

## Byzantina Symmeikta

Vol 26, No 2 (2016)

BYZANTINA SYMMEIKTA 26



**State officials in the themes of Opsikion, the Anatolikai and the Kibyrraiotai: new and recently revisited sigillographic evidence.**

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doi: [10.12681/byzsym.8622](https://doi.org/10.12681/byzsym.8622)

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### To cite this article:

KARAGIORGOU, O., CHARALAMPAKIS, P., & MALATRAS, C. (2016). State officials in the themes of Opsikion, the Anatolikai and the Kibyrraiotai: new and recently revisited sigillographic evidence. *Byzantina Symmeikta*, 26(2), 247–308. <https://doi.org/10.12681/byzsym.8622>

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SECTION OF BYZANTINE RESEARCH  
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION



ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ  
ΤΟΜΕΑΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ  
ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ



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STATE OFFICIALS IN THE *THEMES* OF OPSIKION, THE ANATOLIKOI  
AND THE KIBYRRAIOTAI: NEW AND RECENTLY REVISITED  
SIGILLOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

ΑΘΗΝΑ • 2016 • ATHENS

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STATE OFFICIALS IN THE *THEMES* OF OPSIKION, THE ANATOLIKOI AND THE KIBYRRAIOTAI: NEW AND RECENTLY REVISITED SIGILLOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The research project entitled *Towards an institutional and social history of Byzantine Asia Minor on the evidence of seals and other sources (7th - 13th centuries)* (abbreviated as *SigCorpByzAMthemes*; project's code 4492) was one of the 180 projects (among 1622 submitted research proposals) to receive financial help of the amount of 200,000 Euros in the framework of the ARISTEIA II (Excellence Award) Program, which is co-financed by the European Social Fund and Greek National Funds as part of the Operational Program "Education and Lifelong Learning" of the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) 2007-2013. The project was carried out at the Academy of Athens (Research Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art, KEBMT) over a period of 21 months (February 2014 to October 2015) by a team of seven, including the Principal Investigator (Olga Karagiorgou, Assistant Researcher at the KEBMT), three postdoctoral researchers (Pantelis Charalampakis, Christos Malatras, Tolga Uyar), a doctoral student (Angelos Kyriakos) and two members of supporting staff: an expert in Museum Studies (Nikos Androutsopoulos) and a Librarian (Mary Maznoki).

The aim of the project was to look afresh at the institutional and social history of Byzantine Asia Minor using as main research tool reliable and well-dated prosopographic lists of all the state officials once active in the *themes* of Opsikion, the Anatolikoi and the Kibyrraiotai. The extent of our research was determined by the project's strict timetable, while our choice of these three *themes* was based on their geographical affinity (they occupy the Aegean coast of Asia Minor) and on the fact that they are among the earliest *themes* to be created in Asia Minor (Table I). The compilation

of these prosopographic lists was based mostly, as was to be expected, on sigillographic evidence, duly complemented by relevant references in literary and other non-sigillographic sources. In order to safeguard the validity of the expected results, the ARISTEIA II-4492 project targeted specifically lead seals (μολυβδόβουλλα) whose legends included the words Ὀφικίου, Ἀνατολικῶν or Κιβυρραιωτῶν<sup>1</sup>. All the known published and unpublished lead seals issued by officers serving in one of the three aforementioned *themes* were subsequently studied in depth in order to establish the exact number of the represented individuals, the used boulloteria (βουλλωτήρια) and the struck seals. These results were then complemented with similar references in other sources, allowing thus the classification of all the attested state officials in chronological order *per theme* and *thematic* office. The resulting prosopographic lists offer, thus, for the first time, a reliable and well-dated research tool, useful in any future study related to the institutional, prosopographic and social history of this region.

In the course of the team's intensive work since mid-May 2014 (when the six members of the ARISTEIA II-4492 team were officially signed on for the project), a significant number of relevant *thematic* seals, either published, semi-published or unpublished, were put together. These were collected during the careful indexing of sigillographic publications (excavation reports, studies on state or private collections, exhibition, auction and sales catalogues), the personal communication with colleagues who have generously shared with us information and photographic material on previously unknown specimens and the first-hand inspection of various sigillographic collections. Particularly beneficial to our project were the research visits of team members to the Athens Numismatic Museum, the Dumbarton Oaks, the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich, the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, as well as the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) and the Institut français d'études byzantines (IFEB) in Paris<sup>2</sup>. The total number of the so far collected

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1. The term “seal” is used here in its conventional use in the English language, i.e. to denote the stamped object, rather than the sealing implement.

2. The valuable help that we received during our research from a number of colleagues is duly acknowledged in the Project's website: *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015). In what concerns the sigillographic material presented in this article, we wish to express our sincere thanks specifically to (in alphabetical order): Gert Boersema (Netherlands), Maria Campagnolo-Pothitou (Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève), Solon Charalambous (Director of the



μολυβδόβουλλα relevant to the project is 646, representing 468 officials who once served in the *themes* of Opsikion, the Anatolikai and the Kibyrraiotai. All this material, including a number of important remarks made by the research team in what concerns the reading of the legends of these seals, their date and the identification of their owner, are presented in the project's official website entitled *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015) (Table II)<sup>3</sup>.

In what follows, we wish to present a total of 24 seals, all but one directly relevant to the ARISTEIA II-4492 project, which were detected during our research (Table III). These include unpublished specimens, seals that have been simply mentioned (but not properly published) in previous literature and specimens that have received incomplete or erroneous editions, so far. The seals are arranged per *theme* chronologically (in ascending order), following the geographical location of the areas under discussion from north to south (i.e. Opsikion, Anatolikai, Kibyrraiotai).

The headline in bold offers the name, title(s), office(s) and area of jurisdiction of the owner of the seal and the proposed date for the specimen under examination. Immediately thereafter follows the unique Prosopographic Number (PN\_) assigned to the owner of this specific seal in the *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015) database. It should be noted that the Arabic numerals following the PN have been allocated according to a very specific scheme: for the state officials that have been identified within the *theme* of Opsikion we have reserved the numbers 501-1000, while for the state officials identified within the *themes* of the Anatolikai and the Kibyrraiotai, the numbers 1001-1500 and 1501-2000, respectively. The numbers 1-500 have already been allocated to the state officials active in the *theme* of Hellas, since the relevant work on the prosopography and administrative structure

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Museum of the Pancyprrian Gymnasium), Jean-Claude Cheynet (Université de Paris IV), Basil Demetriadi and Patricia Felch (Athens), Kay Ehling (Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich), Michael Fantaros (Museum of the Pancyprrian Gymnasium), Georgios Kakavas (Director of the Athens Numismatic Museum), Dr. Vassa Kontouma (IFEB), Yorka Nikolaou (Athens Numismatic Museum), Jonathan Shea (Dumbarton Oaks) and Elena Stepanova (Hermitage).

3. The *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015) website was all along conceived and intended to serve as an Open Access database. At this point, all the entries of the *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015) are being checked against possible oversights that may have occurred during the digitization of the data. As soon as this control is concluded, the *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015) will be launched as an open-access database.

of this *theme*, which has been undertaken long ago by Olga Karagiorgou, the Principal Investigator of the ARISTEIA II-4492 project, has served as a model for the methodology that was adopted in the collection, study and presentation of the sigillographic material pertaining to officials active in the three Asia Minor *themes* under discussion<sup>4</sup>. Thus, for example, the PN\_101 indicates immediately that the official in question (in this specific instance Petros Serblias) was first encountered during our research on the *theme* of Hellas, where he served as krites (of Hellas and Peloponnesos). When the same official was encountered again as krites of the Opsikion, he naturally retained his unique PN number (PN\_101). The seals under examination that attest to the existence of a certain official are placed next to his unique PN number, separated from it by a slash (/). Every seal included in the TAKTIKON (ed. 2015) database is designated by a conventional (as well as convenient, in our view) format that includes an abbreviation of the relevant *theme* (HELLAS for Ἑλλάδος, OPS for Ὀψίκιον, ANAT for Ἀνατολικῶν, KIB for Κιβυρραιωτῶν), an underscore and an Arabic number that the seal received as soon as it entered our database of the specific *theme*. The afore-mentioned Petros Serblias, for example (PN\_101), is attested by HELLAS\_44, HELLAS\_45 and HELLAS\_46 (these being the three, so far, known seals that he struck while serving in the *theme* of Hellas), as well as by OPS\_18 and OPS\_19, which are the seals that he struck while serving in Opsikion. We believe that the afore-mentioned system, which connects a specific official (whether Anonymus or not) with a unique PN number and specific seals that he struck while active in the *thematic* administration, serves ideally the prosopographic intentions of the TAKTIKON, especially because of its flexibility: more *thematic* officials (indicated by a unique PN)

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4. On the work concerning the *theme* of Hellas (scope, methodology, expected results) and the value of a project that would implement a similar methodology on other Byzantine *themes*, see O. KARAGIORGOU, Byzantine *themes* and sigillography, *BSI* 67 (2009), 24-31, as well as the same author's progress reports published in *The Program and Abstracts of the Communications of the 27th Symposium of the Christian Archaeological Society* (Athens, 11-13 May, 2007), 43-44 and *The Program and Abstracts of the Communications of the 26th Symposium of the Christian Archaeological Society* (Athens, 12-14 May, 2006), 34-35. Two more progress reports on this work were presented at the 10th International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography (Ioannina, 1-3 October, 2009) and at the 46th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (Birmingham, U.K., 23-25 March, 2013).

and more seals (indicated also by a unique number proceeded by HELLAS, OPS, ANAT, KIB, etc.) may be easily added or deleted from the *TAKTIKON* database according to the needs of future research. This is why the project's database is followed by the year of its edition. Thus, *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015) shows the present state of research, but the year of edition will naturally change accordingly when major editorial changes (including the addition of material on more *themes*) are added in the future (this will show on the cover page of the project's website). Such a system is also meant to facilitate references to the *TAKTIKON*. Thus, the scholar who wishes to refer to a specific individual or a seal included in the *TAKTIKON* should use the following scheme: *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_101 (for an individual) or *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): OPS\_132 (for a seal).

Since one of the major contributions of this project is the very detailed study of the prosopography of a targeted social group, namely the *thematic* officials, the *TAKTIKON* is bound to converse with other major and more general prosopography projects, such as the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* (PmbZ), *The Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (PBW) and the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (PLP)<sup>5</sup>. This is why in the present article, immediately below the *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015) PN number, we offer (if available) the counterpart entry in the afore-mentioned prosopography projects. Thereafter follows information on the present location of the seal under discussion, its general outlook (measurements, state of preservation) and publication record<sup>6</sup>. Under the heading "Parallel specimens" we list other seals of this official that present

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5. On PLP and PmbZ see the Bibliographic Abbreviations of *Byzantina Symmeikta*. On PBW, and the other abbreviations used in this article for works cited more than once, which follow the reference system adopted in the *TAKTIKON*, see the Bibliographic Abbreviations at the end of this study. According to this system, all abbreviations [made of the name(s) of the author(s) and/or an indicative word(s) from the book's/article's title] are followed by the publication year (in brackets), in order to offer to the user of the *TAKTIKON* (and consequently to the reader of the present article) an overview of the publishing history of the specimen under examination in chronological order. The authors are greatly indebted to the editors of the *Byzantina Symmeikta* for allowing, by exception to their rules, the use in this study of the *TAKTIKON* abbreviation system.

6. Under measurements we have tried to record (depending on the availability of data) the specimen's diameter (D) (total and field), thickness (Th) and weight (W).

him with the exact same title(s) and office(s) and we make a conscious effort to distinguish whether these seals were struck by the same or a different boulloterion. The boulloteria are designated by the letters BL followed by an underscore, the unique PN number assigned to the official in question, a dot and the number of the boulloterion, i.e. 1, 2, 3, etc. A telling example is offered in the case of Christophoros Radenos, PN\_1020 (see below, no. 22) who, while serving as praitor of the Kibyrraiotai, seems to have used at least two boulloteria designated in our database as BL\_1020.1 (for the striking of the seals KIB\_48; KIB\_90) and BL\_1020.2 (for the striking of the seals KIB\_84; KIB\_119; KIB\_126). The description of the obverse and the reverse of the seal follows the editing rules of modern sigillography and includes a transcription of the legend using the Athena Ruby font<sup>7</sup>. In the commentary, the specimen under discussion is examined in relation to the relevant sigillographic *corpus* of each *theme*, as this has been developed in the TAKTIKON database, offering thus, in many cases, the possibility for more reliable conclusions concerning its date and prosopographic analysis.

### *Opsikion*

#### **1. Aratios, droungarios of Opsikion (late 8th c.)**

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_509/OPS\_123

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ* # 7150 (adopting the erroneous reading of the owner's name as Stylianos)



7. <http://www.doaks.org/resources/athena-ruby>.

<i>Present location:</i>	Greece: Athens, Numismatic Museum K192 (ex A.E. 2546)
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 24 mm   Th: 3 mm   W: 9,88 gr
<i>Technology-State of preservation:</i>	Blank smaller than die; chipped; few erased letters
<i>Publishing history:</i>	KONSTANTOPOULOS, <i>Molybdoboulla</i> (1917), no. 192 (not illustrated)
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): OPS_103, OPS_104, OPS_105 (all from the same boulloterion) <sup>8</sup>
<i>Obverse:</i>	Cruciform invocative monogram of Κύριε βοήθει (Laurent type VIII) with inscription in the quarters; border of dots  Ω - Ϛ   Δ Ϛ - Λ
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 5 lines (4 surviving); wreath border  ....   ΗΩΔ   .ΝΓΑΡ   .ΤΟΒΟ   ΨΗϚ  Κύριε βοήθει [τ]ϙ σ[ϙ] δούλ[ω] // [+ Ἀρατ]ήω δ[ρου]νγαρ[ίω] τοῦ Ὀψικ(ίου)  Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ, Ἀρατίῳ, δρουγγαρίῳ τοῦ Ὀψικίου

### Commentary:

The better state of preservation of the three parallel specimens in Vienna allowed their editors to reconstruct the correct form of the owner's name, against previously proposed readings, which should be now dismissed<sup>9</sup>. Konstantopoulos dated the seal to the 8th-9th c., but the date offered by the editors of the Austrian specimens (late 8th c.) seems more appropriate. Aratios is the only known droungarios of Opsikion, so far. Droungarios was a lesser army official, the commander of a bandon, sub-division of a tourma, which was, in its turn, a sub-division of a *theme*.

8. OPS\_103 = Austria: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum MK (= Münzkabinett, hereafter MK) 210; OPS\_104 = Austria: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum MK 211; OPS\_105 = Austria: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum MK 347 [for all three specimens, see *Österreich* II (2004), no. 265].

9. Konstantopoulos (followed by the editors of the *PmbZ* # 7150) proposed to read the owner's name as Stylianos. In *Asia Minor* (1998), 402 (no. 1) the owner's name is reconstructed as Stephanos or Stylianos.



## 2. Anonymus, imperial protospatharios and komes of Opsikion (late 8th-early 9th c.)

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_625/OPS\_146

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ* # 11772



<i>Present location:</i>	Greece: Athens, Numismatic Museum K122β (ex Makrides 385)	
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 23 mm	Th: 4 mm W: 11,92 gr
<i>Technology-State of preservation:</i>	Blank smaller than die, resulting to the loss of almost half of the legend; chipped along the circumference	
<i>Publishing history:</i>	KONSTANTOPOULOS, <i>Molybdoboulla</i> (1917), no. K122β (not illustrated)	
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	No known parallels	
<i>Obverse:</i>	Cruciform invocative monogram of indeterminate type with inscription in the quarters; wreath border  .. – ζ.   .. – ΛΩ	
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 5 lines (3 surviving); wreath border  ....   .Λ...   .Β.Λ. CΠ...   SKOM...   ΟΨΙ.	

(Θεοτόκε or Κύριε βοήθει) [τῷ] σ[ῶ] [δού]λῳ // [...λ?...] β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπ[αθ(α)ρίῳ] (καὶ) κόμ(η)τι [τ(οῦ)] Ὀψι[κ(ί)ου]

Θεοτόκε or Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ ...λ?..., βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ κόμητι τοῦ Ὀψικίου

### Commentary:

Konstantopoulos dated this specimen to the 9th-10th c., but its epigraphy suggests a date around the late 8th or early 9th c.

The name of the owner is not preserved. If it did occupy the whole length of the first two lines (allowing also space for a preceding crosslet), then it would have comprised ten characters. A possible reconstruction, further supported by what seems to be the scanty remains of a Λ in the second line, could be Θεοφυλάκτω. In that case, it would be tempting to identify the owner of our seal with Theophylaktos, imperial protospatharios and komes of Opsikion [TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_608], attested on three seals that are stylistically and chronologically very close to our specimen<sup>10</sup>.

The TAKTIKON (ed. 2015) comprises 76 seals issued by a total of 33 kometes of Opsikion (10 of them remain anonymi). The komes of Opsikion succeeded the comes domesticorum, second in command of the palatine forces after the magister officiorum<sup>11</sup>. Unlike other *themes* headed by a strategos, Opsikion was at the beginning governed by a komes. From the late 9th-early 10th c., however, the governor of Opsikion is attested as strategos, a change recorded in the *Taktika* much later (late 10th c.)<sup>12</sup>.

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10. The three seals of Theophylaktos, imperial protospatharios and komes of Opsikion are as follows: TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): OPS\_195 = Paris, IFEB 783 [unpublished]; OPS\_46 = USA: Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1955.1.1247 [see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), no. 39.36, erroneously read as Theophilos] and: OPS\_166 = Switzerland: Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire CdN 2004-411 (ex. G. Zacos collection) [see CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and CHEYNET, *Sceaux Zacos* (2016), no. 142 (same *boulloterion* with the DO specimen)]. In addition to these seals we should also draw attention to the similar and contemporary seals of a Theophylaktos, imperial spatharios and tourmarches of Opsikion [TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): (PN\_609)/OPS\_65 = USA: Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1955.1.1264, see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), 39.51 and OPS\_122 = Unknown present location, see Cl. SODE, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin II*, Bonn 1997, no. 299)], which may represent an earlier career stage of the same officer. The promotion to komes (presumably of Opsikion) of an Anonymus tourmarches (ca. 815-818) is mentioned in the letters of Theodoros Stoudites [*Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, ed. G. FATOUROS, vols. 1-2, Berlin 1992, v. 1, 282 (letter no. 160)].

11. See J. F. HALDON, *Byzantine Praetorians : an administrative, institutional and social survey of the Opsikion and tagmata, c. 580-900*, Bonn 1984, 164-179. See also Ch. MALATRAS, The sigillographic corpus of the imperial Opsikion, in *TAKTIKON workshop* (forthcoming).

12. Among the last known seals recording still a komes of Opsikion are the TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): OPS\_82 = Russia, St. Petersburg Hermitage M-7078 [unpublished (early 10th c.)] and OPS\_24 = USA: Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1955.1.1355 [see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), no. 39.21 (late 9th-early 10th c.)]. The earliest sigillographic evidence for a strategos of Opsikion is found on the seals TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): OPS\_108 = Austria: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum MK 209 [see *Österreich II* (2004), no. 329 (late 9th c.)]

### 3. Sisinnios, patrikios, protospatharios and komes of Opsikion (late 8th-early 9th c.)

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_595/OPS\_169

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ*: not included



*Present location:* Germany: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 689 (ex M.-L. Zarnitz collection)

*Measurements:* D (total): 29 mm D (field): 26 mm W: 12,87 gr

*Technology - State of preservation:* Struck slightly off centre; fairly good condition

*Publishing history:* *Münz Zentrum* 90 (14-16 May 1997), no. 1047 (sold) [proposed date: 810-840]; mentioned in *SBS* 8 (2003), 234 [proposed date: second half of 8th c.]

*Parallel specimen(s):* No known parallels

*Obverse:* Cruciform invective monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the quarters; wreath border

.ω - Cω|Δδ - Λω

*Reverse:* Inscription in 5 lines; wreath border

+CICI|NHWPAT|.IKΛCΠΛ|.KOMIT|.ΔOΨ

and OPS\_114 = Turkey: Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 481 (ex 502) [see J.-Cl. CHEYNET, et al., *Les sceaux byzantins du Musée archéologique d'Istanbul*, Istanbul 2012, no. 3.83 (late 9th-early 10th c.)]. In the *Taktika* the first mention of a strategos of Opsikion is encountered in the *Taktikon* of Escorial, see OIKONOMIDES, *Listes* (1972), 265. The literary sources, mainly those written from the 10th c. onwards, occasionally call the governor of Opsikion strategos.

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τ]ῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Σισινῆῳ πατ[ρ]ικ(ίῳ) (πρωτο)σπα(θαριῳ) [(καί)]  
κόμιτ(ι) [τ]οῦ Ὀψ(ικίου)

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Σισιννίῳ, πατρικίῳ, πρωτοσπαθαριῳ καὶ κόμητι τοῦ Ὀψικίου

### Commentary:

The epigraphy of the seal, as well as the titles of Sisinnios, suggest a date around the late 8th or early 9th c. In this period we know of the patrikios Sisinnios Triphylles, who was strategos of Thrake in 799<sup>13</sup>. Sisinnios Triphylles is listed among those killed in the battle against the Bulgars in 811. His office is not mentioned, but it is certain that at that point he was no longer strategos of Thrake, since the latter is mentioned further down in the list of the fallen higher officials<sup>14</sup>. Therefore, an identification of Sisinnios with the owner of our seal cannot be excluded.

### 4. Anonymus, imperial spatharios and protostrator of Opsikion (first half of 9th c.)

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_629/OPS\_147

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ* # 30829



*Present location:* Greece: Athens, Numismatic Museum K122γ (ex Σ.Π. 1897-1898: VI, 15)

*Measurements:* D (total): 25 mm      Th: 4 mm      W: 10.17 gr

*Technology - State of preservation:* Blank smaller than die; pierced in the centre

13. *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, vols. 1-2, Leipzig 1883-1885 (repr. Hildesheim 1963) [hereafter: Theophanes], 477.

14. Theophanes, 491.

*Publishing history:* KONSTANTOPOULOS, *Molybdoboulla* (1917), no. 122γ (not illustrated)

*Parallel specimen(s):* TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): OPS\_81 (from another boulloterion: BL\_629.1)<sup>15</sup>

*Obverse:* Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the quarters; border of dots

*Reverse:* .Ω - CΩ|.. - ΛΩ  
Inscription in 4 lines (3 surviving); border of dots  
....|..ΙΒ/СΠ..|SΛ/CTPΔ.|ΤΔΟΨ.

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τ]ῷ σῶ [δού]λῳ // [...] β(ασιλικῶ) σπ[αθ(αρίῳ)] (καὶ) (πρωτο) στρά[τ(ορί)] τοῦ Ὀψι[κ(ίου)]

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ ...ι, βασιλικῶ σπαθαρίῳ καὶ πρωτοστράτορι τοῦ Ὀψικίου

### Commentary:

Due to oversight (or printing error?) Konstantopoulos described the obverse of this seal as being decorated with a cross, rather than a cruciform invocative monogram. Konstantopoulos proposed a date in the 9th-10th c., but the general outlook and the epigraphy of this specimen suggest a rather earlier date (early 9th c.).

The almost identical outlook of our specimen to the parallel in the Hermitage indicates that they both belong to the same individual. The only tiny difference between the two is that the ligated diphthong *δ* on the Athenian specimen (last line of the reverse) is spelled out on its Hermitage counterpart. The rather short space available for engraving the owner's name (which was perhaps preceded by a crosslet), as well as the preserved ending in -I, may favor its reconstruction as Leon. We know of just one more protostrator of Opsikion, attested literary in the year 713<sup>16</sup>. The office of protostrator is not encountered in other *themes*. The protostrator was the head of the imperial stratores and the occurrence of this office in Opsikion could suggest a late connection of Opsikion to the imperial guard. However, one may equally suppose that the office of protostrator (in charge of the stratores of the komes of Opsikion) was analogous to that of the domestikos of the stratores of the strategos of the Anatolikoi attested in 716/717 (i.e. the head of an elite force around the strategos or of his bodyguard)<sup>17</sup>.

15. OPS\_81=Russia: Saint-Petersburg, Hermitage M-7072 [unpublished].

16. Theophanes, 383.

17. TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1158 = Theophanes, 388. Yet, no protostrator of a *theme* is ever mentioned in the *Taktika*.



## 5. Theophilos, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Opsikion (first half of 10th c.)

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_607/OPS\_193

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ*: not included



<i>Present location:</i>	France: Paris, IFEB 369
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 21 mm      D (field): 17 mm      W: 6,19 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Broken along the channel on the obverse
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Unpublished
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): OPS_194 (from another boulloterion: BL_607.2) <sup>18</sup>
<i>Obverse:</i>	Patriarchal cross on (possibly three) steps (only one step is visible) flanked by mid-rising fleurons; circular inscription; border of dots +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΗΤΩC.....
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 5 lines; border of dots +ΘΕΟ .ΗΛΩΡ .CΠΑΘ.S .ΤΡΑΤΙΓ/Τ .ΨΙΚ + Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Θεο[φ]ήλῳ βασιλικῷ [(πρωτο)]σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) [σ]τρατιγ(ῷ) τ(οῦ) [Ο]ψικ(ίου) Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Θεοφίλῳ, βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ τοῦ Ὀψικίου

18. OPS\_194 = France: Paris, IFEB 689 [to be published by J.-Cl. CHEYNET in the *TAKTIKON workshop* (forthcoming)].

### Commentary:

The identification of this person is problematic, since he is not recorded elsewhere. This Theophilos, one of the earliest attested strategoi of Opsikion (see our commentary above, no. 2), cannot be identified with any of the homonymoi military officers known in this period. In the *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015) database there are 13 seals, representing a total of nine different strategoi of Opsikion between the late 9th c. and the 1060s. The last known strategos of Opsikion is probably Michael of Euthymios, magistros and vestes<sup>19</sup>, who, interestingly enough, also served as praitor (judge) of Opsikion (see below, no. 6). Although the office of the komes and that of the strategos of Opsikion are each attested over an equal period of time (ca. two centuries), the quantity of the preserved seals (76) issued by the 33 (sigillographically attested) kometes is much higher than the number of seals (13) issued by the nine (sigillographically attested) strategoi of Opsikion. This fact may reflect the declining military importance of Opsikion as a *theme*. At the same time, the number of seals of the civil officials of Opsikion are rising.

### 6. Michael of Euthymios, magistros, vestes and praitor of Opsikion (ca. 1050-1070)

*TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_564/OPS\_39

Counterpart entry in the *PBW* (consulted in 17.ix.2015) Michael 117



19. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): OPS\_192 = Unknown present location [see auction *Pecunem* 29 (1 March 2015), no 754] and OPS\_197=France: Paris, BnF Zacos 189 [unpublished]. These two seals should be dated between the 1050s and 1060s. The office of Theodoros Dalassenos as strategos in Opsikion has been dated in the late 1050s., see *Österreich* II (2004), no 330.

*Present location:* USA: Washington D.C., DO BZS.1955.1.2909 (ex Zacos collection)

*Measurements:* D (total): 27 mm      D (field): 26 mm      W: 13,6 gr

*Technology - State of preservation:* Slightly corroded on the reverse; otherwise fine

*Publishing history:* Unpublished

*Parallel specimen(s):* TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): OPS\_97; OPS\_98 (from the same boulloterion as the DO specimen: BL\_564.1); OPS\_86 (from another boulloterion: BL\_564.2)<sup>20</sup>

*Obverse:* The Archangel Michael with open wings standing on a dais, wearing the elaborately embroidered *loros*, holding long scepter surrounded by trefoil ornament (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand); border of dots

M|I-X|A,

*Reverse:* Inscription in 7 lines; border of dots

+|+KĒR,Θ,|ΜΙΧΑΗΛ|ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩ|RECT,ΣΠΡΑΙ|Τ,ΩΡ,ΤΗΘΨΙ|Κ,Τ  
ΩΤΨ..|ΘΥΜΙΨ

Μιχα(ήλ) // + Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ μαγίστρω βέστ(η) καὶ πραίτ(,)ωρ(ι) τοῦ  
῾Οψικ(ίου) τῷ τοῦ [Εὐ]θυμίου

Μιχαήλ. Κύριε βοήθει Μιχαήλ, μαγίστρω, βέστη καὶ πραίτωρι τοῦ ῾Οψικίου, τῷ τοῦ  
Εὐθυμίου

### Commentary:

The area of jurisdiction of this official is not so clearly visible on the DO specimen, which explains why it was not included in *DOSeals* 3 (1996).

The appearance of the term praitor, as a synonym for krites, is yet another manifestation of the antiquarianism that pervaded the administrative system during the second half of the 11th c., when some more old names of offices (e.g. moderator, kensor) or titles (e.g. hypatos and illustrios) reappeared<sup>21</sup>. The adoption of these “novelties” was not uniform, but progressed differently in the various *themes*, as indicated in the *cursus honorum* of Leon Skleros, who

20. OPS\_86 = Russia: Saint Petersburg, Hermitage M-2988 [unpublished]; OPS\_97 = Austria: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum MK 216 [see *Österreich* II (2004), no. 218)]; OPS\_98 = Switzerland: Geneva MAH, CdN 2004-411 (ex Zacos collection) [see CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and CHEYNET, *Sceaux Zacos* (2016), no. 145].

21. See the commentary in *DOSeals* 3 (1996), 156 (no. 86.36).

started as vestarches and krites of the Anatolikoi, continued with the same titles as praitor of Opsikion (where he was later promoted to magistros), then moved to the *theme* of the Boukellarioi as (once again) praitor and was later appointed krites of Aigaion Pelagos with the titles of magistros, vestes and vestarches<sup>22</sup>. It may also be that these terms were used interchangeably, as suggested by the fact that in one of his letters to an anonymous krites of Opsikion, Michael Psellos, addresses his correspondent as krites, dikastes and praitor<sup>23</sup>. These terms may have been used in a similar way also on seals, as indicated by the almost contemporary seals of Theodoros Makrembolites, designated as krites of Opsikion (these seals – due to the title protovestes of Theodoros – should not be dated earlier than the late 1060s) and the seals of our Michael of Euthymios, designated as praitor of Opsikion (his seals should not be placed after 1070)<sup>24</sup>. Besides, around the same period (we cannot be certain whether this was before or after his post in Opsikion) and with the exact same titles, our Michael is also attested as krites in the *theme* of the Thrakesioi<sup>25</sup>.

Michael, the “son of Euthymios”, was accused (along with his brother Nikephoros and other relatives) of leading a plot against Konstantinos IX Monomachos in ca. 1050-1051<sup>26</sup>. Unlike his brother (who was banished and had his property confiscated), the charges against Michael and the other

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22. For a sketch of his career see J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Les sceaux de la famille Sklèros de la collection Zacos à la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, in: *Hypermachos: Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. CHR. STAVRAKOS – A.-K. WASSILIOU – M. KRIKORIAN, Wien 2008, 1-14, here 5.

23. *Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora*, vol. 2: *Epistulae*, ed. E. KURTZ and F. DREXL, Milano 1941, 127 (no. 99).

24. Theodoros Makrembolites, protovestes and krites of Opsikion [TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_601] is attested on four specimens: OPS\_79 = Russia: Saint Petersburg, Hermitage M-6101 [see J.-Cl. CHEYNET – C. MORRISON – W. SEIBT, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig*, Paris 1991, 113 (simple mention)]; OPS\_150 = Germany: Munich, collection Theodoridis 1120 [see CHEYNET and THEODORIDIS, *Collection Theodoridis* (2010), no. 127]; OPS\_174 = France: Paris, BnF Zacos 388 [see H. HUNGER, *Die Makremboliten auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln und in sonstigen Belegen*, SBS 5 (1998), 1-28, here 22-23, no. 17] and OPS\_202 = Unknown present location [see auction *Pecunem* 27 (4 January 2015), no. 906]. See also, OIKONOMIDIS, *Organisation administrative* (1976), 125-152 (mainly 148-149).

25. See e.g. *DOSeals* 3 (1996) no. 2.18; auction *Roma IX* (March 2015), no. 9.85.

26. *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. THURN, Berlin-New York 1973, 471.8-13.

accused were dismissed. The office of praitor, which cannot be dated before 1050, suggests that Michael probably served in Opsikion after the aforementioned rebellion. His rank, as *magistros* and *vestes*, conforms to the practices of title attribution during the 1040s-1060s, as can be observed in the cases of many other of his colleagues.

An interesting aspect in the career of Michael is that while *magistros* and *vestes*, he also served as *strategos* of Opsikion; furthermore, the two seals that attest to this (otherwise unknown) career stage of his, exhibit the same decoration on their obverse (the standing archangel Michael) and almost the same alignment of the legend on the reverse as on his seals as praitor<sup>27</sup>. Michael's involvement in the military sector should not be regarded as something very surprising. The decline of the *thematic* army in the course of 11th c. led to the significant reduction of the army forces under the command of the *strategos* and to the radical change of the nature of his functions<sup>28</sup>.

### *Anatolikai*

#### **7. Anonymus, imperial (?) *spatharios* and *ek prosopou* of the Anatolikai (800-850)**

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1160/ANAT\_247

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ* # 11977



27. OPS\_192 = Unknown present location [see auction *Pecunem* 29 (1 Mar 2015), no. 754]; OPS\_197 = France: Paris, BnF Zacos 189 [unpublished].

28. On the demotion of the *strategos* see GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER, *Administration* (1960), 50-52; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Organisation administrative* (1976), 148; CHEYNET, *Du stratège au duc* (1985), 181-194.



<i>Present location:</i>	France: Paris, IFEB 1690 (ex M. Sorlin-Dorigny collection)
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 27 mm
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Half missing; corroded
<i>Publishing history:</i>	SCHLUMBERGER, <i>Sigillographie</i> (1884), 736, no. 1 (with erroneous drawing)
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	No known parallels
<i>Obverse:</i>	Cruciform invocative monogram (indeterminate type)  ΤΩ - .. ΔΘ - ..
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 4 lines (3 surviving)  ..... ...ΑΘΑ. ..ΚΠΡ·ΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΤ

(Θεοτόκε or Κύριε βοήθει) τῷ [σῶ] δούλῳ] // [... βασιλικῷ] σπαθαρίῳ (καὶ) ἐκ προ(οσώπου) τον Ἀνατ(ολικῶν)

Θεοτόκε or Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ, ..., βασιλικῷ σπαθαρίῳ καὶ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν

### Commentary:

The epigraphy of the seal suggests a date in the first half of the 9th c. Schlumberger read K(OY)M(E)P(KIAPIO) instead of [E]KΠP(OΣΩΠOY). The restoration of the title as imperial spatharios, instead of protospatharios, is dictated by its combination with the office of ek prosopou. In the 8th-9th c. protospatharios was a very important title, often held by strategoi and other high-ranking officials, while the known ek prosopou usually bore the titles of imperial spatharioi or imperial spatharokandidatoi.

This is one of the five ek prosopou of the Anatolikai recorded in the *TAKTIKON* database, covering the period from the 8th to the first half of the 11th c. Only one more seal dates in the same period as our specimen, that of Bardas, imperial spatharios and ek prosopou of the Anatolikai<sup>29</sup>.

The ek prosopou of the *themata* were officials appointed directly by the emperor to act as his representatives (handle petitions, fulfill imperial orders etc.). They rank much lower than the strategos in the state hierarchy<sup>30</sup>.

29. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1010/ANAT\_23 = USA: Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1955.1.717 [see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), no. 86.19].

30. OIKONOMIDēs, *Listes* (1972), 103. See also GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER, *Administration* (1960), 39-40.

Sometimes, in special occasions only, they replaced the strategos, acquiring thus additional military functions, as exemplified in the case of Ioannes Echimos, ek prosopou of the Kibyrraiotai from 821 to 825, who was placed in charge of the defence of Attaleia during the Arab attack in 824<sup>31</sup>. This event suggests that there was no strategos in the city at that time (either he was absent or the post was vacant). Another example is offered by Eustathios, who was appointed ek prosopou of the Kibyrraiotai in 911-912. Following Porphyrogennetos' narrative, it seems that there was no strategos of the Kibyrraiotai at that time. The contemporary to Eustathios, Staurakios Platys (katepano of the Mardaitai in the *theme* of the Kibyrraiotai) was exercising duties similar to a strategos, although not over the whole *theme*. After his appointment as ek prosopou, Eustathios must have acted as strategos, since he complained to the emperor (referring obviously to Staurakios Platys) that there should (and could) not be two strategoi in the same *theme*. At the end, Eustathios plotted successfully against Staurakios and Leon VI removed the latter and promoted Eustathios as katepano of the Mardaitai, as well<sup>32</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not know whether Eustathios was officially exercising the duties of a strategos in the Kibyrraiotai. The next emperor, Alexandros, removed Eustathios from the *theme* and appointed Niketas as strategos and Niketas' son, Aberkios, as katepano. It is remarkable that in both cases the person in charge in the absence of a strategos was the ek prosopou and not a military official.

## 8. Phokas, imperial spatharios and strategos of the Anatolikai (first half of the 9th c.)

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1109/ANAT\_139

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ* # 6216

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31. TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1603 = *Life of St Antonios the Younger*, ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Νέου, *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 19.3 (57) (1907), 186-223, especially 194-195, 199-202.

32. TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_161 = *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, ed. G. MORAVCSIK - R. JENKINS, Washington, D.C. 1967, 50.



<i>Present location:</i>	Greece: Athens, Numismatic Museum K 146a (ex Σ.Π. 1904-5, ΚΓ', 32)		
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 28 mm	Th: 4 mm	W: 12,11 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Broken along the channel and restored; obverse corroded		
<i>Publishing history:</i>	KONSTANTOPOULOS, <i>Molybdoboulla</i> (1917), no. 146a (not illustrated)		
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): ANAT_114 (from another boulloterion: BL_1109.1) <sup>33</sup>		
<i>Obverse:</i>	Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (probably Laurent type V) with inscription in the quarters; wreath border ΤΩ - CΩ ·δ - ΛΩ		
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 4 lines; wreath border ΦΟΚΑΒ CΠΑΘ·SCTP ΑΤΙΔ·ΤΑΝ· ΤΟΛΙC		

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ [δ]ούλῳ // Φοκᾶ βασιλικῷ σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) στρατιγ(ῶ) τ(ῆς) Ἀν[α]τολῆς

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Φοκᾶ, βασιλικῷ σπαθαρίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς

### Commentary:

The epigraphy of the seal suggests a date no later than the first half of 9th c. Worth noting is the unusual term “strategos of Anatole”. In this period we have monostrategoi (arch-generals) of Anatole, who are responsible for more than one *themes* in the East, such as Aetios (801-802)<sup>34</sup> or Bardanes

33. ANAT\_114 = Crimea: Sudak, collection and inventory number not available [see E. STEPANOVA, *New seals from Sudak*, *SBS* 6 (1999), 47-58, here 57, no. 21; republished in CHEYNET, *Sceaux Phocas* (2008), 501].

34. Theophanes, 475-476. We would prefer to attribute to this Aetios, the seal published

(802-803)<sup>35</sup>. However, this exceptional office was usually reserved for one of the most trusted state officials and this could not have been the case for Phokas, especially because of the medium ranking title of imperial *spatharios* that he held.

Another possibility, of course, is that the term “Anatole” on this seal is actually used to denote the *theme* of the Anatolikai, as is often the case in the literary sources of the middle Byzantine period<sup>36</sup>. Cheynet excluded this possibility, since the strategoi of the Anatolikai during the 8th and 9th c. usually bear the higher titles of *patrikios* or imperial *protospatharios*<sup>37</sup>. On the other hand, the title of imperial *spatharios* seems to retain a relative importance until the middle of the 9th c. as suggested by the *TAKTIKON* lists of the strategoi in Opsikion and the Kibyrraiotai, as well as other strategoi of the period between the middle of the 8th and the middle of the 9th c. in the Thrakesioi and the Armeniakoi, some of whom bear the medium-ranking title of imperial *spatharios*<sup>38</sup>. We should not, therefore, exclude the possibility that this happened also in the Anatolikai.

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by ZACOS and VEGLELY (1972), no. 1690A, since it looks to us earlier in date (possibly late 8th/early 9th c., rather than first half of the 9th c., as proposed by Zacos and Veglely). A parallel of this specimen has been recently found in the collection of the Archaeological Museum of Alanya and will be published by Nilgün Elam in the *TAKTIKON workshop* (forthcoming).

35. *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Libri I-IV* (CFHB 53), eds. M. FEATHERSTONE, J. S. CODOÑER, Boston and Berlin 2015, 14. Earlier examples of *monostrategoi* include Herakleios, the brother of the emperor Tiberios-Apsimaros (698-705) (Nikephoros Patriarch, 102), and Niketas, the son of the usurper Artabasdos (741-743) (Theophanes, 417). After the middle of the 9th c., when the *domestikoi* of the *scholai* emerged as the highest commanders of the Byzantine army, the office of the *monostrategos* disappeared.

36. On this issue, see the study by A. Kontogiannopoulou on “Eōa / Anatolē, Anatolikai”: Notional Approach of the Terms through Byzantine Literary Sources, in: *TAKTIKON workshop* (forthcoming).

37. CHEYNET, Sceaux Phocas (2008), 501.

38. See for example the cases of Gregorios Mousoulakios, imperial *spatharios* and *komes* of Opsikion, 8th c. [see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), no. 39.26]; Christophoros, imperial *spatharios* and *strategos* of the Kibyrraiotai, first half of the 9th c. [see I. JORDANOV, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, v. 3, Sofia 2009, no. 1314]; Theodoros, imperial *spatharios* and *strategos* of the Thrakesioi, 8th c. [see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), no. 2.53]; Manuel, imperial *spatharios* and *strategos* of the Armeniakoi, 9th c. [see *DOSeals* 4 (2001), 22.45].

The name of Phokas is rarely attested in this period. One could not exclude that the contemporary seals of Phokas, imperial spatharios and strategos of Cherson, may have also belonged to the owner of our specimen, but the long distance between the two provinces does not admittedly favour such an identification<sup>39</sup>. It is also quite possible, as Cheynet has suggested, that our Phokas was one of the ancestors of the famous homonymus family. However, any connection between our Phokas and other homonymi of the late 9th or early 10th c. should be excluded on chronological and sigillographic grounds<sup>40</sup>.

The *TAKTIKON* database includes a total of 81 seals of strategoi of the Anatolikoi, representing around 30% of the total sigillographic *corpus* of this *theme*. These 81 seals were struck by 45 strategoi of the Anatolikoi, 20 of whom remain anonymi. Most of the seals of these anonymi are placed in the early period of the *theme* (late 7th to the middle of the 9th c.) and eventually some of them could have belonged to the same person.

#### 9. Anonymus, tourmarches of the Anatolikoi (first half of the 9th c.)

*TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1156/ ANAT\_195

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ*: not included



39. N. ALEKSEYENKO, *L'administration byzantine de Cherson. Catalogue des sceaux*, Paris 2012, nos. 29-30 (dated in the middle of the 9th c.).

40. See J.-Cl. CHEYNET, Les Phocas, in: ID., *Société byzantine* (2008), v. 2, 473-497, here 473-476, as well as ID., *Sceaux Phocas* (2008), 499-501 (with the correct dating).



<i>Present location:</i>	Germany: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 13		
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 22 mm	D (field): 21 mm	W: 14,02 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Blank much smaller than die, resulting to the loss of much of the legend; good state of preservation		
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Unpublished		
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	No known parallels		
<i>Obverse:</i>	Cruciform invocative monogram (indeterminate type) .. - .. ΔΘ - Λ.		
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 4 lines (2 surviving); wreath border [...] [...] ..PMAPX ANAT		

(Θεοτόκε or Κύριε βοήθει) [τῷ σῷ] δούλ[ω] // [... του]ρμάρχη(η) [τ(ῶν)] Ἀνατ(ολικῶν)

Θεοτόκε or Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ ..., τουρμάρχη τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν

### Commentary:

The tourmarchai were high ranking military officials, second in rank after the strategos. They commanded the *theme*'s tourmai (a subdivision of the *theme*). Our anonymous tourmarches is one of the 11 tourmarchai known to have served in the *theme* of the Anatolikai (the earliest recorded tourmarches of the *theme* is a certain Nikaias in 716/717)<sup>41</sup>. Although the office of the tourmarches was still in existence during the 10th and 11th c., there is no recorded tourmarches of the Anatolikai after the middle of the 9th c.

### 10. Basileios, ... (?) and strategos of the Anatolikai (last third of the 9th c.)

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1011/ANAT\_119

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ* # 20908



41. TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1086 = Theophanes, 388-389.

<i>Present location:</i>	Greece: Athens, Numismatic Museum K 146 (ex A.E. 2962)
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 25 mm    D (field): 20mm    Th: 3,2 mm    W: 16 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Blank larger than die; corroded (especially on the obverse)
<i>Publishing history:</i>	KONSTANTOPOULOS, <i>Molybdoboulla</i> (1917), no. 192 (not illustrated)
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	No known parallels
<i>Obverse:</i>	Simple cross on steps; inscription between double border of dots  +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΗΤΟCΩ.ΟΝΛΩΛΩ
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 5 lines; border of dots  + +ΡΑϚΙΛ Ω....ΤΩΡ Ε.ΙΚΕϚΡΑΤ ΓΩΤΩΝΑΝΑ ΤΟΛΙΚΩΝ +

Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη το σῶ [δ]ούλω{λω} // + Βασιλίω ...τωρει (?) κε [σ]τρατηγῶ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν

Κύριε βοήθει τῶ σῶ δούλω Βασιλείω, ... καὶ στρατηγῶ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν

### Commentary:

Note the repetition of the last syllable of the word ΔΟΝΛΩ on the obverse, possibly the engraver's reaction to the *horror vacui*. The crosslet above the inscription on the reverse may have been flanked by pellets that are not visible anymore due to corrosion.

Part of the second line is damaged. Konstantopoulos read Ρ/ΑϚΠΑΘ/. This reading, however, should be utterly excluded on account of the two, clearly visible, letters (ΩΡ) forming the end of the second line (no letters follow thereafter). In the third line, the first, somewhat corroded, letter may be interpreted as a Θ followed by an abbreviation. Yet, the preceding ΩΡ (at the end of the second line) suggest to us that what follows in the beginning of the third line are the letters ΕΙ. This part of the inscription was reserved most probably for a title, but the only possible solutions on account of the preserved letters, i.e. the titles of vestitor or imperial strator, are too low for a strategos of the Anatolikai, the highest military command in the empire. We cannot offer a satisfactory alternative, but it may be possible that what we have here is a second office rather than a title. Among them, we might point to the high office-title of rhaiktor<sup>42</sup>. Among the known homonymoi military officials of the period, none seems to offer a secure identification with the owner of our specimen.

42. ODB, s.v. rhaiktor.

# 11. Bardas Parsakoutenos, magistros and doux of the Anatolikai (last quarter of 10th c.)

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1165/ANAT\_245; ANAT\_280

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ* # 20786 (but with no mention to the career stage revealed by our specimens).

(a) ANAT 245



<i>Present location:</i>	France: Paris, IFEB 291
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 28 mm    D (field): 24,5 mm    Th: 2,1 mm    W: 14,13 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Corroded; pierced
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Unpublished <sup>43</sup>
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	ANAT_280
<i>Obverse:</i>	Eight-ray invocative monogram with (possibly) a letter (Θ ?) in the centre and the following (clearly visible) letters at the ends of each one of the eight spokes (from the first visible letter on the left and then clockwise): T - R - Ϡ - ΕΙ - . - . - . - . ; border of dots.
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 6 lines; border of dots - · - +RARA, MAΓICTP, ΣΔ..ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑ.ΟΛ·Κ Ω.... ΟΠ....

Κύριε (or Θεοτόκε) βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Βάρδ(ας) μάγιστρος (καὶ) δ[οῦξ] τῶν Ἀνα[τ]ολ(ι)κῶν [ὁ Πάτρ] ὁ Π[α]ρσακ(α)κουτηνός]

Κύριε (or Θεοτόκε) βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ. Βάρδας, μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ὁ Παρσακουτηνός

43. Studied by Prigent, IFEB (1994, unpublished), no. 8 [980-1000].

## (b) ANAT\_280



<i>Present location:</i>	Netherlands: Hasselt, Boersema collection	
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 30 mm	W: 16,24 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Good state of preservation	
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Unpublished	
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	ANAT_245	
<i>Obverse:</i>	Rosace made of a circled dot in the center and six arrow-like spokes symmetrically arranged around it; along the circumference, between borders of dots, circular inscription starting with a crosslet at 12 o'clock.  +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩC.ΔΞΛΩ	
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 6 lines; border of dots  - · - +ΡΑΡΔ ΜΑΓΙCΤΡ, ΞΔΞΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΤΟΛ·Κ ΩΝΟΠΑΤ ΟΠΑΡCΚ,  Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σ[ῳ] δούλῳ // + Βάρδ(ας) μάγιστρο(ς) (καὶ) δοῦξ τῶν Ἀνα[τ]ολ(ι)κῶν {ὁ Πατ} ὁ Παρσ(α)κ(ουτηνός)  Κύριε, βοήθει τῷ σῳ δούλῳ. Βάρδας, μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ὁ Παρσακουτηνός	

**Commentary:**

We note here the (often encountered on seals) syntactic discrepancy between an invocation on the obverse and the use of the nominative (instead of the dative) in the legend of the reverse. Despite their different obverse, suggesting (at first sight) the use of two different boulloteria, the reverse of these two specimens comes from the same matrix as indicated by the identical alignment of the letters and even more by some secondary details such as the small dot above Δ in the first line, another small dot used as abbreviation sign after the Λ in the fourth line or the small, very round, O in the beginning of the last line. The more flattened appearance of the

letters on the reverse of ANAT\_280 in contrast to their counterparts on ANAT\_245, which retain still some of their relief, may indicate that ANAT\_245 was struck earlier in date (i.e. when the corresponding matrix was not fully worn-out, as yet).

The reconstruction of the legend on the reverse poses a slight problem, due to the four (obviously) superfluous letters at the end of the fifth line. We believe that this is most probably a mistake carried out by the engraver of the matrix, while trying to render the owner's surname (it seems that he confused the family name with the title of patrikios, hence the letter T). When he realized his mistake, he started engraving the surname from the beginning in the next line.

The fairly rare eight-ray monogram on the obverse of ANAT\_245 is typical of the last third of the 10th c., a date confirmed also by the epigraphy of this specimen<sup>44</sup>.

Bardas Parsakoutenos and his two brothers, Theodoros and Nikephoros, originated from the town of Parsakoute, hence their surname. Bardas was a cousin of the emperor Nikephoros Phokas and of the latter's namesake brother, the rebel Bardas Phokas. As Bardas Phokas rebelled in 970 against Ioannes Tzimiskes, his relatives were the first ones to support him. At that point, all the Parsakoutenoi brothers bore the title of patrikios<sup>45</sup>. After the failure of Bardas Phokas all those who supported him (including the Parsakoutenoi) fell from grace (to say the least) and may have even been imprisoned.

When, after the death of Ioannes Tzimiskes in 976, Bardas Skleros rebelled, Bardas Phokas was released in order to lead the war against him. Under the circumstances, Bardas Parsakoutenos was also restored and promoted to magistros. He led a naval expedition to Abydos where he defeated the fleet of Bardas Skleros that was harassing the trade routes to Constantinople<sup>46</sup>. Most probably, his office in the Anatolikai should be dated after this sea battle and probably before the next rebellion of his cousin Bardas Phokas in 987,

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44. N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Τυπολογία και χρονολόγηση στα μολυβδόβουλλα*, in: *ΛΑΜΠΙΗΛΩΝ. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη*, ed. M. ASPRA-BARDABAKI, v. 2, Athens 2003, 561-564., mainly 562-563.

45. *Leonis Diaconi Historiae*, ed. C. B. HASE, Bonn 1828, 112-113.

46. *Op. cit.*, 170.

whom he must have supported. At any rate, since Bardas Parsakoutenos is already attested in 954, his activities as an official could not have extended beyond ca. 1000<sup>47</sup>.

From the 10th century onwards regiments of the central army forces, the tagmata, began being stationed in the provinces, as well. The *doux* of a *theme* was the head of a regiment of the tagmata stationed in the particular *theme*. In the late 11th century, mainly from 1060s-1070s, as the *thematic* armies were being dissolved, the strategos lost prestige and disappeared having been replaced by the *doux*<sup>48</sup>. The last attested strategos of the Anatolikoi (in ca. 1072-1074) is the protoproedros Konstantinos Doukas, cousin of Michael VII<sup>49</sup>. From ca. 1074 to 1077, however, Nikephoros Botaneiates, *doux* of the Anatolikoi, seems to have acted as the actual commander of the *theme*<sup>50</sup>.

On the basis of the *TAKTIKON* prosopographic lists, Bardas Parsakoutenos is the first known *doux* in the *theme* of the Anatolikoi, obviously as commander of the tagmata stationed or recruited from the Anatolikoi. His subofficial, the *domestikos*, is attested for the first time also around this period<sup>51</sup>. The *topoteretes*, the second in command after the *doux*, appears in the Anatolikoi in the mid. 11th c.<sup>52</sup>.

## 12. Nikephoros, imperial spatharokandidatos and krites of the Anatolikoi (second half of the 10th c.)

*TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1091/ANAT\_194

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ*: not included

47. On the duration of his career see *PmbZ* # 20786 (Bardas Parsakoutenos).

48. This change has been studied in CHEYNET, *Du stratège au duc* (1985).

49. See PN\_1053/ANAT\_158; ANAT\_174 = Austria: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum MK 258 [see *Österreich* I (1978), no. 36]. See also, CHEYNET, *Du stratège au duc* (1985), 187.

50. O. KARAGIORGOU, “ἀπὸ Λάμπης λαμπτήρα φωσφόρον ἐπιδημῆσαι τοῖς βασιλείοις προσέβησαν” (Attaleiates XII 9-10, p. 175). On the Way to the Throne: The career of Nikephoros III Botaneiates before 1078, in: *Hypermachos. Studien zu Byzantinistik. Armenologie und Geographik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 2008, 105-133, here 120-122 (career stage VII).

51. This is a certain Ioannes (PN\_533) attested by two seals (OPS\_102 = Austria: Vienna, Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte 69 and OPS\_173 = USA, Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1947.2.1086), see *Österreich* II (2004), no. 243 and *DOSeals* 3 (1996), no. 86.17, respectively.

52. Konstantinos Gabalas (PN\_1058) attested by ANAT\_73, = Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1955.1.3026, see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), 86.63 (ca. 1060s-1070s, in accordance to the titles).





<i>Present location:</i>	Germany: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 713	
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 16 mm	W: 4,24 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Blank smaller than die; good condition	
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Unpublished	
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	No known parallels	
<i>Obverse:</i>	Duck walking to r., head turned backward, holding branch in its beak, with a ribbon whose ends float in the air; circular inscription [...]CΩΔϞΛ,	
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 5 lines (4 surviving) +ΝΙΚΗΦ .ΡΩΡΚΠΑΘ .ΑΝΔΣΚΡ! .ΤΩΝΑΝ .Τ..  [Θ(εοτό)κε or Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θει τῷ] σῶ δοῦλ(ω) // + Νικηφ[ό]ρω β(ασιλικῷ) σπαθ(αρο)- [κ]ανδ(ιδάτω) (καὶ) κρι[τ(ῆ)] τῶν Ἀν[α]τ[ολ(ικῶν)]  Θεοτόκε or Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δοῦλῳ Νικηφόρῳ, βασιλικῷ σπαθαροκανδιδάτῳ καὶ κριτῇ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν	

### Commentary:

Representations of animals, both real (as the duck on our specimen) and fictional, are quite common on seals during the second half of the 10th c.<sup>53</sup>. Nikephoros is one of the first, sigillographically attested *kritai* in the *theme* of the Anatolikai<sup>54</sup>. The *kritai* of the *themata* appear for the first time in the

53. See PENNA, Parastaseis (2014), 277-279, 289.

54. The two seals of Loules, imperial protospatharios and krites of the Anatolikai (TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1108/ANAT\_42; ANAT\_43 = USA: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Arthur M. Sackler Museum BZS.1951.31.5.1889 (ex. T. Whittemore collection); USA:

reign of Leon VI<sup>55</sup>. The first two kritai of the Anatolikoi, however, are known from the written sources only: Gregorios “Paneas” Romaïos (first half of the 10th c.)<sup>56</sup> and the magistros Romanos Saronites (appointed in 945)<sup>57</sup>. In the *TAKTIKON* database we have recorded a total of 34 kritai in the *theme* of the Anatolikoi, so far. Among them, four are attested solely in literary sources. The remaining 30 issued a total of 72 seals which represents more than ¼ of the entire sigillographic *corpus* of the Anatolikoi and almost half of the *corpus* of the seals in the 11th c., a fact that underlines the importance of these officials.

### 13. Leon Maleses, protospatharios and protonotarios of the Anatolikoi (first half of the 11th c.).

*TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1068/ANAT\_233

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ* # 24693



Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1958.106.3281 [see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), no. 86.35a-b]) are dated from the same period. It is worth noting that the first name of this official has been recorded, so far, as Phloulos. A more careful inspection of the specimen Arthur M. Sackler Museum B25.1951.31.5.1889 convinced us that the correct reading of the owner's name is Loules.

55. Leon VI, *Taktika*, ed. G. T. DENNIS, Washington 2010, 56.

56. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1038 = S. LAMPROS, Ἐπιστολαὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βιενναίου κώδικος Phil. 342 (part 4), *NE* 19.2-3 (1925), 139-191, here 163-164 and 181.

57. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1178 = *Theophanes Continuatus*, *Ioannes Cameniata*, *Symeon Magister*, *Georgius Monachus*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1838, 443-444; A. MARKOPOULOS, Le témoignage du Vaticanus gr. 163 pour la période entre 945-963, *Σύμμεικτα* 3 (1979), 83-119, here 91-92. Immediately after his enthronement Konstantinos VII Porphyrogennetos sent virtuous men to all *themes* in order to correct the injustices inflicted during the reign of his father-in-law Romanos Lekapenos (920-944), especially those against the poor. Romanos Saronites, magistros, was sent to the *theme* of the Anatolikoi. His duties, as well as his title, indicate that he rather held the office of the thematic krites. Cf. *Asia Minor* (1998), 357 and note 6.

<i>Present location:</i>	France: Paris, IFEB 479
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 26 mm      D (field): 20 mm      W: 8,43 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	One third missing; worn-out surfaces
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Unpublished <sup>58</sup>
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): ANAT_150; ANAT_190 (all from the same boulloterion: BL_1068.1) <sup>59</sup>
<i>Obverse:</i>	The Archangel Michael (bust) wearing the elaborately embroidered <i>loros</i> , holding long scepter (r. hand); border of dots M    - . .
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 6 lines; border of dots [ - · - ] ...N ...AΘ,S ..QTAP, .QNANAT, .MAΛ, -C,- M[χα(ηλ)] // [+ Λέω]ν [(πρωτο)σπ]αθ(άριος) (καὶ) [(πρωτο)ν]οτάρ(ιος) [τ]ον Ἀνατ(ολικῶν) [ὁ] Μαλ(έ)σ(ης) Μιχαήλ. Λέων, πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ὁ Μαλέσης

### Commentary:

The reconstruction of the owner's name on the IFEB specimen was made possible after the publication of the better preserved parallel specimen in the collection of D. Theodoridis, while our research identified as a third parallel the specimen Hermitage M-2241<sup>60</sup>. The owner of our seal is the only Leon among the known members of the Maleses family (possibly of Slavic

58. Studied by Prigent, *IFEB* (1994, unpublished), no. 10; see also *Österreich* I (1978), 245.

59. ANAT\_150 = Russia: Saint Petersburg, Hermitage M-2241 (ex RAIK collection) [see V. S. SHANDROVSKAJA, *Popravki i dopolnenija k «katalogu molivdovulov»* B. A. Panchenko, *Viz Vrem* 33 (1977), 102-119, here 116, no. 68; B. A. PANCHENKO, *Kolektsii Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole, Katalog molivdovulov* (= Catalogue des plombs de la collection de l'Institut archéologique Russe á Constantinople), *Izvestija Russkago Arheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* 8 (1903), 226, no. 68]. ANAT\_190 = Germany: Munich, Private collection D. Theodoridis 343 [see CHEYNET and THEODORIDIS, *Collection Theodoridis* (2010), no. 129].

60. Consequently, in the list of the protonotarioi of the Anatolikai included in *Asia Minor* (1998), 369-370, the entries nos. 8 and 9 should be unified, as they refer to the same official (i.e. Leon Maleses, protospatharios and protonotarios of the Anatolikai). The same applies to the list of officials published by G. LEVENIOTIS, *Το θέμα/δουκάτο των Ανατολικῶν κατά το δεύτερο ήμισυ του 11ου αιώνα*, *Βυζαντιακά* 25 (2005-2006), 35-101, here 97, nos. 67 and 72.

origin) which appears for the first time towards the end of the 10th c.<sup>61</sup>.

Leon Maleses is one of the 13 protonotarioi of the Anatolikoi recorded in the *TAKTIKON* database, all of them attested solely on seals. Of these, six protonotarioi belong to the period before the 11th c., while the earliest one (if the reading proposed by Nesbitt and Oikonomides is correct) is dated around 800-850<sup>62</sup>.

The *thematic* protonotarioi appeared in the early 9th c., perhaps after the reforms of Nikephoros I<sup>63</sup>. They headed the civil service of the *themes* in the 9th c. and were attached to the imperial sakelle, that is the imperial treasury, thus their responsibilities lay in the financial sector<sup>64</sup>. Their role started losing its importance after the appearance of the kritai in the early 10th c., a fact also reflected in the titles they held, which are somewhat lower than those of the kritai.

#### 14. Basileios, vestes, krites of the velon and of the Anatolikoi (third quarter of the 11th c.)

*TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1166/ANAT\_244

Counterpart entry in the *PBW*: not included



61. On the Maleses family, see Österreich I (1978), 243-247; CHR. STAVRAKOS, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen*, Wiesbaden 2000, nos. 155-157; CHEYNET and THEODORIDIS, *Collection Theodoridis* (2010), no. 129.

62. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1044/ANAT\_48 = USA: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Arthur M. Sackler Museum BZS 1951.31.5.3134 (ex T. Whittemore collection) [see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), no. 86.39; *PmbZ* # 3291; *Asia Minor* (1998), 369]. The reading Ioannes, hypatos and protonotarios of the Anatolikoi is, however, uncertain.

63. BRUBAKER and HALDON, *Iconoclast Era* (2011), 679-682, 710-715.

64. OIKONOMIDES, *Listes* (1972), 121 and 315.

<i>Present location:</i>	France: Paris, IFEB 74
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 31 mm      Th: 3 mm      W: 18,58 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Struck slightly off-centre; corroded; oxidized
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Unpublished
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	No known parallels
<i>Obverse:</i>	Theotokos seated on a high-backed throne, holding Christ in front of her; border of dots
<i>Reverse:</i>	<p>ΜΡ - ...</p> <p>Inscription in 6 lines; border of dots</p> <p>[ ] ΘΚΕ.. ΤΩCΨΔ.. ΡΑCΙΑΡΕ... ΚΡΙΤ,ΤΥΡΗ.. ΣΤ,ΑΝΑΤΟ ΙΚ,</p>

Μή(τη)ρ [Θ(εο)ῦ] // Θ(εο)τόκε [β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δ[ούλ(ω)] Βασιλ(εῖω) βέ[στη] κριτ(ῇ) τοῦ βή[λ(ου)] (καὶ) τ(ῶν) Ἀνατο[λ]ικ(ῶν)

Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Βασιλείῳ, βέστη, κριτῇ τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν

### Commentary:

Basileios served also in the *theme* of Paphlagonia with the same title and offices<sup>65</sup>.

The combination of the title of *vestes* with the office of *krites* on this particular seal points to the third quarter of the 11th c. Until the reign of Konstantinos Monomachos (1042-1055) the *kritai* of the *themes* were usually *protospatharioi*, but later on some of them assumed the higher titles of *hypatos*, *anthypatos* (both appearing in the late 1030s<sup>66</sup>) or *patrikios*. After the reign of Michael VI (1056-1057), the devaluation of titles progressed rapidly. By the late 1070s, the title of *vestes* would indeed be too low for a *krites*. Moreover, the *theme* of the Anatolikai was completely overrun by the Seljuks after 1080.

65. *DOSeals* 4 (2001), no. 11.8.

66. The sole title of *ἀνθύπατος* should not be confused with the rank of *ἀνθύπατος πατρικίος* given to *patrikioi* (often not even recorded in written sources which simply mention *πατρικίος*), common between mid 9th c. and the 1030s. This rank disappeared immediately after the emergence of the titles *ὑπατος* and *ἀνθύπατος*. The last dated *anthypatos patrikios* is Theophylaktos Dalassenos, *anthypatos patrikios*, *vestes* and *doux* of Antioch (1032-1034), see J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Les Dalassénoi*, in: ID., *Société byzantine* (2008), v. 2, 413-471, here 419-423; the first dated reference to *patrikios* and *anthypatos* is Leon, *patrikios*, *anthypatos*, *vestes* and *doux* of Antioch (ca. 1037-1040), see *Österreich* II (2004), no. 272. Before that date the title *anthypatos* is never mentioned alone, but always in combination with *patrikios*, as an internal rank (see also the *Taktikon* of Philotheos, in OIKONOMIDES, *Listes* (1972), 141).



### 15. Georgios, vestarches, hypatos and chartoularios of the dromos of the Anatolikai (1060s - 1070s)

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1032/ANAT\_246

Counterpart entry in the *PBW*: not included



*Present location:* France: Paris, IFEB 307

*Measurements:* D (total): 24 mm      Th: 2 mm      W: 8,86 gr

*Technology - State of preservation:* Blank slightly smaller than die; corroded surfaces; oxidized

*Publishing history:* Unpublished<sup>67</sup>

*Parallel specimen(s):* TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): ANAT\_199 (same boulloterion: BL\_1032.1)<sup>68</sup>

*Obverse:* St. Georgios (bust) holding spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand); border of dots  
 .|.|. - .|.|. .

*Reverse:* Inscription in 7 lines (6 surviving); border of dots

.....|ΘΕΙΓ.Ο.|.ΕΣΤΑΡΧ.|.ΠΑΤ,ΣΧΤ|.   
 ΟΝΔΡ,ΜΘ|ΤΩΝΑΝΑ|ΤΟΛΙΚ|[-]

[Ὁ ἄγιος Γεώργιος] // [+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοή]θει Ι[ε]ο[ρ(γίω)] [β]εστάρχ[η] [ὑ]πάτ(ω) (καὶ)   
 χαρτουλαρίω) [τ]οῦ δρο(ό)μου τῶν Ἀνατολικ(ῶν)

Ὁ ἄγιος Γεώργιος. Κύριε βοήθει Γεωργίω, βεστάρχῃ, ὑπάτῳ καὶ χαρτουλαρίῳ τοῦ   
 δρο(ό)μου τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν

67. Studied by PRIGENT, *IFEB* (1994, unpublished), 49-50, no. 9.

68. ANAT\_199 = Unknown present location [see auction *Pecunem* 26 (7 Dec. 2014), no. 902].



**Commentary:**

The combination of office and title suggests a date after the 1050s, when the progressive devaluation of titles allowed a simple chartoularios to receive the high titles mentioned on our specimen.

The office of the chartoularios of the dromos is related to the financial department of the logothesion of the dromos, which was responsible for foreign relations and everything related to the postal service, i.e. maintenance of roads, supply of horses etc. In the *TAKTIKON* database there are 16 seals belonging to 10 different chartoularioi of the dromos of the Anatolikai, covering the period between the middle of the 9th and the late 11th c. Chartoularioi of the dromos are attested also in other *themes* (certainly in the Thrakesioi, the Armeniakoi and the Charsianon). They are perhaps related to state fiscal services (i.e. the *corvées*) responsible for the maintenance of roads and to the so-called *ἐπισκέψεις* that existed in specific *themes*, responsible for the sustenance of the logothesion of the dromos<sup>69</sup>.

*Kibyrraiotai***16. Anonymus (Gregoras?), imperial protospatharios and strategos of the Kibyrraiotai**

(last quarter of the 8th c. – first quarter of the 9th c.)

*TAKTIKON*: PN\_1583/KIB\_56

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ* # 11198



69. On the chartoularioi of the dromos particularly in the Anatolikai, see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), 147; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes* (1972), 312.

<i>Present location:</i>	Greece: Athens, Numismatic Museum K141 (ex A.E. 2555)
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 22,5 mm      Th: 3,8 mm      W: 9,4 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Broken; corroded
<i>Publishing history:</i>	KONSTANTOPOULOS, <i>Molybdoboulla</i> (1917), no. 141 (not illustrated)
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	No known parallels
<i>Obverse:</i>	Cruciform invocative monogram of Κύριε βοήθει (Laurent type VIII) with inscription in the quarters; wreath border  ..Ω - CΩ Δδ - ΛΩ
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 6 lines (5 surviving)  .... ΟΡΑΒ/Α CΠΑΘΑΡΗ.. CΤΡΑΤΗΓ/.. ΩΝΚΥΒΝΡ ..Ω..Ν

(Κύριε βοήθει) [τ]ῷ σῷ δούλῳ // [+ ...]ορα β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπαθαρχί[ω (καὶ)] στρατηγ(ῷ) [τ]ῶν Κυβυρ[ε or ι]ω[τῷ]ν

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ ...ορα, βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῶν Κυβυρραιωτῶν

### Commentary:

Konstantopoulos recorded the total diameter of this seal as 25 mm and read on the reverse “...ογα β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπαθαρίῳ [(καὶ)] στρατηγ(ῷ) τῶν Κυβυρ[α]ιω[τῷ]ν”. The name of the owner is unfortunately not preserved. It is clear that there is enough space for only four letters before the title in the first surviving line. The first letter, which is barely visible, may be a Γ. Thereafter follow the O that Konstantopoulos read, possibly a P and certainly an A. Assuming that a crosslet preceded the name we may reconstruct the first missing line as +ΓΡΗ and thus, reconstruct the name of the owner as Gregoras. A total of 60 strategoi of the Kibyrraiotai have, so far, been included in the *TAKTIKON* database, most of them dating in the 9th and 10th c. The majority of these strategoi (39), like the owner of the specimen under discussion, are attested only on seals, 19 are attested in non-sigillographic sources (one of them is also known from his inscribed golden ring, another one is mentioned only once in an inscription from Italy), while the remaining two strategoi are attested both in sigillographic and non-sigillographic sources. In comparison to the other two *themes* under investigation (Opsikion and Anatoliki), the Kibyrraiotai present the highest percentage of seals of strategoi preserving the name of their owner (about 77%).

## 17. Niketas, imperial spatharios and domestikos of the Kibyrraiotai (850-900)

TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1552/KIB\_65

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ*: not included



*Present location:* Cyprus: Nicosia, Museum of the Pancyprian Gymnasium

A/2208/1053

*Measurements:* D (total): 27,6 mm

Th: 1,41 mm

W: 13,47 gr

*Technology - State of preservation:* Corroded; the obverse is almost totally effaced

*Publishing history:* METCALF, *Cyprus 2* (2014), 190-192; METCALF, *Cyprus 1* (2004), no. 152; *Pancyprian Gymnasium* (2004), no. 132

*Parallel specimen(s):* No known parallels

*Obverse:* Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (a variation of Laurent type V); no inscription in the quarters

*Reverse:* Inscription in 5 lines

NIKITAR|CΠAΘAP|IΩKΔTΩN|KIRVPPEO|TΩN

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) // Νικήτα β(ασιλικῶ) σπαθαρίω κ(αὶ) δ(ομεστίκῳ) τῶν Κιβυρροειτῶν

Θεοτόκε βοήθει Νικήτα, βασιλικῶ σπαθαρίω καὶ δομεστίκῳ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν

### Commentary:

Metcalf notes that the cruciform invocative monogram on the obverse is of the “standard design” of ZV type XLVI = Laurent type V. We would prefer, however, to identify this type of monogram (where the R touches the central Θ) as a variation of Laurent type V, which is rarely met on seals. Despite his original hesitation [*Cyprus 1* (2004)], Metcalf concludes [*Cyprus 2* (2014)] that the quarters of the cruciform invocative monogram are free of the otherwise usual inscription ΤΩ CΩ ΔΘ ΛΩ.

The seal looks provincial in style and its dating is problematic. We believe that it was produced in the 9th c., more specifically during the second half, as indicated by the use of an R instead of a closed B. The *TAKTIKON* database for the Kibyrraiotai includes two more homonymoi military officials, who served, however, as strategoi. The identification of our Niketas with one of them at an earlier stage of his career seems unlikely due to chronological reasons: the first Niketas, imperial protospatharios and strategos is placed in the first half of the 9th c.<sup>70</sup>, while the second Niketas, protospatharios and strategos, is mentioned by Porphyrogennetos in the years 912-913<sup>71</sup>. At this point it is worth mentioning that the Athens Numismatic Museum holds the seal of another Niketas, imperial protospatharios and strategos (9th-10th c.), whose area of jurisdiction is, however, not mentioned<sup>72</sup>.

A very important question arises regarding the interpretation of the letter Δ in the third line of the reverse. In the first edition of this seal [*Cyprus* 1 (2004)], Metcalf suggested that this Δ may stand either for droungarios or dioiketes, himself giving preference to the former<sup>73</sup>. The letter K preceding the Δ was interpreted as the abbreviation for K(AI) (and). In his second edition of the seal, however [*Cyprus* 2 (2014)], Metcalf preferred to read KCAΔ, instead of KΔ, explaining further that the K was mistakenly cut by the engraver, while the letters CΔ offer an abbreviation for the invocation [ΤΩ] C(Ω) Δ(ΣΛΩ) which is missing on the obverse. We believe that this is a rather unsubstantiated view and we would favour the reading of the letter Δ as an abbreviation for domestikos (rather than droungarios) for the following reasons.

70. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1555/KIB\_151 = Germany: Munich, Utpadel collection [unpublished; see WASSILIOU, Beamte 2004, 508, proposing a date in the first half of the 9th c.]. We suspect that the Utpadel specimen is identical to the seal *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1554/KIB\_136 = Unknown present location [see auction *Münz Zentrum* 76 (10-12 Nov. 1993), lot no. 76 (not illustrated)].

71. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1617 [see *PmbZ* # 25741; WASSILIOU, Beamte (2004), 408; SAVVIDES, *Secular Prosopography* (1998), 24-45, no. 42; ID., *Ἡ Ἀττάλεια ὡς ἔδρα τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ ναυτικοῦ θέματος Καρραβησιάνων/Κιβυρραιωτῶν*, *Βυζαντινός Δόμος* 4 (1990), 139-167, here 163].

72. Greece: Athens, Numismatic Museum K214 (ex Σ.Π. 1899-1900 I, 26) [see KONSTANTOPOULOS, *Molybdoboulla* (1917), no. 214, proposing a date in the 9th-10th c.].

73. The editors of the Catalogue of the Pancyprrian Gymnasium Museum opted also for droungarios, but referred to dioiketes as an alternative.

So far, no seals of droungarioi of the Kibyrraiotai are known. An inscription dated in 909-910 from Attaleia mentions a droungarios without specifying his area of jurisdiction<sup>74</sup>. The droungarios of the Korykiotai in the area of the Kibyrraiotai is recorded only for the years 697-698<sup>75</sup>. The droungarioi mentioned in the *De Cerimoniis* by Porphyrogennetos (a work that includes references related to the Cretan expeditions as early as the beginning of the 10th c.), were not in the service of the Kibyrraiotai: only the droungarios of the ploimon, the droungarioi of the *themes* of Charpezikion and of the Thrakesioi and the droungarioi of the Mardaitai of the West are mentioned in the text. There is no droungarios of the Kibyrraiotai in the expeditions to Crete in the first half of the 10th century<sup>76</sup>. Thus, the absence of the droungarioi of the Kibyrraiotai both in the *De Cerimoniis* and the sigillographic record and, moreover, the gradual decrease of the importance of this office in the 9th and 10th c. as attested in the sources<sup>77</sup>, suggest that it is very unlikely that any droungarios of the Kibyrraiotai issued seals in the period in question (850-950) when this post – if still in existence – would have been a rather low and unimportant one. On the other hand, despite the fact that no domestikoi of the Kibyrraiotai are recorded in non-sigillographic sources, the *TAKTIKON* database includes two seals issued by two different domestikoi of the Kibyrraiotai (dated in 775-825 and 800-850, respectively), where the reading of the office leaves no doubt<sup>78</sup>.

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74. See WASSILIOU, Beamte (2004), 410, with references; SAVVIDES, *Secular Prosopography* (1998), no. 44.

75. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1607 [see *PmbZ* # 8483; SAVVIDES, *Secular Prosopography* (1998), no. 3; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world*, London 1973, 259-260].

76. Another question related to the office of the droungarios of the Kibyrraiotai is whether Apsimaros was a droungarios of the Kibyrraiotai or a droungarios of the Korykiotai (located and serving in the *theme* of the Kibyrraiotai), just like the katepano or the droungarioi of the Mardaitai (located and serving in the *theme* of the Kibyrraiotai). This topic will be discussed by P. Charalampakis in a forthcoming study.

77. *ODB*, 663, s.v. droungarios: “In the 911 expedition to Crete, the droungarioi commanded no more than 100 men each, and in 949 the droungarioi figure only slightly higher than the common soldiers in rank and pay”. It is true that the payment of the droungarioi was very low, though a comparison with the common soldiers is, perhaps, an exaggeration. See, however, OIKONOMIDÈS, *Listes* (1972), 63 (*Taktikon Uspenskij*, 842-843); 109, 157 (*Philotheos*, 899).

78. Alexios, imperial strator and domestikos of the Kibyrraiotai, see *TAKTIKON* (ed.

Next to the specimen published here (dated c. 850-900), the *TAKTIKON* database includes one more seal from the Hermitage collection (dated c. 900-950) with the letter Δ, which, on the basis of what has been argued so far, should be also interpreted as a sharp abbreviation for the office of domestikos<sup>79</sup>.

**18. Anonymus, imperial protospatharios and strategos of the Kibyrraiotai (second to third quarter of the 10th c.)**

*TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1585/KIB\_77

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ*: not included



*Present location:* France: Paris, IFEB 464

*Measurements:* D (total): 23 mm W: 6,44 gr

*Technology - State of preservation:* Broken (about one fourth missing)

2015): PN\_1502/KIB\_128 = Unknown present location [see auction *Schenk-Behrens* 79 (17-18 March 2000), no. 344; see also *SBS* 8 (2003), 252 and W. SEIBT in *BZ* 93.2 (2000), 767]; Leon, imperial kandidatos and domestikos of the Kibyrraiotai, see *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1539/KIB\_115 = Unknown present location [see auction *Peus* 376 (29-30 Oct. 2003), no. 1346; auction *Münz Zentrum* 93 (8-9 Jan. 1998), no. 581; auction *Hirsch* 196 (24-27 Sept. 1997), no. 1029; see also *PmbZ* # 4462; *SBS* 10 (2010), 184; WASSILIOU, Beamte (2004), 410; *SBS* 8 (2003), 227]. Further comments on the readings and interpretations of the first two seals will be presented by P. Charalampakis in his article entitled “Towards a sigillographic corpus of the Kibyrraiotai”, in the *TAKTIKON workshop* (forthcoming).

79. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1571/KIB\_160 = Russia: Saint Petersburg, Hermitage M-1441 [unpublished]. This specimen will be published by Elena Stepanova in the *TAKTIKON workshop* (forthcoming).



*Publishing history:* Unpublished<sup>80</sup>

*Parallel specimen(s):* No known parallels

*Obverse:* Patriarchal cross on four steps, flanked by fleurons rising up to the middle of the field; circular inscription  
+ΚΕΡΟΗ.....ΔΟΝ

*Reverse:* Inscription in 5 lines (4 surviving)  
.....|·R· A· ÇΠΑΘ|ΑΡΗΩΣCΤ|ΡΑΤΙΓΤ,ΚΥ|ΡΕΡΙΟΤ,

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοή[θει τῷ σῷ] δούλ(ω) // [.....] β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπαθαρή(ω) (καὶ) στρατιγ(ῶ) τ(ῶν) Κυβερνιοτ(ῶν)

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ ..., βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρή(ω) καὶ στρατιγῶ τῶν Κυβερνιωτῶν

### Commentary:

This is one of the 39 strategoi of the Kibyrraiotai attested only on seals (see above, commentary on no. 16).

### 19. Niketas, imperial spatharokandidatos and chartoularios of the theme of the Kibyrraiotai (second half of the 10th c.)

TAKTIKON: PN\_1551/KIB\_57

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ*: not included



80. Studied by Prigent, *IFEB* (1994, unpublished), 158-159, no. 56.

<i>Present location:</i>	Greece: Athens, Numismatic Museum K142 (ex E.Σ. 13173,93)		
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 25 mm	Th: 1,8 mm	W: 4,78 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Corroded		
<i>Publishing history:</i>	KONSTANTOPOULOS, <i>Molybdoboulla</i> (1917), no. 142 (not illustrated); SCHLUMBERGER, <i>Sceaux</i> (1895), 208-209, no. 18 (not illustrated); SCHLUMBERGER, <i>Sceaux</i> (1889), 253-254, no. 18 (with drawing)		
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	No known parallels		
<i>Obverse:</i>	Griffin; circular inscription; border of dots +K...ΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ*		
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 5 lines; border of dots .NHKHT ΡCΠΑΘ,ΚΑΝ Δ,ΣΧΑΡΤΔΛ ΤΘΕΜΑΤ'Τ ΟΝΚΥΡΕ.		

+ Κ[ύρι]ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // [+] Νηγήτ(α) βασιλικῷ σπαθα(αρο)κανδ(ιδάτῳ) (καὶ) χαρτουλ(αρίῳ) τοῦ θέματ(ος) τον Κυβε[ρ](εωτῶν or ιωτῶν or ιοτῶν)]

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικήτα, βασιλικῷ σπαθαροκανδιδάτῳ καὶ χαρτουλαρίῳ τοῦ θέματος τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν

### Commentary:

Konstantopoulos interpreted the animal on the obverse of this seal as the Lion of St. Mark the Evangelist, but there is no doubt that what is depicted here is, in fact, a griffin<sup>81</sup>. Although there are several types of griffin, this one looks stylistically very close to the griffin decorating the seal of Anthes, epoptes of the Armeniakoi (second half of the 10th c.)<sup>82</sup>. Schlumberger and Konstantopoulos read a P at the end of the 5th line. This letter, if it ever existed, is not visible today, while the symmetry of the inscription does not allow, in our opinion, enough space for the engraving of yet another letter in this place. The close inspection of this specimen at the Athens Numismatic Museum indicates that Schlumberger's drawing of the obverse is not very accurate.

This official is, in fact, one of the seven known chartoularioi of the Kibyrraiotai (all of them attested on seals) recorded in the TAKTIKON database, so far. The dating of their seals, however, spans a long period, from c. 820 to c. 1050<sup>83</sup>.

81. About the symbol of the griffin on lead seals in the 10th c., see PENNA, *Parastaseis* (2014), 278, note 21.

82. ZACOS (1984), no. 911, proposing a date in the first half of the 10th c., but we would prefer a slightly later date.

83. One of these officials, a chartoularios and anagrapheus of the Kibyrraiotai, is

The specimen under examination belongs to a very interesting group of seals, all dated within the second half of the 10th c., whose legends bear the word “*thema*”. The *TAKTIKON* database includes two more similar examples, both from the Kibyrraiotai, while six more similar specimens are known from Opsikion, Hellas, the Thrakesioi and Paphlagonia:

- Stephanos, imperial protospatharios epi ton oikeiakon and anagrapheus of the *theme* of Opsikion<sup>84</sup>;
- Christophoros, imperial klerikos and kouboukleisios and exarchos of the *themes* of the Anatolikai and of the Kibyrraiotai<sup>85</sup>;
- Bardanios, imperial spatharios and domestikos of the *theme* of the Kibyrraiotai<sup>86</sup>;
- Euphemianos, imperial strator and chartoularios of the *theme* of Hellas<sup>87</sup>;
- Ioseph, imperial vestitor and abydikos and kommerkiarios of Thessalonike, of the West and of the *theme* of Hellas<sup>88</sup>;
- Theophilos, imperial spatharios and protonotarios of the *theme* of Hellas<sup>89</sup>;
- Stephanos..., imperial protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou and epoptes of the *theme* of the Thrakesioi<sup>90</sup>;
- Michael Monokarites, protospatharios and chartoularios of the *theme* of Paphlagonia<sup>91</sup>.

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known from two seals at the Hermitage which will be published by Elena Stepanova in the *TAKTIKON workshop* (forthcoming).

84. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_597/OPS\_116 = France: Étampes, Private collection N. Thierry [1968 n. 1] 93 [to be published by J.-Cl. Cheynet in the *TAKTIKON workshop* (forthcoming)].

85. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1018/KIB\_122 = Switzerland: Geneva MAH, CdN 2004-507 [see ZACOS (1984), no. 797bis; CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and CHEYNET, *Sceaux Zacos* (2016), no. 292].

86. See above, note 79.

87. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_28/HELLAS\_5 = USA: Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1955.1.1438 [see *DOSeals* 2 (1994), no. 8.5].

88. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_55/HELLAS\_52 = USA: Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1958.106.3731 [see *DOSeals* 2 (1994), no. 8.30].

89. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_127/HELLAS\_61 = USA: Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1958.106.1333 [see *DOSeals* 2 (1994), no. 8.38].

90. USA: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Arthur M. Sackler Museum BZS 1951.31.5.383 (ex T. Whittemore collection) [see *DOSeals* 3 (1996), no. 2.10].

91. USA: Washington, D.C., DO BZS.1958.106.5084 [see *DOSeals* 4 (2001), no. 11.3].

John Haldon has already argued that the *themes* were created over a long period of time and that they did not take their final form but after the reforms carried out by Nikephoros I in the early 9th c., while the term *thema* was actually adopted even later. Byzantine authors used other terms to describe the early *themata* (e.g. *strategiai*) and Theophanes' use of the term *themata* is an anachronism<sup>92</sup>. This interesting theory may need further corroboration, but at least as far as seals are concerned, it is indeed worth noting that the term *thema* is actually met only in the legends of seals struck during the second half of the 10th c.

While discussing seals featuring the word *thema* in their legends, it is important to comment on the unpublished notes of N. P. Likhachev concerning the inscription of a specimen from the Hermitage, which is dated around 800-850<sup>93</sup>. In the fourth line of the reverse of this specimen Likhachev read the letters T,ΘEM, which he interpreted as τ(οῦ) θεμ(ατος). Close inspection of this specimen, however, convinced us that the legend on the reverse actually reads [.....] / ω β(ασιλικῶ) σπαθ(αρο)κ[α] / νδ(ιδάτω) (καὶ) στρατη / γδ{ω} τῶν Κιβ / [υ]ρρ<α>ιωτόν (Lord or Theotokos, aid your servant ..., imperial spatharokandidatos and strategos of the Kibyrraiotai).

## 20. Anonymus, imperial protospatharios and strategos of the Kibyrraiotai (second half of the 10th c.–first quarters of the 11th c.)

TAKTIKON: PN\_1586/KIB\_78

Counterpart entry in the *PmbZ* and/or the *PBW*: not included



92. BRUBAKER and HALDON, *Iconoclast Era* (2011), 679-682, 710-715, 744-755, 764.

93. TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): PN\_1590/KIB\_108 = Russia: Saint Petersburg, Hermitage M-7034 [see SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* (1884), 263, no. 6]. We would like to express our gratitude to Dr. Elena Stepanova for kindly presenting Likhachev's notes to us.

<i>Present location:</i>	France: Paris, IFEB 1099	
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 19 mm	W: 6,21 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Blank smaller than die: broken; corroded	
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Unpublished <sup>94</sup>	
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	No known parallels	
<i>Obverse:</i>	Patriarchal cross with X at the intersection of the arms and large pellets at the extremities of all arms, on (one visible) step, flanked by fleurons rising to the upper horizontal arm	
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 6 lines (4 surviving) ..... ..ÇΠΑΘ ..CTPA. ..ΩΤΩΝ ...VPP ..... [+ K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δοῦλ(ω)] // [..... β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)]σπαθ[α(ρίω) (καί)] στρα[τηγ] ῶ τῶν [Κιβ]υρρ[εωτῶν] Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δοῦλῳ ..., βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν	

### Commentary:

According to Prigent, this official's name should be reconstructed as Leon. However, as the legend's first line is entirely missing, far more solutions are possible. No parallel or similar specimens are known, so far. This is another one of the 39 strategoi of the Kibyrraiotai attested only on seals (see above, commentary on no. 16).

### 21. Ioannes Artabasdos, vestes, hypatos, krites of the velon and of the Kibyrraiotai (1050-1080)

TAKTIKON: PN\_136/KIB\_150

Counterpart entry in the *PBW* (consulted in 17.ix.2015) Ioannes 20651 (identical to Anonymus 20185)



94. Studied by Prigent, *IFEB* (1994, unpublished), 160, no. 58.

<i>Present location:</i>	France: Paris, IFEB 180
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 23 mm    Th: 4 mm    W: 12,65 gr
<i>Technology – State of preservation:</i>	Chipped; corroded
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Unpublished <sup>95</sup>
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): KIB_54; KIB_60; KIB_109; KIB_49 (all of the same boulloterion: BL_136.1) <sup>96</sup>
<i>Obverse:</i>	St. Nikolaos (bust); border of dots .. .. .. - .. .. C
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 7 lines (6 surviving) ... ..... ..REC.. ..ΠΑΤΩΚΡΙ .ΨΡΗΛ,ΣΤΩ. KIR : VPPAI .ΤΩΝΤΩΑΡ.Τ, * ΡΑÇΑ*

[Ο ἅγιος] [Νικ(ό)λαος] // [+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννη)] βέσ[τη] ὑ]πάτω κρι[τ(η)] τοῦ βήλ(ου) (καὶ) τῶ[ν] Κιβυρραι[ω]τῶν τῶ Ἀρτ(α)βάσδ(ω)

Ὁ ἅγιος Νικόλαος. Κύριε βοήθει Ἰωάννη, βέστη, ὑπάτω κριτῇ τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν τῶ Ἀρταβάσδω

### Commentary:

In the edition of its parallel specimen from the Athens Numismatic Museum (KIB\_60), the name of the owner was read as Georgios (instead of Ioannes), resulting to the superfluous (and erroneous) entry of Georgios Artabasdos in the Secular Prosopography by Savvides<sup>97</sup>. Apart from the similarities on the obverse and reverse leading to the identification of a common boulloterion for all the above mentioned seals, we should point out that the reading of the name Ioannes is possible thanks to the BnF Zacos 126 and the Hermitage M-6896 specimens. Moreover, the identification of Saint Nikolaos on the obverse is beyond doubt thanks to the Hermitage specimens (M-6896 and

95. Studied by PRIGENT, *IFEB* (1994, unpublished), 157-158, no. 55

96. KIB\_54 = France: Paris, BnF Zacos 126 [unpublished]; KIB\_60 = Greece: Athens, Numismatic Museum, Orphanides-Nikolaides collection 553 [see KOLTSIDA-MAKRE, *Molybdoboulla* (1996), no. 31; see also *SBS* 8 (2003), 199; SEIBT - WASSILIOU, Review of KOLTSIDA-MAKRE, *Molybdoboulla*, in *BZ* 91 (1998), 146; CHEYNET, Review of KOLTSIDA-MAKRE, *Molybdoboulla*, in *REB* 56 (1998), 309]; KIB\_109 = Russia: Saint Petersburg, Hermitage M-2128 (ex RAIK collection) [unpublished]; KIB\_49 = Russia: Saint-Petersburg, Hermitage M-6896 (ex Schlumberger collection) [see SHANDROVSKAJA, *Sfragistika* (1977), no. 714; SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* (1884), 262, no. 2 and 623, no. 2; see also *SBS* 5 (1998), 143].

97. SAVVIDES, *Secular Prosopography* (1998), nos. 59 and 82. Cf., however, WASSILIOU, Beamte (2004), 412.



M-2128). Where the saint's effigy, as well as the accompanying legend, are far better preserved.

Ioannes Artabasdos, krites of the Kibyrraiotai is not attested elsewhere. We are convinced, however, that he should be identified with the Anonymus Artabasdos, magistros, krites of the velon and praitor of Peloponnesos and Hellas, whose seal shows also St. Nikolaos on the obverse<sup>98</sup>. On account of this identification, it is most likely that Ioannes Artabasdos served first as krites of the Kibyrraiotai, around 1050-1060, and later (around 1060-1080, but perhaps not later than 1070 or 1075) as praitor of Peloponnesos and Hellas.

The *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015) database includes 24 kritai and one praitor of the Kibyrraiotai (on this praitor, see below our no. 22). Only two of the kritai are placed in the second half of the 10th c., five are dated in the first half of the 11th c., another five in the period covering the first and second half of the 11th c. and the last twelve in the second half of the 11th c. It is worth mentioning here that it is not possible to offer a *terminus ante quem* for the last known kritai of the Kibyrraiotai, since we do not know if and when Attaleia fell to the Seljuks (actually there is absolutely no historical evidence for this). The latest officials of the Kibyrraiotai are usually placed around 1070 or 1080 and it has been argued that Attaleia was not in Byzantine hands from 1081 to 1098<sup>99</sup>. However, the mention of a doux of the Kibyrraiotai around the middle of the 12th c. indicates that a certain part of the area previously belonging to the *theme* (certainly the coastline) was still under Byzantine rule at that time<sup>100</sup>. This is further corroborated by Anna Komnene's testimony on the campaign of Boutoumites in

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98. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_136/HELLAS\_54 = USA: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Arthur M. Sackler Museum BZS 1951.31.5.405 (ex T. Whittemore collection) [see *DOSeals* 2 (1994), no. 8.32].

99. D. PITCHER, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, 27 (chronological table), wrote that Attaleia was in Seljuk hands from 1081 and in Byzantine hands again from 1098. These dates are not rejected or questioned by A. SAVVIDES, Ἀττάλεια 11ος-ἀρχὴς 14ου αἰ.: ἡ μετάβαση ἀπὸ τὴ χριστιανικὴ στὴ μουσουλμανικὴ ἐξουσία, *Βυζαντινὸς Δόμος* 3 (1989), 121-126, mainly 122-123.

100. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): PN\_1599 = *Jus Graecoromanum*, ed. J. & P. ZEPOS, vols. 1-8, Athens 1931, 375; F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der kaiserurkunden des ostromischen Reiches 565-1453*, v. 2, Munich 1995, no. 1369.

the area in the year 1103 or 1105<sup>101</sup>. Does this, however, prove that the Kibyrraiotai existed still as a *theme* at that time or does it simply shows that the Byzantine dominion in the area was continuous even after 1098 and until the final fall (1207)? Due to the silence of the primary sources and the insufficiency of the sigillographic material, these questions have to remain open.

## 22. Christophoros Radenos, magistros, vestarches and praitor of the Kibyrraiotai (1060-1080)

TAKTIKON: PN\_1020/KIB\_84

Counterpart entry in the *PBW* (consulted in 17.ix.2015) Christophoros 20115; 20131



<i>Present location:</i>	Germany: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 722 (ex M.-L. Zarnitz collection)		
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 26 mm	D (field): 25 mm	W: 16,89 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Blank slightly smaller than die; good condition		
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Auction <i>Münz Zentrum</i> 90 (14-16 May 1997), no. 1052 (not sold) (with illustration); see also <i>SBS</i> 8 (2003), 234		

101. Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. D. REINSCH – A. KAMBYLIS, Berlin-New York 2001, 349, 11.9.2-3.

*Parallel specimen(s):* TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): KIB\_119; KIB\_126 (from the same *boulloterion*: BL\_1020.2) and TAKTIKON (ed. 2015): KIB\_48; KIB\_90 (from a different *boulloterion*: BL\_1020.1)<sup>102</sup>

*Obverse:* St. Nikolaos (bust), blessing and holding the Holy Gospel

.|.|. - Θ|Λ|ΑΟ|C

*Reverse:* Inscription in 8 lines (7 surviving)

+ΚΕΡΗ.ΤΩCΩΔΗ.ΧΡΙCΤΟΦΟ.ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩΡ.CΤΑΡΧCΠΡΑ.Τ,ΡΙΤ,ΝΚ  
ΙΡ.ΑΙΩΤΩΝ. ....

[Ὁ ἅγιος Ν]ι[κ(ό)]{³}λαος // + Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)ή[θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δοῦ[λ(ω)] Χριστοφό[ρ(ω)]  
μαγίστρω β[ε]στάρχ(η) (καὶ) πρ[α]ί[τ(ο)ρι] τ(ῶ)ν Κιβ[υρ]αιωτῶν [τ(ῶ)ν] Ῥαδ(η)νῶ]

Ὁ ἅγιος Νικόλαος. Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δοῦλῳ Χριστοφόρῳ, μαγίστρῳ, βεστάρχῃ καὶ  
πραΐτορι τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν τῷ Ῥαδηνῶ

### Commentary:

On the obverse, just above the letter Λ there is a mark resembling the letter Θ or Ψ facing downwards and to the left; we assume that this is most probably to be interpreted as a mistake by the cutter of the *boulloterion*<sup>103</sup>.

Wassiliou and Seibt state that the specimen from the auction *Gorny 87* is the same with the seal in the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich and that the seal presented in the auction *Münz Zentrum 90* is another specimen<sup>104</sup>. However, close inspection of the photos of the relevant seals immediately shows that the specimen presented in the auction *Münz Zentrum 90* and

102. KIB\_48 = Russia: Saint Petersburg, Hermitage M-2238 (ex RAIK collection) [Shandrovskaja, Sfragistika (1977), no. 835; V. S. SHANDROVSKAJA, *Vizantijskie pečati v sobranii Ermitazha (na vystavke Iskusstvo Vizantii iz sobranii Sovetskogo Sojuza)*, Leningrad 1975, 11, 24, no. 24; see also *SBS* 5 (1998), 119, 156]; KIB\_90 = France: Paris, BnF Zacos 3412 [see ZACOS (1984), no. 400]; KIB\_119 = Unknown present location [see auction *Classical Numismatic Group* 76 (12 Sept. 2007), no. 1694 (sold); auction *Münz Zentrum* 101 (15-18 Dec. 1999), no. 573 (not sold). In the *SBS* 8 (2003), 252 it is recorded that the same specimen appeared in the auction *Schenk-Behrens* (7 June 2001), no. 324 (with no catalogue number), but it was impossible to identify this auction and we assume that this is most probably an erroneous reference]; KIB\_126 = Greece: Lesbos, Private collection S. Kophopoulos [see auction *Gorny & Mosch* 156 (5 March 2007), no. 2536 (sold); auction *Gorny 87* (2 March 1998), no. 849 (sold); see also Y. NIKOLAOU, Lead seals from the S. Kofopoulos collection, *SBS* 11 (2012), 119-123, here 122; *Österreich II* (2004), 45, note 123; *SBS* 8 (2003), 219].

103. It does not look to us as a scratch or damage, the seal does not appear to be double-struck and there are no signs of a circular inscription along the border.

104. *Österreich II* (2004), 45, note 134.

the specimen in the Munich collection are one and the same (in fact, it was M.-L. Zarnitz who bought it from *Münz Zentrum* and later donated it to the Munich collection). The seal presented in the *Gorny 87* sale is another specimen, coming however from the same boulloterion as the one in Munich.

Christophoros Radenos, the only known praitor of the Kibyrraiotai, so far<sup>105</sup>, was the brother of Michael, a student and close friend of Michael Psellos<sup>106</sup>. A fair number of seals allow us to reconstruct part of his career as follows: Career stage I: vestarches, krites of the hippodrome and of the Thrakesioi<sup>107</sup>. Career stage II: magistros, vestarches and praitor of the Kibyrraiotai (our specimen). Career stage III: magistros, vestarches, megas chartoularios and praitor of the Kibyrraiotai<sup>108</sup>. Career stage IV: magistros, krites of the velon, chartoularios of the genikon and chartoularios of the dromos of the Anatolikoï<sup>109</sup>.

### **23. Leon Tzikandeles, proedros and strategos of the Kibyrraiotai (1065-1080)**

*TAKTIKON*: PN\_1540/KIB\_121

Counterpart entry in the *PBW*: not included

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105. On the office of praitor, see above our commentary of no. 6.

106. See CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and CHEYNET, *Sceaux Zacos* (2016), no. 61.

107. See auction *Pecunem* 29 (1 March 2015), no. 752.

108. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): KIB\_120 = Russia: Saint-Petersburg, Hermitage M-5706 (ex Schlumberger collection) [see SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* (1884), 262-263, no. 5]; KIB\_127 = Switzerland: Geneva MAH, CdN 2004-288 (ex Zacos collection) [CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and CHEYNET, *Sceaux Zacos* (2016), no. 129]. In his publication of the Hermitage specimen, Schlumberger read the name as Heliodoros. See also SAVVIDES, *Secular Prosopography* (1998), no. 72 (following Schlumberger's erroneous reading). The name was correctly read by WASSILIOU, Beamte (2004), 412.

109. *TAKTIKON* (ed. 2015): ANAT\_201 = Switzerland: Geneva MAH, CdN 2004-173 (ex Zacos collection) [CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and CHEYNET, *Sceaux Zacos* (2016), no. 104]; ANAT\_230 = ex Robert Hecht Jr. collection 136 [see J. NESBITT et al., *Highlights from the Robert Hecht Jr. collection of Byzantine seals*, Thessaloniki 2009, no. 8; auction *Triton XI* (2008), no. 1152].



*Present location:* UK: Birmingham, Barber Institute SL034 (ex 0179B)

*Measurements:* D (total): 23 mm D (field): 20 mm

*Technology - State of preservation:* Blank smaller than die; few traces of corrosion

*Publishing history:* Unpublished<sup>110</sup>

*Parallel specimen(s):* No known parallels

*Obverse:* Theotokos Episkepsis (bust); border of dots  
M-P - Θ.

*Reverse:* Inscription in 9 lines  
[- · - ]|+ΘΚΕΡΘ|ΤΩCΩΔΗΛ|ΛΕΟΝΤΠΡΟ|ΕΔΡΟΣΤΡΑ|Τ,ΓΩΤΩ  
ΝΚΥ|ΡΥΡΑΙΩΤΩΝ|ΤΩΤΖΕΙ|ΚΑΝΔΕΙ|Λ.

Μή(τη)ρ Θ[(εο)ῦ] // + Θ(εο)τό(κ)ε βο(ο)ή(θ)ει τῷ σῷ δο(ύ)λ(ω) Λέοντ(ι) προέδρ(ω) (καὶ) στρατ(η)γῷ τῶν Κυβεραιωτῶν τῷ Τζικανδεῖ[η]

Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δοῦλῳ Λέοντι, προέδρῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῶν Κυβερραιωτῶν τῷ Τζικανδήλῃ

110. Studied by A. DUNN, *A provisional catalogue of the lead seals in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts*, MA diss., University of Birmingham 1977 (unpublished), no. 0179B. See also J.-Cl. CHEYNET and C. MORRISON, *Lieux de trouvaille et circulation des sceaux*, in: CHEYNET, *Société byzantine* (2008), v. 1, 85-112, here 103; WASSILIOU, *Beamte* (2004), 409; SAVVIDES, *Secular Prosopography* (1998), no. 66.

### Commentary:

We gave preference to the middle Byzantine - original - form of the last name as Tzikandeles, rather than Tzykandeles, since the latter was in use mostly in the Palaiologan era<sup>111</sup>.

In a dedicatory marginal note of the cod. Par. Gr. 1711 (f. 393v) there is a reference to a certain Leon Tzikandeles, proedros and doux of the Kibyrraiotai<sup>112</sup>. Cheynet proposed to identify this Leon with the owner of our specimen, an identification that would confirm further the administrative reform from strategos to doux<sup>113</sup>. Certain references in scholarly literature seem to adopt the idea that Attaleia fell to the Seljuks in ca. 1070-1080, using thus, this date as a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of all the known seals of the Kibyrraiotai. This, however, is far from certain (see above, our commentary of no. 21).

Another Leon Tzikandeles, sebastos, is mentioned in one of the poems by Theodoros Prodromos (of the first half of the 12th c.) as the husband of Anna Komnene (not the princess though)<sup>114</sup>. This Leon cannot be identified with the homonymous owner of our specimen, but may have been one of his descendants (nephew or grandson).

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111. About the original form of this name, see E. TRAPP, *Die Etymologie des Namens Tzikandeles*, *JÖB* 22 (1973), 233. See also *PBW* (consulted in 22.ix.2015): Basileios 17001; Goudelios 20102; Leon 25001 and cf. *SBS* 4 (1995), 66; 6 (1999), 138, 154; 7 (2002), 41. Also, *PLP* nos. 27932, 28123-28131, 28133.

112. *Anastasii Bibliothecarii Historia Tripartita*, *Theophanes*, ed. C. DE BOOR, vol. 2, Leipzig 1885, 31-346, here 378; F. HIRSCH, *Byzantinische Studien*, Leipzig 1876, 90-91; also the note by Tafel in *Theodosii Meliteni Chronographia*, ed. Th. TAFEL, Munich 1859, v.

113. CHEYNET, *Du stratège au duc* (1985), 190, where he proposes to date this specimen between 1065 and 1080. Cheynet also notes (*ibid.*, note 61) that Leon Tzikandeles is contemporary to the magistros Kalos Tourmarchopoulos, also mentioned in the same marginal note cited above (see previous footnote 112). We believe, however, that this is not the case since the content of the marginal note clearly associates the latter with the year 1124. It seems therefore that Leon Tzikandeles must have been one of the earlier owners of the manuscript, which at some point came to the possession of Kalos Tourmarchopoulos, most probably the author of the marginal note in question.

114. *PBW* (consulted in 22.ix.2015): Leon 25001. On Anna Komnene, see K. VARZOS, *Ἡ Γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, v. 1, Thessaloniki 1984, 664, note 10.



## APPENDIX

The following unpublished seal is not a *thematic* one (which explains why it does not have a *TAKTIKON* PN or OPS number). We have included it in this study, however, because the last name of its owner is etymologically linked to *theme* of Opsikion.

**Ioannes the Opsikianos (second half of the 11th century/early 12th c.)**

Counterpart entry in the *PBW*: not included



<i>Present location:</i>	Germany: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 87		
<i>Measurements:</i>	D (total): 20 mm	D (field): 12 mm	W: 4,82 gr
<i>Technology - State of preservation:</i>	Blank larger than die; chipped and corroded		
<i>Publishing history:</i>	Unpublished		
<i>Parallel specimen(s):</i>	No known parallels		
<i>Obverse:</i>	Theotokos Episkepsis (bust); border of dots .. - ΘΥ		
<i>Reverse:</i>	Inscription in 8 lines (7 surviving) ΘΞΕ.ΟΗ ΘΕΙΙΩΤΩ ΟΨΗΚΗΑΝ Ω		

[Μή(τη)ρ] Θε(ο)ῦ // Θε(ο)τόκε βοήθει Ἰω(άννη) τῷ Ὀψικηανῷ

Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. Θεοτόκε βοήθει Ἰωάννη τῷ Ὀψικιανῷ

### Commentary:

Ioannes Opsikianos is not known from other sources. His last name belongs to the large category of family names which indicate a place of origin, i.e. a *theme* (as in our case), a city, a village, a castle, a monastery, etc. Our Ioannes is perhaps an émigré (or one of his descendants), surnamed by his place of origin as soon as he found himself among the inhabitants of another *theme*<sup>115</sup>. For other similar examples one may refer to the Byzantine family names of Ἀνατολικὸς, Κιβυρραϊώτης, Θρακήσιος or Καππαδόκης<sup>116</sup>. More Opsikianoι are known only from later documentary sources<sup>117</sup>.

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115. M. TRIANTAFYLIDIS, *Τα οικογενειακά μας ονόματα*, Thessaloniki 1995, 24 and 26 on the ending -ianos in family names denoting the place of origin.

116. See the relevant entries in the *PBW* online.

117. See e.g. *Actes de Lavra. II. De 1204 à 1328*, ed. P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, D. PAPACHRYSANTHOU (Archives de l'Athos VIII), Paris 1977, 84 (a landowner in Chalkidike in ca. 1300).



Table I: Themes in Asia Minor in the 7th c. (after ODB, vol. 3, 2034)



Table II: The front page of the online TAKTIKON

**Table III.**  
**Concordance table of the seals treated in this article**  
**arranged by collection**

Collection	TAKTIKON seal no.	Number in the present article
CYPRUS: Nicosia		
Museum of the Pancyprian Gymnasium A/2208/1053	KIB_065	17
FRANCE: Paris		
IFEB 74	ANAT_244	14
IFEB 180	KIB_150	21
IFEB 291	ANAT_245	11a
IFEB 307	ANAT_246	15
IFEB 369	OPS_193	5
IFEB 464	KIB_077	18
IFEB 479	ANAT_233	13
IFEB 1099	KIB_078	20
IFEB 1690	ANAT_247	7
GERMANY: Munich		
Staatliche Münzsammlung 13	ANAT_195	9
Staatliche Münzsammlung 87		Appendix
Staatliche Münzsammlung 689	OPS_169	3
Staatliche Münzsammlung 713	ANAT_194	12
Staatliche Münzsammlung 722	KIB_084	22
GREECE: Athens		
Numismatic Museum K122β	OPS_146	2
Numismatic Museum K122γ	OPS_147	4
Numismatic Museum K141	KIB_056	16
Numismatic Museum K142	KIB_057	19
Numismatic Museum K146	ANAT_119	10
Numismatic Museum K146α	ANAT_139	8
Numismatic Museum K192	OPS_123	1
NETHERLANDS: Hasselt		
Boersema collection	ANAT_280	11b
UK: Birmingham		
Barber Institute of Fine Arts SL034	KIB_121	23
USA: Washington, D.C.		
Dumbarton Oaks, BZS1955.1.2909	OPS_039	6

### **Bibliographic abbreviations**

**Asia Minor (1998)** = *Η Μικρά Ασία των θεμάτων: Έρευνες πάνω στην γεωγραφική φυσιογνωμία και προσωπογραφία των βυζαντινών θεμάτων της Μικράς Ασίας (7ος-11ος αι.)* (= *Asia Minor and its themes: Studies on the geography and prosopography of the byzantine themes of Asia Minor (7th-11th century)*), ed. V. VLYSSIDOU et al., Athens 1998. Reviewed by H. FRIEDRICH and A. K. WASSILIOU, *JÖB* 52 (2002), 383-387.

**CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and CHEYNET, *Sceaux Zacos* (2016)** = M. CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU and J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Sceaux de la Collection George Zacos au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève*, Milan 2016.

**CHEYNET and THEODORIDIS, *Collection Theodoridis* (2010)** = J.-Cl. CHEYNET and D. THEODORIDIS, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection D. Theodoridis: Les sceaux patronymiques*, Paris 2010. Reviewed by A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *BZ* 104/2 (2011), 748-750 and W. SEIBT, *JÖB* 62 (2012), 297-298.

**CHEYNET, *Du stratège au duc* (1985)** = J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Du stratège de thème au duc: chronologie de l'évolution au cours du XIe siècle*, in: ID., *The Byzantine Aristocracy and its Military Function*, Variorum, Aldershot 2006, no. XI (181-194).

**CHEYNET, *Sceaux Phocas* (2008)** = J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Liste des sceaux pouvant être attribués aux Phocas et à leurs proches*, in: ID., *Société byzantine* (2008), v. 2, 499-509.

**CHEYNET, *Société byzantine* (2008)** = J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *La société byzantine. L'apport des sceaux*, vols. 1-2, Paris 2008.

**DOSeals 2 (1994)** = J. NESBITT – N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art*, v. 2: *South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor*, Washington, D.C. 1994. Reviewed by W. SEIBT, *BZ* 90 (1997), 461-464.

**DOSeals 3 (1996)** = J. NESBITT – N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art*, v. 3: *West, Northwest and Central Asia Minor and the Orient*, Washington, D.C. 1996. Reviewed by W. SEIBT, *BZ* 92.2 (1999), 538-541; A.-K. WASSILIOU, *JÖB* 49 (1999), 380-382.

**DOSeals 4 (2001)** = E. McGEER – J. NESBITT – N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art*, v. 4: *The East*, Washington, D.C. 2001. Reviewed by W. SEIBT, *BZ* 96.2 (2003), 748-752.

**GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER, Administration (1960)** = H. GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER, Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantine aux IXe-XIe siècles, *BCH LXXXIV* (1960), 1-109.

**KOLTSIDA-MAKRE, Molybdoboulla (1996)** = I. KOLTSIDA-MAKRE, Βυζαντινά μολυβδόβουλλα συλλογής Ορφανίδη-Νικολαΐδη Νομισματικού Μουσείου Αθηνών, Athens 1996. Reviewed by W. SEIBT and A.-K. WASSILIOU, *BZ* 91.1 (1998), 146-150; J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *REB* 56 (1998), 308-309.

**KONSTANTOPOULOS, Molybdoboulla (1917)** = K. M. KONSTANTOPOULOS, Βυζαντιακά μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου, Athens 1917 [repr. from K. M. KONSTANTOPOULOS, Βυζαντιακά μολυβδόβουλλα, *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* 5 (1902), 149-164, nos. 1-52 and 189-228, nos. 53-185; 6 (1903), 49-88, nos. 186-340 and 333-364, nos. 341-479; 7 (1904), 161-176, nos. 480-550 and 255-310, nos. 551-774; 8 (1905), 53-102, nos. 775-1057 and 195-222, nos. 1058-1199; 9 (1906), 61-146, nos. 1a-702d; 10 (1907), 47-112, nos. 703a-1257 and indices].

**METCALF, Cyprus 1 (2004)** = M. D. METCALF, *Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus*, Nicosia 2004.

**METCALF, Cyprus 2 (2014)** = M. D. METCALF, *Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus*, vol. 2, Nicosia 2014.

**OIKONOMIDÈS, Organisation administrative (1976)** = N. OIKONOMIDÈS, L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle (1025-1118), *TM* 6 (1976), 125-152.

**OIKONOMIDÈS, Listes (1972)** = N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*, Paris 1972.

**Österreich I (1978)** = W. SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich I*. Teil, Kaiserhof, Vienna 1978. Reviewed by V. S. SHANDROVSKAJA – I. V. SOKOLOVA, *BSI* 41/2 (1980), 251-255.

**Österreich II (2004)** = W. SEIBT – A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*. 2. Teil, Zentral- und Provinzialverwaltung, Vienna 2004. Reviewed by O. KARAGIORGOU, *BZ* 99.2 (2006), 694-702.

**Pancyprian Gymnasium (2004)** = Νομισματικόν Μουσείον Παγκυπρίου Γυμνασίου. Συλλογή αρχαίων νομισμάτων, μολυβδοβούλλων και ειδών μικροτεχνίας, Nicosia 2004.

**PBW** = M. JEFFREYS et al., *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (2011), available at <http://pbw.kcl.ac.uk>



**PENNA, Parastaseis (2014)** = V. PENNA, Μη θρησκευτικές παραστάσεις σε βυζαντινές μολύβδινες σφραγίδες (10ος αιώνας): καταβολές και ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις, in: *Η πρόσληψη της Αρχαιότητας στο Βυζάντιο, κυρίως κατά τους Παλαιολόγειους χρόνους, Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου* (Σπάρτη 3-5 Νοεμβρίου 2012), ed. G. XANTHAKI-KARAMANOU, Athens 2014, 275-303.

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### **Abbreviations of auction houses**

***Classical Numismatic Group*** = Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, PA and London

***Gorny*** = see *Gorny & Mosch*

***Gorny & Mosch*** = Gorny & Mosch, Giessener Münzhandlung, Munich

***Hirsch*** = Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich

***Münz Zentrum*** = Münz Zentrum Albrecht & Hoffmann GmbH, bzw. Heinz W. Müller, Cologne and Sollingen

***Pecunem*** = Online auction platform by Gitbud & Naumann Münzhandlung GmbH, Munich

***Peus*** = Busso Peus, Frankfurt

***Roma*** = Roma Numismatics Limited, London

***Schenk-Behrens*** = Karla W. Schenk-Behrens Nachfolger

***Spink*** = Spink and Son, London

***Triton*** = Auctions conducted by the Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, PA and London

ΚΡΑΤΙΚΟΙ ΑΞΙΩΜΑΤΟΥΧΟΙ ΣΤΑ ΘΕΜΑΤΑ ΟΨΙΚΙΟΥ, ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ  
ΚΙΒΥΡΡΑΙΩΤΩΝ: Η ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΦΡΑΓΙΔΩΝ

Το ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα «Προς μία θεσμική και κοινωνική ιστορία της Μικράς Ασίας βάσει των σφραγίδων και άλλων πηγών (7ος-13ος αι.)» (ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑ ΙΙ-4492) υλοποιήθηκε στο Κέντρο Έρευνας της Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Τέχνης της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών (Φεβρουάριος 2014 – Οκτώβριος 2015) με συγχρηματοδότηση από το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινωνικό Ταμείο και το Ελληνικό Δημόσιο (ΕΣΠΑ 2007-2013).

Σκοπός του προγράμματος ήταν να εξεταστεί εκ νέου η θεσμική και κοινωνική ιστορία της βυζαντινής Μικράς Ασίας χρησιμοποιώντας ως κύριο ερευνητικό εργαλείο αξιόπιστους και καλά χρονολογημένους καταλόγους όλων των κρατικών αξιωματούχων που έδρασαν σε τρία από τα πρωϊμότερα θέματα της Μικράς Ασίας: Οψίκιο, Ανατολικών και Κιβυρραιωτών. Η σύνταξη αυτών των καταλόγων βασίστηκε στις πληροφορίες που παρέχουν τόσο οι σιγιλλογραφικές (μολυβδόβουλλα), όσο και οι μη-σιγιλλογραφικές πηγές.

Ένα από τα σημαντικότερα αποτελέσματα αυτού του ερευνητικού προγράμματος είναι η δημιουργία μίας διαδικτυακής βάσης δεδομένων που ονομάζεται *TAKTIKON*. Ο ρόλος και το όνομα αυτής της βάσης (*TAKTIKON* με κεφαλαία γράμματα για την απρόσκοπτη ανάγνωση της λέξης τόσο στο ελληνικό όσο και στο λατινικό αλφάβητο) είναι εμπνευσμένα από τα βυζαντινά *τακτικά*, τα εγχειρίδια του αυλικού πρωτοκόλλου που βοηθούσαν τον *ἀτρικλίνη* να τοποθετήσει τους αξιωματούχους στη σωστή θέση κατά τη διάρκεια των επίσημων αυτοκρατορικών δείπνων. Κατ' αναλογία, το *TAKTIKON* στοχεύει στο να βοηθήσει τον σύγχρονο ερευνητή να τοποθετήσει σωστά τους *θεματικούς* αξιωματούχους εντός του διοικητικού συστήματος της Βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας. Αυτό επιτυγχάνεται μέσα από την χρήση των Προσωπογραφικών Καρτελών (που παρουσιάζουν τα στάδια της σταδιοδρομίας κάθε *θεματικού* αξιωματούχου μαζί με τις σχετικές σιγιλλογραφικές και μη-σιγιλλογραφικές μαρτυρίες) και των Καρτελών

Μολυβδοβούλλων (που παρουσιάζουν αναλυτικές πληροφορίες για κάθε ένα από τα μολυβδόβουλλα που αφορούν το πρόγραμμα).

Η ιδιαίτερη συμβολή του *TAKTIKON* έγκειται στο ότι αποτελεί τη μόνη διαδικτυακή βάση που επικεντρώνεται σε μία συγκεκριμένη κοινωνική ομάδα (τους *θεματικούς αξιωματούχους*), προσφέρει στους χρήστες την πολύτιμη εμπειρία του άμεσου ελέγχου όλων των σχετικών πρωτογενών πηγών, υποστηρίζει μία δια-*θεματική* προσέγγιση στις βυζαντινές σπουδές και διευκολύνει αλλαγές ή προσθήκες που είναι πιθανόν να υπαγορεύσει η μελλοντική έρευνα. Επιπλέον, αποτελεί ένα σημαντικό εργαλείο για τη μελέτη της βυζαντινής σφραγιστικής, αφού, λόγω των παραδεδομένων τίτλων των *θεματικών αξιωματούχων* (σε συνδυασμό και με τις σχετικές αναφορές σε άλλες μη-σιγίλλογραφικές πηγές) τα *θεματικά* μολυβδόβουλλα μπορούν να χρονολογηθούν αρκετά συχνά με μεγαλύτερη ακρίβεια και επομένως να οργανωθούν σε μια πιο αυστηρή χρονολογική σειρά. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, ο χρήστης του *TAKTIKON* μπορεί να παρακολουθήσει από κοντά την εξέλιξη (επιγραφική και καλλιτεχνική) των βυζαντινών μολυβδοβούλλων κατά την διάρκεια όλης της περιόδου από τον 7ο μέχρι τον 13ο αι.

Στις πρώτες σελίδες του παρόντος άρθρου παρουσιάζεται ο τρόπος οργάνωσης και προβολής του υλικού στο *TAKTIKON* και στη συνέχεια σχολιάζονται αναλυτικά 23 αδημοσίευτα ή ελλιπώς δημοσιευμένα μολυβδόβουλλα *θεματικών αξιωματούχων*, οι οποίοι άσκησαν τα καθήκοντά τους σε ένα από τα τρία προαναφερθέντα *θέματα*. Στο επίμετρο (appendix) δημοσιεύεται ακόμα ένα, μη-*θεματικό* μολυβδόβουλλο, αυτό του Ιωάννη Οψικιανού (β' μισό 11ου - αρχές 12ου αι.), καθώς το συγκεκριμένο επίθετο συνδέεται ετυμολογικά άμεσα με το *θέμα* Οψικίου. Όλα τα μολυβδόβουλλα στο παρόν άρθρο εντοπίστηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια της υλοποίησης του προγράμματος σε σιγίλλογραφικές συλλογές που βρίσκονται σε επτά διαφορετικές χώρες (Κύπρος, Γαλλία, Γερμανία, Ελλάδα, Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο, Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες Αμερικής, Ολλανδία).