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TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES
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Οὐ δῶρόν εἰμι τὰς γραφὰς βλέπων νόει

MÉLANGES
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PRÉFACE

Pour leur savoir et leur enseignement, nous louons toujours les maîtres; mais qui dira ce que les maîtres doivent à leurs disciples? Dois-je avouer que je suis fière parce que mon premier élève en Sorbonne (c'était en 1967) fut Jean-Claude Cheynet? À propos des mouvements de sédition fomentés par des étrangers, je lui avais alors demandé de traduire et de commenter le terme « ethnikos » mentionné dans le Stratégikon de Kékaumenos. Qui aurait pu prévoir, quelques années plus tard, quand Jean-Claude Cheynet commençait sa thèse d'État sur « Milieux et foyers de perturbations dans l'Empire byzantin (963-1210) », qu'il deviendrait le spécialiste incontesté de l'histoire mouvementée de la société byzantine, ainsi que le meilleur connaisseur de l'administration complexe mais efficace de l'Empire de Byzance? Il y a réussi en se penchant sur la source quasi unique qui permet de connaître et d'éclairer cette question : les sceaux byzantins. Jean-Claude Cheynet, qui a succédé au maître incomparable de cette discipline, Nicolas Oikonomidès, reste aujourd'hui l'un des très rares défricheurs des secrets de la sigillographie byzantine. Mais pourquoi parler seulement de l'apport de Jean-Claude Cheynet à la connaissance de la société byzantine et de son évolution, quand l'étendue de ses travaux (près de deux cents titres de livres et d'articles) montre l'éventail impressionnant de ses intérêts? Ceux-ci concernent tous les aspects de la vie de Byzance et cela pendant toute la durée de cet empire millénaire.

Jean-Claude Cheynet fait ainsi partie d'une espèce rare, celle des « byzantinistes complets ». Il connaît Byzance comme l'on connaît une personne aimée que l'on a fréquentée longtemps sans jamais être déçu. Il sait les rouages de l'administration, les méthodes de la diplomatie, les attitudes des dirigeants comme celles des simples citoyens du menu peuple; il déchiffre les enjeux et les dangers de la politique étrangère, les relations avec l'Église et avec son clergé supérieur; bref, il connaît Byzance de l'intérieur comme s'il y avait vécu. L'Empire byzantin n'a pas de secrets pour cet érudit passionné et passionnant. Il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant à ce qu'il ait su transmettre cette passion aux nombreux élèves qu'il a eus pendant sa longue et fructueuse carrière de professeur à la Sorbonne. Il est aussi symptomatique que Jean-Claude Cheynet n'ait pas hésité à consacrer du temps et des efforts continus au service de la byzantinologie. Il assura la direction de laboratoires scientifiques dépendant du CNRS; il supervisa des éditions de documents, des études relatives aux sources historiques et fut responsable de revue; enfin, il dirigea les thèses de jeunes byzantinistes qui continuent aujourd'hui son œuvre. En un mot, c'est un collègue estimé, un maître aimé et un savant accompli. La place de Jean-Claude Cheynet dans la hiérarchie du petit monde des byzantinistes (Roberto S. Lopez nous estimait un millier dans le monde) se trouve au sommet et y restera longtemps.

Hélène AHRWEILER

ABSTRACTS/RÉSUMÉS

Luisa ANDRIOLLO, *Le charme du rebelle malheureux : Georges Maniakès dans les sources grecques du XI^e siècle* p. 1

This paper investigates the cultural and literary strategies leading to the construction of a shared memory of rebellions and failed usurpations in eleventh-century Byzantium. To do so, the author considers a significant case-study: the actions and personality of George Maniakes, as depicted in eleventh-century Greek literary sources. The analysis of different texts brings out a number of recurrent features in the depiction of Maniakes' character and in the narrative of his adventures. Echoes from the classical and Homeric tradition and from earlier Byzantine literature participate in drawing a consistently positive portrait of the defeated rebel. The possible sources and motives of such literary and ideological choices are examined.

Dominique BARTHÉLEMY, *Le sire de Coucy à la bataille de Bouvines (1214-1274)* p. 13

Merits attributed or denied to noble warriors in battle narratives often depend on their later behavior and the narrator's own partiality. This fact can be best illustrated through the example of the sire de Coucy Enguerran III's action as depicted in the narratives of the battle of Bouvines.

Fighting in Philip August' ost, Enguerran III is barely mentioned in the early narratives, a fact that could be explained by his protracted conflict with the cathedral's chapter of Laon (1215–9), if not by his role in the baronial uprising of 1228–30. Conversely, the harsh justice dealt upon his son and homonym, Enguerran IV, by Saint Louis, earned the latter the sympathy and support of France's barons. It led to a posthumous exaltation of Enguerran III's figure in the later narratives of Bouvines, staging in heroic tones his alleged role in the king's war council on the eve of the battle and his doughty deeds during the fight.

Marie-Hélène BLANCHET, *L'usage de la censure dans l'exercice du pouvoir impérial à l'époque paléologue : la politique ecclésiastique* p. 21

This article investigates the question of censorship and self-censorship in Byzantium, especially in the context of the emperors' efforts to achieve the union of the Latin and Byzantine Churches. The Latins were widely considered heretics by the leaders of the Byzantine Church because of the introduction of the *Filioque* into the Roman liturgy, but this view was seldom openly expressed. It seems that the emperors expected the Byzantine clergy to avoid voicing the charge of heresy, as exemplified through the speeches of some participants in the council of Florence, for instance Mark of Ephesus.

Béatrice CASEAU, *L'exercice de la charité à Byzance d'après les sceaux et les tessères (V^e-XII^e siècle)* p. 31

This article focuses on the social and institutional history of charitable distributions, based on objects that were related to the exercise of charity: charity tesserae and certain seals, especially seals of charitable institutions. The aim is to trace over a long period of time, the evolution of charity

practices on the part of donors rather than beneficiaries. The duty of charity towards the poor, affirmed by Christianity, has in fact led to the establishment of a sharing of resources, especially food, starting with the ancient Church and continuing during the Middle Ages. Modalities for sharing with the poor have changed. While the Church aimed at concentrating the gifts of donors, insisting that it could do a better job to distribute resources, part of these resources were used for its own needs. Lay charitable institutions emerged. Also, the wealthiest wished to benefit from the prayers of the poor in their favor, which they considered necessary for their salvation and they organized charitable distributions in their own name. This article follows this evolution from anonymous gifts to personalized distributions illustrated by the tesserae of the middle Byzantine period.

John COTSONIS, *Chaired saints on Byzantine lead seals & their significance (sixth–twelfth centuries): a preliminary study*

p. 53

This article traces the phenomenon of seals that bear images of more than one holy figure, here referred to as “choired” saints. The study investigates their chronological frequency within the historical contexts of such trends. In addition, there is discussion concerning the chronological preference for either unilateral or bilateral disposition of the sacred figures. There is also the analysis of the popularity of the holy figures selected for such types of seals and the observation of which saints’ images are grouped together on the seals. Furthermore, the paper studies the names and titles/offices of these seal-owners in order to discover which sections of society prefer such sphragistic imagery. The article demonstrates that the study of seals with images of “choired” saints is another valid means of investigating personal piety and the wider devotional practices of Byzantine culture.

Olivier DELOUIS, *La Collection canonique du hiéromoine Macaire retrouvée à Orléans (olim Mikulov I 136, nunc Parisinus Suppl. gr. 1394)*

p. 67

The *Canonical collection* of the hieromonk Macarius, formerly preserved in the library of Nikolsburg in Moravia—now Mikulov, Czech Republic—disappeared after the sale of Prince Alexander von Dietrichstein’s library in Lucerne in 1933. Discovered by chance in 2012 in France (Orléans), it is studied here thoroughly for the first time. Now dated from 1525/26, the *Collection* offers a new thematic classification of Matthew Blastares’s *Syntagma canonum* (14th c.), enriched with various other texts. The study consists of three parts: a codicological description of the manuscript with a detailed analysis of its content, the narrative of its modern history, and an assessment of the importance of Macarius’s work compared to similar canonical collections. After this discovery, the manuscript was bought by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and is now the *Parisinus Suppl. gr. 1394*.

Vincent DÉROCHE, *Des miracles pour la bonne société : la Vie de saint Sampson par Syméon Métaphraste*

p. 109

The author offers a translation of a little-studied hagiographical text: the *Life of Saint Sampson the xenodochos*. Composed by the famous Symeon Metaphrastes at the end of the 10th century, this text stages various miraculous healings performed by the saint in the sanctuary of Constantinople he had managed in the 4th century. Of particular interest is the social milieu depicted in the *Life* as most of the beneficiaries belong to the palatine aristocracy and especially to a select group of dignitaries whose patron was the *praipositos* Leon, first *droungarios tou stolou* and then *logothetes tou dromou*. As such it offers interesting insights on the tensions and dynamics inside an aristocratic clientele.

Marina DETORAKI, *Portraits des saints dans l'hagiographie byzantine : du portrait théologique à l'exaltation de la beauté physique*

p. 123

Exploring selected patristic and hagiographical text samples from the 4th c. up to the 10th c., the paper focuses on the evolution of the literary physical descriptions of saints. It points out that Byzantine hagiographical literature progressively took liberties with the theological ideals of sainthood and eschewed the reluctance of the first centuries to delve on the body in favour of a more independent, free and original literary production, which, beginning *ca.* the 10th c., stressed the corporeal beauty of the saints.

Stéphanos EFTHYMIADÈS, *Déclasser pour édifier? Remarques et réflexions à propos de la métaphore de l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène*

p. 139

Late Byzantine historiography is known for a number of *metaphraseis*, i.e., “intralingual translations” from higher into lower register Greek, which, by means of linguistic simplification, aimed to make accessible to a wider audience works marked by the use of a highly sophisticated Greek imbued with classicizing allusions. Several texts of prominent historiographers from the twelfth to the fourteenth century were rewritten and adapted to meet this purpose, for example the *Alexias* of Anna Komnene, since long studied by Herbert Hunger. This article shows that, along with making “innocent” interventions, the scholar(s) who undertook this project show a strong tendency to purge the original text from “annoying” mythological metaphors, bringing out instead, when possible, an edifying message. *Metaphraseis* with such an orientation must have been undertaken in the first half of the fourteenth century by literati well-versed in Greek literature and culture but closely affiliated with the values and anti-Latin sentiments of the Byzantine Church.

Bernard FLUSIN, *Remarques sur la date de rédaction du De cerimoniis*

p. 151

The writing of the *De cerimoniis*—most often seen as a scholarly work composed at leisure—is generally dated to the end of the personal reign of its author, Constantine VII (after 956). But one of the arguments put forward does not resist closer examination: Olga’s visit to Constantinople, commonly dated 957, actually took place in 946. The other clues in favour of a late date (triumphs, number of augustai...) are re-examined here: only the mention of patriarch Theophylact as departed, at the end of chapter I.37 (= I.28 Bonn), alludes clearly to a date after his death in 956. Yet, this mention appears in a final note and strong arguments lead to date the writing of *De cer.* to the beginning of the personal reign of Constantine VII: the book I was written in 945–6 and the book II completed in 950 or soon after. Consequently, the emperor composed his great treaty on the imperial taxis on the wake of his return to effective power.

Thierry GANCHOU, « *La tour d'Irène* » (*Eirene Kulesi*) à Istanbul : le palais de Loukas Notaras?

p. 169

The article addresses the question of the location of the Constantinopolitan palace of Loukas Notaras, the last *meġas doux* of the empire. All available sources, literary, cartographic and archival, are subject to new analyses. The identification of the imperial gate defended in 1453 by Loukas Notaras is addressed, since Doukas claims that after having abandoned his position Notaras managed to reach his home, whose tower protected his family. Ottoman soldiers were already on the scene and the *meġas doux* fell into their hands. Even though this version of Notaras’ capture is spurious, it demonstrates that Doukas located the *meġas doux*’s palace in the vicinity of the imperial Gate (Zindan kapı?) on the Golden Horn. This is confirmed by a Parisian manuscript of Buondelmonti (BnF, *NAL* 2383), whose very accurate depiction of Constantinople shows a palace protected by a tower, along with the legend *palatium chir Luca*, situated precisely near the

Golden Horn. The study then proceeds to scrutinize Albrecht Berger's hypothesis identifying this *palatium chir Luca* with the current Eirene Kulesi, located 500 m from Zindan kapı. Early modern testimonies reveal that the tower, originally part of the palace of Cerrah Mejmmed Paşa, was amputated from its upper floors before its integration in the Valide Han during the 1620's-1640's. Dating from the Middle Byzantine period according to its construction techniques, but totally unknown to Byzantine sources, the tower was not built for defensive purposes but no definitive identification with any of the few private palaces mentioned in the area during Byzantine times can be adduced. The denomination "Tower of Eirene" is only provided by the mid-16th century French traveler Pierre Gilles, and the building very probably earned its name on the occasion of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks. A threnody on the fall of Constantinople, undoubtedly composed by a refugee from the imperial city, evokes the fate of a "Lady Eirene" captured by the Turks in her tower to be enslaved. This story mirrors the fate of Loukas Notaras' wife after the execution of her husband and sons. Kept under guard two weeks in her tower, she was then compelled to join the procession of prisoners following the victorious sultan to Adrianople. Furthermore, a recently discovered Venetian document confirms that the name of the *meGas doux's* wife was indeed Eirene.

Maria GEROLYMATOU, *Vivre avec les pirates aux XI^e-XIII^e siècles : l'exemple de Patmos* p. 257

Piracy was a widespread phenomenon in the ancient and medieval world and it is a commonplace that insulars suffered from it. This article takes as a case study the small island of Patmos, in the south-eastern Aegean Sea, where saint Christodoulos founded in 1088 a famous monastery dedicated to Saint John the Theologian. The new foundation had to face many perils, most of which stemming from the activity of pirates, Byzantines as well as foreigners. That the Patmiotes had to sail overseas to provision their community exposed them especially to the dangers of the sea. The testaments of saint Christodoulos († 1093) and abbot Theoctistos († 1157) give us interesting information about the activity of pirates. Exposed to the dangers and deprived of all means of resistance, the monastic community of Patmos developed a variety of strategies in order to protect itself from the danger. These strategies focused on developing a *modus vivendi* with the pirates. The monks provided them with food as well as essential supplies for repairing their ships. Furthermore, strong evidence exists that they offered anchorage to the pirates' ships and probably shelter for the crews. The same practices, also adopted by other monastic communities of the times (for instance the Athonites), continued well into the 13th century, as illustrated by the testament of abbot Germanos (1272), when pirate aggressions took the form of a real "guerre de course".

Andreas GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Administration of justice in the geographical area of Byzantine Macedonia (10th-11th c.): was there a continuation or survival of the Roman conventus?* p. 267

The paper examines whether the regular judicial circuits (*conventus*, διοικήσεις) of the Roman governors continued or survived in Byzantium, especially in 10th and 11th centuries in Macedonia, according to the evidence of documents from Athonite monasteries.

Lucile HERMAY, *Les moines révoltés à Byzance (843-1204)* p. 277

From its origins onwards, monasticism was conceived as a way of life advocating a break with the mundane world and its turmoil. However, a prosopographic analysis of the monks active during the middle Byzantine period reveals that the elite of this group maintained ties with the aristocracy. Monks belonged to strong networks of sociability and solidarity entailing reciprocal expectations. These acquaintances between the socio-economic and monastic elites led to the latter's involvement in the aristocratic struggle for legitimacy and political power. As such, between 843 and 1204, monks were involved in various revolts evidentiating that social solidarities trumped

the proclaimed ideal of monasticism. A detailed analysis shows that the monks' role in the revolts stemmed less from the desire of rebels in search of legitimacy to secure their religious charisma than from their full integration into the competing aristocratic network, primarily based on family ties.

James HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Military and provincial reform in the East in the tenth century*

p. 285

Expansion forced change on Byzantium in the course of the tenth and early eleventh century, not least in the east where a multitude of distinct localities (*gawark'*) was annexed in the western Armenian uplands, along with the highly urbanised frontier marches of the Caliphate to the south of the Armenian Taurus. The key developments are placed in the aftermath of the capitulation of Melitene in 934, namely (1) a drastic diminution in the size of the theme, (2) appropriation of abandoned lands by the crown (organised into *kouratoriai*), and (3) establishment of a higher-level, co-ordinating military command (headed initially by the Domestic of the Scholai, later divided and headed by dukes/katepans). The rationale of the new system, of which a snapshot in the 970s is given in the *Escorial Taktikon*, is analysed in section I. Its formation and evolution are placed in their proper context, that of incremental gains made by a combination of military action and diplomacy over the following decades, in sections II and III. A final cast-forward (section IV) covers the reign of Basil II (976-1025), showing that there was considerable fluidity in the system of higher command, and that care was taken not to disturb the traditional organisation of localities in the outer zones of Iberia and Vaspurakan. It appears that no effort was made to introduce small themes into either of those new commands, as had been done in western Armenia and the former Arab marches as well as on former Bulgar territory in the Balkans. Sigillographic evidence suggests that civil administration in the new small themes was overseen by six regional judges, save in Antioch and its hinterland where civilian and military authority was combined in the hands of the duke.

Michel KAPLAN, *Pouvoir des fondateurs et pouvoir des higoumènes dans les monastères byzantins, X^e-XII^e siècle*

p. 311

During the period taken into consideration, most of the documented founders of religious houses were aristocrats who had no intention of entering their monastery; their main concern was to ensure that the monks of their foundation prayed for them, their families or other persons of their choice, until the "dreadful day of judgment." Consequently, the founder had to find a way both to insure the perennial material stability of the monastery and to protect it from the authority of the bishop, all too often eager to increase the episcopal patrimony. The founder also had to insure that his foundation will benefit from the tutelage of some powerful figure, generally a layman to be chosen inside his family as long as heirs were available. The higoumenes, whose choice was tightly controlled, generally had only as much power as the founder wanted to bestow on them.

Ioanna KOLTSIDA-MAKRE, *Philaretos Brachamios, portrait of a Byzantine official: an unpublished lead seal in the Byzantine museum of Phthiotis (Greece)*

p. 325

The seal of Philaretos Brachamios presented here is a donation to the Byzantine Museum of Phthiotis in the city of Hypate, Central Greece. The engraving of the seal shows the peculiarity of an inverted image: its left part is depicted on the right and vice versa. Thus, Saint Theodore, on the obverse, seems to hold his spear in his left hand. The metrical inscription on the reverse identifies Philaretos as *domestikos* of the East.

Philaretos had a different *boulloterion* engraved whenever he received a new title to point out the change in rank and office. It resulted in a really impressive series of preserved lead seals,

with various iconographic types and inscriptions revealing all stages of his brilliant career in the Byzantine army. He received six different dignities: *protospatharios*, *magistros*, *kouropalates*, *protokouropalates*, *sebastos*, *protosebastos*, and seven high military offices: *taxiarches*, *topoteretes of Cappadocians tagmata*, *doux*, *stratopedarches ton Anatolikon* or *of all the East*, *doux of Antioch*, *domestikos of the East* / *domestikos ton Scholon of the East*, *mezas domestikos*. He must have served in the army from his youth, and died some years after 1086. He was appointed to the office of *taxiarches* between the years 1050 and 1060 and became commander of the Cappadocian troops before the reign of Romanos IV Diogenes, i.e. before 1068. At the beginning of this Emperor's reign, he was promoted to the high office of *doux*, that is military commander of a large district. After Romanos IV's enucleation in 1072, he became independent ruler of Tarsos, Antioch, Edessa, Melitene and some other Eastern centres. Finally, after Nicephoros III's accession to the throne in 1078, he made allegiance to the emperor, became *doux* of Antioch and was proclaimed *kouropalates* and *domestikos ton Scholon* of the East; in 1084 he surrendered Antioch to the Turks.

The seal of the Phthiotis Museum enriches the already large number of surviving lead seals of Philaretos, with the added detail of a *boulloterion* with an inverted engraving of the obverse.

Marina LOUKAKI, *Quand l'empereur byzantin nomme son successeur (VI-XII^e s.) : le discours d'investiture*

p. 333

In Byzantium the designation of a successor to the imperial dignity was an official ritual act, attested since the early years of the Empire. This process could take place at the palace in Constantinople or anywhere else the dying or deceased emperor stayed. The latter nominated his successor in public, in front of an assembly representing the people of the whole empire. This speech was held either in person or through a designated spokesman. Original speeches of imperial investiture did not survive; we know their content mainly through historiographical texts. The imperial power always found an appropriate way of expressing its supremacy through ceremonies and the observance of a strict ritual. For this reason, a public imperial speech, when customarily embedded in an official ceremony, had obviously to assume certain stereotypical features. The comparative study of the indirect testimonies on the emperors' speeches on the occasion of their successors' designation (6th-12th centuries) demonstrates the existence of such common elements, allowing to assume that those speeches followed a more or less specific thematic and typology. They have three distinct parts: the first concerns the regnant emperor on the brink of death; the second referred to the choice of the successor and requested approval by the people's assembly; the third was addressed directly to the designated successor.

Paul MAGDALINO, *Deux précisions sur la terminologie juridique relative aux « pauvres » au X^e-XII^e siècle*

p. 343

The Byzantines used a variety of terms to refer to social classes, even in official documents, and their usage evolved over time. This article examines two expressions used by Byzantine jurists and tax officials to designate the poor, subordinate peasantry, which modern scholarship has failed to recognise as alternatives for the more familiar terminology of *penetes* and *paroikoi*.

1. The *prosoikoi penetes* of the decision by the judge Samonas (952: Actes de Lavra, no. 4). It is argued that the disputed landholding at issue in this case was originally, as first suggested by Paul Lemerle, imperial property before it passed into private hands. Like the neighbouring estates, therefore, it had always been worked by dependent tenant farmers, and *prosoikos* was thus no more than an alternative for *paroikos*.

2. The term *tapeinos stichos* in the Life of Cyril Phileotes, Manuel I's chrysobull for the Great Church of Constantinople (1153), and Theodore Balsamon's commentary on canon 7 of the Council in Trullo. It is argued that this term, literally meaning "humble entry", referred to

the assessments of peasant smallholdings in the tax registers, and had therefore come to be the standard designation of the 'poor' as opposed to the 'powerful' by the reign of Alexios I (1081-1118). It is suggested that the terminology was introduced by jurists in the period 1050-1078.

Jean-Pierre MAHÉ, *La sainte lance des princes Prochiantz* p. 349

The present article depicts the historical background of the creation in 1268, by order of Prince Hasan Prosh – the ruler of an Armenian district included in the Kingdom of Georgia, which by that time had become dependent of the Mongolic Empire –, of a precious reliquary for the Holy Lance of Christ (Geghard), which he deposited in the Monastery of the Caves (Ayrivank, eventually Geghardavank), his own dynastic necropolis. Although Prosh claims, for his lineage, remote origins, as old as the settling of the Armenians in the Caucasus, his father Vasak did not receive his principality earlier than 1202, when the country was freed from the Seljuks. Thus, the Holy Lance aimed at sacralising a military power. Prosh's original reliquary was destroyed in 1675 during an earthquake and replaced in 1687 with the present one, which has nonetheless preserved the 13th c. inscription. This poetic text of a high theological level is likely to be ascribed to Vardan Areveltsi, Prosh's religious advisor. Accepting the Mongolic yoke, like Prosh and the Kings of Georgia had to do, does not imply any religious obedience. Armenian people would rather regard it as submitting to the divine decree, according which, at the eve of the Doomsday, all the nations of the earth would be ruled by the "Seed of the Archers". Therefore, human weapons would have to withdraw and leave room for supernatural ones. Since the Holy Lance had been quenched in the blood of Christ, it was regarded as the most efficient of all weapons. It had been granted to the Armenians neither by a King nor by an Emperor, but by the Apostle Thaddaeus, an envoy of Providence.

Smilja MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, *Les conceptions du corps dans l'hagiographie serbe* p. 363

The historical evolution of the judgment on the body indicates that, whether despised or glorified, the body never represented a neutral object. The present analysis focuses on the ways the body was conceptualized in Serbian hagiography. Those narratives employ notions of "holy body" or, by contrast, the concept of the "sinner's" corruptible body. After some general considerations on the distinctive features of the saint's portrait in these texts, with emphasis on the charismatic attributes of holy men and the sources of their authority, we present a typology of the body in Serbian hagiography. The main role of a holy body, as these texts clearly show, was to be a "God-granted treasury". It was also seen, as many examples demonstrate, as the "sacred shield of the fatherland". Our analysis treats the body as a social category: the holy body of the ancestor, who enjoyed secular or spiritual authority, is fundamental to the Serbian ideology of kingship. Thus, the Serbian sources speak of the *body triumphant*, the *body invincible* (evidence for the development of a chivalric concept of heroism during the later Middle Ages), the *martyred body*, and the ascetic's *God-loving body*. This study also traces the emergence of an increasingly corporeal notion of sanctity in Serbian hagiography. This notion finds its fullest expression in the concept of the sinful body, the negative "other" represented by the enemy's *corruptible and sinful body*, which receives its just punishment.

Athanasios MARKOPOULOS, *L'assassinat de Nicéphore Phokas et « la mort des persécuteurs » chez Léon le Diacre* p. 375

The author first examines the account of the murder of Nikephoros Phokas by John Tzimiskes and a small group of the latter's followers, found in the *History* of Leo the Deacon. This text offers a uniquely detailed description the event, but it is well-known that the Byzantine historian does not mention his sources, and researchers are confronted with serious difficulties when trying to

pinpoint the origin of the information presented by Leo. The description of the murder of Phokas is followed by a description of the ultimate fate and demise of the murderers of the Byzantine emperor illustrating the well-known literary topos of the *mors persecutorum*.

Jean-Marie MARTIN, *À propos des chrysobulles, argyrobulles et autres usages byzantins dans l'Italie normande* p. 385

The Normans of Italy inherited some Byzantine diplomatic practices, among which the utilization of metal *bullae*. The golden *bullae* (with one possible exception) seems to have been the preserve of the real sovereigns (the Duke of Apulia, the Count, and later King, of Sicily): two of them are known for Roger II (the Duke, then King) and one for King William II. The silver *bullae*, of possible Byzantine origin, manifested a real or usurped quasi-sovereignty.

Bernadette MARTIN-HISARD, *Regards croisés du XI^e siècle, byzantin et géorgien, sur Lip'arit' et sa famille* p. 399

A small corpus of various Georgian sources from the second half of the 11th century sheds new light on the information given by the Skylitzes' *Synopsis historiarum* on two members of the Georgian Liparitides family. While confirming its testimony, they offer a more nuanced pictures of these aristocrats, framing Skylitzes' narrative in the larger picture of the empire's north-eastern borders' history, and new insights on the dynamics of Byzantium's expansion in these regions.

Sophie MÉTIVIER, *Michel Maléinos, un saint des Phocas?* p. 451

The Life of Michel Maleinos, founder of the lavra on Mount Kyminas during the reign of Roman I, has been seen as mirroring the privileged relationship between two 10th century great aristocratic families of Central Anatolia, the Phocas and the Maleinoi. Stressing the Maleinoi's links with the Lecapenes, the study proposes another reading of the Life shedding light on the complexity and versatility of aristocratic alliances.

Brigitte MONDRAIN, *Le monogramme d'un certain Abramios dans les manuscrits* p. 459

A monogram drawn in five different Greek manuscripts offers the starting point for the reconstruction of the biographical and intellectual journey of John Abramios, along which he built a rich collection of books. The role of this Greek humanist, who lived between the end of the 15th and in first half of the 16th century, has been hitherto largely ignored. The article constitutes the first part of a broader study and is based on the technical (paleography and codicology) and historical analysis of various manuscripts.

Cécile MORRISSON, *Anglo-Byzantina : monnaies et sceaux outre-Manche (IX^e-XIII^e siècle)* p. 471

This paper provides an updated list of the 40 Byzantine coins and 14 seals found in Britain and Scotland and dated between the ninth and the thirteenth century. The peak is reached in the long eleventh century (55% of all coin finds and two-thirds of the seals). It parallels what is known of British-Byzantine relations that were decidedly more active under the Anglo-Saxons kings than after the Norman conquest. The participation to the crusades was more limited than on the continent, while the mercenaries in Byzantine service, highly praised for their trustfulness, had fled the Norman domination and were not coming back to Britain.

John NESBITT, *Blachernites the enthusiast*

p. 487

This article is at base a short study of the activities of a deacon of no great consequence, a man named Theodore Blachernites, who in the 1080s happened to run afoul of the Church and Emperor Alexios Komnenos and in the end was condemned as a heretic. It is so rare that historians catch a glimpse of ordinary elites—persons not associated with the imperial court or members of the imperial family—that it would seem a shame to ignore one of them. Theodore belonged to a reasonably prominent family, the Blachernites clan. We suggest that his lineage may have saved him from harsh treatment after his condemnation. Theodore was a clerical figure interested in theological discussion. He was well educated and because of his credentials as a teacher and perhaps because of his birth he was welcomed into the best homes. This study of his career indicates that in the later eleventh century there was keen interest in the study and discussion of theological topics among the laity. It also serves as a cautionary tale. Church officials might well view with suspicion private discussion groups and wonder if heresy might be involved. He was labeled an “enthusiast,” leaving one to wonder if he espoused a devotional approach to God which centered on an attempt to communicate in a personal way through intense meditation and prayer with the Divine.

Paolo ODORICO, *Eustathe de Thessalonique et le difficile exercice du pouvoir*

p. 493

Today Eustathius of Thessaloniki arouses sympathy: philologists see him as their predecessor, theologians as a holy man of the Church. But from the point of view of the historian, things are not so simple. Although a circle of scholars held him in great admiration during his lifetime, his cult is a very recent phenomenon. Moreover, it seems that his mandate as Archbishop of Thessaloniki aroused hostility, both among the population and among the clergy, especially the monks. Beyond the difficulties of dating his books, reading the *On the capture of Thessalonica* and the *De emendanda vita monachica* tends to show that their writing was conceived in response to the criticisms of the population (mainly the notables) and the monks. These difficulties could hint at a clash between a representative of the central power and a city where a form of autonomy had begun to develop.

Annick PETERS-CUSTOT, *Petite note sur un revival aux multiples facettes :
le magister militum dans les sources latines du XI^e siècle*

p. 507

This paper aims at providing a global approach for a multi-faceted phenomenon: in the 11th century, a few Latin documents mention the title *magister militum*, a high-level military function that was not in use in the Roman Empire at this time. The first occurrence, in Naples, was a lexical answer to the problem of the Norman *militia*'s integration to the Neapolitan dukedom in the second third of the 11th century, seeking to give a public dimension to the service of the Norman cavalry. In the Latin *Vita* of Symeon of Mantova, Symeon's father, of Armenian origin, is said to be *magister militum*. This affirmation has to be contextualized and put against the desire of the hagiographer to display the aristocratic origins of his hero, a hagiographical stereotype. For a Western author, nothing was more apt to evoke the Byzantine aristocracy than the military function. Symeon's *life* is one of the numerous Byzantine monks' lives written in the 11th century for a Western public. They express a deep and sincere admiration for the Eastern holy man at the very time when the monastic reform put an end to this ancient paradigm. Last, the mention of a Norman *magister militum* among the Hauteville princes' companions during the first crusade may express the mixed military models of a peripheral region, between the feudal system and the Byzantine Empire.

The diversity of contexts and interpretations cannot hide the fact that the *magister militum* reflects, still in the 11th century, the long-lasting Western fascination for the powerful imperial model, under Byzantine guise, and its fabled military prowess.

Brigitte PITARAKIS, « *Et il y eut guerre dans le ciel* » (Ap 12,7) : à propos d'une amulette en or paléochrétienne au décor figuré de la collection Schlumberger au Cabinet des médailles p. 519

A gold amulet from the former Gustave Schlumberger Collection at the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris bears the engraved image of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace on the front, while an unusual version of a generic image of the Holy Rider and a cross bearing a cryptogram occupy the back. The unusual features in the decoration of the amulet, which dates to the sixth or early seventh century, allow an exploration of the link between the Seal of Solomon and the True Cross within the context of the development of pilgrimages and devotional patterns during the early Byzantine period. This approach sheds new light on Christian interpretations of the image of the Holy Rider attacking the female demon from the perspective of the fight against Satan in the Book of Revelation. It also leads to a better understanding of the link between the two Testaments in transferring symbolically the benefits of the old tradition of medical magic into the sacraments of the church and reveals the church as the sole supplier of true healing through the idea of salvation.

Mihailo St. POPOVIĆ, *The “medieval Serbian oecumene” and its borderzones in Byzantine Macedonia* p. 537

The present article focuses on the Byzantine Empire's frontiers in South-Eastern Europe, namely in Byzantine Macedonia. Far-reaching political changes occurred in the Southern Balkan Peninsula from the end of the 13th until the middle of the 14th century, when the Serbian medieval kingdom, under King Stefan Uroš II Milutin, expanded to the South at the expense of the Byzantine Empire (i.e. the “Byzantine oecumene”), and controlled the area until the death of tsar Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1355). Although substantial publications exist on the borders, the population as well as migrations in Byzantine Macedonia, there is still an urgent need for further research on the “Byzantine oecumene” and the potential establishment of a “Serbian oecumene” in this very area. Building on a careful analysis of the descriptions of Serbian expansion in the area in medieval Serbian written sources, the study sheds new lights on the acquisition of new territories and their administrative incorporation to the Serbian polity on the macro-level, as well as on the localization and typology of conquered settlements and the impact of this process of integration on local elites at a micro-level.

Antonio RIGO, *Six anathèmes, l'ange Amen et une liste d'hérétiques « manichéens » du X^e siècle* p. 553

The article deals with six anathemas inserted at the end of the formula of abjuration for the Paulicians preserved in the *Euchologion* Paris BnF Coisl 213 (year 1027), and more specifically with the first anathema on the Logos as Angel Amen and the list of names of the heretics contained in the sixth anathema. The anathemas can be dated to the 10th century, and are not related to the Paulicians but to an unknown group that supported archaic conceptions and themes, attested in the ancient Gnosticism and Manichaeism.

Guillaume SAINT-GUILLAIN & Vivien PRIGENT, *Sigillographia Veneto-Byzantina : les Vénitiens et Byzance d'après le témoignage des sceaux* p. 561

Modern historiography traditionally the use of the lead bulla by the Venetians limited to the sole doge. This position leans on the Venetian medieval historical tradition itself, chroniclers

identifying the origin of this exception in the delegation of a pontifical privilege in the wake of the mediation offered by the doge on the occasion of the peace of Venice (1177). Nevertheless, this tradition comes up against the conservation of a small corpus of lead bullae which can be attributed to members of seventeen families from the Venetian aristocracy or clergy (Badoer Noel, Baseggio, Dandolo, Doro, Falier, Gradenigo, Magno, Marcello, Maristeno, Martinacio, Michiel, Navigaioso, Nicola, Polani, Querini, Sagredo, Vidulo). This material, dating from the late 11th to the early 13th centuries, is collected and systematically studied here for the first time, highlighting the recurrent links of Venetian users of lead bullae with the Byzantine Empire and the reasons for their iconographic choices. The study also offers an identification of the owner of the famous seal of a Venetian podestà and imperial despot, previously published by Gustave Schlumberger.

Werner SEIBT, *Roman military presence on the Georgian coast from the third to the fifth century: with an appendix on the Ala Abasgorum* p. 637

The *Notitia dignitatum*, the most important source for the administrative history of the later Roman Empire, was probably initiated by Stilicho, the *magister peditum* of the Western Roman Empire AD 408, though in some cases there is the possibility that his office was not informed about all recent changes in the Eastern Roman Empire. In the chapter of the *dux Armeniae et Ponti Polemoniaci* are mentioned two Roman garrisons in Abchazia, the *ala prima felix Theodosiana* in Pityus, and the *cohors prima Theodosiana* in Sebastopolis / Suchumi, and the *cohors secunda Valentiana* in Ziganis / Gudava. These troops were drawn up by the emperors Valens resp. Theodosius I. Before this period there was no regular Roman garrisons on the Georgian coast for some time. Concerning the date of the end of the Roman military presence, well attested for the II and first half of the III century, the author prefers a date around 257, when Pityus was conquered by barbarians. The *Notitia dignitatum* mentions also the *ala prima Abasgorum* in Hibis, in the Egyptian *Oasis maior*. She was there already in the early IV century, as papyri document. Perhaps this *ala* was recruited by Successianus, the commander of Pityus, in 256, when he was promoted to *magister militum* after his victory against barbarians coming from Bosphoros.

Philippe SÉNAC & Tawfiq IBRAHIM, *Notes sur des sceaux de la conquête omeyyade (première moitié du VIII^e siècle)* p. 645

The paper offers the edition and the commentary of a small series of lead seals of remarkable historical importance found in 2005 in Ruscino near Perpignan. The seals, inscribed with Arabic legends in Kufic script, shed new light on the activity of the Muslim army in France at the beginning of the 8th century as they mirror the partition of the booty made during raids in Gaul. Comparisons are offered with similar material discovered in Umayyad Spain and mentioning the names of emirs, cities or various technical terms relating to taxation and provisioning.

Christian SETTIPANI & Jean-François VANNIER, *Généalogie et rhétorique à Byzance (XI^e-XII^e siècle)* p. 657

The claim to be issued from ancestors who would have distinguished themselves by their military feats, their wealth, their authority, their prestige or any other gratifying criterion is a well-established phenomenon in ancient societies. Inherited from Greece and Rome, it flourished in Byzantium from the very start of the Empire. First of all, it relates primarily to the imperial family of the founder Constantin I, then it involves the genealogy of the emperors Anastasius, Maurice, Heraclius and Nicephorus I, before reaching an apogee in the 9th century under the Macedonian dynasty with the brilliant ascent ascribed to Basile I or the judiciously selected ancestors attributed to emperor Nicephorus II Phocas. From the 11th century, the genealogical claim extends to the aristocratic families closest to power, as well as the religious elites or soldiers

as the great civil servant of the State. At the time of the Doukas and the Comnenes, it is processed by polygraph authors for whom the recourse to rhetoric is a mandatory option, made easier by their thorough knowledge of the classical Hellenism. Thus, references to gods and mythological heroes become more and more frequent, at the expense of christian or ancient testament characters. Beside the two golden races of Comnene and Doukas, one will keep in mind the examples of the families Hagiotheodorites, Antiochos, Cerulaire, Serblias, Aristenos and Kourkouas.

Jonathan SHEPARD, *Power-seeking on the imperial fringes in the later 11th century: the uses of seals* p. 675

J.-C. Cheynet's valuable theses and observations include "le principe de territorialité" (co-formulated with C. Morrisson), whereby the find-spots of lead seals are far likelier than not to occur quite near where they had been struck; the probability that a plethora of seals issued over a short time by a powerful individual in the borderlands registers political turbulence or intensive diplomacy; and the ambivalence in border regions of the term *archōn*, denoting local hereditary dynasts and imperial command-holders alike. These insights have been applied by Cheynet to the power struggles of the later eleventh century, notably the bid of Philaretos for local dominion with imperial endorsement in Byzantium's south-eastern borderlands. Another such struggle is discernible around the same time at the Straits of Kerch, a region of high strategic and economic significance to the empire. The geopolitical situation differed markedly from that of Antioch. But comparable dynamics in pursuit of power and legitimacy in the eyes of local populations may be deduced from the apparent propensity to issue seals of the foremost figures in the contest for control of the lucrative stronghold of Tmutarakan'. These were the Rus prince Oleg-Michael Sviatoslavich and his wife, Theophano Mouzalonissa, along with Ratibor, the governor acting on behalf of Prince Vsevolod Iaroslavich. Lead seals with Greek legends could also be of utility to prospective figures of authority on Byzantium's western approaches in the later eleventh century.

Alessio SOPRACASA & Vivien PRIGENT, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Sopracasa* p. 691

The authors, who were initiated to sigillography by Jean-Claude Cheynet, offer as a tribute to his teaching the edition and commentary of 40 Byzantine lead seals assembled by one of them. Of particular historical importance are a seal of Apsimar, *illoustrios* and *komes*, probably mirroring an early stage of the career of the future emperor Tiberios III, a seal of the famous Frankish mercenary Roussel of Bailleul who rebelled against the empire, styling himself *proedros* and *stratopedarches*. The commentary includes further seal editions, for instance the bulla of Alexios I's brother, Nikephoros Komnenos, *sebastos* and *mezas droungarios* of the Fleet.

Christos STAVRAKOS, *The Byzantine and post-Byzantine lead seals and minor objects from the Monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin (Zerbitsa) at Xerokampi of Lakonia* p. 759

The Monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin (at Xerokampi) is located 20 km south of Sparta. According to the donor inscription, the monastery in its present form is dated in 1639. The monastery, in this period, was owner of properties in the area of Lakedaimon and had intensive relations with the patriarchate, with wealthy Greeks in Constantinople and the local Ottoman authorities of Sparta.

In this paper are presented and discussed lead seals and minor objects from the small exhibition of the Monastery. They are a) an imperial lead seal of Michael VIII Palaiologos; b) a lead seal of Gregory Patriarch of Constantinople (1797–98, 1806–8 and 1818–21); c) Metal stamp of the Monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin of Zerbitsa (very probably 17th c.), and d) two other minor objects, probably bread stamps.

Elena STEPANOVA, *Le bullaire de l'église de la Néa*

p. 777

The New Church, one of the most well-known churches of Constantinople, founded in 876 by Emperor Basil I, was located in the precinct of the Great Palace. Literary sources call the building the New Church, the New Imperial Church or the New Great Church, while seals prefer ἡ Νέα Ἐκκλησία or, more often, just ἡ Νέα. No material sources document this monument but the seals, of which more than 20 are known, dating from the end of the 9th century to the 11th century. Their legends confirm the high status of the New Church and allow for various observations on the composition of its clergy, demonstrating its close relationship to the church of Saint Sophia, as well as its tight integration in the secular life of the court. Significant is the number of seals documenting the economic side of its administration. Six bullae from the Hermitage collection, some of which unpublished, are analysed in the article: the seals of Basile, rector and *oikonomos* of the New Church (10th c.); Theodoulos, monk, *synkellos* and *oikonomos* of the New Church (third quarter of the 11th c.); Soterichos, *ostiaros* and *chartularios* of the New Church (11th c.); Theophanes, imperial *protospatharios* and *chartularios* of the New Church (middle of the 11th c.); Constantine, *primikerios* of the New Church (11th c.); and Nicetas, *domesticos* and imperial cleric of the New Church.

Alexandra-Kyriaki WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *From magister militum to strategos: the evolution of the highest military commands in early Byzantium (5th–7th c.)*

p. 789

In the past scholars have interpreted *stratelates* as the Byzantine Greek equivalent of the Latin terminus technicus *magister militum*. But Byzantine sources of the 5th and 6th centuries prefer *strategos* to refer to the highest military commanders of the empire, *stratelates* being rarely used. At the beginning of the 7th century (at the latest), the supreme commanders of the main *magisteria militum* were called exclusively *strategoï*, whereas commanders of second rank in these units were designated as *stratelatai*. This differentiation was maintained when the new highest commands (*strategiai*) were established, as an avatar of the former *magisteria militum*; their commanders were *strategoï*—except for the *Opsikion*, headed by a *komes* to underline his proximity with the emperor. *Stratelatai* resp. *hypostrategoï* were the deputies of the *strategoï*. In the 7th century some former duchies were upgraded to minor *magisteria militum*, e.g. in Africa, where seals mention a *magister militum/stratelates* for Byzacena and for Numidia. The (new) high military commands of *Opsikion*, *Anatolikon* and *Armeniakon* stemmed from the division of Herakleios' field army after his final victory over the Persians (628). *Opsikion* became in some way the heir of the *magisterium praesentale*, with additional responsibilities on the Thracian border; only after the settlement of the Bulgars south of the Danube in the early 680s was an independent military command of Thrake re-established. The *strategia* of *Thraakesion* and the naval command of the *Karabisianoï* were founded to fend off the Arab attacks (670's) and oppose the occupation of territories in Asia Minor (from 695 on). *Sikelia* became a *strategia* before 700, and *Hellas* perhaps even before 695.

Mark WHITTOW, *Staying on top in Byzantium, 963–1210*

p. 807

Pouvoir et contestations (1990) brought a new sophistication to Byzantine political history. This paper builds on Cheynet's seminal work to offer an analysis of the challenges of staying on top in Byzantium as compared to five states across contemporary Eurasia, namely Fatimid Egypt, Song China, Norman England, Capetian France, and the Western Empire. The comparison shows that although Byzantium was a remarkably stable political system, the position of emperor was almost uniquely insecure. Examining politics in each of these states through the operations of devolved power, hereditary succession and dynastic right, sacrality, the part played by chief ministers, and the rôle of the military, shows Byzantium standing out as a highly centralised state, where the rewards of sovereign power were as great or greater than anywhere else, but where safeguards and

protection for the sovereign were fewer and less effective. The result was a stable system with extraordinary insecurity at the top. The paper offers an example of what a global approach can bring to Byzantine studies.

Constantin ZUCKERMAN, *Marinos* (PmbZ 4797),
count of the Opsikion and exarch of Italy

p. 803

A late seventh-early ninth-century formulary in *Liber diurnus* and a seal from the same period attest an exarch of Italy, named Marinos on the seal, who carries the title of *comes of the Opsikion*, corresponding no doubt to his previous appointment.

Constantin ZUCKERMAN, *On generals of Armenian origin named Leo in the early 800's*,
or, The Continuer reads Theophanes

p. 831

A hitherto obscure passage in the *Scriptor incertus* fosters the identification of the *strategos* in the Peloponnese ca. 805, from the “fratrie” τῶν ἐπονομαζομένων Σκληρῶν, as well as of Leo, the *strategos* of the Armeniacs early in 811, and of Leo nicknamed *tou Sklerou*, sent to the Peloponnese with the rank of *strategos* by Michael I later in the year, as one and the same person. The distinction between two Armenian couples, each composed of a wife named Eirene and a husband, *patrikios* and *strategos*, becomes obsolete. Eirene’s proposed filiation as Bardanes Tourkos’ daughter is shown to be wrong, but her husband’s identification as Leo, nicknamed *tou Sklerou*, appears plausible. Last but not least, the singular case of leniency on the part of Theodore Studites toward this secular couple in communion with the State Church finds a human explanation. This study’s other topic is the treatment inflicted by the Continuer of Theophanes on both Leo, the *strategos* of the Armeniacs, falsely identified as the future emperor Leo V, and on the latter Leo, unfairly accused of high treason.