctity is revealed to him. The passage is quite plainly intended to describe Romanos' first visit to the Saint.[130] Elsewhere in the Life we are informed that Romanos then told his sister, Maria Skleraina, of St. Lazaros and that through her brother she became a devotee. In turn she told her lover, the future Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos of this extraordinary holy man.[131] It therefore follows that if the Life is in anyway accurate, Romanos Skleros must have been strategos of the Thrakesioi before the earliest date at which it can be shown that Constantine Monomarchos knew of St. Lazaros.

That date can also be deduced from the Life of St. Lazaros, which contains a version of how Constantine Monomarchos, then in exile on the island of Lesbos, heard of his elevation to the Imperial throne.[132] The story, however, is contradicted by the monastic tradition of the Nea Moni on Chios, according to which the monastery's three founding fathers, Niketas, John and Joseph,

- 133. G. PHOTEINOS, Ta Neamonesia Chios (1865).
- 134. E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Les archives de Nea Moni' 269-70;
C. BOURAS, Nea Moni on Chios Athens (1982) 25-8.
- 135. LAZAROS 578-9.

prophesied Constantine Monomarchos' good fortune, in return for which the future Emperor promised them generous support should their words come true.[133] Constantine IX's lavish patronage of the Nea Moni is well documented but in fact this lends only a specious credibility to the story. The Nea Moni tradition is only preserved through an undated account known as the Hellenikon Hypomnema, which in turn only survives because of its publication in 1804, but probably dates in its present form to no earlier than the 16th century. Even if the Hellenikon Hypomnema accurately reflects earlier tradition it is still not a very convincing account of this episode. The Nea Moni version has the vague and fanciful character of hagiographical topos. Prophecies of future greatness were a standard component of Byzantine saint's lives and in fact it would have been rather extraordinary if the tradition of the Nea Moni, a genuine beneficiary of Constantine Monomarchos' patronage, had failed to credit the monastery's founders with this achievement. However, whereas the Nea Moni's version reads like a convenient pious invention, the story given in the Life of St. Lazaros is too peculiar not to be true.[134]

In the Life the story appears as part of a lengthy account of the disreputable activities of an unnamed monk who three times ran away from the monastery, to live, from the point of view of Gregory the kellarites, as a fraudulent holy man.[135] On the second occasion he reached Bulgaria at the time of the Bulgarian revolt in 1040. All those who followed his advice were promptly

- 136. ibid. loc.cit.; see SKYLITZES 409-14; PSELLOS I,
76-82.
- 137. LAZAROS 579.
- 138. SKYLITZES 423.
- 139. LAZAROS 579.

led to defeat and destruction. First the Imperial strategos who had joined battle on a day and time chosen by the monk was killed and his army virtually annihilated; then, after the monk had fled to the rebels, they in turn were defeated and their commander, Delianos, was blinded by his rival, Alousianos.[136] After this disastrous escapade the monk returned to mount Galesion, where St. Lazaros received him back into the community, but shortly afterwards he left again.[137] As a result he happened to be in Smyrna in May 1042 when the news arrived that the exiled Constantine Monomarchos had been chosen by the porphyrogenita Zoe to be her husband and thus the next Emperor.[138] The monk seized the opportunity and boarded the first boat for Lesbos. He spent the crossing forging a letter from St. Lazaros to Constantine which prophesied the latter's elevation to the Imperial throne. On Lesbos, he was admitted to see Constantine Monomarchos who read the letter, and promised a great reward for the holy father if what he had written were to take place. In due course Constantine did become Emperor, and the monk set out for Constantinople to claim the reward, supposedly on behalf of St. Lazaros. Later he returned to Smyrna laden with gold, spices and grateful letters for the holy father. At this point there is a lacuna in the text but it is clear that by the time the monk finally made his way back to the monastery to be received for the third time he had squandered or lost all that he had received.[139]

The story of this roving monk is told in the context of

140. ibid. 577, 579.

141. ibid. 579.

142. ibid.

various criticisms made by members of the Galesion community that St. Lazaros too easily admitted unsuitable persons to be monks.[140] Gregory the kellarites tells the story in such a way as not to discredit the Holy Father, but the implication remains, and finally he has to resort to saying,

"If some enquiring person asks how it was that the Holy Father received such a man back and how he did not know that he was again playing tricks, it does seem to me to raise a difficulty. For like Gehazi with Elisha and Judas with Christ, he was betrayed by one of his own disciples. We have heard this many times of the Apostles but never does anyone think of blaming these men of God for living with the wicked ..."[141]

Despite this disclaimer it is still plain that the episode does not show St. Lazaros in a good light. It shows dissension among the monks, reveals criticism of the Holy Father and shows that Gregory himself had doubts as to St. Lazaros' wisdom in this matter. The full implications of the story and of Gregory's desire to record it are probably only to be understood in the context of the now unknowable internal politics of the monastery, both during St. Lazaros' lifetime and after his death when the Life was being written. Later hagiographers of St. Lazaros were disturbed by the story, and in the late 13th century Life by Gregory of Cyprus and in the Synexarion version it has been replaced by a conventional tale of how St. Lazaros prophesied Constantine Monomarchos' elevation and how this brought Imperial patronage to the monastery.[142] For such a discreditable story to have been included in the original Life by someone who was present at Galesion when the events took place, it must have been essentially true. It can therefore be used as a fixed point to

143. KEKAUMENOS 49, 63; CYRIL PHILEOTES 112-17; P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century' in The Byzantine Saint 54-5, 56-8.
144. PSELLOS I, 142.
145. ibid. I, 126; SKYLITZES 423.

establish the chronology of the developing relationship between St. Lazaros, Romans Skleros, his sister and the Emperor Constantine IX.

When the deceitful monk went to Lesbos in May 1042, he did not claim to act on his own account but rather pretended to be from St. Lazaros and he spent the journey forging a letter from the saint to Constantine Monomarchos. Gregory the kellarites was not simply wishing to imply that even this charlatan would not dare to make a prophecy in his own right, since he had done exactly that in Bulgaria; rather it must have been because St. Lazaros was already well known to Constantine. Wealthy Byzantines were frequently pestered by wandering monks and would-be holy men,[143] and the monk from Galesion would have decided that he had little chance of gaining access to Constantine Monomarchos on his own account.

Elsewhere the Life records that Constantine knew of St. Lazaros through Maria Skleraina - who in fact had joined Constantine in exile on Lesbos.[144] She in turn knew of the saint through her brother. It therefore follows that Romanos Skleros' first meeting with St. Lazaros, at which time he was strategos of the Thrakesioi, must have been before May 1042.

Constantine Monomarchos was exiled to Lesbos by John the Orphanotrophos at the beginning of Michael IV's reign in 1034.[145] He remained there for seven years. John the

- 146. PSELLOS I, 125.
- 147. Compare KEKAUMENOS 51.
- 148. See W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 66.
- 149. SKYLITZES 372, 388; see W. SEIBT, op.cit. 66-9.

Orphanotrophos and his brother, the Emperor Michael would have been well aware of the close relations between Constantine Monomarchos and the Skleros family. Constantine's second wife had been a Skleraina,[146] and he spent his exile on Lesbos in the company of his late wife's niece, Maria Skleraina. This arrangement does not seem to have raised difficulties, at least with Maria's brother, Romanos.[147] In view of this association Lesbos would hardly have been chosen as a place of exile if Romanos was strategos of the neighbouring theme, nor is it likely that he would have been appointed to the command at any time during these seven years. Romanos Skleros' period as strategos of the Thrakesioi must therefore have been before 1034, and presumably during the reign of Romanos III Argyros. The younger generations of the Skleros family had been tainted throughout the reigns of Basil II and his brother, Constantine VIII, by the memory of the revolt of Bardas Skleros, but the accession of Romanos in 1028 marked a restoration of their fortunes.[148] By 1033 their influence was declining, and the victory of their Paphlagonian rivals, Michael and John, was marked in that year by the arrest and blinding of Basil Skleros, accused of plotting against the Emperor.[149] Between 1028 and 1033, however, it is quite likely that Romanos Skleros was appointed strategos of the Thrakesioi.

This solution to the chronology of Romanos Skleros' career has generally been disregarded in part through ignorance of the Life of St. Lazaros and also because of the assumption that Maria

- 150. C.f. ibid. 77-9.
- 151. PSELLOS I, 141-3; SKYLITZES 434.
- 152. SKYLITZES 488, 495; see W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 79-85.

Skleraina, and thus her brother too, was no older than her early 20s in the 1030s. This can be contradicted by the fact that Maria had been married and widowed before she became Constantine Monomarchos' mistress, which in turn predated 1034.[150] Michael Psellos says that she chose to remain with him when he was sent into exile in that year, and there is every reason to believe him since it is hardly likely that the relationship began while he was on Lesbos. In the 1030s Maria could well have been in her 30s. All that Psellos and Skylitzes reveal on the subject is that she was younger than the aged Empress Zoe.[151] Indeed it Maria was fairly advanced in years it would help to explain Romanos Skleros' acceptance of his sister's relationship with Constantine Monomarchos.

The only other evidence for Romanos' age is that he was the most high ranking supporter of Isaac Comnenos in 1057 and that he was rewarded by promotion to the rank of curopalate and possibly commander-in-chief of the armies in the west.[152] There is no evidence that he lived long after 1057, and possibly the fact that he is not mentioned in any account of the Balkan campaigns of 1064 may suggest that he was already dead. It would fit all

153. C.f. ibid. 76-85.
154. SKYLITZES 316-7, 321; YAHYA 372-3, 377-8, 398, 401, 419, 421; STEPHEN OF TARON 56-7; note also Bardas Phokas' offer in 987 to divide the Empire with Bardas Skleros, leaving the latter Antioch, Phoinikia, Koile Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia: SKYLITZES 336; see J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, 'Byzantine Anzitenene' in Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia ed. S. MITCHELL, Oxford (1983) 249-50, 273 n. 62; F. HILD, M. RESTLE, Kappadokien 153, 300-1.
155. SKYLITZES 488.

the evidence if Romanos Skleros had been born c. 1000, was appointed strategos of the Thrakesioi in his 30s and died shortly after 1057, in his 60s.[153] In the light of this revised chronology it is possible to reassess Romanos' career in particular his relationship with the Thrakesioi.

Romanos Skleros was the great grandson of the famous rebel Bardas Skleros of the second half of the 10th century. His great grandfather's power and influence had been to a large extent dependent on the support of the peoples of the eastern frontier, and one should probably imagine that during his career Bardas Skleros had established a network of kin, clientage and landed estates in this border region. Certainly throughout the revolt Bardas Skleros' main base was Harput in the Hanzit, one of the principal fortresses of the eastern frontier.[154]

All this assemblage was destroyed by Bardas Skleros' defeat in the civil war, and instead Skylitzes declares that Romanos Skleros was "one of the archontes who have their dwelling in the theme of the Anatolikoi" - that is some 600 kilometres to the west.[155] In surviving sources Romanos Skleros is only recorded on these provincial estates when he was either explicitly or effectively in exile from Constantinople. Thus in the 1030s when the Skleros family had been ousted from the Imperial court by the Paphlagonian family of Michael IV and John the Orphanotrophe, Romanos Skleros is found in the Anatolikoi where George Maniakes seems to have been encouraged to make things difficult. Skylitzes records

156. ibid. 427.
157. ibid. 381, 387, 397-8, 401, 403, 406-7, 422, 425;
PSELLOS II, 1-3; W. FELIX, Byzanz und die islamische
Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert Vienna (1981) 42, 143-9.
158. PSELLOS SM II, 101-2; see W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 83
159. SKYLITZES 488.

that Romanos Skleros was actually forced out of the theme in fear of his life.[156] The incident is dated to between 1032 and 1037. It was not until Maniakes seized Edessa in 1032 that this young general came to anyone's notice; and in 1037 he left for Italy and does not appear to have ever returned to Asia Minor.[157] About twenty years later, after Constantine Monomarchos' death in 1055, Michael Psellos wrote a letter to Romanos who was then living in exile on his estates.[158] He was still there in 1057 when he joined the revolt against Michael VI.[159]

These estates in the Anatolikon may have underpinned his finances, but they were clearly no assurance of either high office or even local power, as his ignominious retreat from the Anatolikon in the face of George Maniakes' aggression shows. High office could only be obtained in Constantinople, where it would depend on his relations with the Emperor and his immediate advisors. Maria Skleraina's relationship with Constantine Monomarchos was no doubt an advantage to Romanos, but his prominent career was far from being simply the result of his sister's influence. The Skleroi were an important military and political family, whose fortunes in the 11th century were temporarily marred, first by the hostility of Basil II and Constantine VIII, and then by the success of their Paphlagonian rivals. Under Romanos Argyros between 1028 and 1033, and after the fall of Michael V in 1042, Romanos Skleros and other members of his family could expect high ranking military and civil

- 160. See W. SEIBT, op.cit. 65-85.
- 161. LAZAROS 536, 584.
- 162. See infra 417-20.
- 163. LAZAROS 584-5; PSELLOS I, 147; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'St. George of Mangana' 241-3.

appointments.[160]

If Romanos Skleros' appointment to command the Thrakesioi was not the reflection of great landed power in the Anatolikon, even less was it any result of influence in the Thrakesion. The Life of St. Lazaros does not imply that either he or his sister were local figures;[161] rather they are included as evidence of the Saint's high reputation and links with the world of Constantinople.[162] The Life also makes plain that Maria Skleraina's grants of land and money to the Galesion monastery were from Imperial rather than private family sources, and this is confirmed by Michael Psellos who says that Constantine Monomarchos granted to Maria an income from Imperial funds so that she could make grants.[163] In addition, the fact that Constantine Monomarchos was exiled to Lesbos argues that this was not a region of Skleros family influence. It also follows from Constantine's place of exile that Romanos' period of office in the Thrakesioi was not considered to have created a significant interest in his favour.

Romanos Skleros thus appears to fit into a pattern of strategoi appointed to the Thrakesioi from among an external ruling elite centred on Constantinople. Romanos and others from the same group held high office as part of a cursus honorum appropriate to their family and political influence.

- 164. See D. SIMON, Rechtsfindung am byzantinischen Reichsgericht Frankfurt (1973) 7.
- 165. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 177-8.
- 166. C.f. W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 76.
- 167. V. LAURENT, Vatican 91.
- 168. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 178.

Finally, there are two references to a Romanos Skleros in the Peira, a collection of legal cases compiled soon after 1040.[164] In the first the protospatharios Romanos Skleros is said to have attacked some villagers and held them to ransom; in the second, the episkeptites of the protospatharios Romanos Skleros is said to have illegally seized the animals and property of certain villagers and given them to others. In both cases the magistratos Eustathios Romaïos gave judgement against Romanos and he was severely fined.[165]

W. Seibt has expressed doubts that this was even the same Romanos Skleros, on the grounds that Maria's brother was only a young man in the 1040s,[166] but again the revised chronology for his career resolves this difficulty. Proof is lacking but it is reasonable to assume that this was the same man.

V. Laurent, writing earlier but taking the identification for granted, believed that the Peira was referring to Romanos' period of office as strategos and also that these judgements were reliable support for the hostile tradition preserved by Skylitzes.[167] In fact, however, in neither case is it clear whether Romanos is acting in an official or a private capacity, and the hostile interpretation is not the only one to be made.

In the first case the Peira gives no indication of context, but the second it refers explicitly to "the episkeptites of Romanos Skleros".[168] An episkeptites could have been an

169. See P. GAUTIER, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliate' REB XXXIX (1981) 53; IDEM, 'Le typikon du christ sauveur Pantocrator' XXXII (1974) 119-21, 11.1496, 1510, 1532: these appear to be groups of lay estates; see also EP II, 20; F. DÖLGER, Finanzverwaltung 151-2; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 312.
170. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV 174-8, 242.
171. See for example PAUL OF LATROS 135.

official responsible for the assessment and collection of revenue on an Imperial estate - and there were several in western Asia Minor during the 11th century - but episkeptites may equally have been employed by private landowners to run their scattered estates. The Peira's reference to "the episkeptites of Romanos Skleros" would make better sense if he were Romanos' private agent.[169]

The Skleroi stand out in the Peira for the number of times they are mentioned and for the fact that they always appear in a bad light.[170] This may be the deserved consequence of their crimes, but the fact that the Peira was compiled during the period of Paphlagonian rule when the Skleroi were outcasts at the Imperial court suggests the possibility that the Skleroi were being denigrated for political reasons. In both the cases recorded by the Peira there is an obvious alternative interpretation to that presumed by the magistros Eustathios Romanos' judgement. Byzantine villagers would naturally have been reluctant to pay their dues, whether official taxes or private rents, and Romanos Skleros' actions may simply have been attempts to extract perfectly legal revenue from defaulting villagers. Particularly in remote mountain regions, of which there were many in Asia Minor, such punitive measures are likely to have been familiar methods of tax and rent collection.[171]

In view of the Paphlagonian hostility to their Skleros rivals, and of Romanos' inability to hold his own in the

172. DO 58.106.111.
173. C. DIEHL, 'De la signification du titre de proedre à byzance' Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger Paris (1924) I, 113-17; Diehl's conclusions are supported by the more extensive sigillographic evidence now available: e.g. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 253, 121-2; nr. 850, 448-9; nr. 876, 460 (see W. Seibt's note); nr. 891, 468; nr. 892, 468-9; nr. 933, 501; nr. 970, 527-8; nr. 1031, 566; nr. 1032, 566-7; nr. 1033, 567-8; nr. 1118, 620; nr. 1147, 643; see also EP I, 338, 344; LAVRA I, 258, 261-2; the high status of the title during the 1070s is illustrated by the figures of four protoproedroi surrounding the enthroned Nikephoros III Botaneiates in MS Coislin. 79 f. 2v, H. OMONT, Fac-similes des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VIe au XIe siècle Paris (1902) 32 and plate LXIV; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 123-32.

Anatolikon against George Maniakes, it is quite possible that Romanos Skleros was the victim of official persecution. If in these cases Romanos was endeavouring to collect revenue to which he was entitled and the Imperial judges repeatedly gave judgement against him, he would soon have found his local authority in his own land disintergrating. Such circumstances could well explain his retreat from the Anatolikon during the 1030s in fear for his life.

The two Peira cases, therefore, do not necessarily shed light on Romanos Skleros' period as strategos of the Thrakesioi, but they do again underline the importance of Constantinopolitan politics in provincial government and in the appointment of strategoi.

The last strategos about whom anything more than the name is known, was a certain Andronikos Aronios, whose seal has survived, naming him protoproedros and strategos of the Thrakesioi.^[172] The titles date his period of office to between the early 1060s and 1081. The terminus post quem is provided by the appearance of protoproedros as a court rank. It continued in use subject to a certain devaluation in status until about the mid 12th century. Several other strategoi and doukes are known to have been protoproedroi during these years, while the Turkish conquest and the fact that Comnenian commander of the Thrakesioi was a doux rather than a strategos provides a terminus ante quem.^[173]

- 174. ANNA COMNENA III, 88.
- 175. PSELLOS I, 79-82; ATTALEIATES 123; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 134.
- 176. See V. LAURENT, 'La prosopographie de l'empire byzantin', EO XXXIII (1934) 391-5.
- 177. SKYLITZES 255, 328-9, 350, 353, 359-60, 413.

During these two decades protoproedros was still a very exalted title, held only by the most senior officials and military commanders close to the Emperor in Constantinople. The title alone would have placed Andronikos Aronios in the highest court circles, but fortunately this can be confirmed through his surname, which is almost certain evidence that he was one of the descendants of the Bulgarian royal prince Aaron. Anna Comnena states that the Aronioi were a famous family and that they were related to the Bulgarian royal family.[174] Since Alousianos' son, Samuel, was called Samuel Alousianos in the Greek sources, it is a reasonable supposition that Aaron's descendants would have been named on the same pattern.[175] During the 11th century surnames became increasingly common among the Byzantine elite and it is likely that what was in one generation a patronymic, was continued by subsequent generations as a surname. The variants Aaron, Aronios, Aronios seem to be without significance.[176]

Aaron was one of the family names of the last Bulgarian royal dynasty before the Byzantine conquest, but the particular Aaron who gave his name to the Aronioi was the son of John Vladislav, the last basileos of 11th century Bulgaria.[177] After 1019 Aaron and his five brothers and two sisters moved to Constantinople where they were accepted into the Byzantine ruling elite. Of his three younger brothers, Traianos, Rodomir and Klimen, almost nothing is known, but the careers of his two elder brothers are quite well recorded. Prousianos was given the rank

178. ibid. 359-60, 372, 376, 384, 448.
179. ibid. 359-60, 41-4; LAZAROS 579; PSELLOS I, 79-83; but see also P. GAUTIER, 'le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator' 119.
180. SKYLITZES 448-54, 493-6; V. LAURENT, Orghidan 124; P. PEETERS, 'Vie de S. George l'hagiorite', AB XXXVI/XXXVII (1917-19) 135; M. LASCARIS 'Sceau de Radomir Aaron' Byzslav III (1931) 404-12; V. LAURENT, 'La prosopographie de l'empire byzantin' 392.
181. D. M. NICOL, 'Symbiosis and Intergration. Some Greco-Latin families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th centuries', Byzantinische Forschungen VII (1979) 113-35.

of *magistros* and appointed *strategos* of the *Boukellerioi*; however, in 1028 he was accused of plotting with the *porphyrogenita* Theodora, possibly with a view to marrying her and making himself Emperor. Michael IV imprisoned him in the Constantinopolitan *Manual* monastery where he became a monk in 1031.[178] *Alousianos* was made *patrikios* and sent east to be *strategos* of *Theodosiupolis*. In 1040 he abandoned his command and joined the Bulgarian rebellion; in less than a year he had betrayed the rebels to Michael IV on condition that he were promoted to the rank of *magistros* and given suitable honours. Nothing more is heard of him.[179] Aaron, by contrast, pursued a long and distinguished career in the Imperial service. Skylitzes refers to him in the 1040s and 1050s as *doux* of *Vaspourakon*, *doux* of *Edessa* and *doux* of *Mesopotamia*, and as commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces against the eastern rebels in 1057. Early in his career he may also have been *strategos* of *Sebasteia*, and he is last mentioned in the *Life of St. George Hagiorites* as Constantine X Doukas' ambassador to the king of Georgia.[180]

Aaron was a fully Byzantine aristocrat at the heart of 11th century Imperial politics. As with such later families as Raoul or Rogerios, who came to the Empire from the Norman world, Aaron's career is an impressive example of the way the Byzantine elite could assimilate foreigners who accepted their customs and were willing to provide loyal service to the Emperors.[181]

At various times Aaron had the high ranking court titles of

182. SKYLITZES 360.
183. ibid. 493.
184. ibid. 448.
185. P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 39; V. LAURENT, 'La prosopographie de l'empire byzantin' 392.
186. See P. LEMERLE, 'Roga et rente d'état' 77-100.
187. SKYLITZES 413; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 134.
188. SKYLITZES 360; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 219 and n. 7; PSELLOS SM I, 169; D. I. POLEMIS, The Doukai 58.
- 189.^a SKYLITZES 492-6; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 77; ZONARAS 660; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 108-11; there may also have been a link by marriage with the Kourkuas family: SKYLITZES 372.
190. ARISTAKES DE LASTIVERT, Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne trans. M. Canard, H. Berberian, Brussels (1973) 68, 89.

patrikios,[182] magistros,[183] vestes[184] and finally proedros.[185] These titles would have brought him a large official salary and given him a very prominent role in court ceremonies.[186] He also had ties of kinship with a number of the most important Byzantine families. His elder brother, Alousianos, had married someone with large estates in the Charsianon - possibly one of the Argyroi - and their daughter was the first wife of Romanos IV Diogenes;[187] his younger brother, Troian, was related by marriage to the Abalantes, Kontostephanos and Phokas families. Troian's daughter, Maria, married Andronikos Doukas, the nephew of the Emperor Constantine X, and was the mother of the future Empress Eirene Doukaina who married Alexios I Comnenos.[188] Aaron was also related to the Comneni via his sister Catharine, who was the wife of the Emperor Isaac I Comnenos. This latter relationship was of particular importance. In the will of Eustathios Boilas drawn up in 1059, Aaron is distinguished as the Emperor's brother-in-law. In 1057 Aaron had comanded the Imperial forces against Isaac's rebel army, even defeating him in pitched battle; in spite of this Isaac recognized his brother-in-law's ability and appointed him doux of Mesopotamia.[189]

Only one of Aaron's children is known for certain. His son Theodore was strategos of Taron in western Armenia and was killed fighting the Turks in the 1050s.[190] Anna Comnena mentions two further Aronioi, Radomir and another Theodore, who appear to have been Aaron's grandson by and illegitimate son. Both men, like

191. ANNA COMNENA II, 138; III, 14-16, 88-9, 91; M. LASCARIS, 'Sceau de Radomir Aaron' 404-12; DO 58.106. 3343.
192. M. LASCARIS op.cit. 406-7; THEOPHYLACT I, 124-5, P. PEETERS, 'Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale a l'époque byzantine' AB XL (1922) 273-4; KINNAMOS 284, 288; NIKETAS CHONIATES 144, 146-7.

their grandfather, were evidently part of the Byzantine ruling elite. Theodore is only known for certain for his part in the 1107 plot to murder Alexios I Comnenos, although he may possibly be the subject of an 11th century seal naming Theodore Aronios, protoproedros and doux; Radomir is well attested as an active and high ranking military commander.[191] Several other Aronioi are also known for this period but there is insufficient evidence to link them to other members of the family. These include a doux of Ani in 1042, a later 11th century recipient of two epigrams from Theophylact of Bulgaria who seems to have held a military command in Theophylact's diocese, an enigmatic prince Aronios who was resident in Mesopotamia in the early 12th century and a certain Isaac Aronios, who was an officer in the Varangian guard during the 1160s.[192]

In view of his surname, high rank and senior command, and the fact that he was active between c. 1060 and 1081, it is very likely that the Andronikos Aronios who was strategos of the Thrakesioi was either Aaron's son or grandson. Both are equally possible. In either case Andronikos would have been the descendant of one of the the most distinguished Byzantine generals and politicians of the mid 11th century. He would also have been related to a number of the most influential families of the Byzantine elite; in this company his Bulgarian royal blood would have been an added advantage.

- 193. See PEETERS, op.cit. 274 n. 1.
- 194. SKYLITZES 493-6.
- 195. ibid. 384.
- 196. ibid. 285; see C. MANGO, 'St. Anthusa of Mantineon and the family of Constantine V' AB C (1982) 405-6.

The provincial links of the Aronioi are obscure. The successive commands held on the eastern frontier point to a deliberate Imperial policy, isolating them from Bulgaria, and the presence of an Aronios in Mesopotamia in 1112, long after the Turkish conquest, suggests that some members of the family had established themselves there.[193] However, the conditions of the early 12th century were utterly different from those prevailing 50 years earlier and it seems more significant that in 1057 Aaron was opposed to the eastern rebels and appeared as the natural leader of a largely Macedonian and western army.[194] Skylitzes provides a small piece of evidence when he records that in 1031 "Prousianos was willingly tonsured as a monk and his mother was transferred from the monastery of Mantineon in the Boukellarion to the Thrakesion, and the patrikios Constantine Diogenes having been taken from prison was tonsured as a monk in the monastery of Stoudion".[195] Skylitzes' account is only a brief summary of political developments and he leaves the causal connection between these statements unexplained. However the monastery of Mantineon is known to have been a place of exile,[196] and the fact that Prousianos was willingly tonsured suggests that his mother's transfer may have been a concession. Hence there is the possibility that the mother of Prousianos and Aaron was being allowed to retire to an estate she owned in the Thrakesion.

The relationship between a political career in Constantinople and the possession of estates in the provinces

197. See supra 296.

198. See H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 67-78; N. OIKONOMIDES,
'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative' 148-50.

will be explored in the next chapter, but even if Aaron's mother did have such an estate its importance could not have been great. The fact that she was exiled there is proof that Romanos III considered her presence in the Thrakesion innocuous. Like Romanos Skleros in the 1030s or after 1055, away from the political world of Constantinople she could do no harm. Whether or not the Aronioi later owned any land in the theme, it should not divert attention from the fact that Andronikos Aronios' appointment to the command of the Thrakesioi is a reflection of his position in the Imperial elite. Andronikos may have had more previous contact with the theme than some of his predecessors, but otherwise he was another case of an outsider imposed on the Thrakesioi from Constantinople.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter,[197] by the time Andronikos Aronios was appointed to the Thrakesioi in the later 11th century major administrative developments had taken place which drastically altered the scope of a strategos' responsibilities. From the second half of the 10th century onwards the increasing prosperity of Byzantine society, the related demand for more effective legal judgements and confirmations of rights, changes in military strategy and organization had combined with a growing supply of educational Constantinopolitan officials to encourage the development of a new civilian administration in the provinces.[198] As the careers of Romanos Skleros in the 1030s, and Andronikos Aronios later in the century prove, strategoi continued to be appointed,

199. See G. WEISS, Oströmische Beamte passim.
200. See P. GAUTIER, 'Deux manuscrits Pselliens: le Parisinus Graecus 1182 et le Laurentianus Graecus 57-40', REB XLIV (1986) 45-110; IDEM 'Quelques lettres de Psellos inédites ou déjà éditées' ibid. 111-97; K. SNIPES, 'A letter of Michael Psellos to Constantine the nephew of Michael Cerularios', GRBS XXII (1981) 89-107; G. WEISS, op.cit. 243-302; P. CANART, 'Nouveaux inédites de Michel Psellos', REB XXV (1967) 43-60; J. DARROUZES, 'Notes d'épistolographie et d'histoire de textes', REB XII (1954) 177-80.

but they tended to become purely military commands and the civil responsibilities were increasingly taken over by theme judges.

Throughout the Empire more evidence has survived for the theme judges than for the strategoi. They were a highly educated, letter-writing group who corresponded with each other and with their former teachers and fellow pupils. Their private correspondence fills the 11th century letter collections and their official papers have left behind great numbers of the lead seals which certified them.[199]

The best preserved letter collection of the 11th century is that of Michael Psellos,[200] and this has been usefully exploited in combination with other materials, to study the careers of judges, their networks of friendship, favouratism and patronage and their place within the world of elite culture. Such work has shown that irrespective of whether they had been born in Constantinople they were all educated in the schools of the Imperial capital, and Constantinople always remained the focus of their careers. Once educated and having served an apprenticeship in the entourage of a senior official and possibly in the Constantinopolitan courts, they were sent out, often still in their 20s, to govern the themes. The more successful and success needed good contacts at the Imperial court - soon returned to Constantinople to serve in the central government offices of finance and administration. Others remained as theme judges, but always on short term postings, moving from theme to

201. See G. WEISS, op.cit. 13-27.
202. ibid. 50-64; M. MULLETT, 'The Byzantine Letter in Byzantium and the Classical Tradition 90-92; F. TINNEFELD' Freundschaft in den Briefen des Michael Psellos. Theorie und Wirklichkeit', JÖB XXII (1973) 151-58; for examples of a sense of isolation away from the capital in 'barbaris' provinces, see SATHAS MB V, Ep. 26, 261; Ep. 33, 268; P. GAUTIER, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos inedites', Ep. 11, 144-5.

theme. The seal evidence is particularly clear that a career as a judge involved serving in a number of different themes, often in widely separated parts of the Empire. Neither individuals nor families could expect long tenure of the same theme.[201]

In their provincial postings, ranging from Armenia to the western Balkans, the judges kept in touch with Constantinopolitan friends, exchanging highly polished and literary letters, and hoping to be recalled to an appointment in the capital. Many, possibly even most, judges had been born in Constantinople, but even for those who had first come to the city to be educated, Constantinople remained the centre of their world. Not only did their friends live there but it was the dominant centre of the literary culture to which they subscribed and the source of all official preferment. [202]

The authority of the theme judges was immense. They had taken over the extensive civil responsibilities of the strategoi, but they had done so at a time when demand for such jurisdiction was growing. Cases of land and inheritance, taxation and boundary disputes all came before the judge, who in consequence had at his disposal considerable scope for patronage. The letters reveal how this was operated in favour of both local petitions and Constantinopolitan friends who had landed interests in the theme. Indeed contemporaries regarded a period spent as a theme judge as an important means of building up a personal fortune; however the letters also show that the judges were concerned to spend this fortune in Constantinople rather than to

203. See supra 296 ; G. WEISS, Oströmische Beamte 50-64; for the patronage network see for example, SATHAS, MB V, Ep. 20, 258; Ep. 100, 343; Ep. 119, 367; PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 86, 114; Eps. 126-7, 150-51; Ep. 154, 177; for a judge expects to make a profit out of his period of office, see ibid. Ep. 55, 88.

establish a major following in the provinces. A young judge would hope to make a reasonable profit on his period of office and then return to the comforts of the Imperial city.[203]

As with the strategoi of the Thrakesioi, a great number of the theme's judges are only recorded by a single name and title, and of these it is still impossible to say very much; however, there are a number of judges of the Thrakesioi about whom more evidence has survived, and the careers and backgrounds of these men confirm for the Thrakesioi what has been observed of judges in studies of the Empire as a whole.

The best known judge of the Thrakesioi is Michael Psellos himself who was the theme judge for a short period, early in his career. Michael Psellos was born in Constantinople in 1018. Later in life he would pretend that he was from an ancient and famous lineage, including many patrikioi, but his own writings reveal the truth. The Pselloi were a middle ranking Constantinopolitan family, with guild connections and possibly once silver smiths, but certainly never wealthy or distinguished. Michael Psellos was educated with a legal career in mind, and after ten years primary and secondary education, he left Constantinople for the first time in 1034 aged 16 as one of the entourage of a theme judge setting out to take up office in Macedonia and Thrace. Quite soon Psellos was appointed judge in his own right. Before 1041 when he returned to Constantinople to join the Imperial chancellery, he had aged 23 already served as judge of the

204. See G. WEISS op.cit. 21-5, 77-90; see also P. GAUTIER, REB XXXIII (1975) 326-7; Weiss is mistaken in thinking that Psellos was also judge of the Armeniakoi; pretensions to distinguished ancestry: SATHAS, MB V, 9; judge of the Thrakesioi: ibid. Ep. 180, 459-60; the Boukellarioi: PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 65, 99.
205. SATHAS, MB V, Ep. 29, 264; PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 124, 148-9; Ep. 250-51, 299-300; H. AHRWEILER, 'Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe-XIe siècles'. ZRVI X (1967) 26-7; G. WEISS, op.cit. 77-90.
206. P. GAUTIER, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos' 179-80.
207. PSELLOS, MB V, Ep. 47, 279-80.
208. ibid. Ep. 51, 282-3.

Thrakesioi and the Boukellarioi.[204]

Later in his career Michael Psellos can be seen to have amassed a considerable fortune partly in estates and Charistikaria in the provinces, but this was wholly marginal to his real interests. His career turned on the developments of Constantinopolitan politics and he was a man who could only have been content in the capital.[205]

Several further judges of the Thrakesioi are known through Michael Psellos' letters. Unfortunately most of the judges who corresponded with Psellos cannot be otherwise identified, although a certain Sergios, to whom two letters as judge of the Thrakesioi have survived, was certainly one of Psellos' former pupils.[206] More important are the two letters addressed to a Xeros judge of the theme. One is a request on behalf of a recently appointed notarios in the theme;[207] the other is a more literary letter apologizing for failure to write more often.[208] The second, calling Xeros "most exalted proedros and beloved brother", is particularly revealing of their shared culture. Psellos clearly revelled in the display of his knowledge, and expected Xeros to appreciate it.

The Xeros family is well known, and apart from these letters a great deal of other evidence has survived to shed light on their activities. The particular addressee of Michael Psellos cannot as yet be identified, but in general the Xeroi were a

209. E.g. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 327, 156-7; IDEM, Vatican nr. 111, 112-14.
210. See the remarks, of great importance for Byzantine prosopography, in A. KAZHDAN, J. LJUBARSKIJ. 'Basile Malèses encore une fois', Byz Slav XXXIV (1973) 219-20; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'The Usual Lead Seal' DOP XXXVII (1983) 147-57.
211. N. BEES, 'Zur Sigillographie der Themen Peloponnes und Hellas' VV XXI (1914) 195-6; V. LAURENT, Vatican 114.
212. See V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 7, 7-8; nr. 327, 156-7; G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 191; St. Panteleemon 57-8.
213. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 48, 188-9.
214. N. P. LICHACEV, Istoričeskoe značenie italogrečeskoj ikonopisi izobrazenija Bogomaleri St. Petersburg (1911) Appedix nr. 23, 30; DO 55.1.3412; F2222.
215. Laura I, 273-4; Esphigmenou 55, 57-8; F. DOCKER, Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges Munich (1948) nr. 120.
216. DO 55.1.3404.
217. N. P. LICHACEV, op.cit. Apendix, nr. 17, 35; V. LAURENT, 'Les bulles metrique dans la sigillographie byzantine', Hellenika V (1932) nr. 260, 150.
218. SATHAS, MB V, Ep. 47, 279-80; Ep. 51, 282-3.
219. See infra nn. 220-23.
220. E. KURTZ, Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios Leipzig (1903) 12-13, n. 20; E. FOLLIERI, 'Le Poesi di Cristoforo Mitileneo come fonte storica' ZRVI VIII (1964) 142.

large and distinguished family, who could have been expected to produce theme judges.[209]

The significance of the Xeros family has in the past been obscured by two major errors. One, so common in Byzantine prosopography, has been the merging of evidently separate individuals into imaginary conglomerate careers;[210] the other, possibly more serious, has been to imagine that the Xeroi were a provincial dynasty from Greece.[211] There was not a single very successful individual called Basil Xeros and another called John Xeros, but at least four Basils and probably two Johns. It is not a case of two extraordinary men, but of a family which had established itself in the Empire's civil government and administration. Throughout the 11th and early 12th century members of the Xeros family are frequently found as officials, above all in the chancellery and the Genikon,[212] and as judges, both in Constantinopolitan courts[213] and sent out into the provinces. Away from the capital Xeroi are recorded as judges of the Anatolikoi,[214] the joint theme of Boleron, Strymon and Thessalonika,[215] the Boukellarioi,[216] the Kibyrrhaiotai,[217] the Thrakesioi - as known from Michael Psellos' letters[218] - and of Hellas and the Peloponnese.[219]

The latter post does appear more frequently in the surviving evidence than the others. As well as one Basil Xeros, a judge of Hellas in the 1040s who won Christopher of Mitylene's opprobrium by his harsh exactions in the theme,[220] another Basil

221. G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigilographie 715 nr. 2; DO 55.1. 3407/8.
222. V. LAURENT, Vatican nr. 111, 112-4.
223. 'Vita Meletii' ed. B. Vasilevskii, Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik VI/2 (1886) 59-60.
224. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 327, 156-7.

was also judge in the 1080s,[221] a John Xeros was dioketes of the Peloponnese; [222] while in the Life of St. Meletios, the saint is recorded as prophesying the approaching end of a John Xeros, who may or may not have been the same man, and who the Life refers to as Peloponnēsion ta prōta pheromenoi. [223]

This has been interpreted as evidence that the Xeroi were a provincial family from this region of Greece, but in fact the Life is only referring to a senior official, such as a dioiketes for example, who could have come from anywhere. Hellas and the Peloponnese is well represented in the evidence for the Xeros family, but this should be set against the fact that because Greece was not conquered by the Turks in the 11th century and has mostly remained christian and Greek speaking to the present day, more seals, documents and saints' lives have been preserved from this region than for other parts of the Byzantine world. When this bias in the surviving sources is taken into account it is no longer of great significance that several members of this large family served in the theme. In theory they are just as likely to have had provincial origins in any of the other themes the various Xeroi administered.

In fact however the evidence is quite that whatever distant provincial origins the Xeroi may have had, in the 11th century they were a Constantinopolitan family. Their most successful members in that period included Basil Xeros who was proedros and logothete of the Genikon,[224] the magistros Xeros whose

225. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 48.
226. ANNA COMNENA III, 70.
227. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 7, 7-8; St. Panteléemon 57-8; J. BIDEZ, Michel Psellos Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs VI, Brussels (1928) 207; the protonobelissimos John Xeros dates from the late 12th century and is not the same man, W. SEIBT, Österreich nr. 155, 290-92; c.f. V. LAURENT, Vatican 113.
228. See P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 281-308; IDEM, Cinq Etudes 207-8, 227-35, 241-2; W. WOLSKA-CONUS, 'Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque', TM VI (1976) 237-8, 242-3; IDEM 'L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit a Byzance au IXe siècle: Xiphilin et Psellos' TM VII (1979) 1-103; some secondary education was available outside Constantinople, but its scope appears to have been limited and it was recognized that aspirants to high office needed an education in the capital, SATHAS, MB IV, 426-9; P. GAUTIER, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliat' 12, 19-21.
229. E.g. the career of Michael Ataleiates and his son Theodore: P. GAUTIER, op.cit. 17-19, 27-30, 117; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 119.
230. C.f. V. LAURENT, Vatican 113.
231. DO 55.1.3412.
232. N. P. LIKHACEV, Istoričeskoe Appendix, nr. 17, 35 and plate VIII.

judgements are quoted in the Peira,[225] the Xeros who before falling from grace in the Anemas plot was eparch of the city,[226] and, perhaps most notable of all, John Xeros, who headed the Imperial chancellry in the 1070s as protoasekretis and protomystikos, and bore the rank of protoproedros.[227] Such posts entailed their holders living in Constantinople, and since one could hardly have reached these heights without the necessary education and experience - both only obtainable in Constantinople - or without influential backing, they must have lived in the Imperial city for some time.[228] It follows from this that their families would have been born in Constantinople and so the next generation of judges and officials would in due course have been educated there.[229]

Although it was probably the common pattern, the evidence has not survived to show one of the Xeroi serving first as a theme judge and then returning to Constantinople to take up a post in central government.[230] However the evidence does show at least one member of the family leaving a post as a theme judge to become theme judge elsewhere. The Xeros whose first seal omits his first name and describes him as spatharios, chrysotriklinos and judge of the hippodrome and the Anatolikoi, bearing an image of the enthroned Theotokos on the obverse,[231] is the same Xeros whose seal, again with no first name, but with the same layout on the die and same image of the enthroned Theotokos, reads magistros and judge of the Kibyrrhaiotai.[232]

233. DO 59.109.2476; DO 55.1.3055.
234. See V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 846, 447; nrs. 849-50, 448-9; nr. 882, 463; nr. 1031, 566; IDEM, Vatican nr. 83, 72-3; EO I, 347-9; DO 55.3052, F330: John Hexamilites, patrikios, hypatos, judge of the hippodrome and the Opsikion; DO 58.106.5507: Michael Hexamilites, kensor, judge of Paphlagonia; George Hexamilites: J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers Ep. 46, 376-7; he may be the judge of the Aegean addressed in other letters, ibid. Ep. 40, 372-3; Ep. 47-8, 377-8.
235. P. GAUTIER, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos' 179.
236. See V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 229.
237. E.g. P. GAUTIER, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliat' 12; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 76 n. 8; c.f. E. TSOLAKES, 'Aus dem Leben des Michael Attaleiates', BZ LVIII (1965) 5-6.
238. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/I, 229-31; Notitiae Episcopatum Not. X, nr. 53 et passim; PSEUDO SYMEON MAGISTER 615; G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I, nr. 270, 347-8; nr. 2532, 1370 (dioketes).

Another judge of the Thrakesioi, who appears by his rank to have held office in the 1060s or 1070s, was Sergios Hexamilities.[233] The Hexamilitai were a similar Constantinopolitan family to the Xeroi, serving in the central government offices and as judges of the themes.[234] It is possible that Sergios Hexamilites was the Sergios of Michael Psellos' letter to a judge of the Thrakesioi of that name,[235] but otherwise the Hexamilitai do not appear among Psellos' correspondants. However they are well attested by seals, document witness lists and other references.

Sergios Hexamilites' status as an outsider among the Thrakesioi can be inferred on both general and particular grounds. On the former various Hexamilitai, like the Xeroi, are recorded as judges of the Constantinopolitan courts of the velum and the hippodrome, and as officials of the central government bureaux, resident in the capital. As with the Xeroi, a family could not have obtained such a concentration of high ranking posts in Constantinople over successive generations without having established a base of power, wealth and influence in the Imperial city. The family name is likely to derive from the town of Hexamilion on the Thracian side of the Dardanelles,[236] but, as with other Byzantine families, a surname derived from a place-name is no sure guide to their subsequent role.[237] Hexamilion in the 11th century was a small port and a minor bishopric, although earlier in the 8th century it had been the seat of a kommerkiarios.[238] Some such post may have lain behind the

239. P. GAUTIER, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator'
117.
240. IDEM, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos', 179 n. 1; G. WEISS,
Oströmische Beamte 71-6, 83-9.
241. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 882, 463.
242. DO 55.1.3055.
243. DO 59.109.2476.
244. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 849, 448.
245. ibid. nr. 850, 448-9.
- 246.⁹ See supra n. 173.

family's original rise, but by the later 11th century Hexamilion was certainly no longer the centre of their interests. During this period the port was owned by the Synadenos family from whom it passed to John II Comnenos' foundation of Christ Pantokrator.[239] Nothing in this should divert attention from Constantinople as the family's home and the source of their power.

Sergios Hexamilites himself is one of the best known men of his generation outside the Imperial family; and his career well illustrates the way in which a theme could be governed by men who otherwise spent their lives in Constantinople. Sergios was probably born in the 1020s or 1030s. Whether or not his teacher was Michael Psellos, Sergios would have been educated in Constantinople at a time when Psellos was active in the Schools.[240] His earliest surviving seal shows him as a protospatharios, an Imperial notary and a judge of the hippodrome;[241] he was next promoted to the rank of vestes and raised to the senior Constantinopolitan court of the velum. At this point, probably in the 1060s or early 1070s, he was sent out from Constantinople to be judge of the Thrakesioi.[242] Whilst there he was made vestarch,[243] and after his return to Constantinople[244] he was further promoted to the rank of protoproedros.[245] Sergios held this rank in the 1070s when a protoproedros was one of the most senior figures in the order of precedence; and it is clear that he was one of those closest to the Imperial throne.[246] His importance was confirmed, first

247. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 1031, 566; DO 59.109.2475; N. OIKONOMIDES 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative' 135.
248. ibid. 132-3; C. DIEHL, 'Un haut fonctionnaire byzantin: le logothete ton sekreton', Mélanges N. Jorga Paris (1933) 217-29; the earliest reference to the logothete does not give a name, and Sergios is first attested at the trial of John Italos in March 1082: Lavra I, 240; T. H. USPENSKIJ, 'Deloproizvodstvo po obvieniyu Ioanna Itala v eresi', IRAIK II (1897) 42; Sergios is also attested in July of the same year: J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 296-8; it is therefore possible that he was not the first logothete of the Sekreta. (Gautier appears to have confused the year. A.M. 6590, indication 5, runs from 1st September 1081 to 31st August 1082: c.f. P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode des Blachernes' 238).
249. In May 1088 the logothete of the sekreta is described as Megaloepiphanestatos protonobelissimos, but the document, a pittakion of Anna Dalassena, gives no name, EP I, nr. 49A, 344; protonobelissimos would have been an appropriate promotion from protoproedros hence this could well have been Sergios Hexamilites. A praktikon drawn up in August 1088 was registered by an unnamed logothete of the Sekreta in the following March, EP II, nr. 51, 40: again this may still have been Sergios Hexamilites.
250. J. B. PITRA, Juris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta II, Rome (1868) 450; P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode des Blachernes' 237-8.
251. DO 55.1.3043-4; patrikios, anthypatos.

when he was appointed dikaiophylax and eparch, which effectively placed him at the head of the government of Constantinople and its law courts,[247] and second, shortly after the coup which brought Alexios Comnenos to power in April 1081, when he was made overall head of the civil administration with the newly created post of logothete of sekreta.[248] It cannot be determined how long Sergios Hexamilites held this post,[249] although his successor is not attested until 1090.[250] Whatever the period of office, during that time he would have been among the most important figures of the Comnenian regime.

Sergios Hexamilites' career is only understandable in terms of an elite group of Constantinopolitan civil servants, whose power and interests were focused on the Imperial city. There can be no question that provincial support among the Thrakesioi did not play a significant part in either his career or that of his family, and consequently his appointment to be judge of the Thrakesioi was part of a cursus honorum focused on Constantinople. The Thrakesioi had as their judge a man passing through the theme on his way to higher office.

Other families are not so well documented as either the Hexamilitai or the Xeroi. The Gymnoi, for example, produced judges in the 11th and 12th century, including a certain Peter Gymnos who was judge of the Thrakesioi probably in the first half of the 11th century.[251] The evidence has not survived to demonstrate anything of their background. The Nikephoros Gymnos

252. Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae ed. J. Noret, Louvain (1982) 77-8.
253. Esphigmenou 55, 57-8.
254. NIKETAS CHONIATES 72-3.
255. PAUL OF LATROS 135.
256. See infra 415-16.

who lived as an ascetic in the Calabrian mountains of southern Italy during the 10th century is quite probably unrelated;[252] more likely to be of the same family are the protospatharios Theodore Gymnos, who owned land in the Chalkidike near Athos in the earlier 11th century,[253] and the Gymnos who was apparently judge and anagrapheos of Corfu in 1147.[254] All that can be stated is that the evidence does not point to a local family from western Asia Minor, and would not contradict a Constantinopolitan background.

Aside from the evidence of seals and document signatures, Saints' Lives also occasionally mention theme judges. In the late 10th century St. Paul of Latros was credited with the posthumous miracle of freeing some villagers being taken prisoner to the judge of the Thrakesioi.[255] The judge is unnamed but perhaps significantly St. Paul, protector of the local community, is imagined taking the side of the villagers, even though they were guilty, against the judge.[256]

Three theme judges appear in the Life of St. Lazaros of mount Galesion, written shortly after 1057, and in each case the evidence is quite clear that these were outsiders, only in the Thrakesion for a short period of office.

The three are each called Nikephoros. The first was Nikephoros Kampanares to whom St. Lazaros sent a letter warning him of an impending uprising. At the time this meant nothing to

257. LAZAROS 539-40; SKYLITZES 418, 420; PSELLOS, I, 109-12.
258. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR IV, 87.
259. ibid. 94; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 321; he may have been the guardian of the chain across the Golden Horn, see R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 457-8.
260. A seal of a Nikephoros Kampanares was found in 1928 in the ruins of a monastery at Golçuk, on the southern shore of the gulf, south-west of İzmit, V. LAURENT, 'Sceaux byzantins', EO XXIX (1930) nr. 111, 319-23.

Kampanares, but shortly afterwards the rebellion broke out which toppled Michael V. On the 19th April 1042 Michael sent the Empress Zoe into exile. The eparch of the city, Anastasios, was stoned while trying to read the proclamation. Two days later, Michael and his uncle Constantine had been driven from the palace, and Nikephoros Kampanares had replaced Anastasios as eparch.[257]

The evidence from both the Life of St. Lazaros and the account given by Skylitzes of these events is quite clear that Nikephoros was a Constantinopolitan. He was living in the city before he became eparch, a post which under any circumstances demanded someone familiar with Constantinople, but particularly so on the 21st April 1042, when the citizens had attacked the previous eparch, besieged the palace and dethroned the Emperor.

Other evidence associates the Kampanares family with Constantinople and with the Imperial legal and civil service. The Peira, referring to the 1020s, mentions a Kampanarios who was a senior Constantinopolitan judge;[258] a Kampanarios is also mentioned as the epitropos of Galata, which may be an equivalent post to either the judges or the geitoniarchai of the twelve urban regions.[259] Either of these may have been Nikephoros.[260] A Michael Kampanares appears on a seal, dated by Seibt to the third quarter of the 11th century, as a primikerios; another seal, but possibly of the same Michael Kampanares, names him judge of the Peloponnese. A date in the

261. W. SEIBT, Österreich nr. 62, 174-5; G. SCHLUMBERGER, 180, 629 nr. 1; the variant spellings Kampanares/Kampanarios appear to be without significance, see SKYLITZES 420 and apparatus.
262. LAZAROS 540.
263. ibid. 541.

1060s to 1080s has been suggested.[261] The association between St. Lazaros and such a prominent figure in Constantinople must have appeared out of the ordinary, because the Life goes on to explain that Nikephoros Kampanares knew the Saint because he had in the past been strategos of the Thrakesioi.[262]

The second theme judge is Nikephoros the son of Euthymios who was exiled in 1050 by Constantine IX Monomarchos. Several years earlier he had been judge of the Thrakesioi, and during his period of office had met the holy father. Now in 1050, wandering in exile, he came across a monk from the Galesion monastery whom Nikephoros sent with a message to St. Lazaros asking for his prayers. The saint prophesied that Nikephoros would soon be recalled, and so it turned out; shortly afterwards Nikephoros wrote again to the holy father, thanking him and sending him three litrai in gratitude.[263]

The Life itself is not specific about Nikephoros' background, but it does imply that he was not a local figure, but rather a Constantinopolitan who had held temporary office in the theme. The Life depicts Nikephoros in exile from the Imperial city as an isolated figure, cut off from his previous influence and support. There is no implication whatsoever that he had any interest amongst the Thrakesioi to which he could turn. Making contact with St. Lazaros was a fortuitous act of desperation.

- 264. SKYLITZES 602.
- 265. LAZAROS 543.
- 266. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS DAI 232-4, 256.
- 267. F1533.

In this case, however, it is unnecessary to rely on inference because the incident is also report by Skylitzes:

"At this time [c. 1050] he [Constantine IX Monomarchos] made a tyrannical attack on *τινων ἀρχόντων πολιτῶν* whose leaders were Nikephoros and Michael, the children of Euthymios, and several others belonging to the same family." [264]

This is the clearest of statements confirming the evidence of the Life of St. Lazaros that Nikephoros was one of the Constantinopolitan elite; and the focus of his career, family and supporters was the Imperial city rather than anywhere in the provinces. As judge he had been in the Thrakesion as an outsider, and had presumably moved on to another post in Constantinople or elsewhere.

The third theme judge in the Life is Nikephoros Proteuon who visited St. Lazaros during his term of office. He attempted to display his piety by walking up the mountain and made some remark to this effect to St. Lazaros. The saint was not impressed and Nikephoros Proteuon was duly abashed. Evidently for such a grandee to go on foot was worthy of comment. [265]

The Proteuon family included a John Proteuon who was strategos of the Peloponnese for a short period in the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos, [266] and another Proteuon who was strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotai, possibly at about the same time; [267] in the 11th century they held high civil and legal office in

268. F699.
269. V. LAURENT, 'Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines', EO XXXI (1932) 342-3; DO 55.1.3276; F495.
270. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 1109, 614.
271. ibid. nr. 838, 443.
272. SKYLITZES 478; ZONARAS 650; Kouzena: LAZAROS 535, 539; SATHAS MB V, Ep. 68, 299-300.

Constantinople and in a variety of provinces: Theophanes Proteuon was judge of the Kibyrrhaiotai;[268] Theodore Proteuon rose from judge of the Armeniakoi,[269] to become kuaistor[270] and finally patrikios and judge of the velum.[271] As with the Xeros and Hexamilites families, the combination of high judicial office and a wide range of postings suggests a family well established in Constantinople and at court.

The Nikephoros Proteuon of the Life may be the man of the same name whom Constantine IX Monomarchos chose as his successor in 1055. At the time, however, he was absent from Constantinople, administering Bulgaria; before he could return to the Imperial city he was arrested and imprisoned in Thessalonika. He was later exiled to a monastery at Kouzena, near Magnesia on the Maeander in the Thrakesion.[272] Evidently the Proteuon family could expect no natural support among the Thrakesioi, otherwise Theodora and her advisers would hardly have sent him there.

This survey of the strategoi and judges of the Thrakesioi reveals above all the rather limited state of the evidence; yet there is sufficient to show that not only were the 11th century theme judges strangers to the Thrakesion, appointed from Constantinople and having no background in the theme, but that they were heirs to nearly four centuries of a very similar arrangement. When I began research into the strategoi and judges I was looking for evidence of their local connections; what I found was a cumulative picture of a province ruled by outsiders.

1. G. G. LITRAVIN, 'Otnositel'nye razmery i sostav imuschestva provincial'noj vizantijskoj aristokratii vo vtroj polovine XI v', Vizantijskie Ocerki Moscow (1971) 164-8; A. P. KAZHDAN, Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujsčego klassa Vizantii XI-XI vv. Moscow (1973) 226-37; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 9-11; A. P. KAZHDAN, G. CONSTABLE, People and Power in Byzantium Washington, DC (1982) 51.
2. G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium' DOP XXV (1971) 4, 6-8, 12-15, 18, 28-9; H.-G. BECK, Byzantinisches Gefolgschaftswesen Bayerisch Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-Hist. klasse, Sitzungsberichte 5, Munich (1965) 5-32; C. MANGO, Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome 50-54; the most recent English contribution deliberately ignores the issue: The Byzantine Aristocracy 3.
3. M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 38-9.
4. ibid. 39; see also ibid. 3-4.

CHAPTER NINE.

Unofficial Rulers? - landed magnates and
local power.

In recent years several historians have pointed to the fact that the evidence for a landed aristocracy in Byzantium is rather slight.[1] So far, however, the implications of this suggestion have had little effect on current research and it tends to be generally assumed that the ownership of great estates, and the establishment of associated networks of clientage, kinship and patronage, was a fundamental feature of the social and political life of the Byzantine Empire.[2]

In a recent survey of the 11th century it was said of the major political families, "Most ... had their roots and estates in the provinces ... They had great estates and were immensely rich; they possessed powerful households and had built up a network of clients. This in itself gave them a large measure of political influence, but it had to be safeguarded by some say in government ... To ensure this they needed the support of a series of groups, both in the provinces and in the capital." [3] Doubt as to the role of landed estates and provincial clients is implicit in the next remark that, "In the provinces they tended to work through the army ...", but this is not followed through. The impression is left that it was the possession of great provincial estates that provided one of the essential bases of political power. [4]

5. For the idea of the frontier zone as a society apart, see J. F. HALDON, H. KENNEDY, 'The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands', ZRVI XIX (1980) 79-116.
6. See supra n. 154.

This interpretation of 11th century Byzantium as a society divided between civilian Constantinopolitan officials and military landowners, whose power and influence in the capital ultimately derived from provincial estates, is certainly attractive; but so far the evidence quoted in support has almost entirely come from the world of the eastern and western frontiers. In any discussion of the Byzantine landed elite the names recur of the Phokades, the Skleroi, the Maleïnoi; other familiar examples are from the 9th century, Basil I's wealthy patroness, the widow Danielis, and from a later period, such Comnenian figures as Gregory Pakourianos and Leo Kephalas. It has also been too easily assumed that the possession of landed estates inevitably gave their owner political influence in the province where they lay. The possibility that this might only apply in certain areas such as the eastern frontier, and that elsewhere land might have been acquired as no more than an economic asset has been insufficiently considered.

The Skleroi, the Phokades and the related Maleïnoi certainly did exercise a considerable unofficial authority in the eastern provinces that made them a force to be reckoned with in the capital. Bardas Skleros, the rebel who nearly toppled the Macedonian dynasty at the end of the 10th century, had estates and households in the east, and throughout his rebellion could draw on considerable support from this region.[6] The Phokades and the Maleïnoi similarly appear to have owned lands in Cappadocia, and there is evidence to suggest that their kinsmen

7. Phokades: SKYLITZES 366; LEO DIACONUS 112-13; I. DJURIC, 'Porodika Foka' ZRVI XVII (1976) 226-8, 284-7; L. N. THIERRY, 'Les enseignements historiques de l'archaéologie Cappadocienne' TM VIII (1981) 506-7, 515-7; L. RODLEY, 'The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin', JÖB XXXIII (1983) 301-39; Maleinoi: THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 479; SKYLITZES 332, 340; YAHYA 373-4; 'Vie de S. Michel Maleinos' ed. L. Petit, Revue de l'Orient Chrétien VII (1902) 550-51, 557-8; W. B. R. SAUNDERS, 'The Aachen Reliquary of Eustathios Maleinos, 969-970', DOP XXXVI (1982) 212-14: see also J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 264 n. 24; the Maleinoi also owned property in Bithynia and Paphlagonia near the Sangarios on the main road to Constantinople, E. HONIGMANN, 'Un itinéraire arabe à travers le Pont', Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves IV (1936) 268-71; in the 11th century a Stephen Maleinos of Thessalonika owned a proasteia at Mesolimna near the city, Lavra I, nr. 46, 246.
8. * See supra n. 5; G. DAGRON, 'Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'orient byzantin à la fin du Xe et au XIe siècle: l'immigration syrienne', TM VI (1976) 177-216; G. DEDEYAN, 'L'immigration arménienne en Cappadoce au XIe siècle', B XLV (1975) 41-117; see also e.g. J. LE PATOUREL, The Norman Empire Oxford (1976) 63-5, 310-11; G. M. FRASER, The Steel Bonnets London (1971) *passim*.
9. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 227-8, 316-21.

and clients, also owning land and resident in the region, dominated local society.[7]

However, none of these families should be regarded as typical of the Byzantine ruling elite. They were instead outstandingly successful military clans who had made their fortunes on the eastern frontier where Byzantine Greek society came in direct contact with the intermingled worlds of the Arabs, the Armenians and the Syrians. In terms of people, territory and military operations, the frontier was a fluid zone, and as the Empire went over to the offensive from the mid 9th century onwards, Christian adventurers might hope to achieve wealth and power. Army posts and pay gave Byzantine commanders patronage to dispense, and a war which concentrated on raiding produced large quantities of booty. The Arab world was wealthy and the profits of war could be high. The result of these conditions was, as in so many other medieval and modern states, the creation of a distinctive frontier society. It follows that evidence taken from this region cannot simply be applied without question to the rest of the Empire. The Phokades, the Skleroi and others have to be treated as at least potentially exceptional cases.[8]

The eastern frontier in the 10th century was neither the only region of the Empire to produce such a phenomenon, nor the 10th century the only period. The extraordinarily wealthy widow Danielis, who acted as an early patron to the future Basil I,[9] came from the north-western corner of the Peloponnese which was a

10. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, DAI 228-36; KEKAUMENOS 32-4;
A. BON, Le Péloponnese byzantine jusqu'en 1204 Paris (1951)
27-70, 76-81.
11. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, DAI 126.
12. See M. ANGOLD, 'Archons and dynasts: local aristocracies
and the cities of the later Byzantine Empire' in The
Byzantine Aristocracy 236-8.
13. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 320-21.
14. P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 158-61. 164-74; P. GAUTIER, 'Le
typikon de Grégoire Pacourianos' REB XLII (1984) 33-4.

remote and warlike area in the 9th century. The De Administrando Imperio has preserved a record of the inhabitants of Patras fighting off a local Slav attack in the early years of the century, and there is every likelihood that the lack of sources hides a great deal more such warfare, not only against Slavs but also against Bulgars, and Arab pirates.[10] It was only during Basil I's reign that Imperial armies and fleets effectively returned to the Adriatic and western Balkans.[11] During the early insecurity, when Imperial help could not be relied on, one would have expected the rise of local leaders to exercise semi-independent authority and to reap the benefits in terms of personal wealth.[12] It is noteworthy that the heir to the widow's wealth was none of her kin, but the Emperor himself, perhaps underlining the return of this area to full Imperial control.[13]

Later at the end of the 11th century, the landed estates of Gregory Pakourianos and Leo Kephalas were similarly the products of dangerous and unsettled times. Gregory Pakourianos was a Georgian adventurer who with a retinue of native soldiers had spent a lifetime serving in the Emperors' wars. In the early 1080s he was an important supporter of Alexios I Comnenos by whom he was rewarded with extensive estates in Bulgaria and Macedonia.[14] Leo Kephalas was also one of Alexios Comnenos' supporters during this critical period. In the winter of 1082-3 when desertion and surrender threatened Byzantine control of the Balkans, Leo Kephalas played a vital role in the war against the

15. ANNA COMNENA II, 23-4; Lavra I, 258-9, 336-7; G. ROUILLARD, 'Un grand bénéficiaire sous Alexis Comnène: Léon Kephalas' BZ XXX (1930) 444-50.
16. ANNA COMNENA I, 130-31; II, 9-13; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 257-9; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 307-9.
17. P. GAUTIER, 'Grégoire Pacourianos' 57-9, 89-95, 165-7; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 184-6; note also Lemerle's description of these estates as "cette micro-société géorgienne installée en Thrace", ibid. 187.
18. Lavra I, nr. 60, 313-15.
19. ibid. nr. 46, 246-7; G. ROUILLARD, 'Un grand bénéficiaire' 444, 447-50.

Normans by holding Larissa for six months against Bohemond's army.[15]

In both cases Alexios may well have been giving his generals land in lieu of salaries and court titles because the treasury was empty and he had no other means to reward them.[16] The recipients' attitude is difficult to judge. Gregory Pakourianos died childless and the bulk of his lands went to found the monastery of the Theotokos Petritziotisa at Bačkovo. The typikon gives no indication as to the previous history of the estates, but it is plain that this was not to be a base for secular power hidden under a monastic disguise. Other members of the Pakourianos family existed but Gregory was explicit that they were only to be admitted as ordinary monks, provided the total number of monks did not rise above fifty, and they were in no way to compromise the independence of the monastery.[17] Leo Kephalas kept his estates during his lifetime, but in 1115 his son Nikephoros gave most of them to the Great Lavra.[18] One estate, that of Mesolimna near Thessalonika, had been owned before 1078 by Stephen Maleinos; it had then passed into the hands of the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates who gave it to "the Frank Oto" and Leo Vaaspourakanites. Before 1084, however, they joined the revolt of Raoul of Pontoise and consequently lost the estate, which was passed on to Leo Kephalas.[19] The history of the estate, passing through at least three separate families in less than forty years, and in particular the fact that Nikephoros III gave it in joint ownership to an Armenian and Frankish soldier,

20. NIKETAS CHONIATES 278-9.
21. See R. MORRIS, 'The powerful and the poor in tenth century Byzantium: law and reality' PP LXXIII (1976) 3-27.
22. ibid. 6-7, 14-15; J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 209, 265.

implies that the estate did not form the basis of any centre of provincial influence. Both Emperors would appear to have given the estate simply for its economic value, and the beneficiaries presumably used it as such. The prosopography of the Kephalas family is too vague to form any firm conclusion, but it is worth nothing that they remained wealthy and powerful through the 12th century, long after the estates acquired from Alexios I had been given to the Lavra.[20]

Apart from these cases, which can be regarded as exceptional, the assumption that landed magnates, that is persons whose political power in Constantinople rested on support in the provinces, were a general feature of Byzantine society has also rested on an interpretation of the so-called 10th century land crisis.[21]

The legislation associated with the crisis dates from between the 920s and 996, and has a general concern to protect the penetes from the dvnatoi. In the earliest legislation the dvnatoi are defined so as to include virtually all office holders, civil, military and ecclesiastical, but already by 947 it had been found necessary to exclude minor officials, theme soldiers and lesser monasteries from the full rigours of the law.[22]

The conclusion has been drawn from this that the 10th century saw a steady process whereby the holders of major offices

23. ibid. 214-17; R. MORRIS, 'The powerful and the poor' 15-17, 23-7; A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus 159 n. 1; c.f. M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 106.
24. R. MORRIS, op.cit. 7-10.
25. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 443-4.

invested in land, thus creating great provincial estates. This in turn gave them a political base away from Constantinople which threatened the authority of the Emperor and the Imperial government. The latter was alarmed at this process and legislated to stop it. In part there is agreement that this was aimed at the eastern generals, but since one of the principal documents of the series, the prostaxis of March 947, was drawn up as a result of enquiries from the Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi, it has been assumed that this was a general development, certainly throughout Asia Minor, and probably in the Empire as a whole.[23]

Other interpretations, however, are possible;[24] in particular, R. Morris' analysis of the documents of the 'land crisis' has shown that the legislation is not homogenous nor all aimed at the same target. That issued in the 930s was a response to the temporary crisis following the famine of 927-8 and the severe winter of 933-4.[24] The further Imperial activity revealed by the prostaxis of 947 could simply have been the continuation of this response, but it is perhaps more likely that there was an immediate political motive. In January 945 Constantine Porphyrogenitos had finally deposed the Lekapenos dynasty and later in the same year he sent various high ranking Imperial agents out into the ~~themes~~ themes, including the Thrakesion and the Anatolikon, to investigate the abuses perpetrated by the strategoi and their subordinates in the theme army during Romanos' reign.[25] The pretext was the sufferings of the

26. R. MORRIS, op.cit. 10-13.

27. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 214-17, 243-4.

penetes, but the likely motive was Constantine's need to impress his authority on soldiers and officials who had been appointed under the previous regime, and who might yet support a Lekapenid restoration. In any case after 949 the target of the legislation again changes, even if it is still couched in some of the same terms. In these years the lawmakers were trying to cope with the problems of a period of military defeat which interrupted an earlier phase of success. The stratiotai, who had earlier been listed among the dunatoi, were now seen as penetes to be protected. Finally the third period of legislation, exemplified by the novel of 996, is closely linked to the crisis of Basil II's civil war with the eastern generals.[26]

The Maeander region, coming under the themes of the Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi, is only mentioned in the context of the earlier legislation before 949.[27] During this period officials of all sorts, including theme archontes and stratiotai, had taken advantage of the peasants' plight to buy up their lands. This was perceived by central government as a threat to the Empire's tax revenue and a novel was issued to reverse the process. Since the Maeander region was a relatively prosperous part of the Empire it should come as no surprise that there were landowners able to take advantage of the circumstances; it does not, however, indicate of itself that there were great landed magnates in the region.

28. See supra 11 - 13.
29. LEO OF SYNADA Ep. 43, 68; L. ROBERT, 'Les kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-scies. Sur des lettres d'un metropolite de Phrygie du Xe siècle. Philologie et réalités', Journal des Savants 131-66.
30. SATHAS, MB V, Ep. 68, 299-300.
31. e.g. F. DVORNIK, La vie de saint Grégoire le Decapolite et les slaves macédoniens au IXe Paris (1926) 53; LAZAROS 532-3, 537-8, 578-9; E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Les archives de Nea Moni de Chio', 284; see also the Arab wreck dated to 1024/5 found at Serçe limanı, south-west of Marmaris: G. F. BASS, F. VAN DOORNINCK, 'An eleventh century shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey', International Journal of Nautical Archaeology VII (1978) 119-32.
32. C.f. M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 106.

THE LOWER MAEANDER REGION

The lower Maeander region is an especially suitable area for exploring the relationship between landed estates and political power in Constantinople and the provinces. Not only are the sources at least comparatively extensive, but the position of the Maeander region as an exceptionally fertile district usually within a week's sailing time of Constantinople, would make its landed estates an attractive prospect.

The economic advantages of the region are not in doubt. The potential fertility has been discussed in chapter one[28] and there is some slight evidence that 10th and 11th century Byzantines did exploit it beyond the merely local level. Leo of Synada reveals some sort of grain trade between the wheat growing Thrakesion and the barley producing Anatolikon;[29] Michael Psellos mentions the fine wine of Kouzena near Magnesia on the Maeander he is sending to the Patriarch Constantine Leichoudes;[30] and ship and ship owners are mentioned quite frequently.[31]

Only a few landowners are named in the sources, but there is evidence that several figures of major importance in court politics at Constantinople did own land in the Thrakesion, whether directly or as a Charistikē; and there is no reason to believe that the full list of such persons should not be much longer.[32] However one cannot assume that their presence in the

33. See H. AHRWEILER 'La région de Smyrne' 7-8, 24-6, 39-40, 167-78 et passim; M. ANGOLD, A Byzantine Government in Exile Oxford (1975) 121-143.
34. E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Les archives de Nea Moni de Chio' 277.
35. Codices Urbinales graeci bibliothecae Vaticanae ed. C. Stornajolo, Rome (1895) 111-27.

region was anything other than a purely economic arrangement; the name alone implies almost nothing and it is necessary to go behind the mere fact of land ownership and look for evidence of local interests and influence.

For the 13th century it is possible to explore the region's social structure through the monastic archives, and H. Ahrweiler has done this using the Lembos cartulary and the later documents of the archive of the monastery of St. John on Patmos. During the period of the Nicaean Empire the greater part of the region's territory seems to have been divided between various great estates owned by major figures at the nearby Imperial court, and it is reasonable to presume that their investments in churches and monasteries indicate a desire to build up a local influence.[33]

Her approach, however, cannot simply be repeated for the period before the Turkish invasions. In the first place there are very few Byzantine documents known from Asia Minor before 1080. The largest collection is that from the Nea Moni on Chios, but it numbers only 19 texts and they have only survived in poorly edited versions of early 19th century copies. The rest was destroyed in a fire in 1822.[34] A fragmentary cartulary of the Stylos monastery on mount Latros was copied in the 15th century, and has been preserved as part of a manuscript acquired by the duke of Urbino and now in the Vatican library.[35] Only four of its texts date to before 1080. The cartulary of the Xerochoraphion monastery, in the mountains north of Latros on the

36. N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiera-Xerochoraphion', REB XXVI (1968) 5-47; Bodleianus, Roe 9, f. 1r-1v, f. 69r-69v.
37. EP I, 119*-135*.
38. E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Les archives de Nea Moni de Chio' 277-84.
39. IDEM, 'Anekdotos katalogos eggraphon tēs en Patmoi Monēs (12-13 ai.)', Symmeikta I (1966) 138-40, 159-60.
40. ibid. 144-49; EP I, nr. 2, 17-18; nr. 3, 25-7; nr. 4, 33-4.
41. E. L. VRANOUSI, 'Anekdotos katalogos' 149-59.

other side of the Maeander, has been in part reassembled from several fragments of a 13th century manuscript scattered between Oxford, Florence and Milan.[36] Only one of the texts dates to before 1080, although it includes references to five other 11th century documents. Finally the monastery of St. John on Patmos, whose archive forms the largest surviving collection of Byzantine documents from Asia Minor, was not founded until 1088, and contains only five documents from the period before 1080.[37]

Apart from sheer scarcity there has also been a bias in the type of document preserved. The Nea Moni once contained an archive of about 400 documents; of the 35 of which some record has survived, all are Imperial acts whether chrysobulls or pittakia.[38] At Patmos, where 150 documents have been preserved from an archive which once contained over 500, comparatively few Imperial chrysobulls are missing. Comparison of the present holdings of the monastery with those listed in a catalogue written in the late 12th or early 13th century[39] show that the monks have disposed of a large number of redundant documents, but that in each case they deliberately kept the chrysobulls. Thus from over 50 documents concerned with Kos and Strobilos, most of which were private acts or documents covering the previous ownership of the properties, only three chrysobulls have been preserved.[40] The Kos and Strobilos estates are a particularly dramatic example, but on a smaller scale the pattern is repeated throughout the Patmos archive.[41]

42. See F. DOLGER, J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. 1. Die Kaiserurkunden Munich (1968) 99-128.
43. MM VI, 133-6.
44. ibid. 150-74, 187, 191-3.
45. N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire' 36-40.
46. e.g. A. GUILLOU, Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile I, Vatican (1967) 22-5, 29-32, 57-61; G. ROBINSON, History and Cartulary of the Greek monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone II/1, Orientalia Christiana XV/2, Rome (1929) 138-57, 163-70.
47. See e.g. Lavra I, nr. 1, 89-91; nr. 10, 124-5; nr. 44, 241-4.

Such Imperial texts, chrysobulls and pittakia, record the monasteries' privileges and donations made by the Emperor,[42] whether in land taken from the Imperial estates or in revenue drawn from one of the sekreta. Save under peculiar circumstances they do not discuss the private grants which might reveal the activities of the local elite. The earliest surviving private act concerning the Maeander region is dated to 1197,[43] and the rest - 19 from Patmos,[44] and 4 from the Xerochoraphion[45] are from the 13th century. Private acts certainly existed in the 10th and 11th century Maeander region, and surviving examples are known from elsewhere in the Byzantine world. They are quite common in the monastic archives of Byzantine southern Italy,[46] and although rare on mount Athos the earliest examples date to the late 9th century.[47] The monasteries of the Maeander region no doubt did receive private benefactions over the two centuries before the Turkish invasions, and in most cases they probably once had private acts to prove it; but it cannot be presumed that either the donors or their pattern of donation was the same as in the 13th century. In general it would be making an unfounded assumption simply to transfer the picture of Byzantine society derived from 13th century evidence to the very different conditions of two hundred years earlier.

The documentary evidence which does survive for great landowners and their involvement in the region before the Turkish invasion is mostly taken from the monastic archives, but it is not specifically concerned with their role in local society and

48. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4; LAZAROS 540; EP I, nr. 5, 43-5; nr. 47, 333; EP II, nr. 50, 15; nr. 52, 57; see also N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative' 139.
49. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 894; see C. L. STRIKER, The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul Princeton (1981) 6-9; R. JANIN, Eglises et Monastères 351-4; C. MANGO, Byzantine Architecture New York (1974) 198-205.
50. See N. OIKONOMIDES, 'St. George of Mangana, MariaSkleraina, and the Malyj Sion of Novgorod' 241-2; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 273-83.
51. DO 55.1.4605; F 676.
52. See e.g. Lavra I, nr. 31, 189; nr. 32, 193; nr. 41, 227; V. LAURENT, Corpus nr. 716, 370-71; G. W. H. LAMPE, PGL sub despotes; non-imperial useage would have been kurios, e.g. LAZAROS 107; Lavra I, nr. 68, 357.

is open to a number of interpretations.

The oldest complex of estates known in the Maeander region is possibly that of the Myrelaion, which during the later 10th and 11th centuries was a separate sekreton within the overall system of Imperial estates. Between 965 and 969, in the mid-11th century, and again in the 1070s, the Myrelaion is attested as owning estates near Miletos and elsewhere along the coast of the Maeander region.[48]

The name of the sekreton is taken from that of the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Myrelaion which was founded by Romanos I Lekapenos as a monastery and family mausoleum, of a type familiar in the middle Byzantine period.[49] Like the later sekreton of the Mangana, based on the monastery founded by Constantine IX Monomarchos between 1042 and 1046,[50] the estates of the sekreton were those of the parent monastery's landed endowment, although to what extent the 11th century sekreton's lands were those of the monastery's original endowment by Romanos Lekapenos, and how Romanos obtained the land is not clear. It is possible to do no more than suggest an interpretation.

There is a seal dated to the 10th century on iconographic and stylistic grounds which names a certain Stephen, imperial clerk, koubouklesios and megas kourator of the despotes Romanos.[51] Despotes in this context is a synonym for basileus,[52] and therefore the Romanos referred to is either

53. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 450; R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 133.
54. J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les 'Offikia' de l'eglise byzantin Paris (1970) 41.
55. See P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine aristocratic oikos' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 94.
56. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 402; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 894; see also C. L. STRIKER, The Myrelaion 11-33.
57. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 402-4, 420, 473; SKYLITZES 237, 252; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 924; see C. L. STRIKER, op.cit. 6-9.

Romanos I Lekapenos or Romanos II Porphyrogenitos. The latter is less likely because although Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos created a palace for his son, Romanos II, there is no record of it having had a major independent landed endowment, as would be implied by the title megas kourator, and in general the details seem to fit well the circumstances of the elder Romanos.[53]

Stephen's titles, Imperial clerk and koubouklesios, are ecclesiastical rather than lay,[54] and although oikos is an equivocal term,[55] they do suggest that he was in charge of lands that could also be considered as ecclesiastical. Since there is no indication, or probability, that Romanos I Lekapenos founded two such well endowed establishments in need of a megas kourator, and since Theophanes Continuatus and the Logothete specifically refer to Romanos founding a monastery in his oikos,[56] the seal is almost certainly that of the Myrelaion before the complex was generally known by that name. After Romanos Lekapenos' deposition in 944, later Emperors would not wish to be reminded of the monastery's origin, and thus although it was maintained as a separate sekreton it was henceforth known as the Myrelaion.

The facts that the Myrelaion was founded in Romanos Lekapenos' oikos, that it was intended as a family mausoleum rather than as a specifically Imperial foundation,[57] and that it maintained its financial independence even after Romanos' fall, and in addition the probability that we have a seal of an

58. See I. DJURIC, 'Porodika Foka' 216-28; N. ADONTZ, 'L'age et l'origine de l'empereur Basile I, (867-886)' B VIII (1933) 475-513, B IX (1934) 223-60.
59. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 841.
60. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 229-30; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 816; GENESIOS ; see N. ADONTZ 'L'age et l'origine' B VIII (1933) 489-92.
61. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, DAI 72-4; LIUDTPRAND OF CREMONA

ecclesiastical megas kourator of the Myrelaion, described as Romanos' oikos, together suggests that the Myrelaion estates were those which Romanos had possessed before 919.

The Lekapenoi were a 'new family' at the early 10th century Imperial court, but the same could be said of several families of this period - to name only the Phokades and the Macedonian dynasty as obvious examples.[58] The Logothete, who is favourable to Romanos, tells how his father Theophylact Abastaktos ('the unbearable'), made the family's fortune in 871 when he saved Basil I's life during the flight from Tephrike. As a reward Theophylact asked for a place in the guards of the Imperial palace,[59] and one must presume that like Basil I's own early career which began as an Imperial groom, 'such a post brought him into contact with the Emperor and courtiers, some prosperity and residence in Constantinople.[60]

Sources associated with Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos and the restored Macedonian dynasty denigrated Romanos' origins: his foreign policy was to be disowned on the grounds that he had been "a common illiterate fellow", and Lintdprand of Cremona was told at Constantine VII's court that the former Emperor had been a ptochos serving in the Imperial fleet until he came to Leo VI's attention for slaying a lion.[61]

However this evidence has to be discounted. By 911 Romanos was strategos of the naval theme of Samos, and even if this was a

62. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 376-7; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 870.
63. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 882; V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 958, 519-20.
64. GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 882.
65. See P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine Aristocratic oikos' 92-105.
66. C.f. H. GREGOIRE, 'Le lieu de naissance de Romain Lecapene et Digenis Acritas', B VIII (1933) 572-4.

lesser theme by comparison with the Thrakesion, many of the same factors applied when its commanders were appointed.[62] By this date Romanos must have been one of the elite close to the Emperor, and this is confirmed in 917 when he was promoted and appointed commander-in-chief, or droungarios, of the fleet.[63] It should not need to be laboured that such a senior command was not given to a political outsider; his powerful supporters at court after his dubious role in the debacle of 917 in Bulgaria[64] are further evidence that long before 919 Romanos Lekapenos was an established figure among the Byzantine elite - whatever pro-Macedonian sources, shy of that dynasty's origins, might wish to imply to the contrary.

Other prominent Byzantines in similar positions owned an oikos in Constantinople, founded monasteries in the city and owned estates elsewhere;[65] Romanos certainly had a Constantinopolitan oikos, founded a monastery at the Myrelaion, and the estates can reasonably be taken for granted. He can therefore be regarded as at least a possible name for a list of major landowners in the 10th century Maeander region.

However, there is no evidence to suggest that Romanos should be seen as a 'provincial magnate'. It has been claimed on very slight grounds that he came from the Melitene region on the Byzantine eastern frontier, but this is likely to be no more than coincidence.[66] Neither the eastern frontier nor the Maeander region played any significant role in his recorded career, which

67. MM IV, 307-15; for the Stylos and Lamponion, see R. JANIN,
Grands Centres 226, 233-43.

instead was focused entirely on Constantinople. The fleet he commanded from 917 was based there and he intended his family to be buried there. There is nothing in any account of his life to suggest that any landed estates he may have owned, whether in the east or west, were the source of any political influence or interest.

The other 10th century evidence of this type is equally inconclusive. In the cartulary from Mount Latros the earliest group of texts are those produced by the boundary dispute between the monastery of Stylos and that of Lamponion which began before 985 and was not settled until 987. The monks of Lamponion had moved a number of paroikoi and their families on to lands claimed by the Stylos monastery. The latter appealed to the Emperor who delegated a Constantinopolitan judge, Basil, to decide the case. Problems arose because the Stylos had no documentary evidence to support their claim and in due course they agreed to submit to the arbitration of the Patriarch and the Chartophylax. At no stage in the dispute is there any indication of other local landed interests whose views could be taken into account. The witnesses, judges and participants were either monks, Constantinopolitan or local clergy, or Imperial officials, and save for the judge Basil and members of the patriarchal court, all those involved were of rather lowly status.[67]

At about the same time or shortly after the monks of Stylos settled their dispute with those of Lamponion, Nikephoros

68. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 241-2; F. DÖLGER, Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges 24 n. 26.
69. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 241, l. 5.
70. Partly due to the fact that an edition was not published until 1973, there is no work of quellenkritik specifically devoted to John Skylitzes' Synopsis Historiarum. However, since the Synopsis is the primary Greek narrative source surviving for the years 944 to 1057, historians working on this period have had to make ad hoc judgements on its reliability. These now make up a small but significant body of generally disparaging criticism: see in particular, A. P. KAZHDAN, 'Ioann Mavropod, Pechenegi i Russkie v Seredine XIV', ZRVI VIII (1963) 178; J. SHEPARD, 'John Mauropous, Leo Tornicius and an alleged Russian army: the chronology of the Pecheneg crisis of 1048-9', JÖB XXIV (1975) 73-4, 78-9; IDEM, 'Scylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s, and the role of Catacalon Cecaumenus' Revue des études Armeniennes NS XI (1975-6) 269-311; IDEM, 'Byzantium's last Sicilian expedition: Scylitzes' testimony', Rivista di Studi Bizantii e Neoellenici NS XXIV-XXVI (1977-9) 156-9; and especially, D. I. POLEMIS, 'Some cases of erroneous identification in the chronicle of Skylitzes', Byz Slav XXVI (1965) 74-81.
71. See W. SEIBT, 'Ioannes Skylitzes. Zur Person des Chronisten', JÖB XXV (1976) 81-5; H. HUNGER, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzanter I, 389-91.
72. G. MORAVSČIK, Byzantinoturcica I 336, 426-7; SKYLITZES 3-4.

Ouranos, one of the pre-eminent figures at Basil II's court, sent an elegant letter to the theme judge of the Thrakesioi, requesting to be released from payment of the mitaton, a charge levied on landed property in lieu of quartering Imperial troops.[68]

Nikephoros Ouranos must therefore have owned lands in the Thrakesion, and in view of his high rank and wealth they may well have been quite extensive. However, despite the fact that Nikephoros Ouranos is a well documented figure for this period, there is no other evidence to associate him with the theme; rather to the contrary, he appears as a Constantinopolitan, educated and resident there, who missed the Imperial city when away and who described himself to the theme judge as "a citizen by nature; only by necessity a farmer".[69]

The modern perception of Nikephoros Ouranos has been created by the remarks of Skylitzes who for this period should be regarded as a late and unreliable source.[70] Skylitzes' Synopsis Historiarum is the principal surviving Greek narrative history for the reign of Basil II, but it was not written until the end of the 11th century.[71] He seems to have based his account of Basil's reign on two earlier histories, one of which was the work of Theodore of Sebasteia, but the result is patchy and confused.[72] Yahya ibn Sa'id, writing at Antioch after 1015, shared Skylitzes' sources, and it is an important reflection on the latter's reliability that even though for Yahya

73. See A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/2, 85-7.
74. D. I. POLEMIS, 'Some cases of erroneous identification' 74-81.
75. SKYLITZES 327; V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 219, 102-3; P. MEYER, Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster Leipzig (1894) 125; see also the donor's inscription on the late 10th/early 11th century bronze doors at the Lavra, C. BOURA, 'The Byzantine bronze doors, of the Great Lavra monastery on mount Athos, JÖB XXIV (1975) 249-50; Nikephorou patrikiou protou epi tou kanikleiou.
76. SKYLITZES 327; M. CANARD, 'Deux documents arabes sur Bardas Skleros', Studi Bizantini e Neollenici V (1939) 55-6.
77. SKYLITZES 341, 345, 364; this has provided the basic evidence for the image of Nikephoros Ouranos given by modern historians, A. DAIN, La 'Tactique' de Nicéphore Ouranos 133-6; J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 45-8; A. DAIN, 'Les stratégestes byzantins', TM II (1967) 371-3; A. TOYNBEE, Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world 296-7.
78. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 44-5.

the internal politics of Byzantium were only a side issue, it is Yahya who has preserved a more reliable account of events.[73] Throughout his history, which up to 948 is essentially a copy of Theophanes Continuatus, Skylitzes makes various unwarranted changes to his sources. Some of these are simply mistakes; others involve adding surnames and titles that would have conformed to the expectations of the late 11th century.[74] For Nikephoros Ouranos, Skylitzes makes the mistake of calling him vestes in 980, when in fact he is known from a seal and from the diatyposis of Athanasios of the Lavra to have been only patrikios and anthypatos:[75] Skylitzes also fails to realize that Nikephoros went on not one, but two embassies to Baghdad in the 980s.[76] These are, however, minor points in comparison to Skylitzes' fundamental misapprehension that Nikephoros' career was solely that of a soldier. Skylitzes would appear to have known of Nikephoros Ouranos only as the victor of the battle of Sperchios in 995 and as a successful *doux* of Antioch.[77] In the light of other sources for Nikephoros' career this is a most extraordinary distortion.

In the first place among the contrary evidence comes Nikephoros' own writings. As well as the letters surviving in MS Patmos 706,[78] Nikephoros has also left a number of other works ranging from an enormous Taktika to a verse alphabet. The former is a typically Byzantine literary product. It is a vast work, still not published in full, which reproduces a number of authors on military matters dating from the Hellenistic period up to and

79. See A. DAIN, La 'Tactique' passim; J.-A. DE FOUCAULT, 'Douze chapitres Inédits de la Tactique de Nicéphore Ouranos', TM V (1973) 281-312; Peri Paradromes: G. T. DENNIS, Three Byzantine Military Treatises 144-238; verse alphabet: A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, 'Byzantina Analekta', BZ VIII (1899) 66-70.
80. AS May V, 307-401; S. G. MERCATI, 'Versi de Niceforo Uranos in morte di Simeone Metafraste', AB LXVIII (1950) 126-34.
81. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 217-48.
82. See supra 347-8.

including the 10th century. Material relevant to modern - that is post-classical - warfare makes up only a very small proportion of the whole, and Nikephoros makes not the slightest reference to his own military achievements or experience. The Taktika is not a military handbook in the sense of, for example, the Peri Paradromés, written by a member of the Phokas family, but a work of antiquarian scholarship. The world it reflects is not that of the camp and battlefield, familiar to the author of the Peri Paradromés, but that of rare manuscripts and libraries. It is no wonder that it has required strained interpretation to make this the work of a career soldier.[79]

Nikephoros also wrote a paraphrase in two hundred and fifty chapters intended to improve the literary style of the Life of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger, and a series of funerary verses on the death of Symeon Metaphrastes.[80] Like the Taktika, these works are written in a high literary style and testify to a lengthy education and a sound grasp of classical culture. The letters confirm this impression. They show a man of high education, whose literary correspondants came almost exclusively from the ranks of the metropolitan bishops and Constantinopolitan civil servants.[81] All members of a group who had been educated in Constantinople and looked to the Imperial city as the source of all culture.[82]

In tune with this the evidence for Nikephoros Ouranos' career shows him to have been not a soldier but a civil servant

83. H. F. AMERDROZ, 'An embassy from Baghdad to the Emperor Basil II', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1914) 919, 921, 926-7, 929; M. CANARD, 'Deux documents arabes' 56.
84. I have used 'Keeper of the Imperial Inkstand' as a translation for epi tou kanikleiou.
85. H. OMONT, Fac-similes des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e XI^e siècle 32, plate LXIII.
86. See F. DÖLGER, Byzantinische Diplomatik Ettal (1956) 50-65; IDEM, J. KARAYANNOUPULOS, Byzantinische Urkundelehre 126, 131-2; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 311.
87. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers nr. 3, 218; nr. 5, 219-20; nr. 6, 220; nr. 7, 221; nr. 8, 222; nr. 12, 223; nr. 15, 224; nr. 18, 225-6; nr. 21, 227; nr. 23, 228; nr. 39, 239; nr. 47, 245-7.

like his correspondants. At some date before the spring of 983[83] Nikephoros had been appointed to one of the most crucial court offices, as Keeper of the Imperial inkstand.[84] Almost a century later, the illustration on folio 2 recto of MS Coislin 79, showing the Emperor flanked by the four key officers of the Imperial household with the Keeper of the Imperial inkstand immediately to the Emperor's left, would express the importance of this post.[85] The Keeper was responsible for the Emperor's personal signing of documents, and as a result was not only in frequent contact with the Emperor but could also easily supervise and influence the issue of Imperial orders and grants. The Keeper thus stood at the heart of the Imperial court, and it seems to have been at least partly through this office that the Emperor came in contact with the bureaucracy, and that supplicants to the Imperial court actually achieved their ends in an official document. The post offered considerable powers of patronage, in particular toward the church where both monasteries and bishoprics needed Imperial confirmation of the chrysobulls which safeguarded their rights and immunities.[86] This is reflected in the number of bishops among Nikephoros' correspondants,[87] but it also underlines the effective importance of the Keeper's role that even lay officials of similar rank worked through Nikephoros to obtain their ends. For example, a reply survives from Nikephoros to a letter sent by a certain Euthymios, patrikios, anthypatos and charboularios of the Vestiarion - himself a very senior official - requesting the Keeper to confirm various chrysobulls for the bishop of

88. ibid. nr. 4, 218-9.
89. Compare the Constantinopolitan and bureaucratic backgroud of another Keeper of the Imperial Inkstand: G. ROUILLARD, 'Notes prosopographique: le preposite Jean, epi tou koitonos et epi tou kanikleiou', EO XXXII (1933) 444-6; Lavra I, 189-92; ZONARAS III, 649.
90. H. F. AMEDROZ, 'An embassy' 915-42 (= H. F. AMEDROZ, D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate Oxford (1921) VI, 23-35).
91. M. CANARD, 'Deux documents arabes' 55-6.
92. H. F. AMEDROZ, 'An embassy' 921, 926-7.

Koron.[88]

The Keeper of the Imperial inkstand was a post specifically for a civilian bureaucrat. The influence, patronage, and hence power that the Keeper could wield depended upon his ability to manipulate the machinery of scribes, documents and literary correspondance. An unlettered Keeper, or even a Keeper unfamiliar with the workings of civilian government in Constantinople would have found himself displaced by a deputy who could actually fulfil the role.[89] Nikephoros Ouranos, however, is shown not only by his correspondance, but by the attitudes and descriptions of contemporaries to have been very much in charge.

In the early 980s, Basil^{II} was attempting to negotiate a peace with the Buyid sultan at Baghdad. The report of the Buyid ambassador to Constantinople, Abu Ishak ibn Shahram, has survived, preserved in the work of the late 11th century historian of the Buyids, Abu Suga.[90] Ibn Shahram's report is perceptive and well informed and provides one of the best insights into the internal politics of 10th century Byzantium.[91] From the Buyid point of view, the success of the negotiations depended upon the accurate assessment of the balance of power in the Byzantine court. Ibn Shahram is clear that Nikephoros Ouranos was among the most loyal and influential of the Emperor's servants;[92] he also identifies Nikephoros as a civilian opponent to the eastern military families, especially the Phokades, who felt threatened by the decision to make

93. ibid. 920, 925.
94. ibid. 925, 927, 929-30.
95. P. MEYER, Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster 125; Lavra I, 20, 44-5.
96. ibid. 44-5, 189-92, 197-8, 251, 275; see also the epi tou kanikleiou acting as ephoros for Patmos in the 13th century, M. G. NYSTAZOPOULOS, 'Ho epi tou kanikleiou kai hē ephoreia tēs en Patmoi monēs', Symmeikta I (1966) 76-94).
97. e.g. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers Ep. 12, 222-3; Ep. 18, 225-6; Ep. 38, 238; Ep. 41, 240-41.
98. ibid. Ep. 47, 245-7.
99. ibid. Ep. 10, 222; Ep. 32, 233.
100. H. F. AMEDROZ, 'An embassy' 921.
101. See also J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers Ep. 22, 227-8; the voluminous and antiquarian taktika could hardly have been written anywhere but Constantinople, A. DAIN, 'Les stratégistes byzantins' 347-63, see esp. diagram, 372.
102. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, De. Cer. 668.

peace.[93] They were Nikephoros' enemies, but ibn Shahram reveals that his bitter rival was the parakoimomenos Basil Lekapenos: both being civilian figures, struggling for position and power in Constantinople and among the bureaucracy.[94]

Ibn Shahram's assessment is confirmed by St. Athanasios of Lavra, another influential and well-informed figure during these years. In 984 Athanasios made Nikephoros Ouranos lay guardian of Lavra;[95] his choice of Nikephoros would have reflected a considered judgement of who was most likely to be able to defend the monastery's interest. Since successive Keepers of the Imperial inkstand fulfilled this role for the Lavra throughout the 11th century, it would seem that it was the post as much as the man that Athanasios had in mind.[96]

Nikephoros Ouranos was therefore no outsider to the civilian world of the court and Constantinople. His letters all reflect a Constantinopolitan perspective,[97] and when in Antioch he claims to miss the smoke of the great city.[98] His mother and sister lived in Constantinople,[99] and he had a large house there.[100] His literary culture demands that he was educated there,[101] but it is also quite likely that the Ouranoi were a longstanding Constantinopolitan family, since in 949 another Ouranos is attested as a senior official in one of the financial sekretaria in the capital.[102]

103. ibid. 651; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 436; LEO DIACONUS 7; the Gongyles' borthers Constantinopolitan oikos: 'Vita Sancti Basilii iunioris' ed. S. G. Vilinsky, Zapiski imperatorskogo novorossijskago universiteta, istoriko-filologischeskago fakulteta VI, Odessa (1911) 38.
105. A. A. VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/1, 362-4.
106. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 301-11.
107. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers Ep. 41, 240-41; Ep. 47, 245-7;
108. H. F. AMEDROZ, 'An embassy' 930.

Against this background, Nikephoros' military career stands out in contrast, but in fact he was following a path quite common among the Byzantine elite. During the 10th and 11th centuries a number of high civilian officials were given command of armies because the Emperor did not trust the available generals. In the reign of Leo VI, the logothete of the dromos, Himerios, commanded a fleet in 905 and 911,[103] in the period of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos' personal rule after 944, the Cretan expedition of 949 was commanded by a court civilian, Constantine Gongyles,[104] and the parakoimomenos Basil commanded one of armies involved in the great campaign of 958 against Samosata;[105] over a century later, the protovestiarios and eunuch, John, commanded the army sent by Nikephoros III Botaneiates against Nikephoros Melissenos in 1080.[106] *

Nikephoros Ouranos' military career was in the event a success, but he was always a reluctant soldier. His letters only mention military life in order to complain that he would rather have been back in Constantinople.[107] Ibn Shahram describes his reluctance in 983 to be sent on an embassy to Baghdad, and the Buyid ambassador well appreciated that Nikephoros' attitude was based on a fear that his position at court would be usurped in his absence. Unlike Skylitzes, ibn Shahram could see that Nikephoros' vital interests lay in Constantinople.[108]

The place of the estates in the Thrakesioi among Nikephoros' interests can be interpreted in a variety of ways,

109. CA 545-9; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 68.
110. See G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Löhne und Preise in Byzanz', BZ XXXII (1932) 312-14; N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle', TM VI (1976).

but there is nothing in the other evidence for his career to encourage a picture of a provincial magnate who could call on support among the Thrakesioi. His close association with the court, his Constantinopolitan residence and education, and his civilian career would all seem to have left little opportunity or purpose in building up a provincial base. His loyalty to Basil II and the Emperor's trust in him is perhaps best explained that his dependence on Constantinople was not counterbalanced by any vital interests elsewhere. The estates need have been no more than a source of income which Nikephoros was anxious not to see dissipated by payment of the mitaton. Whatever the case, if Nikephoros Ouranos is to be made a provincial magnate it requires assumptions which the surviving evidence for his career does nothing to justify.

No further evidence for the region's greater landowners survives until the mid-11th century. Shortly before 1044 the monks of the Nea Mone on Chios bought the former monastery of the Theometor, called Ta Kalothekia, which lay in the Erythrai peninsula, for 60 litrai from the sons of Katakalon.[109] 60 litrai, or 4320 nomismata, was a considerable sum of money, and by comparison with other 11th century evidence the monastery should have gained estates covering, at a conservative estimate, well over 1,600 acres - 8,000 modioi or more - producing an annual revenue of between 300 and 400 nomismata.[110] The previous owners, the sons of Katakalon, attempted later to contest the sale but their claim was over-ruled by an Imperial

111. CA 552-3.
112. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 222-3.
113. ibid. 255-6.
114. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 359-60; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, DAI 206; SKYLITZES 406, 419, 433, 438, 448-53, 467-9, 483, 500; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 201, 224, 261, 272; ANNA COMNENA I, 20; II, 194; P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode de Balchernes' 247-8; G. SCHLUMBERGER, 'Sceaux byzantins inédits' REG II (1889) nr. 22, 256.
115. MM IV, 315-17; see infra 446f.

judgement.[111] By comparison with the minimum value of lands assigned to a cavalryman in the theme army - 4 to 5 litrai according to Constantine VII's novel,[112] or 12 litrai for those covered by Nikephoros Phokas' reform[113] - Ta Kalothekia was a considerable estate, although alone it would not have made the sons of Katakalon outstanding landowners in the region. Despite the chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomarchos which gave judgement against them, it is not known whether they owned more land in the region or not. The Katakalon family were quite prominent during the 10th and 12th centuries; they appear as a military family, possibly with Armenian blood, but again it is not clear how many of those recorded with the name were in fact related.[114] As laymen the sons of Katakalon are likely to have held the monastery of the Theometor as charistikarioi, but beyond that nothing of their role in the region can be inferred from these few references.[115]

A few years later a dispute broke out between the two Latros monasteries of Agraui and the Stylos. The affair certainly reveals links between the Maeander region and Constantinople, but they are those of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which will be discussed in a separate chapter below, and the document of 1049 makes no mention of any laymen at all.[115]

The next evidence for a major landowner in the region comes from the two documents which survive from the dossier which

116. EP I, nr. 1, 5-8.
117. EP I, 87*, 8-11; nr. 13, 119-23; EP II, 22-5; nr. 61,
135-42.
118. EP I, 3-4, plate II; EP II, nr. 50, 3-25, plates I-IV.
119. EP II, nr. 50, 7-20.

confirmed Michael VII's grant of various Imperial estates around Miletos to his cousin, Andronikos Doukas. The grant was made between the autumn of 1072 and February 1073 and included the entire episkepsis of Miletos and a portion of that of Alopekai.[116] The subsequent history of the episkepsis of Miletos is entirely unknown, but at some date before 1204 the lands subject to the Alopekai grant were transferred to the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Theotokos Panachrantos. After the conquest in 1204 the monastery was occupied by the Latins, and in due course the monks of St. John on Patmos successfully appealed to the Emperor Theodore I Laskaris, who granted the Alopekai lands to Patmos in 1216.[117] The monks then set about gathering the necessary documents to safeguard their new acquisition, and as a result the Patmos archive contains early 13th century copies of Michael VII's chrysobull for Alopekai dated February 1073, and the praktikon of the estates, drawn up by the notarios Adam in March of the same year.[118]

The praktikon records the boundaries of the individual estates which made up the whole episkepsis, the paroikoi who lived there, the land they held and the rent they paid. It also records the existence on the estate of Barys of a house and church dedicated to the Theotokos with separate assigned lands; and it lists the icons, books and other fitments belonging to the church.[119]

The information given in this praktikon is of the greatest

120. ibid. 9-11.

121. ibid. 9.

122. ibid. 8, 14.

123. ibid. 9.

importance for the study of the exploitation and organization of the land in Byzantium, but save indirectly it says very little about the position of the owner of such an estate in regional society. By definition rent rolls and other estate documents are focussed on the internal organization of the estate, not on its wider context.

In 1073 the Barys estate was somewhat run down. Reduced rents were being demanded, and slaves and property are listed as missing.[120] The house itself was decayed and the out buildings in ruins.[121] While it had been an Imperial estate there can have been only a limited function for the house which may have been occupied by the protokourator of Barys who is referred to in the praktikon.[122]

Nonetheless the existence of the house and church provides an important insight into local landed society. The house consisted of a domed cross-shaped dining room - a staurotriklinion - with four chambers leading off, but no upper floor, a bath, a stable and a barn. In the past it had been surrounded by vine terraces, olive groves and orchards, but these were overgrown in the 1070s. Close by was a church with a dome supported on eight columns, and a narthex.[123]

In the first place, the house at Barys was not a palace. Great magnates, whether in Constantinople or on the eastern frontier are known to have lived in much grander

124. See P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine aristocratic oikos' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 92-105; L.-A. HUNT, 'Comnenian aristocratic palace decoration: descriptions and Islamic connections' ibid. 138-47; M. ANGOLD 'Appendix' ibid. 254-6.
125. See supra Chapter four.
126. See supra 122f.
127. e.g. P. RAHTZ, The Saxon and Medieval palaces at Cheddar BAR British Series 65, Oxford (1979) 60-62; N. W. ALCOCK, 'The hall of the Knights Templar at Temple Balsall, W. Midlands' Medieval Archaeology XXVI (1982) 155-8; G. E. CADMAN, 'Raunds 1977-1983: An Excavation Summary', ibid. XXVII (1983) 116-20, figs. 2, 8-9.
128. EP II, nr. 50, 9.

establishments,[124] but the existence of a bath, a straurotriklinion and a private church mark it off very clearly from the humble buildings we have seen in the region's towns.[125] The only possible comparison known in the region which may have been extant at the time is the so-called Bishop's palace at Miletos.[126] In England the house at Barys would be described as a manor house and it appears to have been on a similar scale to excavated examples of prosperous 11th and 12th century English manor houses.[127]

How long it had been in Imperial hands before 1073 is unclear. It may not have been very long, since although several of the candlesticks and other objects belonging to the church had disappeared, most still remained and although Barys was rather delapidated, neither the house itself nor the church were in ruins.[128] Who built it is totally unknown, and neither the *praktikon* nor the *chrysobull* suggest an answer; but the fact that it was built at all can be used as evidence for the unknown builder's intentions and lifestyle.

The barn and stables could be interpreted as necessities for an agricultural estate, but the *straurotriklinion*, the bath and even more the church show that the owner's intentions went beyond this. These buildings show that at least periodically the owner was resident at Barys and that while he was there the house was intended to fulfil an important social function in local society.

129. Kekaumenos was clearly aware of hospitality and feasting, even if he set little store by them: KEKAUMENOS 8, 14, 36, 42-3; see also M.-H. FOURMY, M. LEROY, 'La vie de S. Philarète' B IX (1934) 135-9.

130. EP II, nr. 50, 9.

131. P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 23, 27, 62-3.

Who feasted in the staurotriklinion is a matter for conjecture. Presumably the owner's household in its widest sense; possibly neighbouring landowners and local officials in this part of the Maeander region; possibly even the more prosperous tenants of the estates listed in the praktikon, including the monks of the monastery of Namaton who rented land from Barys, would come there on occasion.[129] Whatever the details the construction of such a permanent structure as this domed staurotriklinion, with echoes of luxurious buildings in Constantinople, was a clear statement of the status of the man who built it and of his intention to establish an interest in local society. Such a hall as this would only have been built for providing food when hospitality had an important social role.

The church is even better evidence for the unknown owner's intentions. Its position in the praktikon together with a list of its contents shows that it was not a parish in a communal sense, but part of the property of Barys.[130] Like the churches described in the near contemporary will of Eustathios Boïlas, it had clearly been built and endowed by the owner of the estate.[131]

The church was quite a developed structure, with a dome resting on a drum, and a narthex and marble pavement; many Byzantine churches were much simpler buildings than this. Similarly its endowment of icons, bronze vessels, lamp fittings and books, while not being in any way lavish, does represent a

132. See for possibly similar structures, A. W. EPSTEIN, 'The Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria in Greek Macedonia: Their Dates and Implications', Art Bulletin LXII (1980) 190-207.
133. See P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 23, 27.
134. See A. BRYER, 'The Byzantine Church in the Street', BBBS XIII (1987) 45.
135. See P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine aristocratic oikos' 95.

considerable investment. The builder of the church did not have in mind a mere chapel for occasional use but a church that would do him credit with God and men.[132] The praktikon is silent on the matter, but it is also possible that he intended the church to be a family mausoleum with a priest to say prayers for the dead.[133] A further desire for public display of the founder's piety is suggested by the two processional crosses that were still in the church in 1073; no doubt in due season the priest took the icons out in procession round the estate.[134]

As with the staurotriklinion, the church's congregation has to be left to conjecture; presumably the household attended, and very likely on occasion the paroikoi as well, who may even have been buried there. In any case both buildings are evidence of their builder's desire to play an influential role in local society.

However, discussion of these buildings is taking us away from the world of great landowning magnates. The former owner of Barys would have been a prosperous figure in local terms, but there is nothing in the house, church, or recorded estates to suggest great wealth. It can be asserted with confidence that a real magnate, such as Andronikos Doukas, would never have lived there.[135]

Until his death in 1077 from injuries received at the battle of Zompos, Andronikos Doukas was one of the pre-eminent

136. D. I. POLEMIS, The Doukai 3-6, 34-41, 55-9.
137. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 145, 167, 173.
138. SATHAS MB V, Ep. 71, 306-7; ANNA COMNENA II, 127-8, 130;
III, 88, 91; NIKETAS CHONIATES 64-5; KINNAMOS 73-4.
139. ANNA COMNENA I, 81-2; c.f. D. I. POLEMIS, The Doukai 41.

figures of the later 11th century Byzantine court. He was a soldier and the most successful general supporting the regime of his cousin, Michael VII. The Doukai seem by origin to have been a military family involved with the armies on the eastern frontier, but they had risen to power by establishing a position in court and at Constantinople.[136] By choice the Caesar John Doukas and his sons, Andronikos and Constantine, spent their time in the Imperial city. The decline of their influence over Michael VII in favour of Nikephoritzes reflects the outcome of struggles at court; absence from Constantinople could let in rivals and no account suggests that any hypothetical support in the provinces had a bearing on these developments. They only seem to have moved out of the capital when military duties demanded, or when forced by political circumstances, and on those occasions they stayed as close to Constantinople as possible.[137] According to the narrative sources for this period and the letters of Michael Psellos, the main estates of his branch of the Doukas family lay in Bithynia and Thrace within about one or two days' journey of Constantinople. Andronikos' father, the Caesar John, owned a hunting estate on the coastal plain of Choirobakchoi, about 19 kilometres west of the city on the road to Thessalonika,[138] and a property called Ta Moroboundou at a similar distance from Constantinople, where the Caesar was staying in April 1081 when he received news of the outbreak of the revolt of Comneni.[139] Up to the late 1070s, however, the major part of his estates lay in Bithynia in the vicinity of the Sapanca Gölü, some 24 kilometres east of

140. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 145, 173 and n. 1; the bulk of the family's property appears to have been in Constantinople where Michael VII could confiscate it: ATTALEIATES 188.
141. C. MORISSON, 'La dévaluation de la monnaie byzantine au XI^e siècle: essai d'interprétation', TM VI (1976) 7-10; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 307-9.
142. See supra 365-7.

Nikomedia, which itself was less than a day's sail from Constantinople. Here the Caesar had what Nikephoros Bryennios calls a basilea, a palace, and a fortress on the slopes of the Sabanca dag. This was where the Doukai came to hunt, and where in the autumn of 1073 Andronikos and his father went into involuntary retirement as their influence declined at court. It was also at the Sabanca palace that the Caesar was proclaimed Emperor by Roussel de Bailleul in 1074, and in the fortress above that Andronikos' children were held hostage.[140]

A journey to western Asia Minor to visit the new estates around Miletos would have been an unprofitable diversion for Andronikos, taking him away from the seat of his family's power and influence, and offering rivals the opportunity to take advantage of his absence.

The grant was almost certainly made because in 1073 Michael VII's government was facing financial difficulties. Andronikos Doukas had just defeated the attempt by the previous Emperor, Romanos IV Diogenes, to recover the throne, and the victorious general needed reward. It offered considerable advantages to pay Andronikos with a section of the Imperial estates rather than by another roga to be drawn from the already depleted treasury.[141] The grant is in fact a precedent for those made by Alexios I Comnenos to Gregory Pakourianos and Leo Kephalas a decade later.[142]

143. EP II, nr. 50, 8, 14, 20, 33-4 n. 50.
144. Lavra I, nr. 35, 206; A. GUILLOU, Le brébeion de la metropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050) Vatican (1974) 218-19, 226, 526; see D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, 'Un évêché byzantin: Hiérissos en Chalcidique', TM VIII (1981) 384; J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les 'offikia' 304.
145. PETER OF ATROA 177.
146. SKYLITZES 367.

The *praktikon* also shows how such estates were managed in their owners' absence, making a visit by Andronikos unnecessary. The details of their organization remain unclear, but essentially as Imperial estates the lands of Alopekai were administered by a protokourator and an episkeptites who collected rent and were in general responsible for their management. In return they received a small part of the estates' revenue.[143] This system of management by kouratores was not simply an official practice, but is a reflection of the less well documented management of private and ecclesiastical estates. Bishops' *kouratores* appear among the signatories of episcopal acts[144] and there are also occasional references to private lay *kouratores*. In the *Life of St. Peter of Atroa*, written in the 9th century, a certain Eustathios is a *kourator* for the *protospatharios* Staurakios, a wealthy man who lives in Constantinople. The *kourator's* visit to St. Peter takes place while he is on his way to the *Opsikon* where he has been sent to supervise the collection of rent and other matters concerning estates owned by Staurakios in that theme.[145] Private *kouratores* are again mentioned in 1022 when four were killed by the rebel Pharses in eastern Anatolia.[146] That there are not more references to lay *kouratores* simply reflects the nature and scarcity of the surviving sources.

The final evidence of this type does not actually concern the Maeander region, but it stands as something of an exception and therefore should not be ignored. It comes from the group of documents associated with St. Christodoulos and the early history

147. I am indebted to Professor C. Foss, who has visited the site, for this information; see also L. ROBERT, Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques Paris (1938) 165-6 and n. 4; G. COUSIN, C. DIEHL, 'Inscriptions d'Halicarnasse', BCH XIV (1890) 120-21; G. E. BEAN, J. M. COOK, 'The Carian Coast III', BSA LII (1957) 88.
148. MM VI, 62-3; EP I, 22*-9*; E. L. VRANOUSE, 'Chrysoboullon Nikephorou tou Botaneiatou uper tēs en Strobiloi monēs tou Prodromou (1079)', EEBS XXXIII (1964) 65; for Arsenios' community on Kos, see EP I, nr. 3, 25-7.
149. MM VI, 62-3; EP I, 29*-31*, nr. 4, 33-4; nr. 5, 44-7.
150. MM VI, 63-5; EP I, 31*-49*.

of the monastery of St. John on Patmos.

In 1079 Christodoulos, who was protos of the holy mountain, left Latros for Strobilos, an important Byzantine naval base in the theme of the Kibyrrhaiotai. The site has been identified with a fortified hill a few kilometres to the south-east of modern Bodrum, overlooking the channel between the Bodrum peninsula and the island of Kos.[147] There he was welcomed by Arsenios Skenoures, a wealthy ascetic and founder of a small community on Kos, who gave Christodoulos the abbacy of a monastery in Strobilos which he had inherited.[148]

From there, as the Turkish advance came closer, Christodoulos moved to Kos, where he founded a monastery to the Theotokos. The site was on land given by Arsenios Skenoures, who also endowed the new foundation with a further two estates on the island. Christodoulos was quick to establish his authority, and within five years he had obtained an Imperial chrysobull which confirmed his ownership of these lands.[149]

Kos, however, was not to be his permanent home. Apparently too many visitors, brought by ships which used the coastal route by Kos, disturbed the saint's eremia, and in 1087 Christodoulos went to Constantinople where he persuaded the Emperor Alexios I Comnenos to grant him lands on the bleak and sparsely populated island of Patmos.[150] In 1092 the naval advance of the Turks forced Christodoulos to abandon the island, and he took refuge on

151. MM VI, 91-3; EP I, 49*-55*.
152. MM VI 63, 65; EP I, 28*-9*, 19; the variant spellings Kabaloures/Kaballoures/Kaballourios are all attested in late 11th or early 12th century manuscripts, MM VI, 65; EP I, 4*, 15-17.
153. SKYLITZES 432.
154. EP I, nr. 2, 17.
155. ibid. 17-22; MM VI, 65, 88.

Euboea in the western Aegean. He died there eleven months later on 16 March 1094.[151]

Christodoulos' patron at Strobilos and on Kos, Arsenios Skenoures, was clearly a prosperous individual, at least in local terms, but he seems to have inherited the greater part of his property from Constantine Kaballourios, who is named in a chrysobull of 1079.[152]

Constantine was both a member of a well known family in Imperial service, and he himself had a senior court title. A patrikios Constantine Kaballourios had been strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotai in 1043 when he was killed by the Russians;[153] his namesake, who died shortly before the chrysobull was issued in 1079, held the rank of vestarch.[154] The younger Constantine was also a local landowner with estates on Kos and on Leros, and property in Strobilos, on which he had founded a monastery of the Prodromos. He died childless and with work on the monastery still in progress. His sister, the nun Maria, took up the task and successfully petitioned the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates to have the monastery made independent from the local bishop.[155]

Amongst the evidence discussed so far, Constantine Kaballourios appears to be the only case for which there is documentary evidence to show a relatively high ranking court official residing on his estates in the provinces, and building a

156. See supra n. 40.

157. N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L'évolution de l'organisation administrative' 125-6.

158. e.g. Eustathios, vestarch, epi tou koitonos kai eidikos, February 1045, CA 541; V. LAURENT, Vatican nr. 83, 72-3; IDEM, Orghidan nr. 234, 126; IDEM, Corpus II, nr. 324, 155; nr. 434, 211; nr. 550, 275; nr. 800, 418; nr. 801, 419; nr. 849, 448; nr. 1023, 561; nrs. 1026-7, 562-3 (this is the seal of Michael Machetarios, vestarch and eparch; neither rank, date nor appointment would be appropriate if this were the same Michael Machetarios, vestarch, who is mentioned in a document of June 1087, EP I, nr. 47, 334).

159. e.g. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 173, 82; nr. 1084, 597; nr. 1179, 660; W. SEIBT, Österreich nr. 151, 286; see also EP I, 350.

monastery there to confirm his interest. He would also seem to have left the property to a local figure in Arsenios Skenoures rather than to an outsider.

At the beginning of the 13th century many of the records for the Kaballourios estates seem to have survived at Patmos. A list of the monastery's archives compiled at that date includes fifty for Strobilos and Kos alone. Of these only three survive: Nikephoros III Botaneiates' chrysobull for Constantine's sister, Maria; the same Emperor's chrysobull for Arsenios Skenoures; and Alexios I Comnenos' chrysobull for Christodoulos on Kos.[156] On the basis of this slender evidence a number of interpretations of the Kaballourios family's role in local society are possible. In particular there are reasons to think that the case of Constantine Kaballourios was exceptional, and that he should not be taken as a model for the upper levels of landed society in the region as a whole.

In the first place some negative conclusions can be drawn from Constantine's title. The 1070s was a period of particular flux in the distribution of titles amongst the Byzantine hierarchy,[157] but certainly by that date a vestarch was no longer in the front rank of palatine officials. Up to the 1050s it had still been a very senior title, but it had subsequently declined. Theme judges and high civil officials such as the logothete of the stratiotikon who had often been vestarchs, even in the late 1050s,[158] were by the 1070s protovestarchs,[159]

160. e.g. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 223, 105; nr. 327, 156-7; nr. 435, 211-12; nr. 437, 213; nr. 438, 213-4; nr. 621, 316-7; nr. 886, 464-5; nr. 1113, 616-7; DO 55.1.3137; F 1335; F 1496; F 1973; see C. DIEHL, 'De la signification du titre de proedre a Byzance' 110-14.
161. e.g. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 253, 121-2; nr. 850, 448-9 (see supra); nr. 876, 460 (Seibt's dating of this seal to the 1070s is preferable to that given by Laurent); nr. 1032, 566-7; IDEM, Vatican nr. 110, 111 (see W. SEIBT, Osterreich nr. 99, 225-6); W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi nr. 21, 92; nr. 22, 95-6; nr. 24, 99; nr. 27, 102-5; see also C. DIEHL, 'De la signification du titre de proedre' 114-17.
162. See EP I, 350.
163. See G. SCHLUMBERGER, 'Sceaux byzantins inédits (sixième série)', RN IV (1916) nr. 311, 38: Basil Irathos, protovestarch, judge of the velum and the Kibyrrhaiotai; F133, F267: Basil Tzirithron, protovestarch, judge of the velum and the Kibyrrhaiotai (for an interpretation of Basil Tzirithron's career, see V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 1032, 566-7.
164. V. LAURENT, Orghidan nr. 234, 126.
165. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 166.
166. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 967, 526.
167. Lavra I, nr. 44, 243-4, March 1082; Leo Kephalas was magistros by April 1084, and proedros by may 1086: ibid. nr. 45, 246-7; nr. 48, 258-9.
168. H. AHRWEILER, Byzance et la mer 133-5, 159-61.
169. ANNA COMNENA II, 110.
170. H. AHRWEILER, Byzance et la mer 57, 101, 165.

proedroi[160] and commonly protoproedroi.[161] Some senior officials still were vestarchs in the 1070s,[162] but not the judge of the Kibyrrhaiotai;[163] Constantine cannot have been the theme judge.

The title, however, was not exclusively one for civilians; several military figures were vestarchs. A strategos of Stenon,[164] a doux[165] and a drougarios of the fleet[166] are attested with this title, as is Leo Kephalas, the future defender of Larissa against the Normans, who had been vestarch in 1082.[167] Constantine Kaballourios might also fit into this context.

By the 1060s and 70s the Kibyrrhaiotai was no longer the major provincial fleet that it had been in the first half of the century. However, although organized on different lines, local naval units did continue to operate in the Aegean, no doubt employing the naval personnel who had staffed the former thematic fleets.[168] Naval warfare and the maintenance of a fleet, however small, requires a core of experienced and professional sailors, shipbuilders and repairers. That the Turkish Emir Çaka was able to raise a powerful fleet in the 1090s shows that a maritime population was still there to be used.[169]

Strobilos had been one of principal naval bases for the Kibyrrhaiotai,[170] and almost certainly continued as such even after the local naval forces had been reorganized. Constantine

171. MM VI, 82, -86, 93.

Kaballourios the elder had been a prominent naval commander, in fact the last attested strategos of the Kibyrrhaiotai. Like the armies on the eastern frontier the professional demands of naval warfare would have created a group of officers, resident in the theme but with senior court titles reflecting their military rank. It seems likely that the younger Constantine Kaballourios named in the chrysobull of 1079 was one of such a group. Constantine Kaballourios may therefore reflect more the special circumstances of Strobilos and its naval community than the pattern of the local elite in general.

Some support for this interpretation is suggested by the early history of the monastery of St. John on Patmos and Christodoulos' attempts to find a lay guardian and successor in charge of the monastery. It may only have been a consequence of the Turkish conquest of the west coast, but it does stand out that Christodoulos seems to have made no attempt to find a successor with local connections. He himself went to Constantinople to petition the Emperor, and his chosen successor was a member of the Patriarch's court in the Imperial city - a Constantinopolitan, who in the event after Christodoulos' death refused to have anything to do with this distant and isolated monastery.[171]

Similarly, although the bias of the surviving evidence may distort the picture, the Patmos archives show no trace of the involvement of major local laymen until the 13th century. All

172. EP I, 59*-91*.

the 12th century evidence is for minor local figures, while the major benefactors and patrons always came from Constantinople.[172]

THE SAINTS' LIVES.

The negative impression given by this survey of the documentary evidence is interesting but not decisive. On the basis of this alone one would perhaps note the curious failure of the sources to mention the archives of magnates with a role both in Constantinople and the provinces, but put it down to the bias of surviving evidence: lay archives do not survive; the monasteries have only preserved those material which they felt to have long term significance. The natural conclusion would be that almost nothing was known of the Maeander region's social and political structure.

What allows one to go beyond this is the survival of three important Saint's lives from the 10th and 11th century Maeander region, which provide an overview that strikingly confirms the fragmentary evidence of the documentary materials.

The three Lives are those of St. Nikephoros of Miletos, St. Paul of Latros and St. Lazaros of mount Galesion. The first was written by an outsider to the region, possibly a Sicilian, but

173. See H.-G. BECK, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich 267-75, 557-82; C. MANGO, Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome 246-50.

the other two were both composed by local figures who had known their subjects, and wrote at least a first version within a decade or two of their saint's death.

Saints' Lives in the 10th and 11th century were written within a conventional framework which ultimately derived from an amalgum of the Gospel accounts of the life of Christ with the formalizing tradition of Roman rhetoric. By the 10th century any hagiographer would write conscious of the format imposed by a huge genre, whose products made up a great part of current Byzantine literature. Within the constraints of the genre, the presentation of 'real life' (the concrete world in which the saint operated) ranges from the entirely conventional in which the name of the particular saint is put into a stereotyped model - amounting to little short of pious fiction - to the vivid description of the reality of a man's life, environment and historical circumstances.[173]

Hagiography even at its most graphic is obviously not an unbiased genre, but for the purposes of taking an overview of provincial society it deserves confidence.

In Byzantine monasticism there were two strands of tradition: one was the coenobitic or communal which looked to the rule of St. Basil of Caesarea; the other was the lavriote, where monks lived in separate cells practising an asceticism inspired by the example of St. Anthony and numerous desert fathers. They would generally only gather for a weekly

174. D. PAPACHRYSSTHOU, 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII^e au XI^e siècle: Ermitages, groupes communautes', B XLIII (1973) 158-80; R. MORRIS, 'Monasteries and their patrons in the tenth and eleventh centuries' Byzantinische Forschungen X (1985) 185-215.
175. See H. AHRWEILER, 'Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de foundations pieuses aux Xe-XI^e siècles' ZRVI X (1967) 1-27; P. LEMERLE, 'Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: Les monastères donnés à des laics, les charisticaires', Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1967) 9-28.

eucharist, and the 'monastery' amounted to no more than a loose confederation.

By the 11th century the originally distinct traditions had tended to merge so that many monasteries consisted of a community living a common life, with a small number of ascetics in the lavriote tradition living slightly apart.[174] In fact by this date a more important distinction lay in whether a monastery was independent or under a variety of episcopal, patriarchal or lay control. Outside Constantinople the vast majority of monasteries were probably subject to their local bishop as the canons intended, but a few houses were either subject directly to the Patriarch or had been granted their independence by an Imperial chrysobull. In the latter case, such as with the monasteries of St. John on Patmos or the Nea Moni on Chios, they could chose to be free from outside interference but all other categories were liable to become effectively lay property through the mechanism of the Charistikariate. This could on occasion be a benefit, but it also exposed a monastery to the threat of asset stripping.[175]

Monasticism was without doubt one of the pillars of Byzantine culture, and as such it was thriving in the 10th and 11th centuries; monasteries by contrast, were rather weak institutions and most appear to have been short lived. Among the factors which could influence a monastery's prospects for survival, paramount was its relationship with its lay

176. See J. P. THOMAS, 'The crisis of Byzantine ecclesiastical foundations, 964-1025', Byzantinische Forschungen IX (1985) 255-74; R. MORRIS, 'Monasteries and their patrons' 215-31; IDEM, 'The Byzantine aristocracy and the monasteries' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 112-37.
177. EP I, nr. 2, 15-22.
178. EP I, nr. 15, 136, 138; EP II, nr. 69, 194, 201.
179. EP II, nr. 70, 198-205; see also V. LAURENT, Les regestes I/4, nr. 1354, 158-9.
180. See Lavra I, 56-74: St. Athanasios' foundation is a particularly successful example of a monastery which was able to attract new patrons after the founder's death and outside the family of the original benefactors, e.g. ibid. nr. 20, 155-61.
181. Readings aloud from the Lives of the Saints were a common feature of monastic life, see e.g. P. GAUTIER, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitômène', REB XLIII (1985) 89; Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae V-VI; PAUL OF LATROS 127; LAZAROS 565, 574; private lay individuals also owned copies of Lives which they could read to themselves; Eustathios Boilas owned a copy of the Life of St. Michael Maleinos in 1059, P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 25; see also the books owned Michael Attaleiates or acquired by the foundation after his death, P. GAUTIER, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliatè' 125-7; and the injunctions to reading given by Kekaumenos: KEKAUMENOS 19, 47; N. G. WILSON, 'Books and readers in Byzantium', in Byzantine Books and Bookmen Washington DC (1975) 4-8; E. PATLAGEAN, 'Sainteté et pouvoir' in The Byzantine Saint 101-3.

patrons.[176] In a monastery founded by a layman, such as that of Prodomos at Strobilos founded by Constantine Kaballourios and his sister,[177] or that on Kos founded by Nikephoros Ampelas,[178] much depended on the survival of the founding family. In the case of the Ampelas monastery, after the founder's death the bishop of Kos illegally appropriated several of the more valuable properties.[179] For those monasteries which owed their origins to a community gathering around a charismatic holyman survival would depend upon the ability to attract influential patrons and persuade them to make generous bequests, and safeguard the monastery's interests.[180]

Neither the monasteries on the holy mountain of Latros nor the more recent foundations on Mykale or Galesion, where St. Nikephoros and St. Lazaros respectively passed their ascetic careers had had lay founders, and all were to an extent dependent on keeping up their reputation as holy places and centres of spiritual power.

The writing of a Life could provide a useful piece of propaganda. It could not only be read by potential patrons, but would have been read aloud to the community and to visitors.[181] For such a monastery the founder's Life was above all intended to demonstrate the founder's sanctity. The Byzantine world did not have, and never developed, a formal process of canonisation. Saints were figures whose lives fitted into the model imposed by over 600 years of hagiography and around whom a cult had

182. See E. PATLAGEAN, 'Sainteté et pouvoir' 88-105; J. A MUNITIZ, 'Self-canonisation: the Partial Account of Nikephoros Blemmydes' ibid. 164-8.
183. e.g. V. LAURENT, La vita retracta 135-71; 'Vita de S. Ioannikio monacho', AS Nov. II, 383; F. DVORNIK, La vie de saint Gregoire le Decapolite 72-4; 'Excerpta vitae Lucae iunioris', PG CXI, 477-9; E. MARTINI, 'Supplementum ad acta S. Lucae iunioris', AB XIII (1894) 107-21; 'S. Petri episcopi Argivi historia et sermones', ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, rome (1888) 14-15; Vitae duae antiquae S. Athanasii Athonitae 177-23, 203-12.
184. e.g. V. LAURENT, La vita retracta 137-8, 143, 149; Vitae duae antiquae 74-8, 107, 176-9; LAZAROS 556-68.
185. See in general, C. GALATARIOTOU, 'Byzantine ktetorika typika: a comparative study', REB XLV (1987) 108-33.
186. e.g. PETER OF ATROA 139-43, 149-55, 177-9, 209-11; 'Excerpta vitae Lucae iunioris' 464-5, 467-9, 472-3; E. MARTINI, 'Supplementum ad acta S. Lucae iunioris' 98-100, 106-7.

developed. A Life was a vital part of this process and obviously to have been founded by a recognized saint, who could intercede for a patron at the court of heaven, markedly increased a monastery's chances of survival.[182]

To stress that even after the saint's death the monastery continued to be a centre of spiritual power, a Life would often contain accounts of posthumous miracles usually associated with the saint's grave in the monastery church.[183] Biographies of the holy lives followed by the late saint's monks and disciples also served this end, showing how the sanctity of the founder had been passed on to his successors.[184]

For the monks themselves the Life could provide a model, illustrating and confirming the instructions laid down in the typikon.[185] In this way the Life could help to reinforce the monastery's sense of community, showing how they had overcome trials in the past and would do so again, provided they lived up to the ideals of their founder.

In addition to these functions the Life also advertised the wide and distinguished social connections which the founder had built up. A prospective patron would hopefully be inspired by the generosity of his predecessors to emulate their bequests. A reminder of the high ranking clientele who had attended the saint would also give the monastery an aura of status which might attract a new generation of influential patrons.[186]

187. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 130-31, 134; K. BELKE, Galatien und Lykaonien 181-2; the Life gives the spelling Basileon, NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 134; for Basileion as an 'early spelling' see V. LAURENT, Corpus V/1, nr. 343, 245.
188. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 131 et passim.

The Lives of St. Paul of Latros and St. Lazaros of mount Galesion are particularly good examples of this type of detailed monastic hagiography, and both are keen to record their saint's links with the laity. The point of view of each can fairly be regarded as limited, and possibly eccentric (in the strict sense), but they do provide the nearest available to a reliable overview of local society in the lower Maeander region.

The other Life, that of St. Nikephoros of Miletos, is of a rather different character. It survives in a single 12th century manuscript and appears to have been written by a Sicilian who had come to the saint's birthplace of Basilaion, in the Boukellarion on the main road between Ankara and Constantinople.[187] The Life shows that its author had spoken to several of those who had known St. Nikephoros, but that he had not known the saint himself nor had he any access to another detailed written source. At times the narrative is rather bald and the author makes weight with rhetorical elaborations and apposite quotation from the Bible, the early fathers and other late Roman christian writers.[188]

As a result the Life of St. Nikephoros is considerably shorter than the other two - it is under half that of the Life of St. Paul of Latros - more stereotyped and closer in character to the hagiography found in the Synaxarium of Constantinople. The Life was evidently not written for the benefit of the Xerochoraphion; it may possibly have been aimed at an audience

189. ibid. 143-6.
190. N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xerochoraphion' 16-19, 40.
191. T. WIEGAND, Der Latmos 98 (the manuscripts include the 14th century Bodleian MS Baroccianus 192, fol. 3r-30v).
192. LAZAROS 503.
193. N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire' 7-9.

in the saint's birthplace at Basilaion, but otherwise the author's intention is quite obscure.

A full scale monastic Life of St. Nikephoros almost certainly once existed. St. Nikephoros must in the later 10th century have been a figure of some notoriety: an archbishop who had abandoned his see to found an ascetic community in the mountains.[189] By the mid 11th century at the latest, the Xerochoraphion acquired substantial estates confirmed by Imperial chrysobull, and the monastery continued to prosper through the 13th century.[190] Such a selfconscious and wealthy institution would be very unlikely not to have acquired a full Life of its founder. Its loss however is hardly remarkable. The Life of St. Paul of Latros has been preserved in nine medieval manuscripts,[191] but more typical is the Life of St. Lazaros which has only survived through a single 14th century manuscript at the Great Lavra on mount Athos. The manuscript includes a colophon in which the scribe notes that it was copied from a manuscript of the Life salvaged from the sack of Galesion by the Turks. The manuscript passed through the hands of a perfumer who before selling it on to someone who took it to Constantinople, cut out eight or more folios which correspond to gaps in the present text.[192] The cartulary of the Xerochoraphion is another example of a narrow escape and has only been pieced together from scattered fragments found in other manuscripts.[193]

194. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 136-45; see P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 282-6.
195. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4.
196. ibid. 144.
197. SKYLITZES 318; YAHYA ; the name Sachakios suggests an Armenian background, H. ACARYAN, Hayoc'Anjnanunneri Bararan.
198. See supra

The extant Life of St. Nikephoros is therefore not an ideal source, but it is remarkable that it survives at all. It preserves an account of a 10th century archbishop's education, appointment and activities,[194] not found elsewhere, and it does give some brief indications of the laymen who were prominent in the lower Maeander during the 960s and 70s.

The first mentioned are the anonymous agents of the sekreton of the Myrelaion who had taken over the archiepiscopal estates during the vacancy.[195] To effect their expulsion Nikephoros had to appeal to Constantinople, and the new Emperor John Tzimiskes sent a certain Sachakios to deal with the matter.[196] The Emperor's agent, whom the Life accuses of attempting to poison the saint, may well have been the Sachakios Brachamios who was an ally of Michael Bourtzes in the 960s and in 976 joined the rebellion of Bardas Skleros. The Life implies that he was sent from Constantinople specifically to restore the archbishop's estates, and there is no suggestion that he was either a local figure or permanent official.[197]

The other major lay figures in the Life are "Ampelas and the other archontes of Asia" who were discussed above. The archontes are almost certainly the officers of the theme army of the Thrakesioi; Ampelas may have been the strategos.[198]

Otherwise the only local laymen to be mentioned is a certain Philippos, a cloth seller, who regularly visited the

199. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 160.
200. PAUL OF LATROS 130-31.
201. ibid. 122, 125.
202. ibid. 107, 117-18, et passim.
203. e.g. ibid. 120-21: apparent addition of Demetrios to the story.

saint on matters to do with his craft. He appears as the subject of a posthumous miracle.[199]

Of the other two Lives, that of St. Paul of Latros was written about 20 years, or slightly more, after the saint's death on 15th December 956.[200] The exact date is uncertain but the Life refers to a monk named Luke whose corpse remained uncorrupted for 17 years. Since St. Paul died before Luke this is the minimum period after which the Life could have been composed.[201] The terminus ante quem is less secure. The author appears to have been on mount Latros during the saint's lifetime and to have known the saint, even if he seems to have been more familiar with the younger monks, such as Symeon who was abbot at the time of writing.[202] The Life also shows signs that some stories were amended to include particular individuals, which would imply that they were still alive at the time.[203] In view of the generally short expectancy of life in the Middle Ages, much more than 20 years after 956 the principal characters would almost certainly have been dead and much of the incidental and somewhat unconventional detail would no longer have been relevant.

The detailed knowledge of local toponymy shows that the Life was written in the Maeander region, but it could be argued that its perspective is distorting. The Life of St. Paul of Latros is not a product of atypical Byzantine monastery and the factors which may have influenced its composition should be borne

204. ibid. 121-2, 127; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 430.
205. See R. MORRIS, 'Monasteries and their patrons in the tenth and eleventh centuries' 190-92.
206. MM IV, 307-15.

in mind.

By the second third of the 10th century mount Latros was a famous holy mountain, enjoying exceptional links with the Imperial court.[204] Over the course of the century religious life on Latros, as on other holy mountains, became more organized.[205] The setting up of the Stylos monastery by St. Paul was part of this process. The new monastery, which came increasingly to be known as St. Paul's after its founder, had to compete with other communities for patronage. Close to the time of writing Stylos was involved in a dispute over grazing rights on the mountain with the Kellibara - another older monastery mentioned in the Life. The case went to Constantinople where a well known founder, familiar to those at court, must have been a useful asset.[206]

True to the model of Christ and St. Anthony, St. Paul spent a great part of his career amidst the uninhabited wilds of Latros; yet he was not cut off from the local laity and the Life highlights their presence. The Life may have been written principally for a Constantinopolitan audience, but the provincial world of the Maeander was not ignored. There is no reason to think that there were significant groups in local society of whom the Life makes no mention.

As a rough guide laymen in the Life can be divided into three categories: peasant villagers, local 'gentry', often

207. PAUL OF LATROS 126.

208. F. DÖLGER, J. KARAYANNOPULOS, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre
123-6 ; V. LAURENT, Corpus II, 5, 20-49; see supra

209. R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 509.

210. PAUL OF LATROS 127.

holding minor office, and those with Imperial titles and at least higher office.

The third group consists of no more than three individuals, each of whom was an outsider to the region. The first is a certain Baanes who was saved from shipwreck by an appeal to St. Paul. The Life says that he was close to the saint and had always found him a help in time of trouble.[207] Baanes was one of the choros of aserkretai, the Imperial secretaries who worked in Constantinople and would have been recruited, like the theme judges, from Constantinopolitan families.[208] When threatened by a storm he had been sailing to the island of Oxeia, one of the Princes' Islands in the sea of Marmara, close to the capital, and frequently used as a state prison.[209] This hardly suggest a provincial background.

The second high ranking layman in the Life is the patrikios Photios who visited the saint with a letter from the Emperor Constantine VII. Just before he left with the saint's reply, St. Paul asked Photios to lay a piece of cloth over the Mandyllion icon of Christ and send it back to him.[210]

The Life describes Photios as a famous man, very illustrious and a favoured servant of the Emperor Constantine. This is evidently the same patrikios Photios who appears in Theophanes Continuatus' Book VI, where he is sent by Constantine to the theme of the Thrakesioi in order to deal with the

211. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 443-4.
212. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITOS, 'De Imagine Edessae' PG CXIII, 449; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 432; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 918-19.
213. See R. GUILLAND, 'Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. Les titres auliques de eunuques. Le protospatharie', B XXV-XXVI-XXVII (1955-56-57) 661-8.

injustices suffered by the penetes at the hands of the dunatoi. [211] No date is given, but the context shows that this was one of the earliest acts of Constantine's sole rule after the coup of December 944. Photios' visit to the saint is likely to have taken place at the same time, hence c.945; a hypothesis which is strengthened by the reference to the Mandyllion. This icon, "not made by human hands", had been extracted from the Emir of Edessa in exchange for a cessation of hostilities, and had arrived in Constantinople on 15th August 944. [212] St. Paul's interest in the icon would have been natural at just this period when Imperial propaganda was trumpeting this evidence of Byzantine success.

St. Paul's visitor was thus only in the Maeander region on a temporary commission; indeed had anything else been the case he could hardly have been appointed to deal with the problems of the local penetes. Photios is another example of a high ranking outsider.

The third such individual is the protospatharios Michael. Still at this date his title of protospatharios was indicative of a fairly senior office and a position at court. [213] Like Baanes, Michael appears in the Life as one who successfully appealed to the saint in time of trouble. The Life tells how during the reign of Constantine VII between 945 and 956 he was the curator of some unnamed Imperial estates that suffered from the persistent raids of neighbours called Mauroi. Michael

214. PAUL OF LATROS 123.

215. C.f. H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 22.

decided upon a counter attack in which several of the Mauroi were killed. The latter duly appealed to the Emperor for redress, and Michael was recalled, tried and sentenced to death. At this point Michael, who is said to know the saint well, appealed to Paul for help. The saint at once celebrated the liturgy and then ordered a letter to be sent to the prisoner's oikos telling them that he had already been released. As soon as Michael learnt what part St. Paul had played in his deliverance, he left Constantinople and hastened to mount Latros. He later made a generous donation to the monastery.[214]

Michael appears to have lived in Constantinople. According to the Life after his release he was still in Constantinople when he learnt that St. Paul had prophesied his deliverance in a letter to his oikos; the Life also implies that he only left Constantinople for the specific purpose of visiting mount Latros and thanking the saint. The obvious interpretation of the passage is that the oikos was in Constantinople too.

Michael's lawless neighbours, the Mauroi, have proved difficult to identify. It has been suggested that they are either African Arabs settled in western Asia Minor or a powerful local family.[215] There is no evidence to support either conclusion.

In the first place the Life does not say where these events took place, and there is no grounds for the assumption that they

216. C.f. R. MORRIS, 'Monasteries and their patrons' 225.
217. e.g. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 185; P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode de Blachernes' 218, 257; V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 886, 464-5; nr. 1189, 665-6; ANNA COMNENA III, 138; LAZAROS 524-5; PLP nrs. 17483-17502.
218. PETER OF ATROA 116-17 n. 2.
219. See J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies in the Organization of the Byzantine Army 188 - 258 ; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L'organisation de la frontiere orientale dy byzance aux Xe-XIe siecles et le taktikon de l'Escorial' Actes du XIVE Congres International des Etudes Byzantines I, Bucharest (1974) 288-90, nn. 19, 20, 25, 31; 295-7, 301-2.

occured in the vicinity of mount Latros.[216] Michael was well known to St. Paul and there were Imperial estates around Miletos, but there is no reason to link these facts or to associate them with the story of the Mauroi. The Imperial estates that Michael administered could have been in many parts of the Empire, and equally he could have met St. Paul during a previous appointment to the Thrakesioi or perhaps even on Samos.

Mauros appears quite frequently as a name in the 10th and 11th centuries,[217] and the word also had a common meaning in Byzantine Greek of 'demon',[218] but this does not help to place these events in any particular part of the Empire. As a hypothesis, I would suggest that the story of raiding and counter-raiding, and the harassing of the penetes (in this case possibly peasant farmers) of the Imperial estates, does seem most appropriate for the eastern frontier. From the 930s onwards large Imperial estates were established in the region, and there is also evidence for chronic raiding and local violence, in particular among the Armenians and Arabs.[219] The use of Mauroi in the Life would not disprove it being a family name, but the repeated use of the plural and the number of Mauroi indicated by this local warfare would be more easily explained if they were a rather larger group. Part of an Arab tribe allied to the Byzantines would, for example, fit the Life's story very well.

Apart from these three outsiders, the asekrete Baanes, the patrikios Photios and the protospatharios Michael, the Life is

220. PAUL OF LATROS 119.

221. See J. DARROUZES, 'Listes de prôtes de l'Athos' Le millenaire du mont Athos 963-1963 Chevtogne (1963) 407-47; MM VI, 62.

222. P. LEMERLE, Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius I, 179, 209; Lavra IV.

223. For hunting as the occupation of an élite, see the references in P. KOUKOULES, Vie et Civilisation V, Athens (1952) 387-42.

224. PAUL OF LATROS 119-20.

225. See infra

226. P. BROWN, 'The rise and function of the holyman in late antiquity' in Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity London (1982) 103-52.

227. PAUL OF LATROS 127.

228. ibid. 122-3, 128-9.

entirely concerned with local laymen, none of whom holds high office or appears to be very wealthy or powerful.

At the upper end of the range comes such a figure as Theophanes, who the Life calls "protos of the island [of Samos]".[220] Save in the monastic context, which is inapplicable here,[221] protos is not an official term but simply means 'chief' or 'first'. The term could be used, for example, to refer to important citizens or to a village elder.[222] It does not necessarily imply great wealth or power, and there is no indication that that was the case here. Theophanes was wealthy enough to keep a horse and hunting dogs,[223] but his generosity to the saint amounted to no more than a ladder and a supply of food; he is clearly distinguished in the Life from the Strategos of Samos who appears in the previous chapter.[224]

Otherwise the laity range from independent small farmers to poor peasants. Nowhere is there evidence of a group of land-owning magnates.[225]

The Life shows St. Paul acting in much the same way as the Syrian holymen whose role P. Brown has drawn to the historian's attention.[226] St. Paul acted as a patron for the lower Maeander both at the court of heaven and at the court of the earthly Emperor, nearly as remote in Constantinople. In the same way as his Syrian predecessors, listening to whose Lives made him jump with delight,[227] St. Paul foretold the future,[228]

229. ibid. 113-14.

230. ibid. 119, 133-4.

231. ibid. 116-17.

232. ibid. 133.

233. ibid. 124.

234. ibid. 119.

235. ibid. 135.

236. P. BROWN, 'The rise and function of the holyman' 116-21.

defeated demons,[229] cured illness,[230] brought droughts,[231] famine and cattle pest to an end,[232] and cursed the unrighteous.[233] He also interceded on behalf of the local population with judges and strategoi sent from the seat of earthly power in the Imperial city. On two occasions St. Paul is described freeing prisoners from the secular authorities. The first involved soldiers who had been trying to avoid service in the theme army;[234] the second was a posthumous miracle in favour of some troublesome villagers who had fallen foul of the theme judge.[235]

The latter episode is particularly revealing because St. Paul's intervention is on behalf of the law-breaking villagers and against established authority. The Saint who had been a patron to the local communities during his lifetime was still imagined as fulfilling the role after his death.

In 5th and 6th century Syria P. Brown's work pointed to the way the holyman's role as a local patron answered a demand which the more conventional lay patrons could not meet.[236] St. Paul's role in local society and the absence of landed magnates in the social world described in the Life may suggest a similar problem and answer in the 10th century Maeander.

A very similar picture of local society comes from the third of the lower Maeander saints' Lives, that of St. Lazaros of mount Galesion. The Life was written shortly after 1057: St.

237. LAZAROS 588.

238. ibid. 539.

240. ibid. 504.

241. ibid. 508-19.

242. ibid. 522, 528-9.

244. ibid. 584.

245. ibid. 584; see E. MALAMUT, 'A propos de Bessai d'Ephèse'
246-51.

Lazaros died on 7th November 1053[237] and the author describes the coup which brought Isaac I Comnenos to power in the summer of 1057 in terms of a recent event.[238] The author was Gregory, the kellarites of the monastery, who had known Lazaros well and could also draw on the reminiscences of several other monks.[240]

For Lazaros' early life and career during the late 10th and early 11th century Gregory had to rely on the account given by the saint himself. This covers his education, his journey to Attaleia, where he spent some time in the nearby mountains, and the years he stayed in Palestine.[241] The account is certainly not wholly fictitious, but neither the details nor the chronology can be relied upon in the same way as in the later sections where Gregory not only had personal experience but a number of other witnesses. From at least 1024,[242] by which date Lazaros had moved on to his second colony and a well known community was in existence on Galesion, the Life is detailed and in so far as it presents the outlook of the monks, quite reliable.

Unlike the holy mountain of Latros organized monasticism was new in the 11th century to mount Galesion.[243] Most of the monks seemed to have assumed that the communal life on the mountain would not survive St. Lazaros' death.[244] Through the patronage of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomarchos and Maria Skleraina another monastery had been founded nearby at Bessai.[245] The monastery of the Theotokos at Bessai never won St. Lazaros' approval. It was too big - 300 monks, as opposed to

246. LAZAROS 533, 585.

247. ibid. 570, 574.

248. ibid. 582, 585-6.

249. ibid. 581-2.

250. ibid. 582.

the total of 64 on Galesion[246] - too worldly, and lacked ascetic discipline.[247] Lazaros made plain his opinion that salvation was only to be found in the harsh wilderness of mount Galesion. Indeed this was something of a self fulfilling prophesy since the monks on Galesion itself were kept up to the mark by the presence of the saint on a column in their midst. His refusal to go to Bessai and his evident lack of enthusiasm for the new monastery was found to undermine its ascetic reputation.

However, as an Imperial foundation, Bessai was independent of the metropolitan of Ephesos, and many of the Galesiote monks thought it inevitable that after Lazaros' death the metropolitan would take over the monastery on the mountain.[248] In the months before December 1053 the metropolitan had sent various agents to look over the monastery and relations were evidently strained.[249] The monks had finally forced the Saint to write to the Emperor asking for the monastery to be made an independent Imperial foundation, but one of their number betrayed the 'messengers' to the metropolitan. The letter was destroyed and the bearers turned back.[250] The account given by Gregory the kellarites is not disinterested, but it does reveal the atmosphere of doubt and bitter dissension that filled Galesion in the period before the aged saint's death.

If the community were to survive on Galesion those who wanted to stay had first to establish and maintain St. Lazaros'

251. ibid. 586.

252. See ibid. 535-6.

reputation for great holiness and spiritual power, together with his absolute conviction that salvation was only to be found on the mountain; second, they had to sustain the high standards of ascetic life on the mountain; third, they needed to reinforce Galesion's close links with both the local laity and with powerful patrons in Constantinople. As Lazaros himself seems to have been aware,[251] by doing these things the monastery could achieve a moral and political strength which would enable it to survive, even in face of the metropolitan's hostility.

Gregory's Life of St. Lazaros was above all a piece of prop ganda written to answer these demands. St. Lazaros is portrayed as a great wonder-working saint who on many occasions had prophesied that the monastery would survive, and who had also opposed the pretensions of Bessai. Abandonment of the rigours of Galesion would involve the loss of the ascetic ideals and spiritual power which went with them. By example future monks and abbots were taught of the hard path of spiritual athlesis they should be following and warned of the pitfalls open to those who strayed. Straying specifically included the desire to move to another monastery site. Through numerous stories that were no doubt told to visitors the Life advertised St. Lazaros' role in local society and his high ranking patrons at the Imperial court. By plain implication if the monastery were left on Galesion it would continue to act as a corporate patron to the local population in Constantinople and in heaven.[252] The perspective of the Life is far from being unbiased, but Gregory had no obvious interest in surpressing the

253. See supra

254. See supra

255. LAZAROS 540-41.

role of well connected sections of local society; the Life would seem to be a very important and quite reliable survey of society in the lower Maeander region.

Several of the most important laymen to appear in the Life have already been mentioned: the strategos Romanos Skleros, his sister Maria Skleraina and her lover Constantine Monomarchos,[253] the theme judges, Nikephoros Kampanares, Nikephoros the son of Euthymios and Nikephoros Proteuon,[254] have all been identified as outsiders to the Maeander region. They are mentioned in the Life as well known figures from the world of the Imperial court at Constantinople, whose association with St. Lazaros would enhance the reputation of both the saint and the monastery.

A few others can be added to this group. At about the same time as Nikephoros the son of Euthymios was sent into exile on suspicion of plotting a coup, Constantine Barys was also sent into exile on the same grounds. In this case the Emperor's suspicions were correct. The Life describes how Barys sent a message and a substantial sum of money to St. Lazaros, asking for his help to overthrow the Emperor. The Saint refused to have anything to do with it and warned Barys that his plot would end in disaster. Events turned out as St. Lazaros had predicted and Constantine Barys lost his life.[255]

The plot is not directly mentioned by either Skylitzes or

256. SKYLITZES 471.
257. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 395-7.
258. G. W. H. LAMPE, GPL 289; e.g. PAUL OF LATROS 133; SKYLITZES 427; EP II, nr. 50, 9ff.; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 56.
259. DO 58.106.1693; F 568; DO 58.106.3373; V. LAURENT, 'Les bulles métriques' Hellenika IV (1931) nr. 156, 336.
260. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 574, 286.
261. ibid. V/1, nr. 692, 523-4.
262. ibid. II, nr. 1113, 617.
263. K. M. KONSTANTOPOULOS, Byzantiaka molybdoboulla tou en Athenais Ethnikou Nomismatiku Mouseiou Athens (1917) nr. 384, ; N.P.LICHÁČEV, Istoričeskoe značenie Appendix, nr. 8, 33.
264. P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode de Blachernes' 217, 247.
265. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 245.
266. V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 1085, 597-8.

Psellos, although the former does refer to the exile of Nikephoros the son of Euthymios.[256] However, since neither are very detailed accounts nor wholly reliable there is no need to question whether the incident took place.

In the early 10th century Michael, father of Constantine Barys commanded the tagma of the Hikanatoi.[257] Barus or baris, meaning a large house or tower, is quite a common Byzantine placename,[258] and there is no certainty that all those with the surname are of the same family; however several of the 11th century Barys held similar posts at about the same time and are likely to be closely related. John Barys rose from hostianos, via protonotarios to protoproedros, teichiotes and symponos.[259] Another seal, lacking the first name, and, to judge by the layout, not the same man, describes a Barys as Imperial spatharios, kandidatos, asekretis and chartoularios of the stratiotikon logothesion.[260] One Michael Barys was metropolitan of Traïanoupolis, a see in southern Thrace;[261] another Michael Barys followed a highly successful civil career: he appears first as proedros, judge of the velum and kuaistor,[262] then successively as curopalate[263] and protocuropalate.[264] He was also a prominent supporter of Nikephoros Botaneiates in 1078 and was sent to win the Caesar John Doukas over to the rebel cause.[265] A Constantine Barys is recorded as symponos, second-in-command to the eparch of Constantinople in the second half of the 11th century;[266] another of the same name was one of the sekreton of the sakellion

267. EP I, nr. 49, 345.

268. SKYLITZES 471; see supra

269. LAZAROS 539.

who signed the pittakion of Anna Dalassena issued in May 1088 for Christodoulos as protovestes, protonotarios and ekprosopou tou sekreton tes basilikes sakelles. [267]

The list of high civil appointments held by the Barys family in the 11th century, and the association with the exile of Nikephoros the son of Euthymios indicates that the Constantine in the Life of St. Lazaros was one of the archontes politai whom Skylitzes mentions in reference to these exiles. [268] His role in the Life is one of an exotic outsider.

Another family of similar background to that of Barys were the Makremboliteis, one of whose number came to ask St. Lazaros' blessing before going on a journey to Constantinople. Gregory, the author of the Life, heard the story from a rather less illustrious visitor who happened to be there at the time. Makrembolites was apparently unwell, and although the story is not clear, he seems to have been going home. St. Lazaros tells him that he will find health in the heavenly city, and he dies even before he has left the Thrakesion. [269]

Gregory does not indicate what had brought Makrembolites to the Thrakesion. He may have been there on official business or he might have owned estates in the theme. However, as in the case of Nikephoros Ouranos, against any suggestion that Makrembolites played an important political role by virtue of the lands he held in the Thrakesion, is the good evidence showing

270. See N. OIKONOMIDES, 'Le serment de l'impératrice Eudocie (1067)', REB XXI (1963) 79, 118-20; SATHAS, MB IV, 305-10, 313-14; SKYLITZES 412.
271. PSELLOS II, 154; SATHAS, MB V, 347; PSELLOS, SM II, 46, 48, 254.
272. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID II, 80-81, 527.

the interests and influence of the Makrembolites family focused closely on Constantinople.

The genealogy of the Makrembolites in the 11th century is obscure, but even so they were clearly a Constantinopolitan family, educated and resident in the city, and ranking high amongst its civilian elite. The family was related to the future Patriarch, Michael Keroularios, whose Constantinopolitan background and culture was lauded by Michael Psellos. In 1040 John Makrenbolites had joined with Michael Keroularios and "allous ouk oligous Ton politon" in a plot to overthrow Michael IV; Eudokia Makrembolitissa, whose first marriage, in about 1050, was to the future Emperor, Constantine X Doukas, was Keroularios' niece. Her cousins, Constantine and Nikephoros, are also described as the Patriarch's nephews. These two were Michael Psellos' pupils, and Constantine at least rose high in the Imperial service.[270] Relations with Psellos included ties of spiritual kinship: Eudokia's father was Psellos' spiritual brother, and in his writings Psellos on occasion refers to Eudokia and Constantine as respectively his neice and nephew.[271] In addition to the Life of St. Lazaros, another Makrembolites is mentioned serving in the Balkans as strategos at Prespa,[272] but otherwise all the family at this period are found in Constantinople.

The other undoubtedly famous name in the Life turned out to be an imposter, but the episode still sheds light on magnate

273. LAZAROS 577, c. 227 n. 1.

274. J.-C. CHEYNET, J.-F. VANNIER, Etudes prosopographiques
Byzantina Sorbonensia V, Paris (1986) ; SKYLITZES
373, 393-4.

275. LAZAROS 557.

families in the Maeander region. The imposter, who wished to become a monk on Galesion, claimed to be Damianos Dalassenos and to own estates in the Anatolikon beyond Amorion.[273]

The Dalassenos family can with confidence be labelled as landowning magnates. Successive generations in the late 10th and 11th centuries were major political figures at court and in the eastern armies. In the 11th century they owned important estates in eastern Anatolia and a major oikos in Constantinople. However they were clearly strangers to the Maeander region. Had it been otherwise the deception could hardly have been passed off.[274]

The episode is complicated by the fact that although high ranking laymen might visit the saint to ask for advice and a blessing - the monks were familiar with this relationship and St. Lazaros was skilled at encouraging it, going so far as to build an archontarion to accommodate distinguished visitors[275] - even so, the community had not yet had the experience of such men actually becoming monks on Galesion. The prospect of the wealth and status that a Dalassenos in the monastery would bring seems to have misled all concerned. In spite of this, however, it still follows that had either the Dalassenoi been resident in the Thrakesion, or indeed had others in the region known the Dalassenoi, such a deception could hardly have been carried out with success.

Apart from this list of nine names - Romanos Skleros, Maria Skleraina, Constantine Monomarchos, Constantine Barys, Nikephoros the son of Euthymios, Nikephoros Proteuon, Nikephoros Kamapanares, Makrembolites and the pseudo - Dalassenos - none of the other substantial laymen mentioned in the Life show any signs of being figures of importance outside the Maeander region. All, bar one exceptional case, were resident in the region, several coming from Ephesos itself. Where specified they were lesser officials, small to medium land-owners or ship-owners. There is no trace in the Life of anyone who would fit the description of a landed magnate.

1. See Chapter Five above.
2. See supra. 6-10.

CHAPTER TEN Magnates in the Upper Maeander Region.

The historical geography of the upper Maeander region was discussed above in part one,[1] but otherwise the region has been left to one side and study of the official and unofficial rulers of the Maeander has concentrated on the lower Maeander region.

The upper Maeander lies in a transitional zone between the western coastlands and the central plateau, and occupied an important strategic position in Byzantine warfare against the Arabs. It was protected to the east by the belt of mountains which formed the western edge of the central plateau, and from the 7th century onwards these natural defences had been reinforced by numerous fortifications which included several of the more important fortresses of Asia Minor. The region also lay close to the major routes from Constantinople to the eastern frontier, as well as to those linking the central plateau to the Aegean.[2] In theory one would imagine the region to have been a natural focus for the landed interests of the great Byzantine military families.

However, due to the shortage of detailed sources, the social structure of the upper Maeander before the Turkish invasions is extremely obscure. Of those west coast monasteries whose archives have been even partially preserved, only St.

3. See supra 371-3.
4. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 189-287.
5. ibid. 200.
6. See infra 481 f.
7. 'Vie de S. Luc' 155-6, 170, 171-4.

Paul's on Latros, the Xerochoraphion, and the Nea Moni on Chios were founded while the upper Maeander was still in Byzantine hands, and none owned land so far east.[3] No documents have survived from the local religious houses. The only Saint's Life even partially set in the region is that of St. Luke the Stylite.[4] St. Luke and his parents were a prosperous military family, listed on the rolls of the theme army.[5] Although they ranked high in local society, they would have counted for little in the Empire as a whole.[6] The account, given in the Life, of St. Luke's early years is an invaluable insight into one sector of society, but since he actually spent most of his ascetic career in Constantinople, and that was also the home of his hagiographer,[7] the Life of St. Luke does not have the same importance as a source for local society as any of the west coast monastic lives.

For the lower Maeander, which is in any case better documented, gaps in the direct evidence can be partially filled by assuming that material which relates to the Thrakesion as a whole can be applied to this particular regional sub-section; for the upper Maeander such an assumption cannot be made. Whereas the lower Maeander forms over two thirds of the territory of the Thrakesioi, the upper Maeander not only forms less than a sixth of the Anatolikon, but it is also geographically distinct from the rest of the theme. Those features of the area which make it part of the Maeander region rather than of Anatolia, might equally suggest a separate social history from the theme of

8. Cf. S. VRYONIS, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century London (1971) 25 n. 32; M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantium Monetary Economy 102-3. Vryonis' list, repeated by Hendy, includes in addition to the above the families of Argyros, Doukas, Leichoudes, Maniakes, Melissenos and Mosele. The Arguroi are only linked to the Anatolikon by a general reference in Skylitzes; much better evidence links the family to the Charsianon and southern Italy, SKYLITZES 488; J.-F. VANNIER, Familles Byzantines: Les Argyroi (IXe-XIIe siècles) Paris (1975) 15-17 et passim. The Doukai seem to be associated with the Anatolikon on the grounds that Andronikos Doukas took refuge at Kabala in 906. The latter, however, was an important Imperial fortress, not a private possession of the Doukas family and the presence of the fleeing domestic reveals nothing of his territorial interests, D. I. POLEMIS, The Doukai 1-6, 16-21; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, Galatien und Lykaonien 182-3. The Leichoudes family was one of Constantinopolitan bureaucrats and ecclesiastics; it is unclear why Vryonis included them, see SATHAS, MB IV, 395-6; G. WEISS, Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos Munich (1973) 80. George Maniakes did own estates in the Anatolikon, but his origins lay further east in the country of the Arab marches, SKYLITZES 381, 387, 397, 427, 492; the name appears to be Turkish, G. MORAVCSIK, Byzantinoturcica II Berlin (1958) 181. The Melissenoi may have derived their name from the toponym Melissa; of the three known sites with that name, one is in the Anatolikon between Synada and Metropolis, W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 36, 170; IDEM, Cities and Bishoprics II, 753; contemporaries, however, associated the family with Lydia or the Opsikion, 'Vita S. Nicholai Studitae' PG CV, 863-6; KINNAMOS 294. The Mosele family were of Armenian origin and the mid-10th century had a house in Constantinople, THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 107-9; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 794; H. DELEHAYE, 'Vita S. Nicephori Episcopii Milesii' AB XIV (1895) 161-5: the latter should be read in the light of P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 283 n. 6. In the late 10th century they were important landowners, but there is no indication as to where, JGR 266-7 n. 48; SKYLITZES 251. For the skleroi see supra 327f.; Rhadenos: GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS 880-1, 897.
9. ATTALEIATES 242, 253; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 172; see also G. BUCKLER, 'A Sixth century Botaniates' B VI (1931) 405-6 and pl. XVII; MAMA IV, 31-2: the funerary inscription, dated January 571, was found at Synada and records a place name Botánia.
10. YAHYA 373; V. LAURENT, 'La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche' 229-31, 233-4; SKYLITZES 488; ANNA COMNENA III, 199-200; W. M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 233-4; see also MAMA VII, 75 nr. 310; G. BUCKLER, 'Two Gateway Inscriptions' BZ XXX (1929-30) 647, pl. XVI.

11. ANNA COMNENA I, 66; P.-W. IVA, 1410-12; W.,M. RAMSAY, The Historical Geography of Asia Minor 40, 139.
12. LEO DIACONUS 135; ANNA COMNENA III, 203; Mesanakta was an Imperial estate, and although not on the list of aplekta preserved in the De Ceremoniis fulfilled a similar function in military operations, SKYLITZES 320, 385, 412: on the last occasion in 1040 Theodosios Masanyktes was one of the archontes of the tagmata blinded for their part in an abortive plot.
13. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 261; W. M. RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics II, 677-97.
14. ATTALEIATES 230; SKYLITZES 350. Skylitzes calls him Theophylact, but since Attaleiates wrote a decade earlier and actually dedicated his work to the Emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates his testimony is to be preserved. This is a further example of Skylitzes' unreliability, see supra
15. ATTALEIATES 230-36; SKYLITZES 350.

which it was officially a part.

A number of major Byzantine families appear to have been prominent in the theme of the Anatolikoi during the 10th and 11th centuries. They include those of Botaneiates, Rhadenos, Bourtzes, Synadenos, Straboromanos, Skleros and Mesanyktes.[8] Of these only the family of Botaneiates can be connected with the upper Maeander region.[9] The interests of the other families seem to have lain further to the east. In particular the Bourtzes family were associated with the area around Polybotos east of Akroinos;[10] the name Synadenos was presumably derived from Synada,[11] as was that of Mesanyktes from the Imperial estate of Mesanakta near the Ak Şehir Gölü.[12] Romanos Straboromanos is recorded to have come from the Phrygian Pentapolis, beyond the mountains to the east of the Banaz ovası.[13]

The most famous of the Botaneiates family was Nikephoros Botaneiates who reigned as Emperor from 1078 to 1081, but before this the family had had a distinguished military record which can be traced back to the turn of the 10th century. Both Nikephoros' father and grandfather served in Basil II's Bulgar wars. His grandfather, also called Nikephoros, was doux of Thessalonika until he fell in a Bulgar ambush in 1014;[14] his father, Michael Botaneiates, another of Basil II's generals, is credited with heroic deeds of valour against the Bulgars by Michael Attaleiates, and he later served the same Emperor in Armenia.[15]

16. G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 626 nr. 3.
17. ibid. 625 nr. 2; c.f. ibid. 318; YAHYA 369.
18. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 55, 252; GEORGIUS HARMATOLUS 1249, 1252; ANNA COMNENA I, 98; the records of A. KAZHDAN, G. CONSTABLE, People and Power in Byzantium Washington (1982) 52-3 on life expectancy are misleading; see E. PATLAGEAN, Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance Paris (1977) 95-101; and also for comparison, J. McMANNERS, Death and the Enlightenment Oxford (1981) 5-23, 59-88, 89-94.
19. ATTALeiaates 97-8.
20. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I/3, 1462-3 nr. 2686.
21. SKYLITZES 488; ATTALEIATES 56.

Two slightly earlier Botaneiates bore the titles of Imperial spatharios and anthypatos, which suggests a date in the 9th century;[16] Eustratios Botaneiates is known from a seal which may be late 10th century as patrikios, anthypatos and strategos of Zebel. The latter is probably the Syrian town of Gabala captured by John Tzimiskes in 975.[17]

Nikephoros Botaneiates, the future Emperor, is first attested in 1053, although this was evidently not his first command. By the time he came to be Emperor in 1078 he struck contemporaries as an old man, and even in the light of the short life expectancy in medieval Byzantium, that implies a man no younger than his sixties.[18] Nikephoros was therefore at least in his thirties in 1053 when he is reported fighting in the Patzinaks near the Danube.[19] The seal of a Nikephoros Botaneiates, magistros, vestes, vestarch and doux of Macedonian Edessos is almost certainly his and would fit the circumstances well.[20] The seal would also indicate that this was not Nikephoros' first command. The high ranking titles are those of an experienced general and Imperial servant.

In the years following the Patzinak war Nikephoros appears to have been transferred to a command in the east. He was there in 1057 when he was a principal supporter of Isaac Comnenos, and he is described by Skylitzes as one of "Those archontes who have their dwelling in the theme of the Anatolikoi".[21]

22. P. LEMERLE, Philippe et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine Paris (1945) 158 n. 1; F. DÖLGER, Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges Munich (1948) 156 nr. 57, 329-30 nrs. 5, 6, pl. 120/5, 6.
23. ATTALEIATES 83; SYLITZES CONTINUATUS 114. Attaleiates calls Nikephoros 'magistros', but this is contradicted by the documents from the Iberon monastery cited supra n. 22.
24. ATTALEIATES 95-6; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 120-1; G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, Byzantine Lead Seals I/3, 1466 nr. 2688; V. LAURENT 'La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche' 246. It may have been during this short period that he was raised to the rank of protoproedros, see G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, op.cit. 1466, nr. 2689. For the difficulties facing a doux of Antioch, see W. FELIX, Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert
25. ATTALEIATES 97-8.

By 1061 he was back in the west, promoted to the rank of proedros and with command of Thessalonika.[22] It is likely that it was still in this capacity that he and Basil Apokapes were defeated by the Oğuz Turks in the autumn of 1064. Both generals were captured in the disaster, although it seems they were released shortly afterwards.[23]

In 1067, during the regency of Eudokia, Nikephoros, with the same rank of proedros, was sent to the east to take up the important post of doux of Antioch. Antioch was always a testing command for a Byzantine general; the internal politics were complicated and unstable, and there was an external threat from the Arabs of Aleppo, exacerbated in the late 1060s by the Turks, against whom the new doux fought with a certain limited success. The other feature of the Antioch command was the distance from Constantinople, which had the effect - possibly deliberate - of neutralizing Nikephoros' influence at court. According to Attaleiates, whose Historia is to a great extent an encomium of Botaneiates, it was only Nikephoros' absence in Antioch that prevented his being a strong candidate for the widowed Eudokia's hand.[24] Instead in December 1067 Romanos Diogenes became Eudokia's second husband and Emperor.

Nikephoros Botaneiates had reason to resent the younger man's rise to power. In 1053 Romanos had been his junior co-commander on the Danube, and Nikephoros was credited with saving his life.[25] For the time being, however, there was no overt

26. V. LAURENT, 'La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche' 246-7.
27. IDEM, Orghidan nr. 235; G. VEGLERIS, Nikephoros Botaneiates Athens (1916) in V. LAURENT, 'Bulletin de sigillographie byzantine' B V (1929-30) 610; G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, op.cit. 1466, nr. 2689 may also belong to this period, c.f. supra n. 24.
28. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 143; c.f. ATTALEIATES 145.
29. G. ZACOS, A. VEGLERY, op.cit. 1467-8, nrs. 2690, 2690 bis.
30. ATTALEIATES 185.

hostility. Nikephoros was recalled from Antioch early in 1068,[26] but he was promoted to the rank of protoproedros and sent first to be doux of Strymon and Boleros, and then later to be doux of the Peloponnese and Hellas.[27] By 1071 relations had cooled. Very early on the Manzikert campaign Nikephoros was accused of being involved in a plot against the Emperor.[28]

Whatever his exact role in events, Nikephoros was evidently in favour with the new regime under Michael VII. By 1073 or 4 he had been raised to the high rank of curopalate and appointed to the important military command of doux of the Anatolikoi. As such he was one of those principally responsible for the defence of Asia Minor against the Turks.[29]

The immediate enemy, however, was not the Turks, but the rebel westerner, Roussel de Bailleul. Nikephoros was second-in-command to the Caesar John Doukas on the expedition sent to restore Imperial control in Asia Minor.[30] The Imperial forces brought Roussel to battle at the Zompos bridge over the Sangarios, but the result was a disaster. The Caesar was captured and his eldest son, Andronikos Doukas, whose estates near Miletos have already been discussed, was so severely wounded that he was an invalid for the short remaining portion of his life. Nikephoros was one of the few Byzantine commanders to escape death or capture. The account varies depending on the bias of the author, but amongst the Doukai and their supporters, Nikephoros Botaneiates was held responsible for the defeat.

31. ATTALEIATES 185-6; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 169-71;
SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 158: Nikephoros Bryennios gives
the hostile pro-Doukai account; D. POLEMIS, The Doukai
55-9.
32. ATTALEIATES 186.

According to this version, Nikephoros, who had been in command of the rear division, had seen the western mercenaries in the Imperial army deserting to Roussel. Instead of coming to the rescue, Nikephoros had withdrawn his troops and left the Caesar and his son to their fate.[31]

In the wake of this disaster Nikephoros retired with the troops of the Anatolikoi to their theme. Attaleiates describes this as a return to his "home and abode", [32] but under the circumstances he can have had little other option. He could hardly have gone to Constantinople without disgrace since it was his duty to be in the theme organizing its defence against both Roussel and the Turks. A return to Constantinople would also have courted arrest for his presumed treachery at the battle of Zompos. The contrary view, put about by his supporters, that Nikephoros had been the hero of the fight, whose advice had been ignored with fatal consequences, could hardly be expected to be tolerated by a frightened regime looking for a scape-goat.

If he stayed put in the Anatolikon, however, he was relatively safe. Michael VII could not easily remove or replace him since under the disordered circumstances of Asia Minor in the mid-1070s the Emperor had few means of enforcing his will on a distant general. Any attempts to do so would simply have had the effect of forcing the commander of a powerful body of troops into open rebellion. The revolt of Nikephoros Bryennios in the Balkans appears to have been the consequence of an attempt to do

33. NIKEPHORS BRYENNIOS 213-19.
34. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 172; for Lampē see supra
35. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 237-53; ATTALEIATES 240-43, 256-7, 263-72; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 171-2, 176-9, 181-2; for the chronology see D. POLEMIS, 'Notes on Eleventh-Century Chronology (1059-1081)' BZ LVIII (1965) 69-71; P. GAUTIER in NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 246 n. 1, 248 n. 2, 252 n. 5.
36. H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historiques' 84-6;
G. OSTROGORSKY, History of the Byzantine Empire State 348;
M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 96.

just that.[33] In the case of Nikephoros Botaneiates there was the additional fear, given apparent grounds by his conduct at the battle of Zompos, that he would ally himself with Roussel. Such a state of affairs produced a fatal split between the Imperial government and the commander of one of the chief remaining bodies of Byzantine troops in Asia Minor. This split effectively neutralized the Anatolikai and prevented for several years any concerted action being taken against the Turks.

This stalemate lasted until October 1077 when "the Chief men of the east", whom Sklitzes names as Alexander Kabasilas, Romanos Straboromanos, Synadenos and Goudeles, proclaimed Nikephoros Botaneiates Emperor at Lampē in the Baklan ovası.[34] In January 1078 Nikephoros left the upper Maeander and marched on Constantinople, going by way of Nicaea where he gained the alliance of the Turkomans under the sons of Kutlumuş. By the beginning of April Michael VII had abdicated and Nikephoros had been accepted as Emperor in the Imperial city.[35]

On the face of it, the obvious interpretation of Nikephoros Botaneiates' coup is that he was a great landed magnate who used his power in the Anatolikon to overthrow Michael VII's government. In this he had the backing of those whom Gregoire calls "les grands féodaux", and the episode reveals the dangers posed to the Byzantine state by the overmighty magnates, whose irresponsibility led to the loss of Asia Minor to the Turks.[36]

- 37. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 172.
- 38. SKYLITZES 368.
- 39. ibid. 418; PSELLOS I, 108, 118.
- 40. S. P. LAMPOS, 'Alexander Kabasilas' BZ XII (1903) 40-41; N. BANESCU, 'Changements politiques dans le Balkans apres la conquête de l'empire bulgare de Samuel (1018). Nouveaux duchés byzantins: Bulgarie et Paristrion' Bulletin de la section historique, Academie Romaine X (1923); G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 627 nr. 1; ANNA COMNENA I, 151; II, 114; III, 104, 111.

There are several flaws in this approach. In the first place it is not clear that Skylitzes' description of those who proclaimed Nikephoros Emperor at Lampē in 1077 as "the chief men of the east"[37] refers to anything other than the commands they happened to hold at the time. What the group seems to have in common is not that they were great Anatolian landowners, but a family tradition of high ranking Imperial service.

Alexander Kabasilas certainly did not come from the Anatolion. He was a distinguished soldier, whose family, possibly of Bulgar origin, had been prominent at court since the early 11th century. Nikephoros Kabasilas was doux of Thessalonika in 1025;[38] the patrikios Constantine Kabasilas had been a servant of Constantine VIII and was one of his daughter Theordora's principal supporters in 1042. He was later appointed doux of the west.[39] Alexander Kabasilas himself is not referred to before his appearance at Lampē in October 1077. Shortly after Nikephoros Botaneiates had been established on the Imperial throne, Alexander was made katepan of Bulgaria, and his successful military career continued under Alexios I.[40] Since no source suggests that the family came from Asia Minor, one may presume that Skylitzes' remark refers to a command in that area held by Alexander during the 1070s.

The Goudelioi, one of whose number was present at Lampē in October 1077, do seem to have been a prominent eastern family. Twice in the 11th century before 1077 they were accused of

41. SKYLITZES 372, 396; S. P. LAMPOS, 'Ho byzantinakos oikos Gudele' NE XIII (1916) 211-21; V. LAURENT, Orghidan nr. 336; F 2704; G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 667 nr. 1.
42. V. LAURENT II, 168-9, nr. 349.
43. G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 667 nr. 2.
44. See supra 428.
45. ATTALEIATES 286; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 179, 186; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 259-61; ANNA COMNENA I, 77-8; for the Grand Hetaireiarch, see J. B. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century 106-8; N. OIKONOMIDES, 'L' evolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au IXe siècle (1025-1118)' TM VI (1976) 130.

plotting against the reigning Emperor in concert with such well known military families as Kourkuas, Dalassenos and Gabras. The first instance in 1026 led to a Goudelios being blinded, the second in 1034 sent another into exile. The Goudelios involved in the latter was described by Skylitzes as "one of the wealthy and well-born of Asia Minor".[41]

However they were not simply a family of provincial soldiers. Skylitzes' mention of their plotting suggests they were close to events at court, and at least one member of the family is known to have followed a civilian career in Constantinople. John Goudelios with the rank of protospatharios was Great Chartoularios of the Genikon;[42] he may also be the same John Goudelios who is attested with the rank of nobelissimos toward the end of the century.[43]

Both the Straboromanoi and the Synadenoi had, as has been already noted, their origins in the Anatolikon to the east of the upper Maeander, but like the Kabasilas and Goudelios families, they were already established figures in the Imperial hierarchy before 1077.[44]

As Grand Hetaireiarch, a post which gave him responsibility for internal security, Romanos Straboromanos was to be one of the key figures of Nikephoros III's regime.[45] However he had already had experience of high office under Michael VII. In 1074 he had been sent to southern Italy as head of the important

46. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 167; H. BIBICCU 'Une page d'histoire diplomatique de byzance au XIe siècle: Michel VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard et la pension des dignitaires' B XXIX-XXX (1959-60) 43-75.
47. P. GAUTIER 'Le dossier d'un haut fonctionnaire d'Alexis Comnène: Manuel Straboromanos' REB XXIII (1965) 168-204.
48. SKYLITZES 410.
49. ANNA COMNENA I, 46.
50. SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 185.
51. ANNA COMNENA I, 161; D. POLEMIS, The Doukai 54-5.

embassy which negotiated a marriage alliance between Robert Guiscard and the Byzantine Emperor.[46] His personal association with Nikephoros Botaneiates and the hostility of Anna Dalassena meant that his political career did not survive Nikephoros' fall in April 1081, but other members of the family did prosper under the Comneni. Manuel Straboromanos, who may well have been his son, was protonobelissimos and Grand Hetaireiarch for Alexios I between 1108 and 1118; another Romanos Straboromanos, probably his grandson, held a military command in the Balkans in 1092. Their success points to a family well established at court and with a tradition of Imperial service.[47]

Such a tradition is even more evident for the Synadenoi who were a major political family from at least the first half of the 11th century. Already in 1040 one of the family, Basil Synadenos, strategos of Dyrrachium, was accused of plotting to seize the throne;[48] and Nikephoros Botaneiates intended that a Synadenos should follow him as Emperor.[49] Nikephoros appears to have been deliberately building up the Synadenoi as an Imperial family. His niece Synadena, the daughter of Theodoulos Synadenos, was sent to be wife to the Kral of Hungary;[50] Zoe Doukaina, daughter of the late Emperor Constantine X Doukas, was betrothed to Nikephoros Synadenos, who may have been the member of the family the Emperor intended to succeed him.[51]

Since several of the Synadenoi were clearly soldiers - apart from those already mentioned, a Nikephoros Synadenos was

52. G. SCHLUMBERGER, Sigillographie 705 nr. 5; D.O. 58, 106. 1488.
53. ANNA COMNENA I, 161; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 172.
54. P. GAUTIER, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator' REB XXXII (1974) 117, 121.
55. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 48-9, 253-4, 257.
56. ANNA COMNENA I, 155, 161; P. GAUTIER, 'Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Etude prosopographique' REB XXIX (1971) 217, 250; V. LAURENT 'Les bulles metriques' 61 nr. 729; IDEM 'Andronikos Synadenos' REB XX (1962) 210-14; D.O. 55. 1. 3341; an Eirene Synadena married the Sebastos Manuel Botaneiates; they were childless and left at least some of their property to the Emperor John II Comnenos, P. GAUTIER 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator' 119, 123; S. P. LAMPROS 'Ho Markianos Kōdix 524' NE VIII (1911) 40-41.

strategos of Capadocia and a Leo Synadenos is attested as magistros and katepan[52] - and since the family is several times described as from the east,[53] they probably originated among the military of Asia Minor. However by the later 11th century they were well established in Constantinople and they owned estates in nearby Thrace.[54] Indeed this was not a recent development: some of the letters of Philetos Synadenos written in the first six years of the 11th century have survived, revealing a man of Constantinopolitan culture, bitterly complaining at being sent away from the Imperial city to be judge of Tarsos.[55]

The loss of the Anatolikon to the Turks had no discernable effect upon their fortunes. Despite their close association with Nikephoros Botaneiates the Synadenoi seem to have been too important for the Comneni to ignore. Nikephoros Synadenos, Botaneiates' prospective heir, was a senior general on Alexios' first campaign against the Normans, when he was killed in October 1081;[56] and several other Synadenoi are attested holding high rank and office throughout the 12th century.

The same point can be made for Nikephoros Botaneiates himself. His long and successful career was not spent in the Anatolikon, but rather holding high office elsewhere in the Empire. In fact most of the recorded events of his career took place in the west. At least four of his commands were held in Europe as compared with only two or three in Asia - a figure

57. Nikephoros' kinsman, Manuel Botaneiates, owned an estate at Verroia, in Macedonia, 70 kilometres west of Thessalonika. The identification with Macedonian Verroia is reinforced by the document's reference to planena, Macedonian mountain pastures, P. GAUTIER, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator' 123; for planēna see Actes de Lavra I, nr. 66, 343-5: the monastery was in dispute with a body of Cumans who had usurped its grazing rights on the mountain pastures.
58. ATTALEIATES 236.
59. M. ANGOLD, 'Inventory of the so-called palace of Botaneiates' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 254-66; MM III, X-XV, 55-7; see also R. JANIN, Constantinople Byzantine 2nd Edn. Paris (1964) 251, 326, map I, G6.
60. ATTALEIATES 255, 276, 278-9, 281, 283; for the social background to these events, see P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 272-93.

which includes a period of less than a year as doux of Antioch. In total he must have spent at least fourteen years out of twenty-five in a command far away from the Anatolikoi. The proportion is probably larger.[57]

Much of what time remained to him was spent in Constantinople. This could be inferred from his prominent political career. A man honoured with such high ranking titles and posts, who was even considered as a possible candidate for the hand of the Empress Fudokia in 1067, and whose ambitions roused Imperial suspicion, must have been a familiar figure at court; but this can in fact be confirmed by other evidence. Michael Attaleiates noted that the Emperor's father, Michael Botaneiates, enjoyed particularly good relations with the citizens of Constantinople, which suggests someone frequently resident in the city.[58] Two later inventories, one of 1192, the other of 1202, describe a place called that of Botaneiates, which lay in the heart of Constantinople halfway up the slope leading from the Golden Horn to the Forum of Constantine. In the second half of the 12th century it had been occupied by the Kalamanos family, until it was handed over to the Genoese in 1192. Earlier it could well have been the residence of the Botaneiates family in the 11th century.[59] Various policies of Nikephoros' short reign, such as the restoration of the skalai to their private owners, suggest a sympathetic attitude toward the city and its new senatorial and commercial class.[60] The fact that one of their number, Michael Attaleiates, chose to write an encomiastic history of Botaneiates

61. Michael Attaleiates was very much a Constantinopolitan by adoption if not by birth: A. KAZHDAN, Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries Cambridge (1984) 58; P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 76 n. 8; P. GAUTIER, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliate' REB XXXIX (1981) 12; c.f. E. T. TSOLAKES, 'Aus dem Leben des Michael Attaleiates' BZ LVIII (1965) 5-7.
62. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 179-81, 187-91, 199-201; ATTALEIATES 211-14, 238-40; ANNA COMNENA I, 10-11; C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 72-5.
63. Obvious examples are the development of principalities in 10th century France, for which see the introductory remarks of J. DUNBABIN, France in the Making 843-1180 Oxford (1985). 63-4, 66, 69-70, 75, 82-3, 90; the needs of local defence provided a similar impetus to political organization in Britain, Germany, Italy and Spain.
64. M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 275-8; A. A. M. BRYER, 'Greeks and Türkmens: the Pontic exception' DOP XXIX (1975) 115-43.

also serves to underline the significance of his ties to Constantinople.[61]

The second flaw in the argument which sees Nikephoros as a great landed magnate using provincial power against the government in Constantinople is that although he clearly owned property at Lampē, provincial support does not appear to have played a very significant role in the coup of 1077 - 8.

Local ties may have been responsible for his presence in that specific area of the upper Maeander, but Nikephoros retreated to the Anatolikon after the battle of Zompos because he was the *doux*, because his soldiers came from there, and because his role in the defeat meant that he had for the moment no where else to go.

For the next three years, from 1074 to 1077, Nikephoros Botaneiates stayed in the Anatolikon. While Michael VII's government faced more immediate crises, these years saw increasing Turkish pressure on the Byzantine population of Asia Minor.[62] Were Nikephoros to have been a landed magnate able to draw on local support and the alliance of other powerful neighbours, one would expect to find him leading the local response to the Turkish threat and presiding over what would in effect have been an autonomous regional state. Elsewhere in Europe,[63] and indeed in some parts of the Byzantine world,[64] the combination of strong local lordship, external enemies and

65. See supra 6-10.
66. A. A. M. BRYER, 'Greeks and Türkmens' 119, 127, 129, 132; F. BRAUDEL, The Mediterranean I, 87: "One anecdote deserves mention. Coron, on the Greek coast, was in 1499 still a Venetian outpost. The Pasha of Morea wanted to prevent the Albanians and Greeks of the little town from sowing crops or grazing flocks on the territory of the Grand Turk. The Rettori of Coron merely replied dolcemente, 'Our flocks may go to your land in summer, but your flocks come to ours in winter'." See also the evidence for early medieval Italy where the pastoral economy proved particularly vulnerable to political insecurity, C. WICKHAM, Studi sulla società degli Appennini nell'alto medioevo Università degli Studi di Bologna Quaderni del centro studi sorelle Clarke, II, Bologna (1982) 50-58; IDEM 'Pastoralism and underdevelopment in the early middle ages', Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo XXXI (1983) 401-3.
67. C. CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 72-5.

ineffectual central government led to the rise of just such virtually independent states.

In the second half of the 1070s the Anatolikon would appear to have been peculiarly suited to hold out in the face of the Turks. The theme had natural mountainous defences and refuge areas, reinforced by castles and fortified towns, several of which had been recently refurbished. The area did not lack fairly fertile arable land, but of far greater strategic importance, it included in the upper Maeander one of western Asia Minor's vital and limited zones of winter pasture.[65]

Throughout Asia Minor and the Middle East mounted nomad raiders were a persistent and often dangerous threat to the settled population, but the same raiders could be extremely vulnerable to counter attack against their own livestock at those seasons of the year when climate and geography forced them to migrate to particular grazing grounds. Such conditions could be exploited by the settled population, as in the Pontos, where they help to explain the survival of the Empire of Trebizond.[66]

In the later 1070s the Turks in Asia Minor were not yet organized into territorial states, They appear as no more than loose groups of Turkoman tribes, operating on the fringe of the Selçuk Empire, and still coming to terms with the new world that had opened up after the battle of Manzikert.[67] The Turkomans could certainly raid the Anatolikon to painful effect, but

68. Eg. the sack of Caesarea in Cappadocia, SKYLITZES
CONTINUATUS 119.
69. ATTALEIATES 269, 272; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 177; C.
CAHEN, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 75.
70. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 241; ATTALEIATES 266-7.

provided an organized defence was maintained they could not graze their herds on the essential winter pastures unless they either drove the Anatolikoi from their fortresses or came to an arrangement. Both courses presented problems, but whereas the first was probably impracticable for the Turcomans of the 1070s, examples elsewhere show that with time and experience the second could be made to succeed. The Turcomans had had some rare successes against walled cities and fortresses, but these had been due to surprise or luck, and it was not to be repeated against the numerous fortifications of a prepared enemy.[68] An accommodation needed two parties with sufficient control over their followers to ensure compliance with the terms of an agreement; complete pacification of the Turkomans was no doubt impossible, yet under certain circumstances and for specific ends their leaders were able to exercise a high degree of control. For example, in early 1078, following an agreement with Nikephoros Botaneiates, the sons of Kutlumuş were able to stop all Turkoman raiding in Bithynia. [69] It suggests that had Nikephoros had the power, influence and will, the collapse of the Anatolikon to the Turks was not inevitable.

In fact, however, neither Nikephoros Botaneiates nor any of the other 'easterners' named by Skylitzes seems to have made any such attempt to exploit the possibilities of the theme acting as an autonomous entity. The initiative for an alliance with the Turks came, not from the Byzantines, but from the sons of Kutlumuş at Nicaea late in February 1078.[70] They appear to

71. ANNA COMNENA II, 75; H. GREGOIRE, 'Notes de géographie historique' 88.
72. Nikephoros was in command of both the Anatolikoi and the Thrakesioi at the battle of Zompos, NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 169: echōn meth'eautou ten ton Phrygon kai ton Lykaonon phalagga, eti de kai ten ton Asianon. The former should be identified with the 11th century tagma of the Anatolikoi, rather than with the small unit later known as the chomatenoi, SKYLITZES 488; H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 34-5; c.f. H. GREGOIRE, 'Nicéphore Bryennios' B XXIII (1953) 514 n. 1; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 158.
73. ATTALEIATES 263; hypostrategoi: H. AHRWEILER, Recherches 40.
74. NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 243; ANNA COMNENA I, 130; ATTALEIATES 263-6; the figure of 300, given by Bryennios and Anna, both writing at least 50 years after the event, is not necessarily reliable, but both principal sources - Bryennios and Attaleiates - are in agreement that Nikephoros' force was very small. The figure refers to the numbers with Nikephoros at Nicea, and hence it should include the Turks who joined at Kütahya. If so, it would follow that the number of Byzantines leaving the upper Maeander was even less. For the date at which Bryennios' history was composed, see NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS (Introduction), 28-9; the exact date has not been clarified by the new edition of the typikon, P. GAUTIER, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator' 42-3, n.8.
75. ATTALEIATES 265; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 100-02, 239.
76. ATTALEIATES 263-5; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 239-41.
77. ANNA COMNENA I, 18, 21-2, 100-03, 130, 136; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 265, 271; c.f. A. HOHLWEG, Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des öströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen Misc. Byzantina Monacensia I, Munich (1965) 81-2 which misidentifies Choma.

have thought there was profit to be made out of joining this attempt to seize the Imperial throne. The alliance was only temporary and reflected no common interest among the populations of western Asia Minor. Once away from the upper Maeander and the Anatolikon Nikephoros abandoned the region to the Turks.[71]

Equally the Anatolikoi showed little interest in him. Whereas in 1074 Nikephoros had been the commander of a large contingent of the Imperial army at Zompos,[72] in 1078 two of his hypostrategoi deserted very early in the enterprise,[73] and neither he, nor the others who had proclaimed him Emperor at Lampē in the previous October, could together muster any more than 300 men.[74] Their numbers were increased by the appearance of Chrysokoules and a small body of Turks who met them at Kütahya,[75] but until the sons of Kutlumuş joined Nikephoros at Nicaea, the enterprise had more the character of a furtive dash than a military expedition.[76]

The very small numbers of provincials who followed Nikephoros Botaneiates in 1078 is an indication of his limited influence in local society. Any hope of success rested on the support he enjoyed in Constantinople. Those who accompanied him from the upper Maeander, known as the Chomatenoi, the men from Choma, were to play an important part in Byzantine politics for the next four years, not through their numbers, but rather because they were an organized force of stratiotai in a state where the military system of the past had almost collapsed.[77]

- 78. ATTALEIATES 263-5.
- 79. IDEM 265-9; NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 243-53.
- 80. See W. SEIBT, Die Skleroi 37-8.
- 81. For the importance of such payments see SKYLITZES 316, 487-487-8; YAHYA 372; P. LEMERLE, 'Roga et rente d'état,' 77-100; M. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 181-92, 645-54.

Attaleiates would have wished to attribute Nikephoros Botaneiates' success to the hand of God and his hero's virtue,[78] but in fact both he and Bryennios make plain that Michael VII's regime fell because it was abandoned by the citizens of Constantinople. Nikephoros was in effect invited into the city and presented with the throne.[79] The alliance with the Turks helped, largely because the citizens were impressed by the return of security to western Bithynia, but there is no question of Nikephoros using Byzantine provincial strength to impose himself on the Imperial capital.

If Nikephoros Botaneiates is to be described as a landed magnate from the upper Maeander, then the events of 1077-8 are of great importance in putting his social position and local power into perspective. They show that when compared with the support such a man as Bardas Skleros had been able to muster on the eastern frontier a century earlier,[80] any power wielded by Nikephoros Botaneiates as a private individual in the upper Maeander was extremely limited.

Between 1074 and 1078 the authority that Nikephoros Botaneiates derived from his Imperial commission as doux of the Anatolikoi had declined. He was cut off from Constantinople and hence from any payment either for himself or for his army;[81] his own influence and possessions could not apparently compensate for this loss. As his authority began to crumble, not only was it impossible to carry on effective war against the Turks, but

82. Bryennios' attempt to suggest that Nikephoros was followed by the army of the east, in the same way that his grandfather's revolt was backed by the army of the west, it is contradicted by his own account, NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS 239.
83. See G. BUCKLER, *loc.cit.* supra n. 9.

the Anatolikoi would no longer obey his commands. Only a small group of adventurers joined his expedition to Constantinople.[82] For Nikephoros, and for those other holders of high office isolated from the court in Asia Minor, a return to the Imperial capital, by force if necessary, was essential if they were not to become utterly powerless.

Nikephoros Botaneiates would thus appear to have been a high ranking soldier and a prominent figure at the Imperial court during the third quarter of the 11th century who for probably historical reasons owned property in the upper Maeander.[83] Under normal circumstances that property no doubt made up a substantial part of his income, but it did not guarantee him any extraordinary provincial power. In this position Nikephoros is unlikely to have been unique. The Banaz and Baklan ovalarsı are a relatively extensive area, and other high ranking figures could well have owned land there. However, the silence of the sources, in particular the fact that neither Attaleiates nor Bryennios make any reference to other landed magnates playing an active part in the events of the 1070s, suggests that any other such landowner in the upper Maeander had no more local influence than did Nikephoros.

The lack of documentary sources obviously hides a great deal, including those distinctions which made the upper Maeander different from the rest of the Maeander region. Instead what stands out is the fact, common throughout the Maeander, that

there is no evidence for a resident landed aristocracy holding high rank in Constantinople and at the same time dominating local society.

1. See C. MANGO, Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome 49, 114; M. ANGOLD, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine city' 9-11; P. GAUTIER, 'L'édit d'Alexis Ier Comnène sur la réforme du clergé', REB XXXI (1973) 165-201.
2. ibid. 165-70.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Secular Church in the Maeander Region.

It is current among Byzantine historians to take a rather gloomy view of the secular church in the middle Byzantine period. The evidence adduced includes the edict drawn up by Alexios I which castigates the secular church for its ill-educated, absentee bishops and its failure to fulfill pastoral tasks, in particular that of teaching the flock. Attention has also been drawn to low material standards of Byzantine bishops shown by archaeological evidence and recorded by contemporary observers, above all the 10th century Italian, Liudprand of Cremona. The low status of the secular church seems also to be confirmed by canon XIV of the council of 869 which sought to protect bishops from humiliation by lay dignitaries. The plain implication is that too many bishops were overawed in their presence and behaved in a manner hardly compatible with the theoretical dignity of their office. This discouraging picture supports the interpretation that the secular church, which had been closely tied to the urban culture of the late Roman world, fell as the cities fell, leaving moral and cultural supremacy to the monasteries.[1]

When examined in detail, however, this approach is less convincing than it may at first appear. Alexios' edict is difficult to accept as an unbiased assessment. As Gautier noted, the document has a pronounced pro-monastic tone,[2] and an

3. See P. LEMERLE, Cinq Etudes 293-312; M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 114-34; R. BROWNING, 'Enlightenment and repression in Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', PP LXIX (1975) 3-23.
4. See ANNA COMNENA I, 32, 126-7; CYRIL PHILEOTES 90-94, 211-35.
5. P. GAUTIER, 'Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis Ier Comnène', REB XXVIII (1970) 5-55; IDEM, 'Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat', ibid. XXXIII (1975) 76-132.
6. ANNA COMNENA II, 11; V. GRUMEL, 'Les documents athonites l'attaire de Léon de Chalcedoine', Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati III, Studie e Testi 123, Vatican City (1946) 125.
7. Alexios' principal opponents were among the metropolitans, against whom he backed the patriarchal officials resident in Constantinople in the struggle over the role of synod, see J. DARROUZES, Documents inédits d'écclésiologie byzantine Paris (1966) 37-53.
8. See supra chapter six, *passim*.
9. LIUDPRAND OF CREMONA 176-210, 210-211; Liudprand calls him an episcopus, but he was in fact an archbishop, Notitiae Episcopatum Not. VII, nr. 81.

insecure and reactionary regime trying to strengthen its position by moral and ideological 'rearmament'.[3] In this process Alexios and his family found allies in the monks and monasteries,[4] and opponents among the secular clergy. John the Oxite, patriarch of Antioch, bitterly attacked Alexios' policies which he claimed had brought the Empire close to ruin.[5] Leo of Chalcedon similarly fought to prevent the Emperor's seizure of the church's wealth to pay for the Balkan war.[6] Alexios had reason to use reform as a weapon against the secular clergy[7] and it would be ingenuous to take the edict's criticism of the church at face value.

Equally the apparent low material standards of Byzantine bishops are far from being a reliable gauge of the state of the church. Archaeological evidence would suggest that these standards were typical of Byzantine culture in general.[8] Liudprand of Cremona's description of the bishop of Levkas needs to be taken in context with his view of the Byzantine court as squalid and poor.[9]

It should also be remembered that Liudprand's picture of a Byzantine bishop was given from a western perspective and on this topic comparisons can be misleading. The Byzantine church was organized on very different lines from that in the west. In particular the office of bishop was not the same in east and west. In western Europe, outside some areas of Italy, the bishop was a very important figure in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

10. See F. LOT, R. FAWTIER, Histoire des institutions franais au myen age III, Paris (1962) 160-87; R. BRETANO, Two churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century Princeton (1968) 62-173; F. BARLOW, The English church 1066-1154 London (1979) 29-53.
11. J.-B. PITR, Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta II, Rome (1868) xl-xli: the canons only survive in a latin translation made by Anastasius bibliothecarius.

Although the see would by the 11th century have been based on a town, the diocese would extend to include a number of other quite sizeable settlements provided with clergy and churches subordinate to the bishop. The diocese of Lincoln is an extreme example, but Oxford, which has been noted before as town in the 10th and 11th century, was not a bishopric. Until 1545 it came under the control first of Dorchester and then of Lincoln. In Byzantium every settlement which had ranked as a polis in the late Roman period was a bishopric. Throughout the Empire in the 10th and 11th century the ecclesiastical hierarchy numbered over 700 sees, including a great many very small sites. Some Byzantine bishops may have been able to match their western counterparts in smaller sees, but in general Byzantine metropolitans and archbishops are a closer equivalent to the western bishop; Byzantine bishops fulfilled some of the roles of western canons and other subordinate clergy. It follows that the relative poverty of the Byzantine episcopate is not evidence for the debased state of the secular church but simply a reflection on the rather different ecclesiastical organization in east and west.[10]

Canon XIV, however, certainly does reflect concern in the Byzantine church as to the dignity of the episcopate, and reveals that even by the standards of the eastern church the status of bishops in the 860s was low.[11] Yet as with Alexios' edict the Canon needs to be seen in context. The council of 869 was in effect still dealing with the aftermath of Iconoclasm. The

12. See PETER OF ATROA, La vita retracta 45-7; J. DARROUZES, 'Le patriarche Methode contre les iconoclastes et les stoudites', REB XLV (1987) 16-18;
13. See Notitiae Episcopatum Not. VII, nrs. 2, 6, 21, 22, 41, 43, 60, 85: nr. 84, Chonai, was still an archbishopric when this list was compiled in the first decade of the 10th century; by 945 it had been promoted to the rank of metropolitan, ibid. 78, 86; J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 82.

rapid political and religious shifts of the Iconoclastic period had led to the widespread replacement of bishops caught supporting the wrong side. By the second period of Iconoclasm after 815 there is evidence of some difficulty in finding suitable incumbents for episcopal sees. The problem was exacerbated by the Iconoclast triumph of 843 and the subsequent struggles first with the studites and then between the supporters of Photios and Ignatios. By the 860s suitable candidates for bishoprics would have been in short supply, and many incumbents were faced by a hostile clergy loyal to their predecessor and waiting for an opportunity to engineer their fall. Under these circumstances many inexperienced bishops, lacking the support of their community, were all too likely to have been overawed by lay officials as the council envisaged. The problem was not solved at once by the Canon of 869 and it was to resurface in the early 10th century during the conflict over Leo VI's fourth marriage, but in general Canon XIV should be seen in the context of short term difficulties rather than being an absolute judgement on the status of the middle Byzantine bishop.[12]

In the Maeander region during the 10th and 11th century the ecclesiastical hierarchy was headed by the metropolitans of Ephesos, Sardis, Caria (at Stauropolis), Laodicea, Hierapolis, Smyrna and Chonai, and the autocephalous archbishopric of Miletos.[13] Scattered among a variety of sources, a considerable body of evidence has survived for these sees, but the most detailed picture of the background, education and activities of

14. See supra.
15. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 134; K. BELKE, Galatien und Lykaonien 181-2.
16. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 136-7; P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 283-4 n. 6.
17. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 136; for castration as a step toward a court career, see Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 720-21.
18. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 139-40; J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les offikia 42 n. 2, 88.
19. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 141-3.
20. * ibid. 143.

any one individual has been preserved in the Life of St. Nikephoros who was archbishop of Miletos in the second half of the 960s. The date, authorship and composition of the Life have been discussed above in chapter nine.[14] The saint was born at Basilaion in the theme of the Boukellarioi.[15] His parents were supposedly of moderate independent means, but in view of their relationship (possibly kinship) with the distinguished magistros Mosele who looked after Nikephoros when he first came to Constantinople, they were almost certainly rather more exalted than the author implies.[16] From the first Nikephoros was intended for a successful career. Again hagiographic formulae rather obscure the truth, but aged eight he was sent to Constantinople for an expensive education, and the fact that he had been castrated as a child suggests that his parents hoped he would become a civilian official in the court of hierarchy.[17] However his ecclesiastical career could hardly have been a great disappointment. He left the house of the magistros Mosele, not for any ascetic purpose, but to move into the quarters of the Imperial clergy near the Hippodrome where he was ordained priest.[18] As such he accompanied Niketas, the brother of the protovestiaros Michael on the disastrous Italian expedition of 964. Preferment followed within a few years; in 968 or 969 he was appointed archbishop of Miletos.[19]

The Life explains, in phrases proper to the genre, that Nikephoros was an exemplary archbishop, administering his church, caring for the faithful and teaching his flock.[20] This may or

21. ibid. 143-5.

22. Archbishops attended the synod in Constantinople with the metropolitans: J. HAJJAR, Le Synode permanent dans l'église byzantine des origines au XIe siècle Rome (1962).

may not have been so, but the Life also implies that his period at Miletos was short and not very happy. Nikephoros had arrived in his see to discover that the local agents of Myrelaion had taken advantage of the interregnum to ransack the archiepiscopal estates, and he was forced to appeal to the Emperor for restitution. Hardly had a decision been reached in his favour when Nikephoros II Phokas was assassinated and a delay followed until the new Emperor, John Tzimiskes, sent a certain Sachakios to take action. For unexplained reasons Sachakios was believed at the Xerochoraphion to have attempted to poison the archbishop. Whether this was Nikephoros' paranoia or hidden political or personal motive the Life gives no clue. Nikephoros reported the episode to John Tzimiskes and at the same time abandoned his see in order to pursue an ascetic Life on mount Latros.[21]

Nikephoros was an archbishop, but for most purposes an autocephalous archbishopric was equivalent to a metropolitan see and a number of features of his career and background seem to have been the common experience of senior secular churchmen.[22]

In the first place, Nikephoros, like the strategos or judge, was an outsider to the Maeander region. He had been born at Basilaion in Galatia, 500 kilometres north-west of Miletos. What other family ties he had were with Constantinople not the Maeander. The same can only rarely be demonstrated for other metropolitans and archbishops in the Maeander region, but it is sufficiently well attested elsewhere to suggest strongly that it

23. PAUL OF LATROS 128.
24. GEORGES ET DEMETRIOS TORNIKES 15-17, 25-8.
25. P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 239-40.
26. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 51-2.
27. A. KARPOZELOS, Symbole ste melete tou biou kai tou ergou tou Iannou Mauropodos Ioannina (1982) 23-5.
28. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID I, 12-13.
29. J. DARROUZES, 'Obit de deux métropolités d'Athens, Leon Xèros et Georges Bourtzes, d'après les inscriptions du « Parthénon », REB XX (1962) 190-96; see supra 350-53.
30. J. HERRIN, 'Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government: Hellas Peloponnesos, 1180-1205', DOP XXIX (1975).

was the general rule.

In the Maeander region, during the 10th century Paul of Latros prophesied that a deacon of the church of St. John at Ephesos would one day become metropolitan of Nea Patras.[23] Later in the 12th century, Georges Tornikes, one of a family of Armenian origin but by this date based in Constantinople, first of all refused the metropolitan see of Corinth before accepting the see of Ephesos.[24]

Outside the region, the famous Arethras in the late 9th and early 10th century was born in Patras and later became metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia.[25] Theodore, metropolitan of Nicea in the 10th century, was also born in the Peloponnese.[26] John Mauropous, metropolitan of Euchaita in northern Anatolia beyond the river Halys, had been born in Paphlagonia and was brought by his uncle at Claudiopolis in Bithynia.[27] Theophylact of Ochrid was born on the island of Euboea and became archbishop of Bulgaria.[28] In the 12th century Leo Xeros, presumably from the same Constantinopolitan family who provided a judge of the Thrakesioi in the 11th century, was metropolitan of Athens.[29] A later metropolitan of the same see was Michael Choniates who had been born in the Maeander region at the town of Chonai.[30]

The Life also provides valuable evidence for a metropolitan's education. Nikephoros left the Boukellarion aged

31. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 136-8; P. LEMERLE, Byzantine Humanism 282-5.
32. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 354.
33. SATHAS, MB V, 143-4.
34. R. BROWNING, 'The patriarchal school at Constantinople in the 12th century', B XXXII (1962) 167-202, XXXIII (1963) 11-40.
35. See C. MANGO , Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome 140-48.
36. See ARETHRAS, Scripta minora ed. L. G. Westerink, Leipzig (1968-72) *passim*.
37. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 27-32, 49-57, 67-98, 261-316.
38. LEO OF SYNADA ed. M. P. Vinson.

eight in order to be educated in Constantinople. The Life makes quite plain that boys received an advanced education in the capital because this was the recognized route to high office.[31]

Several metropolitans were related to other holders of metropolitan sees, often as nephews. An anonymous metropolitan of Chonai in the 10th century, for example, had an uncle who was metropolitan of Patras;[32] John Maruopous' uncle had been metropolitan of Claudiopolis.[33] Yet in each case it seems that at least under normal circumstances, preferment to high office in the church could only be achieved through an education in Constantinople.

For the 12th century the close link between literary culture and high office in the secular church is well documented. Many of those who attended or taught at the patriarchal school went on to become metropolitans or archbishops.[34] However there is nothing to suggest that this was a new development. Over the previous two centuries or more the metropolitans were evidently part of an educated elite, which included judges and high civilian officials, who all shared a Constantinopolitan literary culture.[35]

The evidence is extensive. As well as the literary letters and other 'high-style' works of such metropolitans as Arethras of Caesarea,[36] Alexander and Theodore of Nicaea,[37] and Leo of Synada[38] in the 10th century, and John Mauropous of

39. Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae ed. P. de Lagarde, Gottingen (1882).
40. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID I-II ed. P. Gautier.
41. e.g. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 219-20, 221-5, 227, 229, 239, 245-7; SATHAS, MB V, 102-5, 142-67; Ep. 30, 265-6; Ep. 35, 269-70; Ep. 62, 294-5; Ep. 64, 296; Ep. 80, 313-4; Ep. 111, 356; Ep. 173, 440-41; Ep. 178, 456-7; Ep. 182, 462-5; PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 12, 13-14; Ep. 32, 49-50; Ep. 33-4, 50, 56; Ep. 45-6, 75-8; Ep. 49, 81-2; Ep. 54, 85-7; Ep. 57, 89-91; Ep. 58, 91; Ep. 105, 133-5; Ep. 129, 152; Ep. 136, 161-3; Ep. 225, 268-9; Ep. 229, 272-4; Ep. 230, 274-5; Ep. 259, 305-6; Ep. 263, 308-9; Ep. 269, 314-5; P. GAUTIER 'Quelques lettres de Psellos' Ep. 18, 162-4 (To the metropolitan of Thessalonika, former maistor ton rhetoron); Ep. 19-20, 164-7; Ep. 34, 190-91.
42. IGNATIOS THE DEACON, Ep. 9.
43. J. DARROUZES, Epistoliers 218; see supra
44. ibid. 147, 150-52.
45. SATHAS, MB V, 102-5.

Euchaita[39] and Theophylact of Ochrid[40] in the 11th, metropolitans appear frequently as correspondants and friends in the other literary collections of the period.[41] From Photios through to Michael Psellos the metropolitans were prominent members of the Byzantine cultural elite.

Evidence has survived for the literary culture of several metropolitans of the Maeander region. An early 9th century metropolitan of Caria was a friend and correspondent of Ignatios the deacon.[42] Anastasios, metropolitan of Laodicea, was a correspondent of Nikephoros Ouranos and had known this influential official since childhood.[43] Niketas of Smyrna was a friend of Symeon the logothete. The greater part of their correspondence is filled with the conventional conceits of Byzantine letter writing - sorrow over absence, apologies for failure to write - but on one occasion Symeon reminds Niketas that he had promised him the loan of his copy of the letters of St. Basil. Further he adds that a mutual friend from the hierarchy of patriarchal officials in Constantinople, the sakellarios Peter, had just been promoted to the see of Laodicea.[44] Later in the 11th century Nikephoros of Ephesos was a friend and correspondent of Michael Psellos. On his death Psellos composed a lament in which he praised the elegance and skill of the late metropolitan's literary works.[45] In the same century what is now known as the 'A' manuscript of Plato Parisinus Gr. 1807, was in Hierapolis. The manuscript dates from the second half of the 9th century and is only slightly older than Arethras of Caesarea's own copy, MS

46. H. OMONT, Oeuvres philosophiques de Platon, Platonis codex Parisinus A Paris (1908) I, 1, 5; I, f. 344v.
47. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4.
48. M. MULLET, 'The classical tradition in the Byzantine letter' 91.
49. IGNATIOS THE DEACON, Ep. 9.
50. J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les offikia 28-32, 46-8.

Clarke 39, which is dated to 896. A note on folio 344 verso written in an 11th century hand records that the book had been corrected by Constantine, metropolitan of Hierapolis.[46]

Having been educated in Constantinople Nikephoros left the city to become archbishop. The Life shows him resident in his see, and when its author describes the saint's fine qualities he assumes that these were pastoral virtues exercised in the diocese.[47]

Middle Byzantine metropolitans were certainly in many cases not enthusiastic about their provincial seats. John Mauropous' gloom about what he saw as exile to Euchaita or Theophylact of Ochrid's dismay at the barbarities of his flock are well known, and they are typical of a general tone which pervades ecclesiastical correspondence.[48] It is hardly surprising, given that their culture was focused on the capital city, that the metropolitans do seem to have spent a significant part of their time in Constantinople. In the first half of the 9th century a letter has survived from Ignatios, the literary metropolitan of Nicaea, to the metropolitan of Caria which reveals that neither prelate intended to spend Christmas in their sees; instead they looked forward to meeting each other in Constantinople.[49] The Book of Ceremonies shows that a body of metropolitans, about twelve, was expected at various court feasts throughout the year.[50] A few metropolitans held offices in the patriarchal hierarchy which demanded their occasional presence in

51. ibid. 38; PHOTIOS II, nr. 181, 70.
52. J. HAJJAR, Le Synode permanent.
53. e.g. NICHOLAS MYSTIKOS, Miscellaneous writings 58; G. FICKER, Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites Festschrift Wilhelm II, Keil (1911) 18-21, 25-7, 28-42.
54. ATTALEIATES 180; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS 185.
55. J. GOUILLARD, 'Une oeuvre inédite du patriarche Méthode. La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes', BZ LIII (1960) 36-46.
56. LAZAROS 520, 526, 531, 542, 581-2.
57. The letters of the patriarch Photios tend not to be concerned with such concrete details, but see PHOTIOS II, Ep. 281, 233-6, implying Theophanes of Caesarea resident in his see; the collection of Nicholas Mystikos' correspondence is more important for showing metropolitans in their sees dealing with local problems, e.g. NICOLAS MYSTIKOS Ep. 43, 260-2; Ep. 57, 300; Ep. 58, 302; Ep. 114, 400; Ep. 117, 404-6; Ep. 119, 408-10; Ep. 123, 414-6; for the Maeander region note Gregory of Ephesos in his see on 8th May, the feast day of the Apostle John, ibid. Ep. 41, 258-60; Ep. 178, 506-8; see also ibid. Ep. 39, 254-6; Ep. 94, 358-60; the patriarch also wrote to the strategos and possibly the judge of the Thrakesioi asking them to help a new metropolitan of Sardis - evidently the metropolitan was expected in his see, ibid. Ep. 180-81, 510-12. In the 11th century the sermons of John Mauropous show that he was certainly resident at Euchaita, Iohannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae 87-8, 135-6, 160-65, 207-9; several letters of Michael Psellos are also to metropolitans in their sees, PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 58, 91; Ep. 137, 161-3; P. GAUTIER, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos', 161-4; Theophylact of Ochrid was also normally resident in Bulgaria, see THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID II, *passim*; much of the point of the dispute between the metropolitans and the patriarchal clergy over the synod depended on the assumption that the former were not permanently resident in Constantinople, M. ANGOLD, The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 122.
58. M. MULLET, 'The Byzantine Letter' 91-2.

the capital,[51] and the increasing importance of the Synodos endemousa, the standing synod, further encouraged metropolitans to come to Constantinople.[52] Other synods were also summoned from time to time, and contrary to earlier practice, in the 10th and 11th centuries these only involved metropolitans and archbishops.[53]

However, with some possible exceptions such as John of Side, who acted for a period in the 1070s as a chief minister to Michael VII,[54] up until the Turkish invasion the metropolitans were only temporary visitors to the capital. Apart from a few examples such as St. Nikephoros of Miletos in the 10th century, St. Euthymios of Sardis in the later 8th and early 9th century,[55] and several references to the metropolitan of Ephesos in the Life of St. Lazaros showing him present in the region,[56] the best evidence for this being a general pattern comes from the large surviving body of ecclesiastical correspondence.[57] The repeated complaints about failure to write, absence and miseries of exile may reflect a literary fashion but they are also concrete evidence that the correspondants were in their sees.[58]

No individual metropolitan is so well documented that one can establish how much time was spent in the see and how much elsewhere, but whatever the case it would be a mistake to regard all absences as evidence for the negligence of the secular hierarchy. Unlike the judges and strategoi who were only in the

59. LEO OF SYNADA xi-xii.

60. ibid. 68-70.

61. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4.

theme for a few years, the metropolitan's office was expected to be permanent, and it would be unreasonable to expect an educated elite, foreign to the region, to spend their whole lives in remote corners of the Empire. In addition to any personal advantage, time spent in Constantinople could help to remind the lay hierarchy of a metropolitan's existence. Leo of Synada, for example, while metropolitan was absent from his see acting as ambassador for Basil II in Italy and Germany. He was also present in Constantinople on other occasions. Yet his letters also show that he could use his reputation with the Emperor and other officials to protect the interests of the metropolis of Synada.[59]

Leo seems to have been most concerned to maintain the revenues of his see,[60] and the Life of St. Nikephoros also draws attention to the wealth of the church of Miletos. One of the saintly archbishop's virtues was his careful administration of the church's lands. The Life makes the conventional point that St. Nikephoros wanted to spend the see's revenue on the poor, but it also reveals that the archbishop's charity had to be limited because the estates had been ransacked by the agents of the neighbouring Imperial lands of the Myrelaion.[61]

We do not have a clear picture of the economic base of any of the metropolitan sees of the Maeander region, but it is evident they were not impoverished. Indeed had they been so they would hardly have been the focus of such efforts put into gaining

62. See J. MORGANSTERN, The Byzantine Church at Dereagzi and its decoration Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 29, Tübingen (1983); C. MANGO, Byzantine Architecture 165-74.
63. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 52-4, 87, 112, 128, 132.
64. See A. GRABAR, Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge (XIe-XIVe siècle) Paris (1976) 41-9; there is also a considerable body of unpublished sculpture of this period, see supra
65. See *infra* 471-2.
66. GEORGES ET DEMETRIOS TORNIKES 124-5.

education to make one eligible to be a metropolitan. In concrete terms the surviving evidence for the wealth of Maeander sees is rather slight. There is nothing known to parallel the remarkable 9th century church at Dereag̃zi in Lycia,[62] but the rebuilding, even on a smaller scale, of the cathedral church of St. Mary at Ephesos,[63] and the achievement of keeping large buildings such as the church of St. John at Ephesos or St. Michael at Chonai in safe repair should not be overlooked. A considerable amount of architectural sculpture, dated to the 10th and 11th century, has also been discovered throughout the region.[64] As we shall see, many of those with dedicatory inscriptions are associated with suffragan bishops rather than laymen,[65] and there is no reason to believe that the metropolitans would have been left out of this activity. In the 12th century Ephesos was regarded as a wealthy see; George Tomikes refused Corinth on the grounds that it was too poor; he presumably accepted Ephesos for the opposite reason.[66] Since it would hardly have been newly endowed in the first fifty years of the 12th century, Ephesos must have been wealthy before the Turkish invasions.

The revenue of the metropolitan sees in the Maeander region would have been derived from three main sources. Firstly, landed estates; secondly, the dues owed by metropolitan monasteries; and thirdly, various other revenues ranging from the profits of a panegyris to Imperial benefactions, lay gifts and dues payable on burial and other such occasions.

67. A. H. M. JONES, 'Church Finance in the Fifth and Sixth centuries', Journal of Theological Studies N.S. XI (1960) 84-94; IDEM, The Later Roman Empire II, 894-912.
68. LAZAROS 520.
69. A. GUILLOU, Le Brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050) Vatican City (1974) 5-15.
70. See IDEM, 'La soie du katépanat d'Italie', TM VI (1976) 69-84.
71. IDEM, Le Brébion 17 n. 1, 155.

In many metropolitan sees the most important source of revenue was probably the landed estates. The late Roman church, especially in such a prosperous part of the Empire as western Asia Minor, had been well endowed[67] and while there is no case for believing in undisturbed continuity, sees in an area such as the Maeander which had not been subject to conquest might well have kept a proportion of their original landed wealth. The evidence for such estates is however very slight. Apart from the mention in the Life of St. Nikephoros, the only reference in the Maeander region is to the metropolitan of Ephesos in about 1010 giving a field near the main road from Ephesos to Smyrna to St. Lazaros' first foundation of St. Marina.[68] The silence is not peculiar to the Maeander region; estate records for the secular church are rare anywhere in the Empire. The only substantial archive of any Byzantine documents to survive for the Maeander region is that at the monastery of St. John on Patmos. Since St. John's, like the Nea Moni on Chios and the Stylos on Latros, was independent of the metropolitan the monks would have had no interest in preserving records of the secular church.

The major surviving piece of evidence for the landed revenues of a middle Byzantine metropolitan see is the brebion or estate roll of the metropolis of Reggio in Calabria which was drawn up in about 1050.[69] Unfortunately the roll is incomplete and only covers dues owed on mulberry trees which were the basis of the south Italian silk industry.[70] Yet the sums given add up to over 7½ pounds of gold,[71] and although not a very large

72. ibid. 12-13.
73. C.f. A. GUILLOU , 'Production and Profits in the Byzantine province of Italy (tenth to eleventh centuries): an expanding society', DOP XXVIII (1974) 91-109.
74. JUSTINIAN, Novel I, 9; LXVII, 1-2; CXXIII, 18.

figure in itself, 7½ pounds plus whatever was owed in the missing portions of the document, plus dues on grain and vines which seem to have been recorded in two separate rolls,[72] suggests a rather substantial landed endowment, making the metropolis an important landowner in this part of southern Italy.

Western Asia Minor did not grow mulberry trees for silk and it is therefore difficult to apply the detailed evidence of this document to the metropolitan sees of the Maeander. However, there is no convincing reason to think that economic conditions in western Asia Minor that Reggio would have been an exceptionally wealthy see.[73] Even if one cannot put any figures to it, it seems almost certain that the metropolitan sees were among the larger land-owners in western Asia Minor.

The second major source of a metropolitan's revenue came from monasteries. All monasteries were by a novel of Justinian I, repeated in subsequent legislation, under the control of the bishop in whose diocese they lay, save where the founder had specified otherwise and the monastery had the necessary documentary proof.[74] Apart from those lying within the diocese of the metropolitan church itself, the metropolitan also controlled certain monasteries in suffragan sees within the metropolitan province which had either been founded or refounded by a metropolitan, or had been entrusted to the metropolitan by their founder. The latter possibility offered advantages of protection from the local bishop to those who could not aspire to

75. A. GUILLOU, Le Brébion 31-2 n. 1.
76. See P. LEMERLE, 'Un aspect du rôle des monastères a byzance: les monastères donnés à des laics, les charisticaires', Comptes rendus des séances de l'academie des inscriptions et belles lettres (1967) 9-28; H. AHRWEILER, 'Charisticariat et autres formes d'atribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe-XIe siècles,' ZRVI X (1967) 1-27.
77. A. GUILLOU, Le Brébion 31-64, 211-23.
78. T. I. USPENSKIJ, 'Mnêmija i postanovlenija Konstantinopol'skih pomêstnykh soborov XI i XII vv. o razdatchê tserkovnykh imuchtchev (kharistikarii)', IRAIK V (1900) 1-3, 9-12, 28-9.
79. ibid. 32-41.
80. See the list in H. AHRWEILER, 'Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution' 25-7.
81. LAZAROS 542, 581-2.
82. ibid. 520.
83. ibid. 520-21.

patriarchal or imperial protection.[75]

All such metropolitan monasteries could be exploited either directly or indirectly. In the former case the metropolitan would levy dues directly from the monastery; in the latter the monastery and its estates would be handed over for a specified period to a lay charistikarios who would pay for the privilege.[76] From evidence concerning a number of metropolitan sees, including Reggio,[77] Kyzikos[78] and Athens,[79] the farming of monasteries generally formed a major part of metropolis' income. Poor management of this resource could lead to a financial crisis.

There is only limited evidence for such metropolitan monasteries in the Maeander region, but several are attested and charistikarioi in the region are well known. One may presume that as elsewhere they were an important asset.[80] The metropolitan's financial interests evidently lay behind the struggle with the monks of Galesion recorded in the Life of St. Lazaros.[81] Even early in Lazaros' career it may be ingenuous to see the metropolitan's gift of a field to the community at St. Marina as a simple act of charity.[82] The gift may have been intended to stake the metropolitan's claim to control the monastery, possibly with the rights of a founder. According to the Life Lazaros' subsequent move to Galesion was in search of eremia, but it would also have had the effect of escaping the metropolitan's supervision.[83]

84. THEOPHANES 469-70.
85. See infra 463-4; S. VRYONIS, 'The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint: a study in the nature of a medieval institution, its origins and fate', in The Byzantine Saint 196-226.
86. LAZAROS 510-11; note the similar description of the panegyris at Ephesos, PAUL OF LATROS 111.
87. LEO OF SYNADA 68-70.

In addition to land and the profits from monasteries, the metropolis also benefitted from a number of other resources. In the case of Ephesos the most important is likely to have been an annual revenue drawn from the panegyris held each year on the feast day of St. John. In 794 Constantine VI, in gratitude for a victory gained over the Arabs, had granted the annual revenue of the panegyris, estimated at 100 pounds of gold, to the church of St. John.[84]

If the metropolis was still entitled to the revenue in the 11th century, in view of the development in the region's economy since the 8th century, it is likely to have been worth twice as much, or more. Even if the benefaction no longer applied, the close link between the church celebrating the saint's feast day and the panegyris would have ensured a large profit to the metropolitan church.[85] A panegyris probably took place at Chonai,[86] and others may have existed around the other important churches of the region.

Less spectacular Imperial donations than that of Constantine VI seem also to have played a part in the income of many metropolitan sees. No specific example has survived from the Maeander region, but at Synada, beyond the upper Maeander to the east, the metropolis had been granted by Chrysobull an annual supply of wine and oil.[87]

Finally the profits which the metropolitan and his clergy

88. A. H. M. JONES, 'Church Finance in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries' 84-7.
89. C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity 125-8; Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 663-6, 676; PAUL OF LATROS 111; CYRIL PHILEOTES 94-8.
90. See R. CURZON, Visits to Monasteries in the Levant London (1849) 208-18.
91. Hence his presence in the see on 8th may each year, NICHOLAS MYSTIKOS, Ep. 41, 258-60; Ep. 178, 506-8.
92. See supra 401-24.

derived from the exercise of their proper ecclesiastical functions and from the donations of the faithful should not be overlooked.[88] Apart from the regular dues received for baptisms, marriages, burials and other functions each church would have been the focus of pious donations to the local saint. In this respect the major cult centres of the Byzantine world, with their metropolitans as the living representatives of St. John and St. Michael respectively. At Ephesos each year on the 7th May, the eve of the panegyris on the 8th, the citizens of Ephesos and pilgrims from far afield went in procession to lay flowers on the tombs of the Apostle John and St. Timothy. There followed a night-long mass attended by crowds who filled the church waiting for the miracle of the holy dust or manna which issued from the tomb and would cure all ills.[89] The occasion must have had something of the character of the annual miracle of the holy fire at Jerusalem.[90] It was not only profitable - apart from any revenue from the fair, this was obviously also the moment for gifts to the saint in gratitude or hope for a cure - it was also an opportunity for the metropolitan to display his parousia with the Apostle and thus reinforce his status and spiritual power.[91] The survival of detailed saint's Lives such as those of St. Paul of Latros and St. Lazaros of Galesion reveals the role such monastic holy men played in local life, but it should not be forgotten that they were essentially works of propaganda,[92] and they almost certainly obscure the fact that the supreme spiritual power in the region lay with the metropolitan and his cathedral church.

93. It had the smallest number of suffragan bishops, bar honai, and there is no evidence that the shrine of the Apostle Philip was a pilgrimage site in the middle ages, see Notitiae Episcopatum Not. X, nrs 597-606; see supra
94. See J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les Offikia 117-22.
95. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/1, nr. 263, 184-5.
96. PAUL OF LATROS 128.
97. LAZAROS 585.
98. See NICHOLAS MYSTIKOS Ep. 89, 350.
99. * See J. HERRIN, 'Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government' 258, 260-65; H. AHRWEILER, 'La région de Smyrne' 108-14.

Among the metropolitan sees of the Maeander region there must have been great discrepancies in wealth. Ephesos was no doubt the richest see; Hierapolis for example was probably among the poorer,[93] but in general the evidence points to a well endowed church. This wealth supported and was administered by a metropolitan hierarchy of officials and clergy modelled on the patriarchal hierarchy in Constantinople.[94] The Life of St. Nikephoros does not mention these officials, the ecclesiastical archontes, but this is to be expected since they can hardly have been pleased when the archbishop deserted his church to become a monk on Latros. Only a few seals[95] and rare references, such as that in the Life of St. Paul of Latros to a deacon swinging a censor in the church of St. John,[96] or in the Life of St. Lazaros to the oikonomos of Ephesos,[97] reveal their existence in the Maeander region before the Turkish invasions,[98] but elsewhere they are well documented for the 11th and 12th century, and a considerable number are known at Smyrna in the 13th century.[99]

The archontes generally included an oikonomos, who was responsible for the finances of the see; a sakellarios, who was in charge of chapels and monasteries in the see and their contributions to the metropolis' funds; a skeuophylax who had custody of the church's sacred vessels; a chartophylax who signed documents, kept records and possibly looked after the library; and a protekdikos who exercised various judicial functions. In addition there was a staff of clergy including a

100. J. HERRIN , op.cit.

101. LAZAROS 531, 542, 581-2.

102. See Notitiae Episcopatum 3-135; J. DARROUZES, 'Sur les variations numeriques des évêchés byzantins', REB XLIV (1986) 5-40; P. CULERRIER, 'Les évêchés suffragants d'Ephèse au 5e-13e siècles', REB XLV (1987) 139-64.

protopapas and several deacons who ran the ceremonies of the metropolitan church and carried out necessary ecclesiastical tasks in the absence of the metropolitan. The archontes and clergy often included relatives of the current metropolitan or his predecessor, but the majority appear to have been local men. They formed an important body with a permanent interest in maintaining the see's wealth and reputation.[100] In the Life of St. Lazaros it is clear that it was not so much the metropolitan but the archontes and clergy of Ephesos who were determined that the prosperous community on Galesion should not escape metropolitan control.[101]

The seven metropolitan sees of the Maeander region were divided between some 124 suffragan bishoprics. The number is uncertain because no official lists of middle Byzantine suffragan sees have survived. An official list of the metropolitans and archbishops was compiled in the early 10th century under the orders of the patriarch Nicholas Mystikos but it did not extend to the suffragans. Subsequent notitiae included suffragan sees on the basis of various earlier and often incompatible sources. The result has been that while the later notitiae are usually reliable witnesses to the metropolitans and archbishops, the presence or otherwise of a particular suffragan owes more to the vagaries of a complicated manuscript tradition than to whether or not the see existed.[102]

103. J. DARROUZES, Documents inédits d'écclésiologie byzantine
11-20.
104. See supra n. 53; J.-B. MANSI, XVII, 371-526.
105. G. A. RHALLES, M. POTLES, Syntagma V, 26-9.
106. A. MICHEL, 'Ein Bischofsprozess bei Michael Kerullarios', BZ
CLI (1941) 446-52.

Taking a Constantinopolitan perspective, with a view over the Byzantine church as a whole, suffragan bishops were of a rather low status, strictly subordinate to their metropolitan. Whereas metropolitans were chosen and ordained in Constantinople by Patriarch, the suffragan bishops were ordained in the province by the metropolitan.[103] Up to the later 9th century suffragans had on occasion been summoned to Constantinople to attend church councils, but later synods were composed only of metropolitans, archbishops and the archontes.[104] In January 1028 the synod issued a series of decrees reminding suffragan bishops of their duty to obey their metropolitan. Suffragans who squandered the resources of their see were to have an oikonomos appointed by the metropolitan imposed on them to supervise their actions; a bishop was not to come to Constantinople without a written order from his metropolitan; if a bishop ignored the commands of his metropolitan he was to be deposed.[105] In the mid 11th century, two priests from the diocese of Tranoupolis, in the Maeander region, lying in the northern part of the Banaz ovası, appealed to the Patriarch against the actions of their bishop. The Patriarch, Michael Keroullarios, referred the matter to the metropolitan of Laodicea in whose province Tranoupolis lay, instructing him alone to judge the bishop and punish him if guilty.[106]

The collections of elegant literary correspondence affected by the education elite whether metropolitans, judges or court officials emphasizes the gulf between the suffragan appear only

107. IGNATIOS THE DEACON, Ep. 10...
108. PHOTIOS I, Ep. 23, 74-5; see also IDEM III, Ep. 294, 158-9.
109. PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 75, 107; SATHAS, MB V, nr. 62, 294:
the relationship seems to be slightly one sided but Psellos
praises the bishop's virtue and holiness, and appears to
value his friendship; see F. HILD, M. RESTLE, Kappadokien
252-3.
110. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID II, 53-4, 57-68.
111. ibid. Ep. 56, 321.

rarely and in general such letters are written in a different tone than those addressed to metropolitans. In the first half of the 9th century Ignatios the metropolitan of Nicaea dropped his usual display of flattering rhetoric and briskly ordered the bishop of Taïon to repay a debt.[107] In those rare examples which have survived among Photios' correspondence, the suffragan bishop, in contrast to the metropolitans who were addressed in friendly tones, was generally the recipient of a stern order, backed up if necessary by the threat of excommunication or suspension.[108] Later collections tend to ignore suffragans altogether. Neither that of the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos nor any of the other 10th century letter collections include correspondence with a suffragan bishop. With only one exception the same applies to the collections of John Mauropous and Michael Psellos in the 11th century.[109]

However this impression may be slightly misleading. The correspondence of Theophylact of Ochrid, archbishop of Bulgaria, writing at the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century includes letters addressed to a number of suffragan bishops. Unlike the earlier collections which tend to reflect the concerns of a coterrie centred on Constantinople, a great deal of Theophylact of Ochrid's correspondence sheds light on the social world of his Balkan province.[110] Theophylact the archbishop is quite clearly a more exalted figure than his suffragans, but he treats them seriously, asking for their prayers and support,[111] and advises them on how to face the

112. ibid. Ep. 21, 199-201.

113. ibid. Ep. 58, 327-35; Ep. 59, 337-41; Ep. 60, 343-9; Ep. 87, 457-9.

114. See supra 214-16.

115. ibid.

officials of the fisc.[112] A bishop who defies the orders of the archbishop and of the provincial synod is not summarily punished, as the decrees of 1028 might indicate, but rather cajoled and persuaded into obedience.[113] From a distance the metropolitan may appear supreme and the suffragan a figure of little consequence, but within the ecclesiastical community of the province relations were it seems more delicately balanced. On the slight evidence available it is as important not to underestimate the role of the suffragan bishops in the Maeander region as in the archbishopric of Bulgaria.

Just as the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos can shed light on the background and career of the senior members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, so the Life of St. Luke the stylite provides important evidence for the background and status of a suffragan bishop in the Maeander.

The Life of St. Luke has already been discussed above in chapter five for the picture it gives of extensive arable farming in the plains of the upper Maeander.[114] St. Luke was the son of a prosperous family of local land-owners who had the hereditary duty of military service in the thematic army of the Anatolikoi. There is nothing in the Life to suggest that St. Luke's family held any rank or office, they can rather be described with confidence as local gentry.[115]

Shortly after 926, when it seems that St. Luke was 47, he

116. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 170, 185, 208; c.f. C. MANGO, Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome 49; see supra 221-3.
117. A. H. M. JONES, The Later Roman Empire II, 909-10.
118. JUSTINIAN I, Novel CXXIII, 3.
119. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR II, 251; VI, 7.
120. ibid. V, 29, 3-5.
121. G. A. RHALLES, M. POTLES, Syntagma I, 76-7.

persuaded his father to give him 100 nomismata so that he could become bishop of Sebaste, a suffragan see of Laodicea on the eastern side of the Banaz ovası.[116] In the event St. Luke spent the sum on the local poor, but the Life clearly presumes that such payments were a normal part of becoming a bishop, and that St. Luke was just the sort of person likely to become bishop of a see such as Sebaste. Nothing about the episode was out of the ordinary save for the saint's act of charity.

The payment of 100 nomismata was a customary fee made by a new bishop to the archdeacon or protopapas of the diocese.[117] In 546 Justinian I issued a novel, number CXXIII, which in chapter III lays down a fixed proportion between entry fines to a bishopric and the expected revenues of the see.⁴ According to this a sum of 100 nomismata would be payable on a revenue expected to be between 5 and 10 pound per annum.[118] There is no evidence to show that this scale still applied in the 10th century. chapters from novel CXXIII appear in the Epanagoge[119] and the Basilika,[120] from the late 9th and early 10th century respectively, but they exclude this particular passage. Similarly the Nomocanon XIV titulorum, which was the standard collection of canons used by the middle Byzantine church, quotes from chapter III of the novel but omits the list of fees.[121]

Nonetheless, although 100 nomismata was not a fortune at this period, it was a substantial sum of money and the payment proves that the bishopric of Sebaste was far from

122. See G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Löhne und Preise' 293-333; N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle' 49-67.
123. See infra 22 473-5.
124. This can be compared with Theodore of Sykeon, who as bishop of Anastasioupolis in the late 6th century, received just over 5 pounds of gold per anum: Vie de Théodore de Sykéon ed. A.-J. Festugière, Brussels (1970) I, c. 78.
125. See supra 221-3.
126. e.g. PAUL OF LATROS 116: a monastery under the bishop of Magnesia on the Maeander, a suffragan of Ephesos; see also G. A. RHALLES, M. POTLES, Syntagma V, 30.
127. A. GUILLOU, Le Brébion 31-2, n1.

impoverished.[122] The fact of the payment being expected implies the assumption that Sebaste was an asset worth having and that the bishop would make a profit out of his office. As with the metropolitan see, save on a smaller scale, the revenue had to support various clergy and ecclesiastical officials in addition to the bishop.[123] It therefore follows that Sebaste's revenues must at the least have been a few pounds of gold per annum.[124]

The prosperity of the bishopric has been confirmed by the excavation of two middle Byzantine churches at Sebaste. The northern church contained a fine decorated iconostasis of the 10th or 11th century with an inscription recording that it had been set up by bishop Eustathios, which makes it likely that either this church or the slightly larger building to the south was the cathedral of Sebaste. Neither were large buildings by the standards of late Roman episcopal basilicas, but in Byzantine terms they are quite impressive, and the iconostasis is evidence of care and expense.[125]

Like those of the metropolis, the revenues which supported the bishopric of Sebaste would have been derived from land, episcopal monasteries and various ecclesiastical profits. Episcopal monasteries are known to have existed in other suffragan diocese,[126] but most of the wealthier houses would have been under the authority of the metropolitan, or even the patriarch.[127] Dues payable on such occasions as marriages and burials brought in some revenue, but a church such as Sebaste

128. Relics and icons of local significance should not, of course, be overlooked.
129. T. MACRIDY, 'Altertümer von Notion', Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien VIII (1905) 155.

would not have had either the bones of a famous saint or so powerful and miracle working icon as would encourage large donations to the church.[128] The bulk of the see's revenue therefore must have come from land, and in view of the 100 nomismata which the clergy could charge a new bishop, and the quality of the excavated church buildings and architectural carving, it is almost certain that the bishopric of Sebaste was a substantial local land-owner.

If the author of the Life thought none of this remarkable then it follows that it must have been typical of the suffragan sees throughout the Maeander region. Indeed it also follows that if such a relatively obscure see as Sebaste was prosperous then others such as Philadelphia, Hypaipa or Tralles are likely to have been a great deal more so.

Some evidence does survive elsewhere in the region to confirm this picture of the suffragan sees. At Notion, a suffragan bishopric of Ephesos, on the Aegean coast eight kilometres north of the mouth of the Cayster, an ornately decorated architrave was discovered in 1904 bearing an inscription which records this as the work of the local bishop and a date 959/60.[129] Another episcopal inscription was found in 1908 at Maionia, a suffragan bishopric of Sardis 16 kilometres north of the Hermos. The inscription is a verse dedication next to a bust of Christ which is one of five relief figures cut on to an oblong plaque of white marble, and names the local bishop as

130. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise
88-9.
131. IDEM, Bericht über eine dritte Reise 75.
132. e.g. see supra
133. 'Vita Theodori Studitorum', PG XCIX, 289-92.
134. PAUL OF LATROS 123.
135. MM IV, 312.
136. LAZAROS 582.
137. ibid. 585.

Nicholas. Another fragment of the same decorative scheme found near by bears the date 1057/8.[130] A third inscription of the 10th or 11th century was found at Hypaipa and credits similar work to the local bishop Andrew.[131] A great deal more architectural sculpture has been discovered in the Maeander region and the fact that three of the very rare inscribed pieces were dedicated by the local suffragan bishop points to an active period of church building which was at least partly paid for by the bishops.[132]

Elsewhere in the region there is evidence for both suffragan bishops and their clergy and officials playing a prominent role in local society. In the 820s the see of Mastaura was divided over the issue of iconoclasm and the Life of St. Theodore the studite describes a 'certain noble cleric' leading the opposition within the diocesan clergy to an iconoclast bishop.[133] In the 10th century the bishop and clergy of Amyzon, a minor suffragan of Stauropolis, appear in the Life of St. Paul of Latros sending victuals to the saint.[134] Later in the century Ignatios, the bishop of Herakleia, another minor see in the province of Caria, was responsible for witnessing the accord of 987 between the two Latros monasteries of St. Paul and Lamponion.[135] In the mid 11th century the Life of St. Lazaros mentions an oikonomos of the bishop of Bathy on Samos, who was a certain Niketas,[136] and the oikonomos of the metropolis of Ephesos who was the suffragan bishop of Tralles.[137] In the latter case provincial practice was clearly following that of the

138. J. DARROUZES, Recherches sur les offikia 35-9.
139. J. KEIL, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise 87; see J. DARROUZES, op.cit. 39.
140. EP II, nr. 50, 20; nr. 53, 73; nr. 67, 177; see also N. WILSON, J. DARROUZES, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xerochoraphion' 37-8; G. A. RHALLER, M. POTLES, Syntagma V, 48-9: the synod sells a certain Demetrios, guilty of murder, as a slave to the bishop of Preine, December 1058.
141. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, 'Histoire d'un évêché byzantin: Hiérissos en Chalcidique', TM VIII (1981) 373-96.

patriarchal hierarchy where the same post was sometimes filled by a senior metropolitan.[138] A few years later a koubouklarios and deacon of the see of Maionia is mentioned on an inscription found in 1908 and described above.[139] In Patmos archive several documents from the late 11th to the late 13th century include suffragan bishops, or more often their officials, as witnesses, and on occasion the act itself was drawn up by an episcopal notary.[140]

The only detailed picture of the activities of a middle Byzantine suffragan bishop comes from the see of Hierissos, a suffragan of Thessalonika, lying just to the north of mount Athos on the eastern side of the Chalkidike peninsula. The proximity of the see to the holy mountain led to the preservation of a large body of evidence in the monasteries' archives. At Hierissos in the 10th and 11th century the bishop was a substantial local land-owner, and an influential figure at the local level. The cathedral clergy and the episcopal officials were prominent members of the community both in the kastron where the cathedral lay and in the diocese as a whole.[141] Insufficient evidence has survived for any individual suffragan see in the Maeander region to produce a picture of comparable detail to that of Hierissos, but the scattered evidence for the Maeander bishoprics' wealth land-owning and church-building, and the activities of their clergy and officials strongly suggests that their role was not very different from that of Hierissos.

142. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID II, Ep. 18, 191-3.

143. See J. HERRIN, 'Realities of Byzantine provincial government', 26 -6.

The Life of St. Luke also sheds light on the background and recruitment of suffragan bishops. In 1092 or 3 Theophylact of Ochrid wrote, in defence of his suffragan bishops to the doux of Skopje, that some had reached their office through service in the cathedral church where they had given proof of their ability, while others had come from an education in Constantinople.[142] St. Luke, a middle aged, retired soldier of pious inclinations from a prosperous land-owning family who owned property outside the diocese, appears at first sight to be rather different from Theophylact's description, but in practice St. Luke was probably rather typical of suffragan bishops throughout the Empire.

As a moderately wealthy and influential position in local society, a suffragan bishopric was not open to the poor, who in any case would not have been able to pay the necessary entrance fine. To obtain a bishopric demanded some wealth and that in effect limited aspirants to the local landed families.

One group amongst these families were the ecclesiastical officials and cathedral clergy, above all of the metropolitan see. Although the evidence from Athens does not help here,[143] Theophylact's claim that several suffragan bishops came from this background is likely to hold true for many provinces including the Maeander region. They had not only the wealth and status to aspire to a suffragan see, but also useful experience in the organization and management of a church and diocese. Otherwise in the same way that the local gentry became monks and abbots of

144. See infra 491f.; a number of bishops were monks but this merely reflects the dominant role of prosperous local families in monastic life: V. LAURENT, Corpus V/1, nr. 267, 187-8; nr. 227, 194; nr. 279, 195-6; nr. 373, 267; nr. 521, 383; nr. 535, 396; PETER OF ATROA 137; IDEM, La Vita Retracta 153-7; J. GOUILLARD, 'Une oeuvre inédite du patriarche Méthode. La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes', 37-8.
145. e.g. PSELLOS, SM II, Ep. 75, 107.
146. NICHOLAS MYSTIKOS, Ep. 34, 246; Ep. 35, 248-50; Ep. 58, 300; Ep. 73-4, 320-22; Ep. 92, 354-6; Ep. 108, 329; Ep. 123, 414-5; Ep. 164, 488-90; Ep. 165, 490; Ep. 183, 514-6.
147. THEOPHYLACT OF OCHRID II, Ep. 17, 187-9; Ep. 22, 203; Ep. 26, 215-7; Ep. 45, 281-7; Ep. 85, 447; Ep. 90, 469.
148. KEKAUMENOS 51.
149. NICETAS STETHATOS, Opuscles et lettres ed. J. Darrouzés, Paris (1961) 29-30, 338-44; see also SYMEON LE NOUVEAU THEOLOGIEN, Traité théologiques et éthiques ed. J. Darrouzés, II, Paris (1967) 118, 358.
150. C. WALTER, Art and Ritual in the Byzantine Church London (1982) passim; see also P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century' in The Byzantine Saint 51-66: an apparent decline in the popularity and status of holymen seems to be linked to a more self-confident secular hierarchy - in the west bishops had frequently viewed independent holymen with suspicion, e.g. GREGORY OF TOURS, Decem Libri Historiarum VIII, 15-16.

monasteries,[144] so they became priests and bishops. Some went to Constantinople, possibly investing in an education in the hope of higher things,[145] but in the end the numerous bishoprics had to be filled by those of suitable status and fortune. A metropolitan see might attract candidates from all over the Empire; a suffragan bishopric would usually only be of interest to local families. St. Luke may not have been typical as a retired soldier, but as a reasonably pious figure of the right social standing, he almost certainly was.

As with the towns of the Maeander region, the evidence for the secular church is not extensive but it does show the metropolitans and their suffragans playing a more important role than may appear at first sight. In the Empire as a whole the status of the clergy seems to have come a step behind the laity. The letters of the patriarch Nicholas Mystikos at the beginning of the 10th century[146] and those of Theophylact of Ochrid at the end of the 11th,[147] both complain of the way the church was bullied and exploited by Imperial officials, but over the intervening period there does seem to have been a rise in the status of the secular church. The evidence is to be found in writers as diverse as Kekaumenos[148] and Niketas Stethatos,[149] and also in the changing iconography of church decoration.[150] The bishop in particular seems to have been regaining his position as a focus of local society.

By the later 11th century the secular church in the

151. ATTALEIATES 303.

152. J.-B. MANSI, XI, 944, 965.

153. ANNA COMNENA I, 54; see also D. I. POLEMIS, The Doukai 42-6.

154. See J. HERRIN, 'Realities of Byzantine provincial government' 266, 282-4.

Maeander region certainly had some of the status and organisation to provide leadership to a society abandoned by its Constantinopolitan rulers in the face of barbarian invasion. The possibility of this happening in fact however was rather remote. In the immediate context of the late 1070s and 1080s the authority of the church in the Maeander was undermined by the appointment of the deposed Emperor Michael VII to be metropolitan of Ephesos.[151] This was done as a convenient means whereby Nikephoros Botaneiates could marry Michael's wife, Maria of Alania - a man who became a priest could remain married; a bishop had to leave his wife.[152] Michael was hardly even a figure head, and never came near the region,[153] yet even if the senior metropolis had been in more capable hands, the secular church is very unlikely to have played a much more active role. It had no experience of such a crisis, lacked armed forces and possibly most serious, was led by metropolitans who by background, education and practical experience expected leadership to come from Constantinople. It would require repeated experience of the failure of lay government before this attitude would change.[154]

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Local Elite: a conclusion.

In part two I examined the survival of important settlements on Roman city sites through the Byzantine period up to the Turkish invasions. I considered their role as strong points in the defence of the Maeander region against the Arabs and looked at the evidence for their inhabitants playing an active part in local society, and suggested that they formed an important section of the resident local elite.

In part three I have so far concentrated on what in effect has been a survey of who were not that local elite - using the term to define those persons and families, generally resident in the Maeander region, who dominated local and regional society and politics. Neither the judges nor the strategoi nor even the great political families can, as we have seen, justly be so described. Both the former were only in the Maeander region for a short period before moving on to either another theme or a post in Constantinople; the latter had a more permanent interest in the region, but it was one which appears not to have touched their political lives. No Byzantine aristocrat seems to have used the estates he owned in the Maeander region as the basis of provincial power he could exercise in the world of Imperial politics in Constantinople. Such men owned land in the Maeander because they enjoyed considerable wealth from court salaries. Estates in western Asia Minor were a convenient investment in a

1. See supra 401 f.
2. See supra, chapter eight and nine, passim.

society which did not offer many such uses for large capital sums. Land there provided an income, and where it was accessible by sea, or otherwise within convenient distance of Constantinople, it was a source of agricultural produce. In other societies we are used to the idea of the absentee landlord, I suggest it should also be applied to the Maeander region in the middle Byzantine period.

Turning from who was not part of the resident local elite to who was, the essential source giving a general picture of local society is again the Lives of the saints,[1] and in particular that of St. Lazaros of mount Galesion. Other Lives, such as those of St. Paul of Latros, St. Nikephoros of Miletos and St. Luke the stylite are much shorter and do not contain the same detailed descriptions of individual monks and patrons.

The important figures in all these Lives, with high court titles and senior offices, known in some cases from other sources, have been discussed already.[2] They were all outsiders to the region: temporary visitors from the great political world in Constantinople, whose association with the saint redounded to the latter's credit. The others who appear in these Lives are, with a few exceptions, a remarkably humble group.

The social and economic level of the majority of visitors and monks on Galesion can be illustrated by the example of Constantine Phlaskes, a flute-player who was persuaded by St.

3. LAZAROS 545.
4. ibid. 524, 525, 529, 531-4, 537-9, 540-41, 545-6, 550, 552.
5. ibid. 536, 577.
6. ibid. 536, 555, 557.

Lazaros to give up this apparently reprehensible employment; he turned to work with his hands and so made himself rich.[3] Gregory the kellarites, the author of the Life, describes a world of flute-players, painters, ships-captains and small land-owners.[4] All people who by comparison with Constantinopolitan office holders could justly be described as poor.

Yet it is important to make a distinction between this group and the real 'poor' of the Maeander region. The Life of St. Lazaros reveals a society with a very clear sense of hierarchy. The monks looked up to a superior group of Constantinopolitan aristocrats, generals, judges and famous families, whose visits to the saint were a cause of pride and awe.[5] their familiarity with the earthly Emperor in the Imperial court in Constantinople could only be compared to the parousia which a holyman enjoyed in the court of heaven.[6] Equally however the monks looked down on an inferior peasantry whom the monks treated with striking contempt.

With a few exceptions, such as the shepherd who wondered at St. Lazaros' ability to endure the extremes of winter and summer on his column, the poor only appear in the Life as an ignorant and undifferentiated mass. Gregory treats them as an opportunity to illustrate Lazaros' sanctity by describing how, in spite of the monks objections, he was willing to talk to the peasants, listen to their problems and solve their disputes. The monks were not all happy that their holy father should waste his time

7. ibid. 544, 551, 556-7, 579-80.
8. ibid. 560, 563.
9. 'Vie de S. Luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 206-8, 211.
10. PAUL OF LATROS 106, 111, 135.

on these people, especially as they were too ignorant to discuss spiritual matters but would rather tell the saint of their mundane village concerns.[7] On one occasion an illiterate and poor man wished to join the community on Galesion where he was received with hostility by the other monks. St. Lazaros' willingness to have such a man in the monastery was evidence of his sanctity; the poor man's learning of letters was later to be proof of how right Lazaros had been to admit him into the monastery, indicating that he had raised himself above his background.[8] St. Lazaros' patience with the poor was an attribute of his being a saint, but was no more typical of his society than any of his other ascetic activities. Most people of his background did not consider them worthy of interest.

The same attitude is present in other Lives, although not so fully expressed. In the 920s St. Luke's sanctity was demonstrated by his concern to give the family's grain reserves to the starving peasantry of the Baklan ovası, and also by the short period he abased himself to their level anonymously tending pigs near Kütahya.[9] St. Paul of Latros spent a similar period tending pigs in Phrygia and this was clearly regarded by the hagiographer as among the lowest depths to which a man could fall. Later in his career some villagers brought food to the monastery of the Stylos, and on another occasion some villagers were freed by St. Paul in a posthumous miracle when they were being taken prisoner to the theme judge.[10] Otherwise St. Paul's clientele were always of a moderately prosperous and prominent background.

11. See P. LEMERLE, 'Roga et rente d'état', 77-100.
12. See N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques' 50-56.
13. See M. KAPLAN, 'L'économie paysanne' 198-232.
14. LAZAROS 552, 557, 571, 575-6.
15. ibid. 566.
16. ibid. 536.
17. ibid. 549, 557, 566.
18. ibid. 551, 556-7.
19. ibid. 509.

The economic basis of this hierarchy is clear enough. The salaries of senior officials placed their beneficiaries far above the monks on the one hand,[11] while peasant incomes, estimated at between 15 and 24 nomismata per annum, were barely sufficient to pay tax, rent and to survive.[12] Many Byzantine peasants appear to have been in a poverty trap that kept them near destitute.[13] Compared with this the position of the Galesion monks was quite comfortable. St. Lazaros was much troubled by the private property of monks, especially at Bessai away from his supervision.[14] Several incidents in the Life are there to warn monks of the evils of private possessions. A monk who died with a nomisma hidden on his person went straight to hell.[15] A monk who used some money he found to buy a psalter in Ephesos was sternly corrected by St. Lazaros.[16] Monks who kept icons in their cells equally suffered the saint's disapproval.[17] None of this would have arisen if the monks had been as poor as the peasantry; nor would the monastery have slowly amassed quite extensive estates in the vicinity of mount Galesion.[18]

Nonetheless among the monks and visitors to Galesion there were some who stood out as relatively wealthy and prominent figures in local society. The most obvious example is the family of St. Lazaros himself. The saint was born in the late 10th century near Magnesia on the Maeander. He was baptized Leo, and the Life describes his parents as 'not wealthy' but of 'independent means'. [19] There is no suggestion that they had any official post, but the Life reveals them as prosperous and

20. ibid. 509-10.
21. ibid. 510: the monastery of Kalothan is otherwise unknown.
22. ibid. 510, 518; EP II, nr. 50, 5-6, 14, 17-18.
23. Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 877.
24. V. LAURENT, Corpus V/2, nr. 1275, 193-4.
25. See for example, PAUL OF LATROS 130-35; PETER OF ATROA, La
vita retracta 135-71.

prominent local figures, whose influence was based on the successful monastic careers followed by several of their number.

From the first, Lazaros - to refer to him by his familiar religious name - was destined to follow his relatives in an ecclesiastical career. At the age of six his parents, encouraged by his uncle Elios, sent him to the monk Leontios to start his education. From then until the age of 18 when he ran away to Palestine, Lazaros was brought up at various monasteries under the charge of a succession of monastic notarioi.[20]

Of his relatives, one uncle, already mentioned, was a monk at the monastery of Kalothon;[21] another on his mother's side was abbot of the important monastery of Orobos which lay near Magnesia on the Maeander where it owned several estates adjoining those of Barys on the north side of the Maeander valley.[22] The monastery was most famous for its saintly abbot Theodosios, whose feast day is commemorated in the Sirmond synaxarium of c.1000.[23] St. Theodosios appeared on the monastery's seals[24] and the body may well have been buried there making Orobos a focus of local devotion.[25] It is even possible that Lazaros was related to St. Theodosios. The abbacy of Byzantine monasteries commonly remained in the same family for several generations. Lazaros' maternal uncle was abbot in the early 11th century; St. Theodosios could have been abbot within the previous 50 years. The saint is otherwise unknown and short entries of this type describing the saintly abbot of a provincial monastery

26. See Synaxarium 125-6, 312, 562.
27. LAZAROS 565.
28. ibid. 558.
29. ibid. 519-20.
30. ibid. 519-20, 525, 533-4; for Bessai, see E. MALAMUT, 'A propos de Bessai d'Ephèse', 243-51.
31. See P. LEMERLE, 'Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance' 9-28.

usually date in the Sirmond synaxarium to the 9th or 10th century.[26] Lazaros himself was known to quote the Life of St. Theodosios as evidence of good ascetic practice.[27] A saintly pedigree would help to explain how Lazaros was excepted in local society as a wonder-working holy man.

Other members of the family shared in this successful monastic background. Lazaros' mother, Eirene, became a nun under the name Eupraxia and founded a monastery.[28] She left her younger son, Ignatios, in the charge of a woman called Judith who was presumably a relation. Judith, who apparently came from Calabria, was in turn patron of Lazaros' first community of St. Marina where she paid for the building of the church.[29] Ignatios followed the sort of career that was originally intended for Lazaros. He first took charge of the Imperial foundation of Bessai, numbering over 300 monks and endowed by Constantine IX and Maria Skleraina, and eventually succeeded Lazaros as abbot of Galesion, thus keeping the profits of Lazaros' sanctity within the family.[30]

Behind the hagiography of St. Lazaros is the story of how a moderately prosperous local landed family turned to good account the acknowledged sanctity of one of its sons. Several studies have shown how a family could keep an interest in estates that it had given to a monastery.[31] The details are obscure but in the late 10th century Lazaros' family appears to have had an interest in the monastery of Orobos. Lazaros was intended to safeguard

32. LAZAROS 533-4.
33. See supra 417-19.
34. LAZAROS 537-8.
35. ibid. 541: The Life does not make it quite clear who or what Theodore Sagopoulos was, or where he came from. The name implies a seller of cloaks, and in the case of Philippos tis sagopōlēs who appears in the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos (NIKEPHOROS 160), the reference is certainly to his trade. Kyr Theodore Sagopoulos, however, is not a cloak seller, and another 11th century Sagopoulos is known from a seal to have been protospatharios and mystographos, V. LAURENT, Corpus II, nr. 146, 68. The two are no necessarily related, but Theodore is not definitely a local man.

this interest as a senior monk or abbot. His uncle made every effort to educate him for the post and to prevent him running away. When he returned 20 years later, however, they took full advantage of his new status. The core of the Galesion endowment seems to have been family property,[32] and by the time Lazaros died in 1053, Ignatios' abbacy ensured that their interest confined not only in the Galesion estates, but in those at Bessai and presumably those linked to Eupraxia's foundation too. The struggle of the Galesion community to survive after Lazaros' death, which has been touched on above,[33] had a number of aspects, some of them dourly secular.

The success of the community on Galesion was not dependent on one family alone, however well placed they may have been to exploit it. Among the other local 'notables' was a ships-captain who could afford to build a funerary chapel for himself,[34] and possibly a certain Theodore Sagapoulos who sent a boy to buy fish in Ephesos for the saint, and who the monks held in sufficient respect to call kyr. [35]

Otherwise the most important local benefactors were probably the Mita family. John Mita was a regular visitor to Galesion who first held the office of dioiketes of Ephesos and then later became episkeptites of the Imperial estates of the Myrelaion. His uncle, Eustathios Mita, lived nearby but was prevented by gout from visiting the father on his column. In spite of this he gave generously to the monks and St. Lazaros

36. LAZAROS 539-40.
37. NIKEPHOROS OF MILETOS 143-4, 151.
38. See H. AHRWEILER, 'Recherches' 42 n. 3.
39. LAZAROS 582.
40. EP II, nr. 50, 8, 14, 20.

prayed for his soul. Another relation, Himerios, who was linked to the Mita family by marriage, himself became a monk on mount Galesion.[36]

John Mita is the only relative high ranking local official who appears in the Life, apart from judges and strategoi. The Life of St. Paul of Latros mentions no one of this status, and the Life of St. Nikephoros of Miletos only the anonymous agents of the Myrelaion who ransacked the archiepiscopal estates during the vacancy before the saint arrived, and the equally anonymous archontes who came with Ampelas to the Xerochoraphion in the later 10th century.[37] Other lay officials are all of a rather low rank, such as notarioi or a former taxeotes - a general agent on the staff of a strategos or judge[38] - who became a monk on Galesion only to betray the attempt to have the monastery taken under Imperial protection to the metropolitan.[39] Outside saints' Lives the only other evidence for particular lay officials in the region is in the praktikon of Andronikos Doukas drawn up in 1073 which mentions a protokourator and a kourator. [40]

Yet from seals and such Constantinopolitan sources as the taktika it is clear that there was an important body of provincial officials who would have been found in the Maeander region as elsewhere. The status, background and recruitment of these officials is not yet clear but their existence is beyond doubt. In addition to the personal staff of the strategos or

41. H. AHRWEILER, 'Recherches' 44; F. DÖLGER, Beitrage 70-71; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 313; J. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System 89.
42. H. AHRWEILER, op.cit. 44; F. DÖLGER, op.cit. 79-80; N. OIKONOMIDES, op.cit. 313; J. BURY, op.cit. 87.
43. F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang und Ämterstruktur 119-20.
44. F. DÖLGER, Beitrage 151-2; N. SVORONOS, 'Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin' 61-2; J. BURY, The Imperial Administrative System 103; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 312, 318.
45. J. BURY, op.cit. 102; N. OIKONOMIDES, op.cit. 318.
46. See H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance Paris (1963) passim; J. BURY, op.cit. 88.
47. F. DÖLGER, Beitrage 69; H. AHRWEILER, 'Recherches' 43; N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 313; F. WINKELMANN, Byzantinische Rang und Ämterstruktur 131-3.
48. H. AHRWEILER, op.cit. 37, 43, 71; F. WINKELMANN, op.cit. 129-30.
49. N. OIKONOMIDES, Les Listes 341; see also F. WINKELMANN, op.cit. 106.
50. THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS 226-7.
51. Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae ed. J. Noret, 5-6, 10, 130-31.
52. G. WEISS, Oströmische beamte 21-2.
53. See P. MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine Aristocratic oikos' in The Byzantine Aristocracy 96-8; KEKAUMENOS 5; H.-G. BECK, 'Byzantinische Gefolgschaftswesen' 1-32.

judge, and the military personnel of the theme army, provincial officials included dioiketai,[41] epoptai[42] and possibly anagraphes[43] who organized and collected taxation; episkeptitai[44] and kouratores[45] who managed the Imperial estates; kommerkiarioi[46] who collected customs; theme chartoularioi[47] who drew up the military registers; protonotarioi[48] who seem to have been in charge of the civil administration under the strategos; and a protokankellarios and various notarioi who formed the strategos' administrative staff.[49]

Some of the more senior of these officials may only have been in the theme on a temporary appointment in the same way as judges and strategoi. Certainly some of the personal staff of a strategos or judge did come from outside. The future Basil I, for example, accompanied Theophilos, a high ranking official sent to the Peloponnese in the mid-9th century;[50] in the 10th century, Abraamios, the future St. Athanasios of the Lavra, went with the strategos Zephinezer to his new posting in the Aegean;[51] Michael Psellos accompanied a judge to Macedonia and Mesopotamia.[52] Most important Byzantines seem to have included a number of attendant young men in their households, who would gain practical experience of administration or military command by accompanying their masters on provincial appointments.[53]

Many of these posts however must have been filled by local men such as John Mita. Ranging from senior tax collectors to the

54. See PETER OF ATROA 177-9.
55. LAZAROS 543-4.
56. 'Vie de S. luc' ed. F. Vanderstuyf, 199-202, 204-5.
57. ibid. 206-9.

kouratores of private estates,[54] such men as these with some limited access to official power, a small Imperial salary and a percentage of the revenues they collected, in addition to any land they owned, must, like John Mita, have been comparatively important and influential figures in local society.

Another prominent local figure seems to have been the topoteretes who visited Galesion, but offended St. Lazaros by talking only of bloodshed and battles. The monks were alarmed that the holy father's consequent refusal to speak to him would alienate a generous benefactor, but in due course the soldier learnt to talk about matters of the spirit and the two were reconciled.[55]

Soldiers seem to have played an important part in local society. St. Luke, for example, was the son of a prosperous family in the Baklan ovası who had a hereditary duty to serve in the theme army of the Anatolikoi, with whom he campaigned in Bulgaria.[56] The family's wealth has been noted already. St. Luke's father had 100 nomismata available to pay for his son to become bishop of Sebaste, and the family's granaries had contained even during the famine years of 927-8 4,000 modioi of grain which implies the ownership of extensive estates.[57].

St. Paul of Latros was also the son of a soldier. His father had been an officer in the fleet, but was fatally wounded in battle against the Cretan Arabs. His mother moved to Phrygia

58. PAUL OF LATROS 105-6.
59. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 222-6; M.-H. FOURMY, M. LEROY, 'La vie de S. Philarète', B IX (1934) 125; J. DARROUZES, Les epistoliers 101-2, 130-31.
60. See R. MORRIS, 'The powerful and the poor', 25-6.
61. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 217.
62. C.f. J. F. HALDON, Recruitment and conscription in Byzantine army c. 550-950 Vienna (1979) 44.
63. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 223.
64. See G. OSTROGORSKY, 'Löhne und Preise in Byzanz', BZ XXXII (1932) 312-17.

and then died shortly afterwards, leaving St. Paul a destitute orphan.[58]

The majority of soldiers resident in the Maeander region are likely to have been members of the theme army of either the Thrakesion or the Anatolikon. Poor theme cavalrymen certainly did exist and in the mid-10th century Imperial legislation was necessary to protect their interests.[59] However, even in the minds of Imperial official drafting laws they were clearly no more than a borderline case.[60] To set beside the legislation to protect the soldiers, are other attempts to protect the weak from them. In the prostaxis of 949 the stratiotai are specifically mentioned among the dunatoi. [61] For as many as could not afford to fulfil their responsibilities, there were clearly many others, like the family of St. Luke, who were buying up new lands and obtaining episcopal sees for their children. The evidence strongly suggests that the latter were in a large majority.[62]

According to Constantine VII's novel, Peri ton stratioton, issued in the mid-10th century, the minimum value of a theme soldier's lands was to be set at 4 pounds of gold.[63] such a sum, equivalent to 288 nomismata, would buy about 576 modioi of land.[64] If such an estate were used for arable then only half would have been cultivated each year, the rest lying fallow. Byzantine cereal crops seem to have produced about 3.5 times the original seed. The annual crop on a 576 modioi estate would

65. See N. SVORONOS, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques' 52-57; M. KAPLAN, 'L'économie paysanne dans l'empire byzantin du Vème au Xème siècle' 198-232: I am aware that this is a crude approach and I hope to refine the model by comparison with such anthropological studies as the Methena survey, H. A. FORBES, Strategies and Soils: technology, production and environment in the peninsula of Methena, Greece Michigan (1982); see also L. FAXHALL, 'Greece, ancient and modern: subsistence and survival' History Today XXXVI, July (1986) 35-43; for the moment however the present figures offer at least a broad scale of comparative values.
66. J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, JGR I, 255-6.
67. See P. LEMERLE, The Agrarian History of Byzantium 128-31.

therefore have been about 1008 modioi. From this crop 288 modioi had to be set aside as seed for the next year, leaving 720 modioi, worth at a market price of 12 modioi to the nomismata, 60 nomismata. From this about 6 nomismata should be deducted for tax, leaving 54 nomismata which also had to cover the cost of cultivation. Theme soldiers were not peasant farmers. The animal surplus from such an estate was therefore probably only in the region of 30 nomismata, but even that compares quite well with a typical peasant surplus of between 2 and 10 nomismata. It also does not include payments and booty in time of war.[65]

However Constantine's figure of land worth 4 pounds does not represent the typical theme soldier, but rather a critical level below which it would have been impossible to have provided the necessary arms, equipment and horses, and to support someone to cultivate the land. Indeed the novel was so far removed from the reality of theme soldiers and their place in local landed society that within ten years another novel was issued by Nikephoros II Phokas to remedy the confusion.[66]

Constantine's novel had given the theme soldiers the right to recover any land registered for military service that they might have sold without repaying the purchase price. The consequence was that nobody would buy a soldier's land, however much he held in excess of the legal minimum, for fear of losing both land and money.[67]

68. See J. F. HALDON, 'Some aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth centuries', BMGS I (1975) 34
69. For the tactical and strategic developments which lay behind this novel, see J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, Studies 238-88.

Nikephoros Phokas ruled that as regards past transactions the soldier had only to retain land worth 4 pounds. Land sold which took him below that level was to be recovered without cost under the terms of Constantine VII's novel; lands over the 4 pound limit could be recovered by preferential right but only by payment of a just price. For the future, Nikephoros ruled the minimum value of lands would be raised to 12 pounds, it seems to cover the increased cost of heavily armoured cavalry,[68] and free recovery would come into force under that amount.

The implications of Nikephoros' novel are quite clear: most theme soldiers had lands worth far more than 12 pounds of gold. It would otherwise have been nonsense to make the sale of soldiers' lands possible if in fact they had mostly owned property valued at around the 4 pound mark and the Emperor wished to raise their holdings to a value above 12 pounds. The novel is instead admitting that most soldiers owned far more land than the legal minimum, and the Emperor wanted to turn some of this surplus to improving the armament of his cavalry.[69]

Following the same lines as for an estate worth 4 pounds, an estate of 12 pounds would have produced an annual income of about 170 nomismata. This is not a very large sum in comparison to the incomes of senior Imperial officials but it is quite considerable when compared to a typical peasant income.

The theme army of the Thrakesion has been estimated on the

70. ibid. 100-104, 133-40.
71. See supra 6-10, 193-244.
72. See W. T. TREADGOLD, The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth centuries 12-31; M. F. HENDY, Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy 181-3.
73. See supra chapter eleven, *passim*.

basis of apparently reliable Arab figures as about 15,000 men, of whom about 3,000 were cavalry.[70] The lower Maeander formed about two-thirds of the Thrakesion, but included nearly all the most productive and populous parts of the theme. The upper Maeander formed about one-fifth of the Anatolikon, but again it was an important and comparatively fertile area, well protected against attacks from the east, and hence likely to have a relatively high population.[71] An estimate of 3,000 military estates in the Maeander region is probably close to the true figure.

Of these, the majority would have been worth well over 12 pounds; a minority nearer the 4 pound mark. In addition this does not take into account pay, booty, moveable goods and the salaries of a number of officers.[72] Whether or not the holders of these estates were still active soldiers in the second half of the 11th century is unimportant in this context; they were an important section of land-owning society in the Maeander region.

A final group who appear in the Life of St. Lazaros as important members of local society is the secular church. They have been discussed in the previous chapter but it is worth underlining the role that they played.[73] Not only the metropolitans and suffragan bishops, but many of the episcopal clergy and ecclesiastical officials ranked as influential local figures. Even a metropolitan who spent much of his time in Constantinople and who despised the barabrities of his provincial

- 74. LAZAROS 520, 526.
- 75. PSELLOS, SM II, ep. 75, 107.
- 76. A. MICHEL, 'Ein Bischofsprozess bei Michael Kerullarios', BZ
CLI (1941) 451-2.

flock was inevitably involved in local politics. His status and income depended on defending the interests of his see. This could partly be achieved in Constantinople but it also demanded action in the province. Even the metropolitan of Ephesos, the second ranking province in the eastern church was not above watching over the activities of a new stylite such as Lazaros.[74]

Such involvement in local politics would apply even more to the suffragan bishops and ecclesiastical officials some might have high ranking contracts in Constantinople to whom they sent such presents as salt-fish and cheese to remind them of their distant and comparatively humble friends;[75] but even when they appealed to Constantinople, such men as the two priests of Tranoupolis in the upper Maeander were concerned with local affairs rather than with making a name for themselves in the capital.[76]

The clergy were almost bound to be prominent local figures. The church was a focus of daily life where people married, heard mass and were buried. To build or decorate a church, buy an icon or pay for a priest were common acts natural to Byzantine society. As an institution the church was a major land-owner and its clergy and officials benefitted as the permanent administrators of this wealth. The church also performed a judicial function. The bishop was appealed to as a judge, or a witness to a concord, and the clergy in general could play a

77. See supra 446 - 76.

secondary part in the same role.[77]

Such people as these, local officials, soldiers, small land-owners, abbots, suffragan bishops, ecclesiastical officials and episcopal clergy, even in some contexts the metropolitan himself, made up the local elite of the Maeander region - those who were resident in the region and dominated at a local level its social and political life.

Considerably more could be said about them, and this chapter amounts to no more than an introductory survey pointing the way for future research; but a number of basic points should be made which may stand as conclusions to what has been said in previous chapters.

Firstly, the Lives do not describe any local figures who dominated society in a manner which justifies the description of a provincial aristocracy. Power seems to have been fragmented among a great number of individuals. Some of them, such as suffragan bishops or senior officials were influential in particular contexts but no one seems to have been able to unite the region from within. As a result this was a society unlikely to rebel against Constantinople unless provided with outside leadership. When it was deserted by its Constantinopolitan leaders, such as Nikephoros Melissenos in 1080, the Maeander region was equally unable to unite in self defence. The 'feudalization' of Byzantine society and the consequent dispersal

78. See C. MANGO, Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome 50-58.
79. ATTALEIATES 140-41.

of central authority are often held to be features of the 10th and 11th century which led to the loss of Asia Minor to the Turks.[78] The study of the Maeander region would suggest that on the contrary it was the lack of a developed provincial aristocracy which made Byzantine Asia Minor and its culture so vulnerable to conquest and collapse.

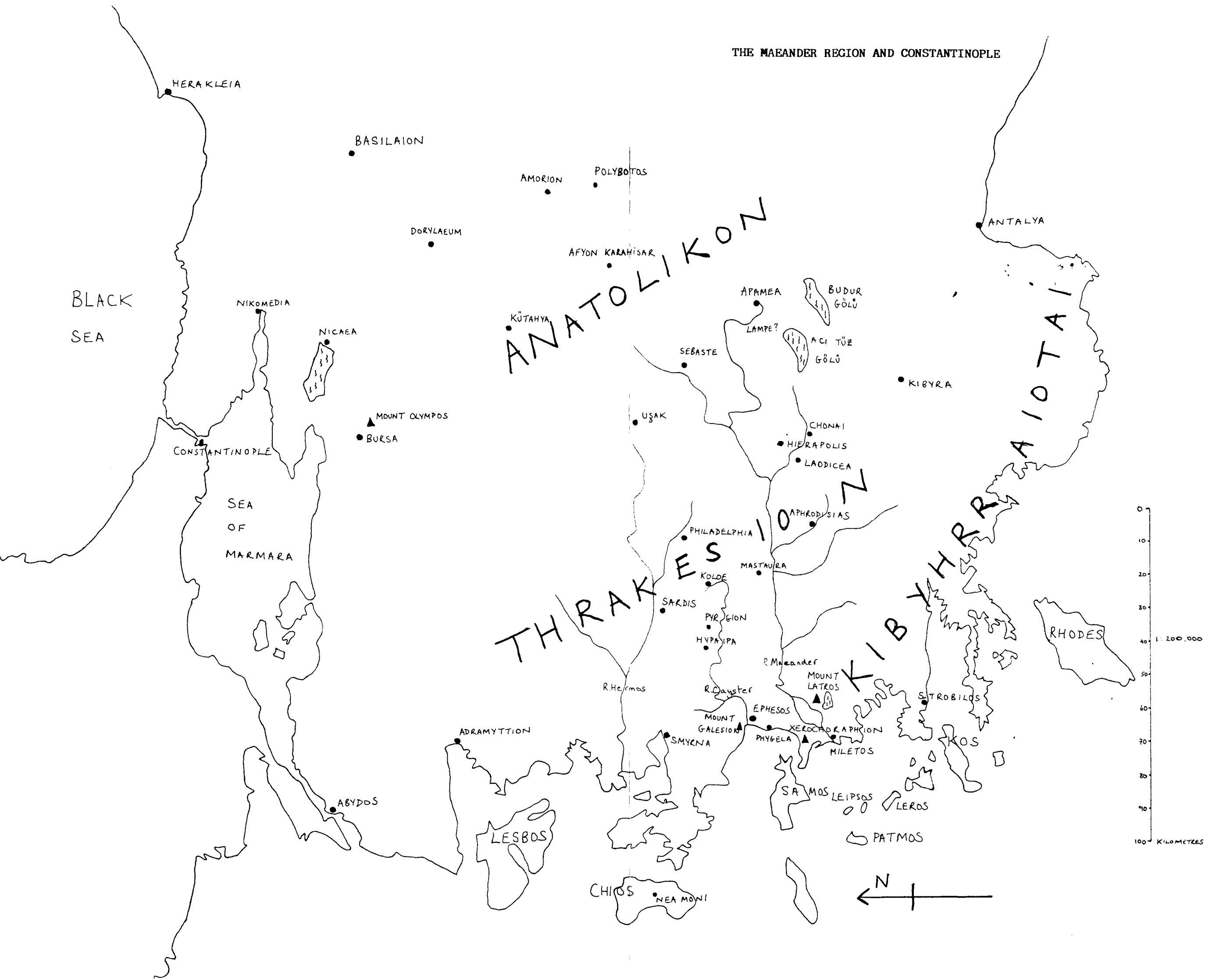
Secondly the Lives show an awed respect for Constantinople and those sent from there, but there is very little evidence for an effective political structure which would bind together the interests of central government in Constantinople and the inhabitants of the Maeander region. A major link was of course the orthodox faith. Central government - which in this case means the Emperor and those who would help to decide Imperial policy, and pay and lead the armies to carry it out - was shocked by the sack of Chonai,[79] and presumably also by the loss of Ephesos, but otherwise its vital interests were not immediately involved in either the loss or reconquest of the Maeander region. Again the lack of a powerful aristocracy to cajole the Imperial government into action was probably fatal for the long term prospects of Byzantine Asia Minor.

The other side to this same point is that the interests of the inhabitants of the Maeander region were not necessarily closely linked to Constantinople when it was abandoned by the Imperial government for 17 years, there was little to preserve the region's loyalty to the Emperor and the God-guarded city. The

accounts given by Anna Comnena and Niketas Choniates of the Imperial reconquest are marked by the hostile or at least neutral attitude of the population at large.[80] Few seem to have gone as far as the inhabitants of the islands in Bey şehir gölü, outside the Maeander region to the east, who defied the Emperor II so that it needed costly military operations to teach them the value of Imperial rule,[81] but many seem to have been lukewarm at the return of Byzantine armies. In retrospect rule from Constantinople can have seemed little more than a matter of paying large taxes.

Finally, although the Maeander region could not keep out the Turks, it was neither powerless nor moribund; it was merely that power was so fragmented and isolated that it was ineffective in the face of such a crisis. The sources are vague - they took the structures of local society for granted - but it is striking that wherever names and locations are given, they are those of the ancient walled city sites which had formed the central places of the region over a thousand years before. Still in the 11th century the ancient city sites appear to have been the centres of economic, social and political life in the Maeander region.

THE MAEANDER REGION AND CONSTANTINOPLE



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