KONSTANTIN PRESLAVSKY UNIVERSITY OF SHUMEN
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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CONTRIBUTION TO BYZANTINE SIGILLOGRAPHY

edited by Ivan Jordanov and Ivo Topalilov

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Introduction

This issue of Studia academica Šumenensia is dedicated to the problems of Medieval sigillography in the Balkans. Sigillography takes a huge part of the Medieval studies and in some cases the seals are the only authentic source that has reached us over the centuries. Hence, their information could be accepted as objective and credible in many aspects. In fact, they are of great importance when studying administrative, political, social life, and even imperial ideology of which the seals acted as a medium. In this issue articles of different type are presented, in some cases new material is published, while in others – a reappraisal of already published ones.

The issue starts with an introductory article by Ivan Jordanov in which a brief overview of the development of Byzantine sigillography is offered. In it a short history and the most important publications in this field are presented and discussed, underlying their place within the development of Byzantine sigillography as a science. A special attention is drawn to the various important modern centers in France, Austria, Russia, Dumbarton Oaks, Bulgaria, etc.

Nikolai Alekseenko's article presents an unpublished bilateral seal from the first half of 11th century of the *hypatos* and *domestikos* of the *Hikanatoi* of the West Paul Phylakos whose name W. Seibt is inclined to read as Kalos Phylax. In fact, the seal is the only evidence up to now for this high-ranking Byzantine aristocrat, who belonged to the Byzantine military elite in the Balkans in the period of the Byzantine-Pecheneg wars of the eleventh century. In this case, Paul Phylakos is assumed as the chief commander of the West Byzantine forces. The seal also reveals that the elite cavalry corps was commanded by the *domestikos* of the *Hikanatoi* in the middle of the century.

Pantelis Charalampakis's contribution discusses the *boulloteria* craftsmen based on the study of two important Byzantine lead seals: of Stephanos, a *magistros* in the last third/quarter of 9th century, and of a certain Theodoros, a *dioiketes* in the late 9th-early 10th century. At the bottom of the former, who was the cousin of patriarch Photios, the author finds an abbreviation or monogram of at least four letters, which he believes are the craftsman's personal signature. Skepticism about this idea has been expressed by W. Seibt. On the second seal, on the reverse above and below the inscription, the letters E and Λ are found which could be interpreted either as a mark of the *boulloterion* craftsman, or as an unusual abbreviation for the geographical name Hellas, meaning that this official was *dioiketes* of the *theme* of Hellas.

In their joint contribution Ivan Jordanov and Zhenya Zhekova are dealing with the Trade routes of the Lower Danube (10th – 11th centuries)

particularly with the *emporion* Malak Preslav or Perejaslavets (near Nufaru village, Tulcha district, Romania). A combined study of archaeological, numismatical and sygillographical data is proposed which studies how the Danubian centers were turned into emporia in the second and third quarter of 11th century and their importance for the Byzantine-barbarian political and economic relations.

Nikolay Kanev's contribution deals with the formation of the imperial ideology of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, its reflection on the images and the legend on the seals of the Latin emperors since the very beginning of the empire. In this case, the study is based on the seals of the last Latin emperor Baldwin (Baudouin) II of Courtenay (1228-1261) and a special attention is devoted to the question why Baldwin II manifested himself as 'Flanders' rather than 'Courtenay' in spite of his appurtenance to this young branch of the French royal dynasty of Capetian.

In the next article, Werner Seibt presents the case of Nikolaos Ourbitziotes, a protospatharios and protonotarios, found on a Byzantine seal of the second third of 11th century in Dumbarton Oaks. The author is inclined to see in the surname Ourbitziotes the provenance of Nikolaos from a Bulgarian village or fortress called Urvič. The surname should be distinguished from the similar Ourbikiotes, which probably derives from Ourbikion in Constantinople.

In his second contribution to the issue, Werner Seibt discusses the origin of a certain Nikephoros, a Byzantine dignitary and bestarches, known from seals of the late 11th century. On the seals, Actarios is mentioned either as the name of his father, or a profession namely an *aktar* which is the Turkish word for a 'grocer'. By this the author implies that Nikephoros' father was an *aktar* of Turkish origin who had immigrated into the Byzantine empire, where his son could pursue a Byzantine career.

Valery Stepanenko's contribution deals with the intriguing problem of the images of seal owners presented on them. The author discusses two such seals – of the prince of Tmurakan' Oleg – Michael and the monk of St. Tarasios monastery in Constantinople – Zosima, both of late 11th century from Constantinople. In both images, they are presented in *proskynesis* before the holy protector, Archangel Michael and the holy patriarch Tarasios respectively. In both cases they are presented as adorant, a common practice for the Byzantine painting and applied art, but not for the Byzantine sphragistics.

In the contribution of Elena Stepanova unpublished seals of numerous officials are presented from the collection of Hermitage*: strategoi*, judges, tourmarhes, etc. from the theme of Thrace and Macedonia. The seals name different high, mainly civil, officials who administered the union of Thrace

and Macedonia in the period from the late 8th till the late 11th century and give a new material for the history of both themes.

Another unpublished material is studied in Dochka Vladimirova-Aladzhova's contribution. It is a lead plate found in the course of a rescue archaeological excavation in central Sofia, with a block-type monogram on both sides providing the name of bishop Theodore. A certain bishop Theodore is also known from Justiniana Prima which gives the author an argument to see it as a result of the relations between the new and old episcopal sees in 6th – beginning of 7th century.

The contribution of Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt deals with the limes from Messambria to Belgrade in a case study of Beroe/Beroia. All the available information that could be obtained from the Byzantine seals concerning the military importance of this center during the middle-Byzantine period is presented in the light of the *strategoi* and others such as Romanos, a magistrate of dukate/katepanate of Beroe from the late 10th and 11th century. They reveal not only prosopographic material, but also a document about the upgrading of Beroe into a dukate/katepanate after the middle of the 11th century.

Ivan Jordanov, Ivo Topalilov, and Svetlana Nedelcheva

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Byzantine sigillography

Ivan Jordanov

Abstract: The article offers a brief overview of the development of Byzantine sigillography. We study the publications in the different countries and their contribution which leads to the main purpose of compiling a complete corpus of Byzantine seals and using their information as complete historical sources.

Key words: Sigillography, Byzantine lead seals, boulloteria

Резюме: Статията предлага кратък преглед на развитието на византийската сигилография. Проследяват се публикациите в различните страни и техния принос водещи до основната цел – изработването на пълен Корпус на византийските печати и използуване на тяхната информация като пълноценни исторически извори.

The present issue of Studia academica Šumenensia is dedicated to Byzantine sigillography. Today it is a modern historical discipline. The seals, which are its main subject, are authentic sources that have reached us directly over the centuries. There are no transcripts and subjectivism. They were part of the Empire's life and their information was objective and credible. This article will briefly outline its development.

How did the interest in Byzantine seals arise?

Even the first studies devoted to Byzantine history use the data of the seals and show that it is necessary for the Byzantine seals to be presented in a common publication in order to make them easier to use. It is difficult to answer the question about the date of the first publication as the interest in Byzantine history in Western Europe began in the 15th and 16th century and then the publication of chronicles, manuscripts and documents began. Some of the documents have been stamped and the author of the publication has also copied the text of the seal.

Anyway, when did the first publication about a Byzantine seal without a document appear?

The dissertation work of Fr. Ficoroni (1666-1746), published in 1750 in Rome[1] is considered the earliest publication on Byzantine seals. It includes Byzantine coins and seals.

A hundred years later, J. Sabatier made a similar attempt. In a special article he published twenty specimens - imperial, patriarchal, secular and church seals. They are presented by drawings which makes it difficult to use them today, but still it is possible.[2] The same author published a few years later the first catalog of Byzantine coins. Imperial seals instead of coins were included by mistake.[3]

The Italian, A. Salinas, was the first to announce in 1864 his ambition to make a full list of seals. This project stopped while still at the point of insignificant preliminary work.[4]

By the end of the 19th century, the names of several researchers in the field of Byzantine sphragistics can be listed, but among them are the names of two who work in parallel and who become the founders of Byzantine sigillography.

One of them is A. D. Mordtmann, a physician practicing in Istanbul. Along with his medical duties, he has a hobby - collecting, documenting and publishing Byzantine seals. It is the beginning of the scientific classification of the Byzantine seals. He is the author of several thematic publications that have not lost their relevance today.[5]

The other one is G. Schlumberger (1844-1929), a medicine graduate, who devoted himself to his passion for Byzantine history, numismatics and sigillography. In 1884, his main work, *Sigillographie de l'empire Byzantin*,[6] was published, and for decades it was the leading study in the field. It is adequately used up to this day. The only drawback is that, according to the time it was published (1884), the seals included in it are illustrated by drawings, and their author is not Schlumberger himself.

The legacy of Mordtmann and Schlumberger, apart from their publications, includes the seals themselves. Their whole collections or parts of them were preserved. The first one is kept in Vienna at the Art Museum, and a significant part of the second one was bought by N. P. Lichachev and is stored in the Hermitage.

The subsequent works by K. Konstantopoulos, J. Ebersolt, W. Gray Birch, M. Rostovtsew – M. Prou etc. failed to surpass this level, compiling

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[1] Ficoroni 1750.

[2] Sabatier 1858/1859, 82-100, pl. 331-332.

[3] Sabatier 1862, pl. XLVII, 9.

[4] Salinas 1872, 264-268, 6; 1874, 96-98, 216-219, pl. 48.

[5] Mordtmann 1872/1873, 57-81; 1877a, 289-298; 1877b, 46-60; 1880, 44-49; 1882/1883, 17, 144-152.

[6] Schlumberger 1884.

a more complete or more schematic catalog. More distinguishable are the publications by B. A. Panchenko[7] and N. P. Lichachev,[8] the latter particularly emphasizing on the iconography of the seals.

K. Konstantopoulos (1874-1940) is the curator of the collection at the Athens Numismatic Museum, and from 1924 until his death he is a director. After a series of publications at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the twentieth century, he summarized his work by publishing in 1917 a complete catalog of the collection, comprising nearly 2000 pieces.[9] The book is provided with a full-time index of personal names, titles and positions, and a special index of poetic (metric) seals. A drawback of the book, apart from the telegraphic descriptions of the seals, is the absence of their illustrations. In 1930, Konstantopoulos published a large collection of seals, already with photographic illustrations of the gypsum castings of the originals.[10]

J. Ebersolt (1879-1933) is a long-time explorer of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople. In 1914 he published the Byzantine seals stored in the collection of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul.[11] This is the first collection related to a specific origin - location. It includes interesting specimens, but its short descriptions and lack of illustrations are the main drawbacks. Recently, this weakness has been corrected with the publication of a special monograph in 2013.[12]

W. Gray Birch published seals from the British Museum's manuscript department, with specific way of arranging and no illustrations.[13] The seals themselves are kept in the manuscript department at the British Museum and are in a well-preserved condition.[14]

A decisive progress was made by Father Vitalien Laurent, who was able to use with great success the results of the prosoposographic studies in sigillography and vice versa.

He was born on 26 May 1896 under the name Luis Philippe Oliver Laurent.[15]

In 1924 he was ordained as a priest and sent to Kadiköy in Turkey for a service, where he spent a considerable amount of time. Since 1930 he had been

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[7] Panchenko 1903, 199-246 (№ 1-124); 1904, 341-396 (№ 125-300); 1908, 78-151 (№ 300-500)
[8] Lichachev 1911; 1991.
[9] Konstantopoulos 1917.
[10] Konstantopoulos 1930.
[11] Ebersolt 1914, 207-243, 377-409.
[12] Cheynet, Gökyıldırım *et al.* 2013.
[13] Gray Birch 1898.
[14] In 1992, I had the opportunity to work with some examples of this collection, looking for parallels to Bulgarian findings.
[15] Darrouzes 1974, 343-379.

the editor of Échos d'Orient magazine. In 1938 he was elected a director of the Bucharest Institute of Byzantine Studies and from 1940 he was a member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences. In 1947 after a nearly 10-year stay he was expelled from Romania due to the new political realities.

In 1952 he was appointed the curator of the Vatican medal collection. Until his death on 21 November 1973 he held various academic positions. His entire conscious life he devoted to the Byzantine sigillography and the writing of the renowned corpus of all Byzantine seals known throughout the world.

In 1929-1931 he published a bibliographic review and analysis of all publications on Byzantine seals for the period 1915-1930,[16] which in the following years became a regular review of such publications.

In 1934 he composed a project of future research[17] and, through his long-lasting creative career from 1924 to 1973, he seemed to be his only performer, publishing a number of collections and corpora.[18]

The contribution of all these and other scientists is indisputable. Their research is still up to date as it has an extraordinary advantage – authentic documentary sources, such as seal information, are published for the first time.

Past years have convincingly demonstrated that it is not in the capacity of one person, and within one generation to publish the renowned Corpus of Byzantine seals. That is how arose the initiative of Prof. Nikolaos Oikonomidès, at that time a Professor at the University of Montreal and a Coordinator of the Sigillographic Program at the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Center in Washington. He took up the task of coordinating the efforts of all scientists working on these monuments and directed their search to documenting and publishing the collections, as well as specific observations. An important part in this co-ordination were the regular scientific symposiums during the Congresses of Byzantine Studies and between them. The beginning was set in the summer of 1986 at the sixteenth Congress of Byzantine Studies, which took place in Washington.

Extremely useful was the gesture of the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies to fund and publish the proceedings of these symposiums in a separate volume 'Studies in Byzantine Sigillography', as well as the bibliographic review of the publications between the symposiums before. Already 11 volumes have been published. The last few volumes are published in Europe.

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[16] Laurent 1929/1930, 571-654; 1931, 771-829.

[17] Laurent 1934, 385-395.

[18] Laurent 1932; 1952; 1962; 1963/1972; 1981.

Up to now, 11 such symposiums have been carried out, the Sixth was in Preslav in 1998.[19] Byzantine sphragistics in Bulgaria deserves special attention. It is one of the good examples.

Byzantine sigillography in Bulgaria evolved in its own specific way. As early as the time of the Bulgarian National Revival, when the Bulgarian state was not yet restored, the interest in seals (initially in Bulgarian ones) emerged as a means of inspiring cultural and intellectual revival. The first publication on a Bulgarian seal was in 1845, when the renowned Bulgarian Maecenas Vasil Aprilov published a deed and a seal of the last Bulgarian tsar, Ivan Shishman (1371-1393), originating from the Rila Monastery.[20]

After the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman rule (1877), the basic state institutions such as the library, museum and university were established and they showed interest in the study of Byzantine seals as well.

The development of Byzantine sigillography can be traced in several aspects.

The first aspect is related to the necessity of the seals' data. This information was highly valued by the Bulgarian medievalists and particularly by the patriarch of the Bulgarian medieval studies and a Byzantinist Prof. Vasil Zlatarski. He had a special affinity to seals and is the author of several publications on Byzantine sigillography.[21]

The second aspect is related to publications on Byzantine seals from the territory of modern Bulgaria.

The first publications were of European quality and significance. The author of the first publication was Gustave Schlumberger, the founder of Byzantine sigillography.

He must have contacted Vatslav Dobrouski, the director of the Archaeological Museum, since in 1900, on the pages of *Revue des etudes qrecques,* Schlumberger published several specimens from the Archaeological Museum collection on the basis of their transcriptions sent to him by Dobrouski.[22] As it seems, the transcriptions were accurate, since Schlumberger's definitions are still valid from the present point of view. The fact that the first Bulgarian publication of a Bulgarian ruler's seal in 1901 was in the authoritative periodical

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[19] The choice of the International Association of Byzantine Sphragistics for the VIth Symposium to be held in Bulgaria, namely in Veliki Preslav, was due to a variety of reasons, mainly to the fact that in the town of Veliki Preslav a collection of seals (part of the archives of the local mayor) was found (in situ) during archaeological excavations, in an authentic environment. It consists of more than 550 lead seals, 250 lead cores and 4 moulds for their casting. Something that had not been seen before.

[20] Aprilov 1940, 261-264, tabl. IV.

[21] Zlatarski 1922, 86-102; 1929, 143-148; 1931, 49-63.

[22] Schlumberger 1900, 467-492, nos. 146-203.

Revue numismatique, with Dobrouski himself as the author, is probably also due to the co-operation between Schlumberger and the museum's director.[23]

The next publication is again a result of international co-operation. It concerns the seals and coins discovered during the first archaeological expedition to Aboba-Pliska (1899-1900). The author of this publication is the prominent Russian Byzantinist and sigillographer B. A. Panchenko.[24]

On the whole, the conclusion that can be drawn is that the first publications on the seals from the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Sofia were written by scholars of international significance.

Further on, the enrichment and the publication of the collection is related to Nikola Mushmov.

First of all, we should mention that the bulloterion purchased in 1926-1927 discovered in the village of Alvanlarah (Yablanovo), Omurtag region, belonged to Bryennios Batatzes, stratelates of the West (mid 11th century). This is a really unique find, for which the museum paid 10,000 BGN, a fairly large amount for that time. In the same year 1927, Mushmov published it for the first time in the Proceedings of Archaeological Museum.[25] Father Vitalien Laurent proposed an emendation of Mushmov's reading still in 1931.[26] Corrections in the dating and the information about the owner of the seal, Bryennios Bataztes, are offered in several of my publications.[27]

In 1934 N. Mushmov published the first comprehensive survey of the Byzantine seals in the National Archaeological Museum's Collection.[28] Given the level of the development of Byzantine sigillography at that time, as well as Mushmov's knowledge of the matter, his publication was by no means an achievement.

In the same year 1934, Todor Gerasimov (1903-1974) was appointed as Mushmov's successor, who kept the inventory book until his retirement in 1972 and worked for the enrichment of the collection with new finds coming mainly from the old Bulgarian centers Pliska and Preslav. Gerasimov visited museums and private collections throughout the country and documented all the seals he had access to through plaster casts, probably with the intention to publish them but unfortunately he could not.

Several publications of seals from Pliska and Preslav respectively by T. Gerasimov,[29] S. Maslev[30] and T. Totev[31] date from this period.

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[23] Dobrouski 1901, 258-261.
[24] Panchenko 1905, 291-300.
[25] Moushmov 1927, 1-8.
[26] Laurent 1929/1930, 581-582, 638.
[27] Jordanov 1992b, 387-393; 2006, no. 89; 2009, no. 1025.
[28] Moushmov 1934, 162-183.
[29] Gerasimov 1940/1942, 169-171; 1976, 125-142.
[30] Maslev 1955, 445-462.
[31] Totev 1972, 287-292.

A new phenomenon are the seals from the Krakra fortress near present-day Pernik published by Yordanka Yurukova.[32]

Another collection of seals is formed around medieval Dristra. The initiator of the collection and publications was the director of the local lyceum Perikle Papahaji in co-operation with prof. Banesku,[33] in the years when Silistra was under Romanian rule (1918-1940). When Silistra was returned to Bulgaria in 1940, P. Papahaji withdrew to Bucharest but retained his interest in the Byzantine seals from Silistra. On the whole, Silistra and the medieval Dristra proved to be a fruitful field for activity of the Romnian researchers such as N. Banesku, I. Barnia, P. Diaconu and recently A. Madjaru.

It can be maintained that until the discovery in 1979, less than a hundred specimens preserved in various museums and private collections were registered in the territory of modern Bulgaria.

The turning point was in 1979, when the foundations of a building used for the archives by the local strategos in the period 971-1092 were discovered during archaeological excavations in the second medieval Bulgarian capital Preslav. More than 500 Byzantine lead seals, 250 lead blanks and 4 moulds for casting the blanks were found inside and near the building. All these finds were included and commented on in a monographic volume.[34]

Along with the work on the Preslav seals my task has also been the location, documentation and publication of all Byzantine seals from the territory of modern Bulgaria.

As a result of my constant effort more than 3, 500 Byzantine seals, 800 lead blanks, 20 moulds for casting and 2 boulloteria have been located from the territory of modern Bulgaria and documented, so far they are published in about a hundred of my studies, articles and monographs.[35]

What follows next?

The project Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria was successfully completed. However, new finds are constantly being discovered. They were published in three Supplements containing about three hundred new specimens.[36]

The new finds come mainly from the archaeological excavations in Pliska, Preslav, Silistra, Anchialos and other centres. The collection of seals from the Kurdjali region which is going to be published in the near future was not included in the Corpus.

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[32] Yurukova 1983, 102-165.

[33] Bănescu 1932, 321-331; Bănescu & Papahagi 1935, 601-604; Barnea 1982, 201-212.

[34] Jordanov 1993.

[35] Jordanov 1992a; 2003; 2006; 2009; Jordanov & Zhekova 2007.

[36] Jordanov 2011, 189-228; 2015, 223-306; 2018.

I hope that the coming generations will have their share in supplementing and amending the Corpus. After all, they will be much better equipped making good use of our results.

Finally, I would like to draw the following conclusion. Byzantine sigillography in Bulgaria has shown a dynamic development especially over the last thirty years. About three thousand and five hundred seals are preserved in various, mostly state, collections. A Corpus of Byzantine seals from the territory of modern Bulgaria is available – something few countries can be proud of.

Up to now more than 70, 000 Byzantine seals have been stored in various collections around the world, mostly lead seals, a significant number of which has not been published.

The last few decades have seen visible progress both in the primary publication of a number of collections and in their interpretation.

In the largest collection of Byzantine seals, the one of Dumberton Oaks published 6 volumes of geographic name seals.[37] Part of the Dumberton Oaks' seals are digitized and available on-line.

The contribution of the second largest collection, the one of Hermitage, which includes more than 12, 000 expos, is too modest. After Panchenko's catalog of the seals in Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, most of which are nowadays in the Hermitage, separate monographs, studies and articles of no more than 1, 000 copies have been published. However, there has been some progress.[38]

Greece - the seals of the collection of the Athenian numismatic museum with surnames,[39] as well as others new collections are republished.[40]

France - traditionally working actively - after Schlumberger and Laurent - their successor is Professor Cheynet. He is an author of monographs of private and public collections.[41] The publication of the Istanbul seals was also due to his initiative. The third collection of Georgios Zakos, which includes more than 6, 234 pieces, has recently been given to the French National Library, its publishing is forthcoming.

Vienna - works in two directions. Two volumes[42] have already been published on seals from collections in Vienna; there is a project of a photo

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[37] Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1991; 1994; 1996; McGeer, Nesbitt *et al.* 2001; 2005; Nesbitt 2009.

[38] Sokolova 1983; 2007; Stepanova 2006; Shandrovskaya 1969, 244-253; 1971, 28-45; 1977a, 102-119; 1977b; Sandrovskaja & Seibt 2005.

[39] Staurakos 2000.

[40] Staurakos 1995; Koltzida-Makre 1996.

[41] Cheynet 1998/1999; 2008; Cheynet & Theodoridis 2010.

[42] Seibt 1978; Wassiliou & Seibt 2004.

collection of the Byzantine seals. This AAN project, led by Professor Werner Seibt for more than four decades, has set the task of finding and classifying all Byzantine seals from around the world. According to the project report, more than 50, 000 seals have been processed, read, illustrated and classified up to the present moment.

Recently, a third corpus project of Byzantine metric seals has been successfully implemented.[43]

The number of seals from Crimea and the present-day Ukraine[44] has increased. Especially active is the work with the archive in Chersonese.[45]

The work of Georgios Zakos is worth a special place in the review. He is an emblematic figure in Byzantine sphragistics.[46] He is the greatest collector of Byzantine seals in the twentieth century and, at the same time, one of the best scientists to ensure their publication. He is the author of a two-volume publication in which a large number of Byzantine seals were published for the first time. The first volume with co-author Alexander Veglery contains more than 3, 500 pieces divided in three parts, accompanied by an album with exceptionally high-quality photographic boards, presenting the seals from the 5th to the 9th century,[47] and the second one over 1000 lead seals from the 10th - 12th century.[48]

As a result of his activity (he spent almost all his life in Istanbul (Constantinople) in various collections around the world - Dumbarton Oaks, the Paris National Library and the Museum of Art and History in Geneva, etc., more than seventeen thousand (17 108) Byzantine seals and two boulloteria are stored.

These and hundreds of other smaller or larger contributions in the field of Byzantine sphragistics aim to make the prerequisites for the creation of the true CORPUS, which, in present-day possibilities, can be virtual and realized through digitalization. There are some attempts in this direction that should be encouraged.

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Новое сфрагистическое свидетельство в дополнение к Корпусу византийских печатей из Болгарии (New sphragistic evidence in addition to the Bulgarian Corpus of Byzantine Seals)

Николай Алексеенко

Abstract: The introduction into scholarship of a new seal of *hypatos* and *domestikos* of the *Hikanatoi* of the West Paul Phylakos will amend the corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria to include the seal of previously unknown person, will get us acquainted with a new member of the Phylakoi family, and will enlarge to some extend our notion of Byzantine military elite, which was closely connected to the Balkans in the age of the Byzantine-Pecheneg wars of the eleventh century; this case clarifies the data of an elite cavalry corps commanded by the *domestikos* of the *Hikanatoi*.

Key words: History of the Byzantine Empire, Byzantine seals, sigillography, molybdoboulloi, prosopography

Резюме: Въвеждането в научен оборот на нови печати на ипатоса и доместик на иканатите на Запад Павел Филакос не само ще допълни корпуса на византийските печати от България с моливдовул от неизвестен до този момент военачалник и ще уточнят данни за един от елитните корпуси на византийската армия, но и ще ни запознаят с нови представители на фамилията на Филакос и оттук – за византийския военен елит, имащ тесни връзки с Балканите в периода на византийско-печенежките войни през 11 в.

Уже не раз отмечалось, что Болгария является одной из стран, обладающих значительным собранием византийских печатей – ценнейших исторических источников, нередко обладающих уникальной нигде более не содержащейся информацией. Выход в свет Корпуса византийских печатей из Болгарии,[1] показал важность и значимость этих археологических памятников как беспристрастных свидетелей былых истори-

[1] Jordanov 2003; 2006; 2009.

ческих реалий, сохранивших ценнейшую информацию и для истории Византийского государства в целом, и особенно для провинциальных регионов. Представленный в Корпусе сфрагистический материал обладает богатейшей информацией для исследований вопросов формирования отношений местных официалов с центральной и провинциальными администрациями, развития экономических и торговых связей региона, а также демонстрирует самые разнообразные контакты чиновников и представителей придворной аристократии.

Продолжение находок моливдовулов в различных частях Болгарии, нередко содержащих затерявшиеся в анналах истории свидетельства, с каждым разом дает возможность открывать все новые и новые ее неизвестные страницы.

Появление нового моливдовула из болгарских находок, принадлежавшего одному из представителей византийской военной аристократии[2] не только дополняет и расширяет наши знания о византийском присутствии на территории этого Балканского региона, но и вводит в оборот ценную информацию об одном из элитных контингентов византийского войска XI в.

1. М-340. Частная коллекция И. Горшкова (Москва) (Фиг. 1).

D – 24 мм; толщина пластинки – 2 мм; вес 10, 1 г.



Фиг. 1. Печать Павла Филака (Филакоса), ипата и доместика иканатов Запада (ок. середины XI в.).

[2] Автор выражает глубокую признательность и благодарность И. Горшкову за предоставленную возможность изучения и публикации печати.

Сохранность хорошая; оборотная сторона слегка децентрирована вниз.

Происхождение неизвестно (Болгария).

Не издана.

Аналогий не известно.

Аверс. Четырехстрочная надпись в жемчужном ободке, украшенная сверху и снизу крестиком из четырех жемчужин между двух лепестков:

- ⁘ -	
✝KЄR/Θ/	K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)
ΠA ı ΛѺVΠ.	Πα(ύ)λῳ ὑπ[ά]
TѺKAIΔѺ	τῳ καὶ δω
ΜЄCTIK	μεστίκ(ῳ)
- ⁘ -	

Реверс. Четырехстрочная надпись в жемчужном ободке, украшенная сверху косым крестиком с жемчужинами в углах между двух лепестков:

- ⁘ -	
TѺHKA	τῶ̃(ν) ἡκα
ΝATTVCΔ	νάτ(ων) τυς Δ
.ϹЄѺCTON	[ύ]σεως τὸν
ΘVΛAK	Θυλακ(ᾶ̃ν)

Κύριε βοήθει Παύλῳ ὑπάτῳ καὶ δωμεστίκῳ
τῶν ἡκανάτων τῆς Δύσεως τὸν Θυλακᾶ̃ν.

Печать представляет так называемый билатеральный тип. Типологически и стилистически рассматриваемый моливдовул полностью соответствует памятникам первой половины XI в. и, надо полагать, принадлежал владельцу по имени Павел, представленному в легенде в сокращенной форме с пропуском *ипсилон* в центре. Родовое имя последнего на наш взгляд читается вполне уверенно – Филака (Филакас).

К сожалению, семейство Филаков не фигурирует в перечнях византийских аристократических семейств[3] и Павел Филака (Филакас) не известен по другим источникам.

[3] См. Kazhdan 1974.

Тем не менее, представленная на печати титулатура владельца ставит его ряд весьма высокопоставленных византийских чиновников. Павел удостоен ранга *ипата*, который вновь обрел высокую значимость в конце 1030-х гг. Тексты XI в. представляют *ипата* исключительно как титул, но по рангу значительно выше *протоспафария*.[4] Можно назвать целый ряд чиновников самого высокого ранга, которые в этот период также указывают на своих печатях титул консула-ипата. Например, анаграфевс Болгарии – патрикий и ипат Константин,[5] судья Велум и фемы Кивириотов – патрикий и ипат Михаил,[6] судья ипподрома и фемы Опсикий – патрикий и ипат Иоанн Экзамилит[7] и целый ряд других.

Еще более значительным фактором принадлежности нашего персонажа к военной элите представляется присутствие на печати должности доместика иканатов.

Как известно элитный кавалерийский корпус – тагма иканатов, состоявшая из сыновей лучших имперских семейств[8] была создана императором Никифором I (802–811) первоначально как отряд личной охраны его сына и со-правителя Ставракия.[9] По мнению Дж. Хэлдона, которое поддерживает и А.С. Мохов, первым его командующим являлся патрикий Петр, бывший в правление императрицы Ирины (797–802), доместиком схол.[10] Источники сообщают, что этот имперский элитный контингент был практически уничтожен, а сам командир – патрикий Петр попал в болгарский плен[11] в результате похода 811 г., обернувшегося настоящей военной катастрофой для империи.[12] А. С. Мохов полагает, что в начале своего существования тагма иканатов была практически не дееспособным боевым подразделением, т.к. состояла не из профессиональных военных, а из молодых отпрысков знатных столичных родов.[13]

Тем не менее, наличие этого воинского контингента в византийских документах свидетельствует о его официальном статусе. Командир тагмы – доместик иканатов назван в Тактиконе Успенского сре-

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[4] Oikonomidès 1972, 296, n. 48, 49.

[5] Konstantinopoulos 1917, 35, nr. 119; Schlumberger 1891, nr. 50; Zacos 1984, 234, nr. 423.

[6] Zacos 1984, 296, nr. 590; Campagnolo-Pothitou & Cheynet 2016, 150, nr. 128.

[7] Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1996, 60, nr. 39.14a-b; Campagnolo-Pothitou & Cheynet 2016, 166, nr. 144.

[8] Dujčev 1965, 210_{6-8}.

[9] Savvides 2001, 221, 222.

[10] Haldon 1984, 245, 246, 611, nr. 1028; см. Kühn 1991, 116, 117; Mokhov 2013, 112.

[11] Dujčev 1965, 214_{70-74}; Winkelmann 2000, 606, nr. 6046.

[12] Theophanis 1883, 491_{1-15}; Oikonomidès 1972, 332.

[13] Mokhov 2013, 112.

ди протоспафариев вслед за логофетом дрома.[14] Да и в последующих Тактиконах IX–X вв. доместик иканатов по-прежнему фигурирует в имперской номенклатуре, занимая четвертое место среди семи доместиков.[15] Более того в Клиторологии Филофея он отнесен к чиновникам первого ранга, которым полагались титулы анфипата и патрикия.[16]

Из «Книги церемоний» известно, что в седьмой индикт правления Константина VII и Романа II (949 г.) корпус иканатов нащитывал 456 всадников,[17] включая офицеров. По мнению Дж. Бюри он состоял из восьми банд по пятьдесят человек и 56 офицеров.[18]

Исследователи, отмечая наличие должности доместика иканатов в источниках IX–X вв., высказывают мнение о некоторой сомнительности данных об этом воинском ранге, относящихся к XI столетию, полагая, что в этот период упоминания о нем не только резко сокращается, но и совсем исчезает после правления Василия II (976–1025).[19] Кроме того, существует проблема и из-за возможности использования термина *Иканаты* в качестве родового имени. Такие примеры действительно имеют место и в письменных источниках,[20] и особенно в сфрагистике. Известно несколько печатей, которые, безусловно, принадлежат представителям рода Иканатов.[21]

Однако на нашем моливдовуле, который, вне всякого сомнения, принадлежит XI столетию, одновременно присутствует и патроним и должность, так что нет никаких сомнений, что в данном случае использование термина τῶν ἡκανάτων применено именно в качестве должности.

Более того на рассматриваемом моливдовуле указано двойное значение поста доместика – τῶν ἡκανάτων τῆς Δύσεως. В свое время проф. И. Йорданов публикуя печать Льва Саракинопула с подобной легендой[22] высказал предположение о том, что во время военной кампании Иоанна Цимисхия в Болгарии после 971 г. корпус иканатов был разделен на

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[14] Oikonomidès 1972, 53_{2}.
[15] Oikonomidès 1972, 103_{6}, 105_{30}, 249_{20}, 271_{1}.
[16] Oikonomidès 1972, 139_{31}.
[17] Constantini Porphyrogeniti 1829, 666_{13}.
[18] Bury 1911, 63.
[19] Oikonomidès 1976, 143; Kühn 1991, 116–119.
[20] См. например: Uspenskii 1897, 42.
[21] Laurent 1962, 190, 191, nr. 179; 1981, 570, nr. 1037; Szemioth & Wasilewsky 1969, 80, 81, nr. 82, tabl. III.82; Cheynet, Morrisson *et al.* 1991, 199, 200, nr. 300; Stavrakos 2000, 166–168, nr. 94; Jordanov 2003, 163, nr. 243, 243A; Wassiliou & Seibt 2004, 213, 214, nr. 215; Bulgakova 2004, 111–113, 1.5.4a-b; Šandrovskaja & Seibt 2005, 115, 116, nr. 101; Cheynet, Gökyıldırım *et al.* 2012, 664, 665, nr. 7.50.
[22] Iordanov 1993, 94-95, nr. 168–174.

две части восточную и европейскую, которой и командовал Саракинопул.[23] Однако позднее, при ре-публикации печатей Льва Саракинопула, ученый, опираясь на легенду печати доместика экскувитов и Востока патрикия Ардалеста[24] отказался от этой мысли и реконструировал текст печатей Саракинопула по образу и подобию последней, восстанавливая союз καὶ (S) между τῶν ἡκανάτων и Δύσεως.[25]

К сожалению ни один из семи известных болгарских моливдовулов доместика иканатов Льва Саракинопула не обладает полной сохранностью и на месте союза καὶ отсутствует необходимая литера. В тоже время на рассматриваемом нами моливдовуле легенда сохранилась полностью и хорошо видно что, несмотря на соответствующие сокращения легенды – τῶ(ν) ἡκανάτ(ων) τυς Δ[ύ]σεως – знак сокращенного союза καὶ (S) между двумя тау отсутствует. Очевидно, наш экземпляр подтверждает предположение проф. И. Йорданова о возможном разделении иканатов на два подразделения. Хотя не исключено, что резчик печати не укладывался в необходимый объем и был вынужден исключить отдельные литеры из легенды не пощадив даже имени владельца. В то же время на лицевой стороне тот же союз καὶ обозначен не традиционным знаком сокращения (S), а передан полностью – KAI.

Но так или иначе рассматриваемый моливдовул вне всякого сомнения принадлежал одному из элитных командиров византийской армии, даже если не рассматривать его и как командующего вооруженными контингентами Запада. И сама его находка в сочетании с датировкой и содержащимися в легенде данными является доказательством того, что корпус иканатов существовал в византийской армии и около середины XI столетия.

К сожалению, практически ничего не известно о фамилии Филакасов.

В источниках они не фигурируют, а по памятникам сфрагистики известны лишь три буллы только еще одного представителя этого семейства – Иоанна Филакаса, который сначала назван просто спафарокандидатом,[26] затем спафарокандидатом, асикритом и судьей Ликанда[27] и наконец, патрикием, анфипатом, вестом, ипатом и судьёй Опсикия.[28] Все печати датируются временем около середины или началом второй половины XI столетия.

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[23] Iordanov 1993, 96.
[24] Jordanov 2003, 37, nr. 7.3.
[25] Jordanov 2003, 82, nr. 26.10.
[26] Jordanov 1993, 77, 78, nr. 15; 2006, 157, 158, nr. 238; 2009, 254, 255, nr. 697.
[27] Nesbitt 1990, 90, 91, nr. 25; McGeer, Nesbitt *et al.* 2001, 131, 53.2.
[28] Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1996, 60, 61, nr. 39.15.

В нашем случае примечательно, что первый из названых моливдовулов происходит из болгарских находок. Появление новой печати еще одного представителя семейства Филакасов, найденной на территории Болгарии, очевидное свидетельство того, что существовали некие контакты членов семейства с определенными представителями местного населения.

К сожалению, ничего не известно ни о происхождении, ни о месте проживания упоминаемого в Пейре судьи по имени Филакас,[29] который вполне мог бы явиться основателем этого рода. Но возможно новые печати членов этого фамилии со временем сумеют пролить свет на оставшиеся без ответов вопросы.

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[29] Zepos & Zepos 1931, 57, XVI.9.

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Two Unusual Byzantine Lead Seals and the Question of the *Boulloteria* craftsmen

Pantelis Charalampakis

Abstract: The author presents two Byzantine lead seals of great interest. The first one was issued by Stephanos, *magistros* (last third or last quarter of the 9th century), who can be identified as the cousin of patriarch Photios. At the lower part of the reverse, below the inscription, there is a puzzling abbreviation or monogram, consisting of at least four letters, which could be the *boulloterion* craftsman's personal signature. The second seal was issued by a certain Theodoros, *dioiketes* (late 9th – early 10th century). On the reverse, above and below the inscription, one reads the letters E and Λ respectively. These letters can be interpreted either as a mark of the *boulloterion* craftsman, or as an unusual abbreviation for the geographical name Hellas, meaning that this official was *dioiketes* of the *theme* of Hellas.

Key words: Byzantine seal, boulloterion, inscription, monogram, craftsman

Резюме: Авторът представя два твърде интересни византийски печата. Първият от тях принадлежи на Стефанос, магистър (от последната трета или четвърт на 9 в.), който може да бъде идентифициран като братовчеда на патриарх Фотий. В долната част на реверса, под надписа, се намира озадачаващо съкращение или монограм от поне четири букви, което би могло да бъде личният подпис на майстора на булотириона. Вторият печат е издаден от някой си Теодор, диойкит (от края на 9 в. – началото на 10 в.). На реверса, над и под надписа, могат да се прочетат съответно Е и Λ. Тези букви могат да се интерпретират или като знак на майстора на булотириона, или като необичайно съкращение на географското име Елада, което би означавало, че този чиновник е бил диойкит на тема Елада.

The over 150 years of Byzantine seal studies have enabled scholars to figure out what these bullae look like and to set some 'rules' regarding their decoration, structure, and overall appearance. The purpose of this essay is to examine two cases that fall out of these 'rules': both specimens show some letters or combinations of letters in places where they were not supposed to be, making the inscriptions rather unusual. Moreover, I shall try to identify the persons who issued these seals, the first of which being of particular interest.

1) Stephanos, magistros (cousin of patriarch Photios?) and a craftsman's signature [last third or last quarter of the 9th century] (figs. 1-4)

France: Paris, IFEB 653 (unpublished)[1]
Well preserved, although weakly struck (or by a very used *boulloterion*)
D (total): 24 x 25 mm; D (field): 20,5 mm; Th: 1,8 mm; W: 10,62 gr.

Obverse: St. Stephanos (bust) with sigla Ο|Α|Γ - C|T|Є|Φ and circular inscription, between two concentric circles of dots:
+ЄCKOPΠICЄHЄΔOKЄHTǪ̣IC̣ΠЄHIC
Ό/ᾰ́/γ(ιος) – Σ/τ/έ/φ(ανος). Ἐσκόρπισεν ἔδοκεν τοῖς πένισ<ιν>

Reverse: Inscription in 5 lines, within double border of dots:
+CTЄΦA|NѠMAΓIC|TP/ANΘVΠ/|SΠATPIK/|.ϵ.
Στεφά/νῳ, μαγίσ/τρ(ῳ), ἀνθυπ(άτῳ)/(καὶ) πατρικ(ίῳ)/[.?]ε[.?]

The verse on the obverse comes from Paul's *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 9.9: 'ἐσκόρπισεν, ἔδωκεν τοῖς πένησιν· ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα' *(He hath dispersed abroad; He hath given to the poor; His righteousness remained for ever*).[2] This rare and unusual verse,[3] although of religious context, is not an invocation and certainly does not fit with the dative case used on the reverse. Apparently, the owner of the seal and/or the engraver were not familiar with the invocation formulas. The choice of this verse, however, fits well with the identity of Saint Stephen as a helper who, according to the *Acts of the Apostles* (6.1-6), was the first deacon to be recruited in order to take care of the poor widows of the Greeks. Saint Stephen himself is represented in bust, probably holding the cross (and the incense box?), but the corroded surface of the seal does not reveal much more.[4]

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[1] I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Vassa Kontouma for her assistance and granting me permission to publish this specimen. In the handwritten catalog of the IFEB the seal is registered under the place-name 'Gothia'.
[2] English translation from *The Holy Bible* 1872, 223.
[3] This is not the first time we encounter an unusual religious verse on seals. See, e.g., Zacos 1984, 455 (no. 1044), where one reads 'Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνει'. Supposedly, these words ('Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνει ποτὲ') were originally written by Abgar V of Edessa below Christ's icon 'made without hands', which he (Abgar) put at the gates of Edessa in order to protect the city from the enemies. This inscription can be also found on Byzantine gates, walls and towers (e.g. Hexamilion in Thrace, Pythagoreion on Samos), but – to my knowledge – the case of this seal is unique. See Delehaye 1902, 897; Bekker 1838, 311; Δροσογιάννη 2003, 45-54.
[4] On the iconography of Saint Stephen on seals, see Cotsonis 2005, 425-426.



Fig. 1. IFEB 653 obverse (photo: P. Charalampakis).



Fig. 2. IFEB 653 reverse (photo: P. Charalampakis).

It is very likely that the seal reflects the occupation of its owner as related to philanthropy. According to Philotheos' *Kletorologion* (dated in 899) which has passed down to us through Porphyrogennetos' *De Cerimoniis*, during the Pentecost, the magistrates and officials were gathering at the palace to participate in the official meals. Said magistrates were ordered to distribute to the poor special seals that served as tokens. By showing those, the poor had access to the palace and could enjoy the meals together with the emperor or receive some money: 'καὶ συνεστιῶνται τῷ βασιλεῖ... ὡσαύτως καὶ πάντες οἱ πένητες οἱ τὰ σφραγίδια τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ χειρὸς τῶν μεγιστάνων λαβόντες...'.[5] It is worth noting that above this passage, in the same text, are mentioned specifically the *magistroi* and the *anthypatoi patrikioi*. A. Mordtmann argued that not only the emperor himself, but also magistrates, officials, or other influential people were organizing, as individuals, philanthropic events. He also published seals mentioning philanthropy, suggesting that their owners must have been involved in such practices.[6] The fact that individuals (not necessarily magistrates) were helping the poor is well known and documented in several sources.[7]

[5] Reiske 1829, 778 (= Bury 1911, 173) and 359-361. See also Oikonomidès 1985, 9.
[6] Mordtmann 1872-1873, 62-63; Mordtmann 1873, 14-16 (more specimens bearing proverbs related to the poor and philanthropy, from the *Holy Bible*. These, despite their original use as sealings, they were serving as tokens as well).
[7] Constantelos 1968, 97-99, 123, 132.

The seal presented here brings up three major problems. The first two are the date and the identification of the owner, and the third is related to the abbreviation / monogram.

Judging by the combination of the titles of *magistros*, *anthypatos* and *patrikios*, the seal could be easily placed in the second half of the 9th century. The style of the letters – tall and somehow thin, slim, especially the Α, Ρ and Κ –, together with the common at that time abbreviation mark following the letters, may also suggest the second half of the 9th century towards the very early 10th century. There is, however, a mysterious abbreviation / monogram in the fifth line of the reverse which does not fit in this period and might point to a much later date, either in the mid-11th century or, more probably, after the mid-12th century. In that later period, however, no abbreviation marks like the ones we see here (/) were used for words as part of the inscription. Moreover, the seal is certainly dated before the 12th century, when the titles of *patrikios* and *anthypatos* were devaluated and almost not in use anymore. On the other hand, in the 9th century there were no such abbreviations/ monograms like the one we see in the fifth line of this seal. The middle ground could be the 11th century but the abbreviation marks are too big for this era plus the letters, although of proper type (especially the Ρ and Κ), are too long and thin to match the mid-11th century general style. It is clear, of course, that the *boulloterion* suffered from excessive usage and therefore the letters are not in a good shape. The use of this saint is also problematic if we follow the 9th century dating because, following J. Cotsonis' research, saint Stephen is attested very rarely on seals of the 7th/8th (2 examples), 10th (3 examples) and 10th/11th century (2 examples), but very frequently in the 11th century (he recorded 27 examples).[8] Yet, despite all these issues related to the abbreviation / monogram, the seal must be dated in the 9th century: the epigraphic style and the titles clearly point to that period.

If the suggestion expressed above is correct, then we should link the owner of this seal to the magistrates mentioned by Philotheos (through Porphyrogennetos) and, therefore, place him around the time when Philotheos was active, that is in the last years of the 9th century or a little earlier, a date which fits with both the titles of the magistrate and the epigraphy of the seal. It is most likely, thus, that the seal dates to the last third or the last quarter of the 9th century. The puzzling abbreviation / monogram will be discussed below. As for the identity of the owner, in my opinion, he could have been Stephanos *magistros*, the cousin of patriarch Photios, mentioned by the Continuators of Theophanes (IV.22).[9] The title of *magistros* made Stephanos

[8] Cotsonis 2005, 397.

[9] Featherstone & Codoñer 2015, 248, 250; *PmbZ*, no. 7076 (with reference to Bekker's edition).

one of the most important people in the court at that time and, if one follows Philotheos' text, he should have taken part in the charity meetings organized by the emperor. Moreover, as cousin of the patriarch, he could have been involved in philanthropy. Photios himself was speaking in favor of the *πένητες*, urging the pious people to help them (*Homilies*, II.4).[10]

The third major problem is the abbreviation/ monogram in the fifth line of the reverse (figs. 3-4). There are no decoration marks around it. It could be a family name, although no such abbreviations were used in that period. Traces of three characters or symbols are (barely) visible. The middle one is an Є. The right one is not recognizable at all. The left one looks like a ligature of Γ and Λ or Δ. Alternatively, it could be a ligature of Τ and Ѕ or Σ (Ζ), followed by the Є. No such abbreviation is known to me and, generally, it is surprising to see it below this inscription.



Fig. 3 IFEB 653 reverse: lower part.



Fig. 4. IFEB 653 reverse: detail of the abbreviation/monogram.

Although we know several examples of discs that were re-struck with a relationship of zero degrees,[11] it seems that double strike is not the case here. The abbreviation / monogram looks perfectly symmetrical to the inscription, so it must have been originally carved on the same die, although it is not part of the inscription itself. But the main reason to exclude the double strike is the very small size of this abbreviation / monogram compared to the actual size of the disc. Normally, any such symbol (if applied in that period) should have been much larger in size and certainly not placed at the edge of the blank (unless it came from a *boulloterion* bearing extremely small characters and the disc was struck off centre). It is not a decoration mark either, because there are clearly visible letters, such as the Є. Could it be the signature of the person who created the *boulloterion* then? It is indeed a very good looking seal, with clear, well carved letters and an unusual inscription on the obverse.

[10] Λαούρδας 1959, 17.

[11] See, e.g., Nesbitt 1990, nos. 2, 6, 8, 10, 15, 18, 22-23, 25.

Craftsmen, though, were not putting their signatures on the *boulloteria* at that time, at least there are no identified examples surviving.

The issue of identifying *boulloteria*-makers and die-carvers still remains underexplored. Scholars believe, of course, that provincially made *boulloteria* were normally of lesser craftsmanship than those produced in the capital. The style of the letters, the orthography, the alignment and symmetry, point to better or worse skilled craftsmen. Apart from this, so far there is no other indication about the people who were making the *boulloteria*. If the seal



Fig. 5. Ancient Touch, online antiques shop, no. I-14
(image origin: http://www.ancienttouch.com/byzantine%20lead%20seals.htm; accessed: 19-4-2017).

presented above bears indeed the signature of a craftsman, it is a unique case in sigillography which should draw academic attention to such little details that could possibly reveal something about the craftsmen. Signing was certainly not the usual practice, but, perhaps, there were a few exceptions. One of these could be also the seal that follows.

2) Theodoros, *dioiketes* (of Hellas? or a craftsman's signature?) [late 9th – early 10th century] (fig. 5)

There is, to my knowledge, one more seal that bears some letters which are not part of the main inscription, although the case is quite different from the one examined above. It is about the late 9th – early 10th century seal of a certain Theodoros, *dioiketes*. On the reverse, above and below the inscription, there are the letters Ε and Λ respectively.

USA: Ancient Touch, online antiques shop, no. I-14[12]
D (total): 22 mm

Obverse: Cross patriarchal on three steps with circular invocative inscription, within double border of dots:
ΚЄRΟΗΘ⁄ΤѠCѠΔϑΛ
Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ)

Reverse: Inscription in three lines, accompanied by one letter above (Ε) and one below (Λ), both placed between middle dots; double border of dots:
·Є·|+ΘЄѠΔ|ΟϘ.ΔΙ.|ΙΚΗΤ⁄|·Λ·
Ε / Θεωδ/όρ[ῳ] δι[ο]/ικητ(ῆ) / Λ

This seal is different from the previous one, because the letters are clearly of the same size and shape with those of the main inscription and they are placed between middle dots. Could it be, again, the case of a craftsman's signature? We know of several secular names starting with the letters ΕΛ- in that period, such as the popular Eleutherios, or the less common Elissaios and Elpidios. The two letters are certainly not part of an invocation.

When looking at the seal, though, the first thought is that the craftsman did not calculate correctly the available space inside the field and it was impossible for him to fit more words after the office. In this case, the two letters that he carved above and below the inscription are the continuation of the text and, perhaps, indicate the *theme* of Hellas: Θεοδώρῳ, διοικητῇ Ἑλλάδος. The office of the *dioiketes* of Hellas is known from the late 7th to the end of the 9th century – early 10th century. However, with a very few exceptions, all the seals issued by a Theodoros, *dioiketes* in that period bear a cruciform monogram on the obverse. Only three published seals, dated in the late 9th – early 10th century bear a similar cross without floral decoration: two were issued by a certain Theodoros, *imperial kandidatos* and *dioiketes* (it is possible that these were issued by two different persons) and the third by Theodoros, *imperial strator* and *dioiketes*.[13] Another seal, with a cross potent and floral decoration, was issued by a certain Theodoros, *dioiketes*.[14] It would be risky, though, to identify the person presented here with either of these three (or four) Theodoroi known from bibliography.

[12] http://www.ancienttouch.com/byzantine%20lead%20seals.htm; accessed: 19 - 04 – 2017.
[13] Zacos 1984, 182 (no. 302), 189 (no. 315).
[14] Speck 1986, 199 (no. 147).

On the other hand, it is very unusual to abbreviate geographical names in this way. What the craftsmen or the inscribers did when there was not enough space was either to squeeze the letters in an extra line or use as many abbreviations as possible in the last line or an additional one. Separating the letters of the geographical name in this way (above and below the inscription) is a method that has not been encountered so far and indeed this explanation seems quite implausible. It is very likely, thus, that in this case too we are dealing with a craftsman's signature and I would go for this option without, however, entirely excluding that of the geographical name.

The two examples presented above (the seals issued by Stephanos, *magistros* and Theodoros, *dioiketes*) are very peculiar. Certainly, not every seal bearing randomly placed letters should be regarded as evidence for a craftsman's mark. In most cases the characters that are not related to the main body of the inscription are the result of a double (or even triple) struck, either by re-carving the matrix of a *boulloterion* or by cleaning a disc's surface and striking with a different *boulloterion*. Sometimes the craftsmen forget to erase all the letters, sometimes the second struck goes on top of an intact seal. Here, however, we face something different. These two seals (or at least the first one) bear, in my opinion, the mark / signature of the *boulloterion*'s craftsman, an issue which has remained so far unexplored. Additionally, both seals are of special interest regarding their owners. In the case of the latter, if there is no craftsman's mark, could have been issued by a *dioiketes* of Hellas. Any identification with other *dioiketai* named Theodoros, though, is uncertain. The first seal was probably issued by Stephanos, *magistros*, cousin of patriarch Photios, who was active in philanthropy. The obverse of this specimen shows a very rare (in fact unique) verse from Paul's *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*.

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Trade Routes of the Lower Danube (10th – 11th centuries) according to the archaeological, numismatical and sigillographical data

Ivan Jordanov, Zhenya Zhekova

Abstract: *Archaeological data.* The Romanian archeologists recently discovered artefacts of the Viking presence from the second half of the 10th century in the fortress next to Nufaru village, Tulcha district. The settlemen is situated on the river bank called St. George of the Danube. Some scholars located mediaeval Pereyaslavets or Little Preslav on the very same place.

Numismatical data. Probably in that trade zone the coins were used. The question is what type of coins? Mainly Byzantine because they are of a first rate standard. The Russian coins had not come yet. We have a large list of Byzantine coins from the 10th – 11th centuries – stray finds and deposits from the territory of Lower Danube. At the same time there are circulated imitative Byzantine coins produced by Bulgarians for example.

Sigillographical data. Till now the seals of two *kommerkiarioi* are known in the area of Lower Danube – from Dristra and Preslavitsa. They were established after *ca*. 1000 when the Danube became a north imperial border. The *kommerkiarioi* of Preslavitsa could be localized with *Pereyaslavets na Dunai* from the Russian primary chronicle.

Key words: Pereyaslavets, coins, seals

Резюме: *Археологически данни.* Наскоро румънски археолози разкриха викингско селище от втората половина на X в. при с. Нуфару, област Тулча, на брега на един от ръкавите на Дунав – Св. Георги. Именно там някои изследователи локализират средновековния Переяславец или Малък Преславец.

Нумизматични данни. Очевидно е, че тази търговска зона (емпорион) е била обслужвана с монети, но какви? Най-напред византийски, които са утвърдено международно платежно средство. Руските все още не са се появили. Навярно са циркулирали и други, например подражания на византийските монети, сечени от заинтересовани страни, една от които България.

Увеличаването на броя на монетите оригинални и лети имитации през втората и третата четвърт на единадесетото столетие в няколко дунавски центъра, включително Дръстър, подсказва за превръщането им в емпории, които играят конкретна роля в политическото и икономическо общуване между Византия и варварския свят.

Сфрагистични данни. Станаха известни печатите на две комеркиарии на Долния Дунав (Дръстър и Преславица), създадени след превръщането на Дунав в северна граница на империята, след 1000-та година. Тази на Преславица би могла да се локализира с *Переяславец на Дунай* от „Повест временных лет".

Svjatoslav is reported to say I should prefer to live in Perejaslavec on the Danybe since that is the centre of my realm, where all riches are concentrated; gold, silk, wine and various fruits from Greece, silver and horses from Hungary and Bohemia and from Rus' furs, wax honey and slaves.

(Russian primary chronicle. Year 969)

These words of Svyatoslav, the Kievian King, outlined a specific trade zone even an emporion in the modern version of the notion, in which commodities come from all over the world.

The last quarter of the 10th century is a peculiar pick in the history of Little Preslav or Perejaslavets. The emporion probably was established much earlier and was a meeting place for the merchants from the Central Europe, Byzantium, Bulgaria and Kievian Russ. Little Preslav or Perejaslavets was another frontier trade point (an emporion) that the Byzantine empire established on its borderline. Through it passed over not only the Bulgarian-Byzantine trade but a part of the European as well.

Its advantage as an important trade point is a result of its location. The emporion was situated at the very end of the Danubian corridor which linked Central Europe with the Black Sea and thence with Constantinople.

All these records from the 'Russian primary chronicle' are used and commented upon by various researchers but no material evidences have been found. Some progress in that direction was ascertained lately.

Three groups of evidences are used in this study: archaeological, numismatic and sigillographical.

Archaeological data

The Romanian archeologists recently discovered artefacts of the Viking presence from the second half of the 10th century in the fortress next to Nufaru village, Tulcha district.[1] The settlement is situated on the river bank called St. George of the Danube (fig. 1). Some scholars located mediaeval Pereyaslavets or Little Preslav on the very same place.

Following the successful campaign of the Byzantine emperor John I Tzimiskes against the armies of the Russian knyaz, Sviatoslav, in 971, the Constantinople military and administrative structure was restored on the Lower Danube.

[1] Damian & Vasile 2011, 275-290.



Fig. 1.

There were established two byzantine strategies: Preslavitsa[2] and Dristra[3] the seals of which have reached us. The seals of their *strategoi* were found and they clearly informed us about the names of the strategies and the names of the governors as well. Immediately after the occupation of Preslavets from the Byzantines they gave it the name of Theodoropolis.[4] Respectively the name of the region was West Mesopotamia.[5] After the second occupation of these territories in 1000, the name of Preslavets (Preslavitsa) was restored. Up to the formation of the katepano of Paristrion or Paradounavon in 1059,[6] Dristra and Preslavitsa are the strategies.

The village of Nufăru is situated on the right shore of the most southern branch of the Danube River, Saint George. The systematic excavations began in 1978 and have continued every year since then, letting us conclude that a Byzantine fortification was built in the last quarter of the 10th century (fig. 2 a,b,c). Despite the fact that the archaeological site is beneath the contemporary village, due to the archaeological excavations there is the restoration of the inner wall, so far the five towers were discovered, as well as

[2] Iordanov 1982, 335-340; Jordanov 2003b, no. 63, 144-154.
[3] Iordanov 2015, 49-103.
[4] Iordanov 1983, 58-63; Jordanov 2009, nos. 33, 88-89.
[5] Oikonomides 1965, 57-79; Iordanov 2005, 263-271.
[6] Jordanov 2003a, 63-75.

a wharf, some dwellings, complexes for storage or home-based manufacture, several necropolises, many artifacts (ceramics, tools, weapons, small finds, coinslead seals). It was outlined the image of an urban centre and the life of its inhabitants, from the 10th to the middle of the 13th century, also the trade contacts with the Byzantine Empire and other related regions. The settlement beneath the village of Nufăru was identified with the medieval town named *Bruscavitza-Proslavitza*, known from the navigation maps and notaries' documents.[7]



Fig. 2 a.



Fig. 2 b.



Fig. 2 c.

Some artefacts (four wooden mortars, a hammer for grinding the grains, a big comb or fork for weaving or for processing wool, a handle stave extension, a bowl, a spoon, a top, a small frame, a wax-writing tablet) found in or outside of the buildings are evidence for using the wood in the domestic or in economic activities (fig. 3). A small wooden cross could be associated with a Christian worship. It seems that building timber was local – oak for the foundations logs and willow tree for the floors. The small objects are made of coniferous tree wood, there is an argument than these artefacts were brought from elsewhere and do not belong to the Lower Danube region.

All these structures seem to represent a domestic complex, with two phases of occupation, dating – by stratigraphical position and by sandy local pottery discovered – from the second half on the 10th century.

[7] Damian & Vasile 2011, 276.

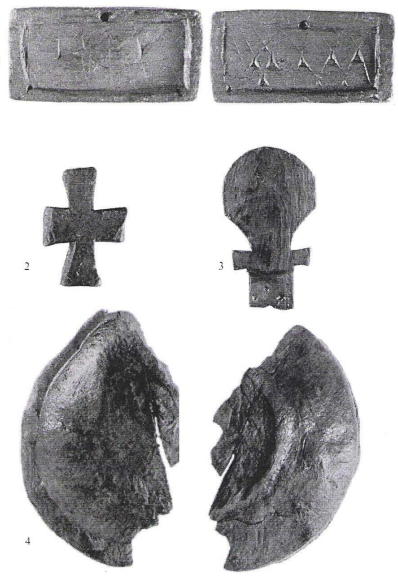


Fig. 3.

There are very few wood artefacts well preserved in Romania and even less dating from the Middle Age. The authors of the publication presume that these complexes with well-preserved archaeological wood, unusual for the Byzantine culture, could be related to a northern population, Vikings or Varangians – a trade expedition along the Lower Danube, in their route down the Dnieper to the Black Sea and then farther to Constantinople, or an eventual temporary establishment inside the Nufăru fortification of some mercenaries of the Byzantine armies.[8]

Numismatical data

Probably in that trade zone coins were used. The question is what type of coins? Mainly Byzantine because they are of a first rate standard. The Russian coins had not come yet. We have a large list of Byzantine coins from the 10th – 11th centuries – stray finds and deposits from the territory of Lower Danube.[9] At the same time there are circulated imitative Byzantine coins produced by Bulgarians for example.

In the second half of the 10th century Bulgaria produced imitative coinage based on the Byzantine gold and copper coins. The gold issues are imitative solidus of the Byzantine emperors Basil I, Constantine VII and Romanus I (fig. 4). The copper ones follow the specimens of Constantine VII and Romanus I (fig. 5).[10]



Fig. 4 a,b.

During the 11th century this practice is still preserved. Local mints produced by cas-

[8] Damian & Vasile 2011, 277.
[9] Iordanov 1981, 23-36; 61-71; 91-108.
[10] Zhekova 2007, 368-374; Iordanov & Zhekova 2006, 191-200.

ting imitative folles which took a big part in the coin circulation. The production is mainly issues of Anonymous Folles classes A1, A2, and such with images and names of Byzantine emperors from the second half of the 11th century (fig. 6) and imitations of miliaresion of emperor John I Tzimisces (fig. 7).[11]



Fig. 5 a,b.



Fig. 6 a,b.



Fig. 7 a,b.

In the second and third quarter of the 11th century the amount of original and imitative coins in some Danubian fortresses including Dristra increased. This gives us a hint that they were transformed into emporiums playing a special part in political and economical communication between Byzantium and the barbarian world. It means that the coins did not come in a circulated medium. They have another task – not to be used at the domestic market but mainly across border. A question arises – whether the coins from that time are a true payment or they are a kind of value, a metal, to exchange for a standing obligation between the Empire and her neighbours.[12]

[11] Iordanov 1980, 16-18; Iordanov & Zhekova 2006, 191-200.

[12] Kirilov 2009, 363-364.



Fig. 8 a,b.



Fig. 9 a,b.



Fig. 10 a,b.

Sigillographical data

Till now are known the seals of two kommerkiaries in the area of Lower Danube – Dristra and Preslavitsa.[13] They were established after *ca*. 1000 when the Danube became a north imperial border.

I. Seals of the kommerkiarioi of Dristra

As a border center of the Empire a *kommerkia* was established located on an important water way in Dristra. Its functions were linked to gathering the taxes of the import and export trade. The evidences for its existence are the seals of titulars which were preserved.

1. Andronicus imperial spatharios and kommerkiarios of Dristra – first half of the 11th century. From the collection of Regional Historical Museum – Shumen. Its origin is Silistra (fig. 8).[14]

2. Dionysius spatarokandidates and kommerkiarios of Dristra – first half of the 11th century. From the collection of Regional Historical Museum – Shumen. Its origin is Silistra (fig. 9).[15]

[13] Iordanov 2013, 115-123.
[14] Jordanov & Zhekova 2007, no. 285.
[15] Jordanov & Zhekova 2007, no. 286.

3. John kommerkiarios of Dristra – 11th century. Private collection (fig. 10).[16]

4. John Spondyles kommerkiarios of Dristra – first half of the 11th century. From the collection of Dumbarton Oaks.[17] Its origin is probably Istanbul (fig. 11).

According to the seals we have information about three or four *kommerkiarioi* of Dristra. For now it is impossible to determine the exact way of their functions. They have a common date – most likely in the first half of the 11th century.



Fig. 11 a,b.

II. Seals of the *kommerkiarioi* of Preslavitsa

We have also mentioned that the historical successor of Preslavets or Little Preslavets is Preslavitsa. The seals of *strategos* and *kommerkiarioi* of Preslavitsa are known there. This town has the same location as Dristra – borderline center, situated on a main water way in direct connection with Constantinople. Several *kommerkiarioi* are known there:



Fig. 12 a,b.

1. Eustathios Mytas (?) chartoularios and kommerkiarios of Preslavitsa – first half of the 11th century according to a specimen from the Archaeological museum in Istanbul. It is probably originating from Constantinople (fig. 12).[18]

[16] Jordanov 2009, no.1174.
[17] Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1991, no. 65.2
[18] Cheynet, Bulgurlu *et al*. 2012, no. 3.97



Fig. 13 a,b.

2. Eustratios Romanakes (?) spatarokandidatos and kommerkiarios of Preslavitsa – 11th century, according to two seals of Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 47. 2.2. 2128 and Fogg A. M., no. 1750).[19] Its probable origin is Constantinople (fig. 13).

3. John kommerkiarios of Preslavitsa – 11th century, according to a seal of Dumbarton Oaks (DO 47. 2. 137). Its probable origin is Constantinople (fig. 14).[20]



Fig. 14 a,b.

4. Sergios chartoularios and kommerkiarios of Preslavitsa, according to two seals of Zacos collection[21] and Dumbarton Oaks (Fogg A. M., no. 860).[22] Its probable origin is Constantinople. A third specimen was found in Skopje.[23] The governor of thema Bulgaria probably was the receiver of the letter. Till the end of 1059 these lands are under his jurisdiction (fig. 15).

A chronology of the particular owners is not possible yet. All these seals are the only evidence that has reached us from the once prosperous town.



Fig. 15 a,b.

All these artefacts – archaeological, numismatical and sigillographical increased our knowledge about the population in the Lower Danube area in the 10th – 11th century and took us closer to their daily life.

[19] Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1991, no. 78.1
[20] Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1991, no. 78.2
[21] Zacos 1984, no. 1043
[22] Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1991, no. 78.3
[23] Mihajlovski 2016, 261-316.

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Reflections of the Imperial Ideology on the Seals of the Latin Emperor Baldwin II of Courtenay

Nikolay Kanev

Abstract: The formation of the imperial ideology of Latin Empire of Constantinople started as early as the establishment of the empire itself in 1204. It aimed to justify the fundamental basis of the authority of the Latin Emperors and their special place as Emperors of the East in the Christian world. The ideology reflected directly on the images and the legend on the emperor's seals including on those of the last Latin emperor Baldwin (Baudouin) II of Courtenay (1228-1261) which are the main goal of this study. Special attention is paid to the question why Baldwin II manifested himself as 'Flanders' rather than 'Courtenay' in spite of his appurtenance to this young branch of the French royal dynasty of Capetian.

Key words: Baldwin II, Imperial Ideology, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, lead seal, Courtenay, Flanders, Porphyrogenitus

Резюме: Императорската идеология на Латинската Константинополска империя започва да се формира още със създаването на последната през 1204 г. и цели да обоснове фундаменталните основи на властта на латинските императори и тяхното особено място като императори на християнския Изток. Тя намира своето пряко отражение и върху императорските печати, като тази статия се фокусира конкретно върху нейното отражение върху печатите на последния латински император на Константинопол Бодуен II дьо Куртьоне. Специално внимание е отделено и на въпроса защо Бодуен II се афишира като Фландърски, а не като Куртьоне, въпреки принадлежността му именно към този младши клон на френската кралска династия на Капетингите.

The formation of the imperial ideology of the Latin Empire of Constantinople began immediately after its establishment in 1204. It aimed to justify the fundamental basis of the authority of the Latin Emperors and their special place as Emperors of the East in the Christian world. The Latin Empire itself can be defined as an import of the French feudal political model on Byzantine soil, but at the same time it is an example of the peculiar and sometimes profound interweaving of the reality and traditions of the Catholic West

and the Orthodox East, along with its imperial ideology. Thus, despite the inevitable Western influences, the Latin Empire was based on the Byzantine imperial ideology. In fact, this is not surprising. If modern people and historiography view the capture of Constantinople on the 13th of April 1204 as the end of Byzantium and the beginning of something new, namely, the Latin Empire, it was not like that for the participants in the Fourth Crusade, nor for Western Europe in general. For the medieval people from the West there was only one Empire in the East before and after 1204 and that was *Romania*. What made difference was just the fact that the 'schismatic Greeks' held *Romania* up to the 13th of April 1204 and after that date the Latins, or 'Franks', being the true Christians, took it over under the spiritual power of the Pope. The knights certainly envisaged the events of 1204 as capture, but not destruction of the Eastern Empire. It continued its existence, but already belonging to the 'Latins' according to the rule of conquest. From this point of view, it is quite logical that the ruling elites of the so-called Latin Empire had accepted, at least when it was needed or convenient for them, the Byzantine imperial ideology. It could be even stated that the official ideology of the Latin Empire was nothing else than the Byzantine imperial ideology, but in a Catholic French form.

The imperial ideology is directly reflected on the imperial seals, which are therefore the primary source for studying and monitoring its development. The primary idea of the author of the present article was to study in detail the influence of the imperial ideology on the seals of the Latin Emperors of Constantinople. Meanwhile, however, I had the chance to read Filip van Tricht's book published in English in 2011, which is study of the Latin Empire between 1204 and 1228. A whole chapter in the book is devoted to the imperial ideology paying due attention to the seals of the Latin Emperors up to the year 1228.[1] Therefore, the implementation of the above-mentioned idea became pointless with regard to the period covered by Filip van Tricht. That is why I decided to confine my study to the seals of Baldwin (Baudouin) II of Courtenay (1228-1261), the last Latin Emperor.

The seals of Emperor Baldwin II as a whole can be divided chronologically into two groups. The first group includes the seals from the first decade of his reign, when the young emperor was under the custody of his sister Marie de Courtenay, the widow of the late emperor Theodore I Lascaris, later under the trusteeship of the regent Narjot of Toucy, and finally, even after reaching adulthood, under the control of the former king of Jerusalem Jean de Brienne who had the staunch support of Pope Gregory IX.[2] Insofar as Baldwin II was

[1] Van Tricht 2011.

[2] For the Treaty of Perugia (April 1229), the imperial designation of Jean de Brienne and the role of the Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) see Dancheva-Vasileva 1985, 125-127.

not the real ruler of the Empire during that period, this had a direct reflection on his seals, on which he was entitled *son of the emperor* or *future emperor*, not the current emperor and Augustus himself.[3] From this perspective, the seals of this first group, despite some elements in their iconography and legends, could not be seen as typical imperial seals either.

The seals belonging to the second group include the period after the death of Jean de Brienne in March 1237[4] when Baldwin II was already the ruling Emperor and since 1240 crowned Emperor and actual head of state of the Latin Empire up to 1261 when, after the capture of Constantinople by the Nicene troops and the restoration of the Byzantine Empire by Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261, he remained titular Latin emperor until his death in 1273. That second group of seals is in the focus of the scholarly interest in the present article. The seals from the second period, presenting Baldwin II as a reigning Emperor, were understandably more representative in the context of the imperial ideology.[5]

The known seals of Baldwin II as the Emperor of Constantinople are usually dated in the period 1240-1261, i.e. between his imperial coronation in 1240 and the capture of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261, when the Latin Empire ceased to exist. In fact, the dating of the imperial seals should be extended from the death of Jean de Brienne up to the death of Baldwin in 1273 since for the latter as well as for the Latin West in general, the dismantling of the Latin Empire in 1261 by its Nicean rival cannot be considered a legitimate act, but only a temporarily existing situation, and therefore in the eyes of the Catholic world and in his own eyes Baldwin II remained the rightful emperor of Constantinople and Romania after 1261. Thus, Baldwin II continued to seal his correspondence and documents with

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[3] For the seals of Baldwin II where he had advertised himself as *son of the Emperor* and a *future Emperor* see Schlumberger 1890, 13-14, no. 1-2; 1943, 169-170, no. 9-10.

[4] The repeated 'regency' of Narjot of Toucy in 1238-1239 as well as that of Anseau of Cayeux in 1237-1238, were connected with the absence from Constantinople of Baldwin II, who was in Western Europe at that time, and not at all with the young age or some other reason for 'disability' of the reigning Emperor. The imperial coronation took place in April 1240, after his return, but the rights of a ruling Emperor he had received, however, as early as March 1237, after the death of Jean de Brienne, when Baldwin was 19 years old. In 1238, the Latin barons in Constantinople changed Anseau with Narjot exactly by the will of Baldwin who wanted to ensure the order of the Empire until his return back from France – see Zhavoronkov 2000, 79.

[5] The total number of the known Baldwin II's seals is 27, 25 belonging to the second group. See Schlumberger 1890, 13-19, no. 1-8; 1943, 169-173, no. 9-25; Zacos & Veglery 1972, 104, nos. 114 a-b; Genova 1985, 12-15; Stepanenko 1999, 212-219; Jordanov 2009, 108-109, no. 204; Nesbitt, Wassiliou-Seibt *et al*. 2009, 32-33, no. 4; Kanev & Totev 2015, 374-380.

his imperial seals after 1261 just as he had done before that date. Consequently, the seals of Baldwin II as *imperator Romaniae* should be dated in the period between 1237 and 1273.

According to the widely accepted typology of the Byzantine sigillography, the imperial seals of Baldwin II could be divided according to the material from which they are made into gold seals (or chrysobuls), lead seals (or molybdobuls) and wax seals. The gold seals seem to originate from two different bulloterions and five of them are known nowadays. Most of them are with diameter of 37 to 38 mm, sealing accurately dated documents from the late 1240s and also from the late 1260s, thus partly pointing to the time when Baldwin was already a titular and not a real Latin Emperor.[6] Virtually all gold and lead seals of Baldwin II of this period have identical iconography and legend, which allows their summarized presentation as a group. On the obverse of the gold seals, the Emperor is depicted in Byzantine manner seated on a low throne, with imperial vestments and crown with pendilia. In his right hand he holds a long scepter surmounted by a cross, in his left hand – a globus cruciger. Around the image of the Emperor, between two borders of dots, there is a Latin inscription: B(alduinus) D(e)I GRA(tia) IMP(er)AT(or) [RO]MAN(iae) SE(m)P(er) AVG(ustus). On the reverse Baldwin is presented mounted on a horse moving towards the right. The emperor is portrayed frontally, wearing a crown with pendilia and holding a scepter with a cross in his right hand. There is an inscription in Greek in a double-dotted circle around the image as follows: ΒΑΛΔϬΙΝΟϹ ΔΕϹΠΟΤΗϹ Ο ΠΟΡΦΙΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟϹ Ο ΦΛΑΝΤΡΑϹ.

There are ten specimens known so far from the lead seals of Baldwin II, some of them in a very good condition. They originated from at least three or four bulloterions.[7] The diameter varies from 43 to 53 mm, being generally larger than the gold seals, but nearly identical in the iconography and the legend. On the obverse the Emperor is depicted sitting on a low throne, setting

[6] Schlumberger 1943, 170-171, no. 11-15. See also Schlumberger 1890, 14-16, no. 3-4, with the published golden seals from the years 1268 and 1269 along with a survey of the publications concerning them. See also Gray Birch 1898, no. 17.462, as well as Zacos & Veglery 1972, 104.

[7] Schlumberger 1890, 16-17, no. 5; 1943, 171-172, no. 16, 16a, 21; Zacos & Veglery 1972, 104, no. 114 a-b; Genova 1985, 12-15; Stepanenko 1999, 212-219; Jordanov 2009, 108-109, no. 204; Nesbitt, Wassiliou-Seibt *et al*. 2009, 32-33, no. 4. Another new found and rather interesting seal of Baldwin II could be added as well. It was found in the Popovo region of Bulgaria, to the east of the medieval Bulgarian capital of Tarnovo. This molybdobul was presented by the author of the current article together with Prof. K. Totev on the Fourth National Conference 'Travel to Bulgaria. Bulgaria in the global cultural heritage' (Shumen, 14-16 May 2014) – see Kanev & Totev 2015, 374-380.

foot on a low upholstered footstool, with a crown and *loro*s, thrown across the left hand. In his right hand the emperor holds a long scepter surmounted by a cross, in his left hand – a globus cruciger. There is a circle inscription in a double-dotted circle with text in Latin: BALDVINVS DEI GRA(tia) IMP(er)ATOR ROMANIAE SEMP(er) AVGV(stus). On the reverse, Baldwin II is portrayed frontally as emperor triumphator on horseback moving in the right direction. He is wearing a stemma with pendilia and in his right hand he is carrying a scepter with a cross. There is an inscription in Greek in a double-dotted circle around the image as follows: ΒΑΛΔϬΙΝΟϹ ΔΕϹΠΟΤΗϹ Ο ΠΟΡΦΙΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟϹ Ο ΦΛΑΝΤΡΑϹ.[8]

The same legend as that on the obverse of the gold and lead seals of Baldwin II, as well as a very similar image of the emperor, is repeated on his wax seals.[9] In fact, they fit into the overall picture of Baudouin II's seals, and therefore it is not necessary here to dwell in detail on them.

What is important is the similarity of image and text on all the seals, both on the obverse and the reverse,[10] the legend being as follows:

> Balduinus Dei gratia im[p(er)ator Ro]maniae semp(er) augu(stus).
> Βαλδουῖνος δεσπότης ὸ πορφυρογέννητος ὸ Φλάντρας.

In the centre of the obverse is the solemn image of the Emperor Baldwin II sitting on a throne dressed in all the glamor of imperial vestments in the manner of the Byzantine emperors, and the traditional insignia of the last imperial power - a stemma with pendilia and a scepter with a cross along with the formula *Balduinus Dei gratia imp(er)ator Romaniae semp(er)*

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[8] The obverse side is that with the throne depiction of Baldwin II together with the legend in Latin, according to Schlumberger, Seibt and Nesbitt, while Zacos, Veglery and Jordanov accept as obverse the side with the Greek legend: Schlumberger 1890, 16-17; Nesbitt, Wassiliou-Seibt *et al*. 2009, 32-33; Zacos & Veglery 1972, 104; Jordanov 2009, 108. Perhaps Zacos and Jordanov were influenced in their opinion by the fact, that the Greek name and the title δεσπότης on the obverse have the lead seals of Baldwin I of Flanders, Henry of Hainaut and Robert of Courtenay. The Greek legend there, however, accompanied the throne depiction of the Emperor, not an image on horseback. The last published so far lead seal of Baldwin II is with an excellent quality and belongs to the collection of Robert Hecht, Jr. The legend on the obverse is: 'Balduinus Dei gratia im[p(er)ator Ro]maniae semp(er) augu(stus)', on the other side, respectively: 'Βαλδουῖνος δεσπότης πορ[φυρογέννητο]ς ὸ Φλάντρ[ας]' – see Nesbitt, Wassiliou-Seibt *et al*. 2009, no. 4.

[9] For the wax seals of Baldwin II see more in detail in Schlumberger 1890, 17-19, no. 6-8; 1943, 171-173, nos. 17-20, 22-25.

[10] Lacking the reverse, the wax seals otherwise follow the imagery of the obverses on the other seals of Baldwin II.

augu(stus), that is, 'Baldwin, by the grace of God Emperor of Romania and eternal August'. The image brings the strong suggestion of legitimacy, full range of power and inviolability of the rights bestowed on the Latin Emperor by the grace of God. That image, with almost no deviations, was used by the previous Latin Emperors on their seals, too, following Byzantine traditions with the clear aim of stressing the idea of continuity of power between the Latin Emperors and their Byzantine predecessors in Constantinople.

Thanks to the high number of preserved imperial seals of Baldwin II, over ten of them, there is no doubt about the correct reading of the legend on them – both in its entirety and its individual components. It can be stated for sure that on all seals appears the formula ***Imperator Romaniae*** and nowhere has it been replaced by that of *Emperor of the Romans* (***Imperator Romanorum***). These two formulas reflect the traditional understanding of the two empires of Christendom – the Western and the Eastern, but the former is related to the already long-established in the Catholic world view of the superiority of the Western (also known as Holy) Roman Empire over the Eastern Roman Empire, which the Latins called Romania, its emperor being not Emperor of the Romans, but simply *Imperator Romaniae*, as opposed to the Western Emperor, entitled *Imperator Romanorum,* i.e. *Emperor of the Romans*.[11] While on the basis of the Byzantine imperial traditions, the first Latin emperors can be assumed in some cases to have used the formula *Imperator Romanorum*, claiming equality with the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire,[12] Baldwin II preferred to avoid additional complications associated with the highly problematic question of 'the two emperors'and the superiority of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire over the one in Constantinople, so that on the seals in question he preferred to entitle himself just as *Emperor of Romania*.[13]

The image of Baldwin II on the reverse as a mounted warrior-king, although with a scepter instead of a weapon (which together with the crown with pendilia on his head aims to symbolize his power as emperor), is a sufficiently widespread iconographic theme in the West and in the East, referring clearly to the military nature of the monarchical power. Baldwin was

[11] For the parallel use of both formulas and the meaning of every one of them, see Van Tricht 2011, 62-77.

[12] In many sources there was frequently repeated the formula *a Deo coronatus* by the Emperors Baldwin I, Henry and Robert in order to emphasize their preeminence in comparison with the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire who were crowned with the *grace of God*, but actually by the Pope. See Van Tricht 2011, 67 and 76-77.

[13] On his earliest seals from the 1230-s Baldwin used the denomination *Emperor of Constantinople,* too, as equivalent to the *Emperor of Romania*. See Schlumberger 1890, 14-16.

presented obviously as a defender of the Empire and triumphant Emperor, too.[14] The idea of a Christian emperor – protector and warrior, is intertwined with allusions associated with the popular medieval images of the equestrian holy warriors and martyrs, and with the Western ideal of the ruler as a true knight. In fact, the image of a mounted warrior-king was used on all of the known seals of Latin Emperors, starting from Baldwin I and finishing with his namesake Baldwin II. Moreover, the seals of the Counts of Flanders also traditionally depict the Flanders Count as a knight on horseback.There is a notable difference, however, so far as the mounted image of Baldwin II is not a knightly one, in contrast with his Latin predecessors. The Emperor is dressed like a Byzantine Emperor with the corresponding insignia, his horse is not galloping, but rather moving in a solemn parade pace. Undoubtedly influenced by the spirit of Byzantine tradition, this image aims to emphasize the ruler's essence and image of the emperor.

Special point of interest presents the legend on the reverse of the seals of Baldwin II. The inscription is entirely in Greek, like the Greek legends on the seals of Baldwin's predecessors on the throne of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. Their Greek legends were put, however, on the obverse and only rarely on the reverse, as it was the practice for the seals of Baldwin II.[15] The inscription in Greek aimed to legitimize the Latin Emperor of Constantinople in front of his Byzantine subjects in a sufficiently understandable and acceptable manner. The legend on the reverse contains four distinct elements, the latter two of which are unique to the sigillography of the Latin Empire and can be found only on the seals of Baldwin II. The first of the four elements is the name of the Emperor in Greek as Βαλδουῖνος. The second is the title δεσπότης, used as equivalent to Emperor (βασιλεύς) in the Byzantine Empire not only in the period 10th to 12th century, but also during 13th-14th century. It is, however, not to be confused with the homonymous rank title created by Manuel I Komnenos.[16] The use of the Byzantine imperial

[14] When viewed from the focus of the Byzantine sigillography and numismatics, the image of the mounted Emperor as triumphant on the seals of Baldwin II seems to be unique and without analogue from the seals of the Byzantine Emperors. See Stepanenko 1999, 215 and 218, as well as the note 17 on p. 215.

[15] As it was demonstrated, the legend in Greek of the most of the seals of the Latin Emperors from 1204 to 1228 was posted on the obverse, the Latin one – on the reverse. There were, however, two molybdobuls of Emperor Henry, published by Schlumberger 1943, 168, with Latin legend on the obverse and Greek – on the reverse.

[16] Created by Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) in 1163 as the highest honorary title in the Byzantine ranking hierarchy, the title *despotes* (δεσπότης) kept this high status during the next three centuries, being the first after that of the Emperor himself, who stood above the whole rang hierarchy. See Kanev 2004, 339 and 342-343.

title in that form, namely *despot,* was well known to the Byzantines and had to demonstrate, furthermore, the legitimate status of Baldwin as the Emperor of the *Rhomaioi*, but also to emphasize the continuity between the Latin Empire and the Byzantine Emperors from the Komnenoi dynasty.[17] Thus, the legend on the reverse of the seals of Baldwin II directly copied the reverse of the molybdobuls of Manuel I Komnenos by its first three components, including *ὁ πορφυρογέννητος*.[18] The right to be called *porphyrogennitoi* was reserved only for the representatives of the imperial family of Byzantium who were born in the Porphyry hall of the Palace during the period of reign of their father, so therefore related to the imperial rights, dignity and power by birth. Baldwin II is the only one of all Latin emperors that could be considered *Porphyrogenitus*, being born in the palace in Constantinople at the end of 1217 by his mother Empress Yolanda of Hainaut and of Flanders, the sister and the rightful heiress to her predecessor, the second Latin Emperor Henry (1206-1216), that is, Baldwin was born after the imperial coronation of his father Peter of Courtenay in Rome in April 1217 by Pope Honorius III (1216-1227). It is indicative enough that Baldwin II underlines its *Porphyrogenitus* status, which could be of significance in the Byzantine political and civilizational space (where he is definitely referring to legal rights over Constantinople), but the same fact could hardly be of significance for the representatives of the Catholic world for whom this specific Byzantine *realia* remains sufficiently remote and even unknown.[19] It is not a coincidence, too, that the emphasis on his *Porphyrogenitus* status is included in the Greek legend on the reverse, while in the Latin one on the front it is missing. The message was obviously directed first to the *Rhomaioi*, for whom this is a strong argument for his legitimacy as emperor, and, second, to the states of the Byzantine and Orthodox community, but not to the Latins. For the latter the fact that Baldwin had been *Porphyrogenitus* was unlikely to confer legitimacy.

The last component of the Greek legend on the reverse – ὁ Φλάντρας – presents the Emperor as Baldwin of Flanders, or *de Flandre* in French, and poses a series of questions. Firstly, why Baldwin presented himself as Flanders when actually belonging to the family of Courtenay? Why this name appears, furthermore, in the Greek legend on the reverse, rather than on the Latin

[17] It was not by chance that as δεσπότης were titled at approximately the same time the Emperors of Nicaea Theodore I Lascaris and John III Doucas Vatatzes in their molybdobuls. See Zacos & Veglery 1972, 106-109, nos. 116-118; Jordanov 2009, 108-109, nos. 205-207.

[18] For the molybdobuls of Manuel I Komnenos see Laurent 1962, no. 13; Zacos & Veglery 1972, 96-97, no. 107 a-c; Seibt 1978, 106-108, № 29; Cheynet, Morrisson *et al*. 1991, no. 8; Jordanov 2009, 104, nos. 195-196.

[19] See also Stepanenko 1999, 218-219.

one on the obverse? Should it not be the case that, as he chose to advertise his family name (unlike his eminent predecessors Baldwin I and Henry, and his brother Robert), this name should appear exactly in the Latin legend as – whether Flanders or Courtenay – it would mean a lot to the people of Western origin, but at least at first glance very little for residents of the Orthodox East and in particular for the *Rhomaioi* subjects of the Latin Empire.[20] What was the ultimate reason for ὸ Φλάντρας, equivalent to the French *de Flandre*, to appear in the legend on the reverse?

It seems rather strange that Baldwin II preferred to be Flanders than Courtenay, although the family of his father used to be noble and eminent.[21] As a matter of fact, Courtenay was a family of princes with royal blood stretching back to the Capetian dynasty. Baldwin II was a son of Peter II of Courtenay, lord of Courtenay and Montargis (1183-1217), count of Nevers (1185-1199), count of Auxerre and Tonnerre (1185-1217) and Latin Emperor of Constantinople (1216-1217). The father of Peter II was Peter I of France, lord of Courtenay, the youngest son of King Louis VI of France (1108-1137) and brother of Louis VII (1137-1180). Thus, Peter I was an uncle and Peter II was respectively a cousin of the French king Philip II Augustus (1180-1223). Philip's sister was, moreover, Agnes of France who became a Byzantine Empress as a consort to both Alexios II Komnenos and Andronikos I. The latter fact was not without importance for a Latin Emperor in Constantinople. Baldwin II was by all means a representative of one of the greatest feudal families in Western Europe at that time and a relative of the French kings. Why then he preferred Flanders to Courtenay on his seals? Actually, Baldwin belonged to the family of Flanders via his mother Yolanda of Hainaut, daughter of Baldwin V the Brave, count of Hainaut (1171-1195) and Margaret of Flanders, daughter of the count Thierry of Alsace.[22] Margaret inherited Flanders in 1191 from her brother Philip of Alsace and consequently ruled it together with her husband.[23] After her death in 1194, she was inherited by Baldwin IX, her

[20] For instance, just in the Latin legend on the seals of Baldwin I it is indicated clearly that he was the Emperor of *Romania*, but also the count of Flanders and Hainaut. See Schlumberger 1890, 6; Hendrickx 1974, 131; Van Tricht 2011, 63.

[21] The last known to me publication concerning the family of Courtenay is Saunier-Seité 1998.

[22] The rule and the family of that famous count of Flanders was of special interest in the historiography since the XIX century, when appeared the book of Wauters 1863.

[23] Baldwin V, count of Hainaut, was Baldwin VIII (1191-1194) as a count of Flanders. Insofar as the children of Baldwin and Margaret were born when their father was only count of Hainaut, they brought thus the family name ***De Hainaut***. Only the firstborn son Baldwin was named 'of Flanders', being count of Flanders under the name Baldwin IX (1194-1205). In 1195 Baldwin IX inherited the earldom of Hainaut, too, ruling there under the name Baldwin VI.

son and the future Latin Emperor Baldwin I of Constantinople (1204-1205), who, like Henry, were brothers of Yolanda. In fact, the family of Baldwin II's mother was one of the most powerful and richest noble families in Western Europe at the end of the 12th and the early 13th century, holding extensive fiefs – the two counties Flanders and Hainaut together with the marquisate of Namur. The counts of Flanders belonged to the highest stratum of the Western feudal aristocracy, second only to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and the kings. The financial resources of the counts of Flanders sometimes even surpassed those of the smaller kingdoms in Europe. Thus the very belonging to the Flanders household certainly brought enormous prestige in the Catholic world. However, this was hardly the main reason for Baldwin II to entitle himself Flanders on his seals not only because the Courtenay branch of the French Capetian dynasty was no less prestigious than Flanders, and therefore, if the Latin Emperor had intended to demonstrate prestigious origin, he would not have failed to indicate that he was a Courtenay, but also because the family affiliation in feudal Western Europe traditionally went on through the male, not the female line and, therefore, Baldwin II was Courtenay rather than Flanders. It is difficult to speculate on another possibility as well, that Baldwin wanted to stress his rights as a ruler of Flanders. Baldwin II was never Earl of Flanders, and at no time was he the direct heir so that he could call himself Flanders, although, of course, through his mother he could be a potential successor but only if those before him in the line of succession died without leaving offspring. At that time Flanders was ruled by the daughters of Baldwin I, Jeanne (1205-1244) and Margaret II (1244-1280) respectively. Ahead of Baldwin II in the line of inheritance were also the seven children of Margaret as well as his elder brother Henry of Namur up to his death in 1229. Thus, the self-determination of Baldwin II as Flanders was not justified as a manifestation of familial affiliation or as a manifestation of power or claim to authority over the county of Flanders.[24]

Furthermore, it should be noted that the reference to Emperor Baldwin II as Flanders (Φλάντρας) is not in the Latin legend of his seal, but in the Greek one, which shows that it was mainly directed to the attention of his *Rhomaioi* subjects and the East, not to the 'Latins' and the West. Why was it so important for Baldwin II to demonstrate that he was Φλάντρας not only to the people of Constantinople and the Latin empire, but also to the Byzantine world in general since he used the same seals on

[24] Stepanenko's assumption that the presentation of the last Latin Emperor as Baldwin of Flanders is related to his claim to the lands of his maternal family and aims to present him not only as an inheritor of the Emperors of Constantinople, but also of Flanders and Hainaut is questionable and hardly acceptable. See Stepanenko 1999, 219.

his correspondence with the rulers of the Christian East? As it was stated before, although Baldwin II was Courtenay, he belonged to the family of Flanders through his mother Yolanda of Hainaut. If for the Westerners the adoption of the mother's family name was incompatible with tradition and would have seemed somewhat strange, it was not so in the Byzantine world on whose territory the entire Latin Empire was situated. Since the era of the *Komnenoi* onwards it was common for the Byzantines to use and underline the family affiliation on maternal line as it would allow them to 'decorate' themselves with famous and noble family names. It was not rare, too, in the 12th-14th centuries that members of the Byzantine nobility, even relatives of the Emperor, to skip in their official legends on documents and seals their paternal family by certain reasons, but to demonstrate their maternal family links, considered of being more prestigious or politically correct.[25] Strictly speaking, Empress Yolanda belonged to the family of Hainaut, but being a daughter and sister of the counts of Flanders made her part of that family. She is the sister of the first two Latin emperors – Baldwin I of Flanders (who was the count of Flanders and of Hainaut) and Henry de Hainaut and, as a direct heir of Henry, she was the true Empress of Constantinople. Her husband Peter II of Courtenay owes his imperial crown to his marriage to Yolanda and it is not an accident that Pope Honorius III crowned both spouses because Yolanda was a ruling empress by inheritance, and not just as empress consort of the Emperor. Certainly, for the Byzantines the nuances of the French feudal family traditions and the thin dividing line between who should normally be called de Hainaut and who de Flanders were far from understandable. For the Byzantine subjects Yolanda was of Flanders along with her brothers Henry and the first Latin Emperor Baldwin I.

This could to a great extent explain the appearance of that Φλάντρας on the seals of Baldwin II. Baldwin II seeks to demonstrate to his subjects, who were mostly Orthodox Greek-speaking *Rhomaioi*, the legitimacy of his imperial power as a hereditary and lawful Emperor, by showing he was a direct descendant of the first Latin Emperor of *Romania* at a time when a new ruling 'Latin' dynasty established itself in Constantinople. More than that, it was not any new 'Latin' Empire, but the very same Eastern Roman Empire centered in Constantinople, but after 1204 by the grace of God and with divine permission, by the law derived from the power of victorious arms it is headed by another dynasty – Flanders. Certainly, in the eyes of the Byzantine

[25] Among the famous examples of using the name of the mother's family line in the XII c., we could give just few: the *kaisar* John Dalasenos, the son-in-law of the Emperor John II Komnenos, with the actual name of Rogerios, or the nephew of the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos – the *sebastos* Andronikos Komnenos, whose father's family was Vatatzes. See Stiernon 1964, 185-187; Jordanov 2006, 221.

population of the Latin Empire, the ruling emperors are representatives of one dynasty and that is the Flanders dynasty. Once in May 1204 Baldwin Count of Flanders, through the Latin conquest, seized the imperial throne in Constantinople, and after him the throne was assumed in turn by his brother Henry and his sister Yolanda, then the empire was ruled by a new dynasty that continues with Yolanda's sons Robert and Baldwin II; and when the first emperor of this dynasty is Baldwin of Flanders, i.e. ὸ Φλάντρας, it is a logical conclusion for the Greeks in Constantinople that the dynasty is called Flanders, and that, like his predecessors (without the emperor regent Jean de Brienne) Baldwin II is ὸ Φλάντρας. This is an opportunity to emphasize in an understandable way that Baldwin II is the legitimate emperor of *Romania* – one not only by God's mercy, but also by inheritance since before him on the throne of the Eastern Empire were his brother, his mother and his father and both his uncles.

The search for legitimacy on the part of the supreme power by reference to hereditary rights should not be underestimated. In fact, during this period the question of the legitimacy of the imperial power is very important in the Byzantine world as a whole. Although everyone is well aware that often it is the might of arms that gives and retains power, the dominant view is that the true foundation of the Imperial power is its legitimacy, on which the power of each ruler rests, and the real and complete legitimacy exists only when the latter rests on hereditary rights to the throne. Not accidentally, in search of legitimacy based on inheritance rights during this period, the Epirote and later the Thessalian rulers proudly emphasize their family roots connected to the Doucas, the Komnenoi and the Angeloi. In Nicaea Theodore II Lascaris (1254-1258), son of John III Doucas Vatatzes (1222-1254), preferred to take the family name from his maternal side in order to stress the continuity with the reign of his grandfather Theodore I Lascaris (1208-1222), and, through this, with the Angeloi dynasty in the person of Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203).[26] Very similar was the picture in Bulgaria, Serbia and the Empire of Trapezund. For the Bulgarians there was one legitimate dynasty and that was the Assenids. Thus, for the Bulgarian tsars it was important to belong to that dynasty or, if not, to search for a suitable marriage with the Assenid clan and therefore add Assen to their imperial name. Komnenoi (the so-called Great Komnenoi) played the same role in the Empire of Trapezund

[26] As Emperor Alexios III Angelos did not have sons, the husband of his elder daughter, named Theodore Lascaris, was proclaimed to be the inheritor to the throne and honoured with the title of *despotes*, which was viewed by the Byzantine aristocracy that escaped to Nicaea as a legitimate transfer of the Imperial power after the conquest of the Byzantine capital Constantinople on April 13, 1204 by the participants in the Fourth Crusade.

and the Nemanjić family in Serbia was so dominant that nobody could think that even after a coup d'etat the royal crown may belong to another family. Therefore, Baldwin II's attempt to 'back up' the legitimacy of his imperial power by emphasizing dynastic rights, which, however, do not come through his father's lineage, but rather through his mother's belonging to the family of the first two Latin emperors of Constantinople was not an exception in the context of the prevailing political mentality of the day. Only in that context could we explain why the last Latin emperor, although Courtenay by origin, is called ὸ Φλάντρας on his seals.

* * *

The imperial ideology of the Latin Empire was deeply embedded in the Byzantine political traditions and the Byzantine understanding of the nature of the imperial power and legitimacy from the time of the *Komnenoi* and *Angeloi*, straying partly away from the Western concepts of monarchical power. Therefore, it was this imperial ideology, succinctly expressed through carefully selected iconographic themes and the accompanying formulas on the legend that found its place on the seals of the Latin emperors, and, in particular, those of Emperor Baldwin II. It should be noted, however, that Baldwin II's seals contain new ideologically loaded elements which are unique to them and which add specific nuances to the overall ideology of imperial power of the last ruler of the Latin Empire. The traditional concepts of imperial ideology – the divine right of imperial power, the special place of the Constantinople ruler in Christendom resulting from the Roman identity of the Latin Empire as the Eastern Empire and thus making him the holder of the imperium over *Romania* and therefore over the Christian East, as well as the supreme and indisputable nature of imperial power – were enriched by some new suggestions and reasons for the legitimacy of the Emperor such as his status as *porphyrogenitus* and the undeniable hereditary rights over the Empire resulting from his belonging to the imperial family, whose members wore the imperial crown of Constantinople from 1204 onwards. Baldwin II is the only Latin emperor, who through his seals directly promoted the dynastic principle as an important component of the imperial ideology's concept of the legitimacy of imperial power, trying to extend it with new reasons going beyond and complementing the undoubtedly primary and traditional postulate expressed by the formula *Dei gratia imperator* – Emperor by God's grace.

Unlike the iconography and the legend on the obverse of the seals of Baldwin II, which had a kind of 'outer' or 'pro-Western' intentions, those of the reverse had rather 'internal' and 'pro-Byzantine' purposefulness. They were directed towards the *Rhomaian* subjects of Baldwin of Courtenay.

The presentation of the last Latin Emperor on the legend of the reverse as Βαλδουῖνος δεσπότης ὸ πορφυρογέννητος ὸ Φλάντρας was aimed to promulgate him as Byzantine Emperor in front of his Orthodox subjects. The last two elements of the formula had to confirm, too, his legitimacy as Emperor of Constantinople. In that sense, the seals of Baldwin II played far more important role in strengthening the imperial ideology of the Latin Empire, than just to seal the imperial correspondence.

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Urbitziotes Nikolaos – ein byzantinischer Funktionär aus dem bulgarischen Urvič im 11. Jahrhundert

Werner Seibt

Abstract: A Byzantine seal in Dumbarton Oaks (DO 55.1.3209) probably from the second third of the 11th century with two standing figures on the obverse (the right one is St. Nicholas) has the following reverse legend:

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικολά(ῳ) (πρωτο)σπαθαρί(ῳ) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) Χρ(υσο)(τρι)κλ(ίνου) [κ(αὶ) (πρωτο)]νοταρ[ί(ῳ) τ]ῷ Ούρβι[τ]ζιώτ[ῃ].

The surname Ourbitziotes clearly indicates the provenance of Nikolaos from a Bulgarian village or fortress called Urvič. In Byzantine sources only one Ούρβίτζιον is attested (in a poem of Manuel Philes), which was located west of Varna, but there are at least two other places with this name in Bulgaria.

The surname Ourbikiotes is probably not an alternative spelling of Ourbitziotes but declares a provenance from Ourbikion in Constantinople.

Key words: Byzantine seal, Ourbitziotes, Urvič, Bulgarian provenance, Ourbikiotes, Ourbikion

Резюме: В колекцията на Дъмбъртън Оукс се намира византийски печат (DO 55.1.3209), вероятно от втората третина на 11 век, върху чийто реверс са изобразени две прави фигури (едната от които е на св. Николай) и следния надпис:

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικολά(ῳ) (πρωτο)σπαθαρί(ῳ) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) Χρ(υσο)(τρι)κλ(ίνου) [κ(αὶ) (πρωτο)]νοταρ[ί(ῳ) τ]ῷ Ούρβι[τ]ζιώτ[ῃ].

Името Урбициотес ясно показва произхода на Николай от българското селище или крепост наречена Урвич. Във византийските извори се открива единствено Ούρβίτζιον (в поема на Мануил Фил), което е локализирано западно от Варна, но поне две селища с това име са съществували в България.

Фамилното име Ourbikiotes най-вероятно не е алтернативно представяне на Ourbitziotes, а показва произход от Ourbikion в Константинопол.

In Dumbarton Oaks befindet sich ein Bleisiegel mit dem bisher nicht belegten Beinamen Urbitziotes.[1] Auf der Avers-Seite, die teilweise plattgedrückt und

[1] DO 55.1.3209.



Abb. 1

beschädigt ist, erscheinen zwei Standfiguren. Die rechte ist aufgrund der Reste der Beischrift, K-O-Λ-A, eindeutig als der hl. Nikolaos zu erkennen. Die Rechte hält er im Segensgestus, die Linke unterfasst das übliche Evangeliar, allerdings teilweise vom Körper etwas abgesetzt. Auf der linken Seite ist sehr wahrscheinlich eine Standfigur der Theotokos auszumachen, wohl vom Nikopoios-Typus, d. h. sie hält ein Medaillon mit einer Christus-Büste vor der Brust; auch minimale Spuren von Siglen deuten in diese Richtung.

Die Revers-Legende besteht aus sieben Zeilen:

+ KЄ R,Θ, - NIKOΛAO - ÂCΠAΘAPI, - ЄΠI T, ⸸ГKΛ, - . .NOTAP. - .Ѡ ЏPRI.- ZIѠT.

+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικολά(ῳ) (πρωτο)σπαθαρί(ῳ) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) Χρ(υσο)(τρι)κλ(ίνου) [κ(αὶ) (πρωτο)]νοταρ[ί(ῳ) τ]ῷ Οὐρβι[τ]ζιώτ[ῃ].

Das Siegel stammt aus dem 11. Jahrhundert, etwa aus dem 2. Drittel.

Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass Nikolaos nur βασιλικὸς νοτάριος und nicht Protonotarios war, unsere Interpretation dürfte aber doch vorzuziehen sein. Bei der Ligatur ⸸ ist das Rho sehr schwach erkennbar, fast nur angedeutet. Beim Beinamen (solange wir nicht sicher wissen, dass er auch vererbt wurde, vermeiden wir eher den Terminus „Familiennamen“) Urbitziotes ist der erste Buchstabe oben etwas plattgedrückt, weshalb die Spitzen eher auseinandergepresst wurden; auch das Beta ist infolge einer Verletzung nicht klar genug erkennbar; aus Gründen der inneren Symmetrie ist am Ende der vorletzten Zeile ein Buchstabe verloren, für den wir Tau annehmen; der erste Buchstabe der letzten Zeile kann nur Xi oder Zeta sein; am Ende der Zeile erwarten wir eher Eta anstelle eines einfach Iota.

Beinamen, die auf –ιώτης enden, deuten im Allgemeinen die geographische Herkunft der entsprechenden Person oder Familie an, im gegebenen Fall ist daher von einem Ort Οὐρβίτζιον auszugehen. Zufällig

findet sich auch in der byzantinischen Literatur eine (singuläre) Erwähnung dieses Ortsnamens, und zwar in einem Gedicht des Manuel Philes Εἰς τὰ τοῦ πρωτοστράτωρος ἐκείνου τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ στρατηγήματα.[2] Es handelt sich um die ausführliche Beschreibung der bulgarischen Feldzüge des Protostrators Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes, die Philes auf Ersuchen von dessen Witwe Maria Dukaina Komnene Branaina Tarchaneiotissa nach dem Tod des Protostrators (er starb zwischen 1305 und 1307) verfasste.[3] Überzeugend hat A. Kuzev nachgewiesen, dass griechisches Οὐρβίτζιον bulgarischem Urvič und nicht Vărbica entspricht.[4] Dieses Urvič kann zwar nicht genau lokalisiert werden, aber aufgrund des Zusammenhanges der entsprechenden Stelle zwischen Οὐτζάγκαν und Κοζίακος ἄστυ ist es westlich von Varna zu suchen.

Man sollte aber nicht vorschnell den Beinamen Urbitziotes mit diesem Ort Urvič verbinden, denn es gibt ja auch eine bulgarische mittelalterliche Festung dieses Namens beim Dorf Kokaljane am Fluss Iskăr, etwa 20 km südöstlich von Sofia, die allerdings auch erst für 13. und 14. Jahrhundert gut bezeugt ist und bis heute beachtliche Festungsmauern aufweist.[5] A. Kuzev erwähnt zudem eine Gegend namens Urvič beim Dorf Boženica im Bezirk Botevgrad, mit einer Festung des 13.-14. Jahrhunderts (die heute Gradišteto heißt, damals aber wahrscheinlich den Namen Urvič trug), was eine Inschrift im Auftrag des Sebastos Ognjan bezeugt.[6] Man kann also nur raten, aus welchem Urvič obiger Nikolaos stammte, vielleicht ist der Festung bei Sofia der Vorzug zu geben.

Der Name Urbitziotes ist sonst nicht nachzuweisen, im Gegensatz zu Urbikiotes. Im PLP findet sich eine Maria, Gattin (oder Witwe) eines Presbyteros, die 1376 ihre Anteile an einem Haus in Konstantinopel verkaufte, und wohl Urbikiotissa hieß.[7] I. Koltsida-Makre wiederum publizierte ein Athener Siegel eines Kalokyros (letztes Drittel 11. bis frühes 12. Jahrhundert), wo sie den Beinamen als *Gournikiotes* interpretierte;[8] nicht zuletzt mit Hilfe eines Parallelstückes der Fogg Sammlung haben bereits W. Seibt und A.-K. Wassiliou in der gemeinsamen Rezension zu *Urbikiotes* korrigiert.[9] Da die

[2] Manuel Philes, Carmina II, 249, 211.
[3] Vgl. Trapp 1994, 106, zu Nr. 29817. Zu Michael s. bes. Leontiades 1998, 69-72, Nr. 32, zu seiner Gattin Maria, die nach dessen Tod Nonne wurde und den Namen Martha annahm, a.O. 78-79, Nr. 38. Leontiades datiert den Tod Michaels „nach 1304 und vor 1308".
[4] Kuzev 1970.
[5] Ovcharov 1981.
[6] Kuzev 1970, 136-137.
[7] Trapp 1989, Nr. 21176.
[8] Koltsida-Makre 1996, Nr. 291.
[9] Wassiliou & Seibt 1998, 148.
[10] Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, Nr. 1084.

Legende metrisch ist, wurde sie auch in das Metrische Corpus aufgenommen.[10] Die Autorin verbindet dort Urbikiotes mit Mittellateinischem *urbicus* und verweist auch auf die Kirche Θεοτόκος τῶν Ούρβικίου bzw. ἐν τοῖς Ούρβικίου in Konstantinopel, die von einem Urbicius Barbatus schon unter Anastasios I. am Beginn des 6. Jahrhunderts gegründet wurden sein soll.[11] Es ist gut denkbar, dass der Name Urbikiotes von diesem hauptstädtischen Urbikion abzuleiten ist und nicht eine (stärker hellenisierte) Nebenform zum slawischen Urbitziotes darstellt.

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[11] Vgl. dazu Janin 1969, 206.

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Was the Byzantine dignitary Nikephoros bestarches, (son of) Aktarios (late 11th century), a man of Turkish origin?

Werner Seibt

Abstract: The present paper deals with two Byzantine seals of the same boulloterion from the late 11th century, which mention a certain Nikephoros, a Byzantine dignitary whose father was of possible Turkish origin, an *aktar*, who had immigrated into the Byzantine empire. This allowed his son to do a Byzantine career as revealed by the title *bestarches* that he owned. Although the title has lost its high importance it still shows a certain prestige.

Key words: aktar, Byzantine seals, Turkish Byzantines

Резюме: В настоящата статия се разглеждат два византийски печата от един и същи булотерион от късен 11 век, в които се споменава за някой си Никифор, византийски сановник, чийто баща е бил с вероятен турски произход, актар, имигрирал във Византийската империя. Това позволило на неговия син да направи кариера в рамките на Византия, както можем да съдим от титлата вестарх, която носел и която, макар и да изгубила своето голямо значение, все още била признак на престиж.

Two Byzantine seals in a damaged state of preservation from the late 11th century mention a son of an aktarios. One (from the Zacos collection) is preserved in Dumbarton Oaks,[1] the other one in Athens.[2] As they come from one and the same boulloterion they are published together.

On the obverse there is a standing figure of St. Demetrios in a military dress, with a lance and sword, and there is a partially readable inscription Θ-Δ-Η / Μ-Η-ΤΡ-Ι-Ο-C. The beardless head is relatively big.

[1] DO 58.106.3090 (unpublished). We thank Dumbarton Oaks for the permission to publish the seal.

[2] Konstantopoulos 1917, 312; (proposing at the end: τῷ [Ἀ]κτά[ρῃ] with question mark). We thank Dr. Eva Apostolou for the permission to republish the seal.



Fig. 1: Seal DO 58.106.3090.
Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, DC

The reverse legend reads:

+KЄR,Θ,
NIKIΦOP,
RЄCTAPXI
TЧAKTA
PIЧ

+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικ(η)φόρ(ῳ) βεστάρχ(ῃ) τοῦ Ἀκταρίου.

As Nikephoros does not continue the legend in dative but changes to the genitive at the end points to the fact that Aktarios is not a normal family name but probably the father's name or perhaps a profession. The name Aktarios is only found in Ptochoprodromos as a correction of the editor.[3] In the Kletorologion of Philotheos one manuscript has once ἀκτάριος, but that seems to be a mistake for ἀκτουάριος.[4]

On the other hand, *aktar* is a well-known Turkish word for a grocer. According the dictionary of A. Tietze it designates a man selling parfumes, and goes back to Arabic ʾaṭṭār.[5] It has received the form ἀχτάρης in Modern Greek,[6] though it seems to be quite rare.

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[3] Eideneier 1991, 171, v. 605: Ἀκτάριον instead of Ὀκτάριον vel Νεκτάριον. We thank Erich Trapp for his advice.
[4] Oikonomidès 1972, 191, 4; 190, n. 192. But Koukoules 1949, 80 wanted to defend the form of the manuscript.
[5] Tietze 2002. We thank Claudia Römer for this reference.
[6] Demetrakos 1954, 1288; Stamatakos 1971, 731: ἀχτάρης – ρωποπώλης, ψιλικατζῆς / πωλητὴς ἀρωματικῶν προϊόντων καὶ φαρμάκων.

Probably Nikephoros' Turkish father, an *aktar*, had immigrated into the Byzantine empire, where his son could do a Byzantine career; the title *bestarches* was not quite distinguished anymore in the later 11th century, but nevertheless still attests a certain prestige.

We do not know to which Turkish speaking people Nikephoros' father had belonged, but his profession points primarily to the Orient.



Fig. 2: Seal NM 312
Epigraphic and Numismatic Museum, Athens

Demetrakos, Δ. Β. (1954), *Μέγα λεξικὸν ὅλης τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*. II (Athens).

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Образы адорантов в византийской сфрагистике (Images of Adorants in Byzantine Sphragistics)

Валерий Степаненко

Abstract: No images of the seal owners are known so far. In this regard it is very interesting to study the seals of prince of Tmurakan' Oleg – Michael and the monk of the st. Tarasios monastery in Constantinople – Zosima. Their moulds were made in Constantinople at the end of 11th century. On the first seal the prince is presented in proskynesis before his holy protector, archangel Michael, as a warrior standing frontally. On the second seal the monk kneels before the holy patriarch Tarasios as adorant. Both compositions have many analogues in the Byzantine painting and applied art. But there is no explanation about the absence of this composition in Byzantine sphragistics.

Key words: Byzantium, sigillography, adoration, monk, seal owner

Резюме: До момента не бяха известни изображения на собствениците на византийските моливдовули. В тази връзка от особен интерес са печатите на княза на Тмуракан – Олег-Михаил и на монаха Зосима от манастира св. Тарасий в Константинопол. Тяхните матрици са били направени в Константинопол в края на XI в. Върху първия печат князът е представен в проскинеза пред своя свети покровител, архангел Михаил, който е архистратег на небесното войнство. Върху втория печат монахът е представен коленичел пред св. патриарх Тарасий с ръце прострени към него. И двете композиции имат множество аналогии във византийската живопис (мозайки, фрески, миниатюри) и в приложното изкуство. Но тяхното отсъствие във византийската сфрагистика е необяснимо.

Сцены поклонения собственника печати святому в византийской сфрагистике почти неизвестны. Редчайшими исключениями являются изображения на двух изданных печатях.

На л.с. печати из собрании музея Шереметьевых в Киеве (VP 480) князь Олег – Михаил распростерся в проскинезисе перед Архангелом Михаилом (фиг. 1).[1] Судя по надписи (архонт Таматархи и дука всей Ха-

[1] Моя благодарность А.Е. Шереметьеву за разрешение воспроизвести фото печати. Издана – Alferov 2103, 28-31.



Фиг. 1. Печать князя Олега-Михаила. 80-е гг. XI в. Фото музея Шереметьевых.



Фиг. 2. Печать монаха Иосифа. XI в. Фото - Zacos 1984, no.533.

зарии), печать может быть датирована концом 80 - началом 90х гг. XI в., после возвращения князя в Тмутаракань после четырехлетней ссылки на Родос, ближе к 1094 г., когда он вернулся на Русь, передав Тмутаракань Византии.[2] Можно предположить, что и матрицы печати были сделаны в Византии, вряд ли на Родосе, печати функционеров коего известны,[3] но в Константинополе, через который князь возвращался из ссылки, хотя родосское происхождение матриц не исключено, исключено – тмутараканское.[4]

На печати изображен архангел Михаил в ипостаси архистратига небесного воинства, т.е. в доспехах воина- кирасе с птеригами, с лежащим на плече мечом в правой руке и опущенными ножнами в левой. Справа у ног архангела распростерлась в проскинезисе маленькая фигурка человека. Так как заготовка была меньше матрицы, то часть фигуры адоранта осталась вне поля печати.

Недавно переизданы два экземпляра печати Иосифа, монаха монастыря св. Тарасия в Константинополе. Собственник печати изображен коленопреклоненным перед св. патриархом Тарасием (фиг. 2).[5] Ее матрицы также явно столичного происхождения. Дата – XI век.

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[2] См. Stepanenko 2013, 157-168; Chkhaidze 2012, 251-270.
[3] См. ЕС 2005, 85, №2.
[4] См. Chkhaidze 2015.
[5] Zacos 1984, n.533; Campagnolo-Pothitou & Cheynet 2016, 437-438, N.386a, b.



Фиг. 3. Отправление на проповедь. Каппадокия. Каранлик килисе. XI в. Фото автора.

В Византии изображение адоранта в проскинезисе - довольно редкое явление.[6] Создается впечатление, что и за пределами империи данная иконография также не была популярна. Представлена она преимущественно памятниками прикладного искусства и известна по отдельным памятникам монументальной живописи как Византии, так и в странах византийского культурного круга. А. Грабар полагал, что проскинезис - это изображение императора, стоящего на коленях пред божеством, приводя в качестве примера статую Юстина в Константинополе.[7] Это не совсем так. Множество изображений коленопреклоненных ктиторов и адорантов известны во фресковой живописи как Балкан, так и Каппадокии. В Касторье среди множества образов ктиторов лишь в ц. Панагии Мавриотиссы в росписи абсиды ктитор в рост или на коленях предстоит перед божеством.[8] В Каппадокии во фреске «Отправление на проповедь» в Каранлик Килисе у ног Христа стоят на ко-

[6] Spatharakis 1974, 190-205.
[7] Grabar 2000, 115.
[8] Pelekanides & Chatzidakes 1984, 29, ill.6, 40, ill.20, 42, ill.21, 45, ill.24, 65, ill. 19, 21, 70 ill.4, 6.

ленях ктиторы Иоанн Энтальматик и неизвестный (фиг. 3), в абсиде у ног Пантократора в проскинезисе распростерты - Никифор и Вассиан.[9] В «церкви Никифора Фоки» в Чавушине (середина X в.) в нишах по сторонам алтаря изображены огромные фигуры архангела Михаила лоратного со стоящими перед ним на коленях ктиторами, от фигур которых остались лишь контуры.[10] Перечень можно продолжить, так как по подсчетам Л. Бернардини, в Каппадокии в 27 церквях и капеллах более или менее сохранились изображения 75 ктиторов и адорантов или надписи с их именами.[11]



Фиг. 4. Бронзовые врата ц. Сан Паоло фуори ла мура. XI в. Рим. Фото автора.



Фиг. 5. Бронзовые врата нартекса Сан Марко. XII в. Венеция. Фото - Frazer 1973, 152-158, ill. 12.

Изображения ктиторов известны на бронзовых вратах, сделанных в Константинополе в XI –XII вв. Это двери ц. Сан Паоло фуори ле Мура в Риме (1070) (фиг. 4) и на портале Сан Марко в Венеции (ок. 1112). В клейме первых изображение ктитора Панталеоне из Амальфи, коле-

[9] Прорисовка композиций: Jolivet-Levy 2001, 72.
[10] Rodley 1983, 300-311; Jolivet-Levy 2001, 179, ill.40.
[11] Bernardini 1992, 119.

нопреклоненного перед Исусом Христосом и апостолом Павлом, на вторых - Лео де Молино, бывшего прокуратором Сан Марко, также на коленях у ног св. Марка (фиг. 5).[12]

На бронзовой иконке XII в. из Херсонеса изображен Архангел Михаил лоратный и предстоящий ему некий Иоанн, изображенный в рост в три четверти с простертыми к Михаилу в молитве руками (фиг. 6).[13]



Фиг. 6. Бронзовая иконка с Архангелом Михаилом и адорантом Иоанном. XI в. Херсонесский музей заповедник. Севастополь. Фото музея.

В собствено в проскинезисе изображен на мозаике в св. Софии император Лев VI, распростертый у ног Христа (фиг. 7).[14] Император Аркадий в той же иконографии - перед ангелами в миниатюре X в.,[15] ктиторы Никифор и Вассиан у ног Христа Пантократора в абсиде Каранлик килисе в Каппадокии (XI в.) (фиг. 8).[16] На ктиторской мозаике Марторaны в Палермо Георгий Антиохийский распростерт в проскинезисе у ног Богоматери (ок. 1143) (фиг. 9). Ктитор также был греком или сирийцем. Отсюда и обращение к византийским образцам и приглашение греческих мозаичистов.[17] В Протате на Афоне хранится серебряная ставротека с Распятием в предстоящими и заказчиком, распростертым в проскинезисе перед Богоматерью, но не перед Христом, к которому он повернут спиной, что не совсем обычно (фиг. 10). Памятник выполнен в техника чеканки и, судя по надписи, его заказчиком был монах Зосима.[18] На фрагментах креста патриарха Михаила Керулария в Думбартон Оксе[19] в сценах «Чуда в

[12] Cavallo 1982, 314, ill.249-251; 366, ill.318; Frazer 1973, 152-158.
[13] Yashaeva, Denisova *et al*. 2011, 206, 496, № 141.
[14] Bayet 2009, 96-97.
[15] Evgenidou & Albani 2002, 107, ill.38.
[16] Jolivet-Levy 2001, 77; См. Bernardini 1992, 121.
[17] Kitzinger 1990, 197-206, ill. XXII.
[18] Karakatsanis 1997, 339-341, n.9.18. Размер 17,8 x 14,2 см.
[19] Jenkins & Kitzinger 1967, 235-249.



Фиг. 7. Лев VI перед Христом Пантократором. VI в. Св. София. Стамбул. Фото автора.



Фиг. 8. Деисус. Фреска ц. Каранлис килисе. XI в. Каппадокия. Фото автора.



Фиг. 9. Георгий Антиохийский перед Богоматерью. Мозаика Марторaны. XII в. Палермо. Сицилия. Фото - Kitzinger 1990, ill. XXII.

Хонах» и «Явления Архангела Иисусу Навину» оба предстоящих перед Архангелом изображены в проскинезисе.[20] На иконе «Св. Георгий с житием» XIII в. из Византийского музея в Афинах внизу слева изображена женская фигура в просникезисе, как полагают исследователи, Ирина Комнина Дукаина, вдова царя Болгарии Ивана Асеня II.[21]

На литой бронзовой иконке XI в. из Византийского музея в Фессалониках неизвестный адорант распростерся в проскинезисе у ног св. Николая (фиг. 11).[22] Это механическая копия оригинала, возможно, из драгоценного металла. Воспроизведены все греческие надписи с именами апостолов и св. Николая в среднике, но, в отличие от херсонесской, здесь нет надписи, сопровождающей изображение адоранта, распростершегося в проскинезисе у ног святого. Отливка очень низкого качества, с массой раковин в металле. Но, судя по качеству оригинала,



Фиг. 10. Монах Зосима перед Богоматерью. Ставротека XI в. Протат. Афон. Фото – Karakatsanis 1997, no.9.18.



Фиг. 11. Адорант в проскинезисе перед св. Николаем – Thessalonike, Istoria kai Techne 89, no.24.11.

[20] В то же время на его печати, вопреки традиции, изображение архангела Михаила в ангельском обличии. – Evgenidou & Albani 2002, 32, no.11.
[21] Aceimastou-Potamianou 1998, 26-27, n.5; Shedevry Vizantii 2017, №3, 26-35.
[22] Thessalonike, *Istoria kai Techne*, 89, n.24.11.

он то явно не был примером массовой продукции, но послужил образцом для изготовления копий.[23]

Так что только данные изображения ктиторов и адорантов, распростертых у ног святого являют собой собственно проскинезис, так как падение ниц и стояние на коленях явно не одно и то же. По видимому, сам обычай проскинезиса имеет восточные корни. Он известен в Иране при Ахеменидах и был усвоен Александром Македонским. Как пишет Квинт Курций Руф: «Обычаи своей родины, умеренность македонских царей и их гражданский облик он считал неподходящими для своего величия, равного величию персидских царей, и соперничал по своей власти с богами. Он требовал, чтобы победители стольких народов, приветствуя его, **падали ниц** (Разрядка наша-В.С.), постепенно приучая их к обязанностям рабов, обращаясь с ними как с пленниками». [24]

В Риме и Византии проскинезис присутствует в триумфальных сценах. В выходной миниатюре псалтири Василия II в Марчиане так изображены стоящие на коленях и падшие ниц побежденные «варвары» (cod. Marc. gr. Z. 17, f. IIIr). В христианской традиции, судя по тому, что мы знаем о том же Льве VI и князе Олеге-Михаиле, проскинезис являлся зримым выражением глубочайшего раскаяния грешника перед божеством или святым, молением о прощении.[25] Глубину раскаяния каждый определял сам. Как следствие, изображения ктиторов в проскинезисе на фресках, мозаиках, иконах и произведениях прикладного искусства данного периода, включая и матрицы печатей являлись выражением именно субъективного, личного покаяния заказчика произведения. Остается удивляться тому, что до наших дней дошло столь незначительное количество памятников данного типа.

Shedevry Vizantii, Katalog vyztavki iskusstva Vizantii iz muzeev Gretsii v Gosudarstvennoi Tret'yakovskoi Galeree (Moskva), 2017.

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[23] Bank 1988, 67-77.

[24] Vigasin 1993, 124.

[25] Так в миниатюре со сценой осуждения Ария в Минологии Василия II) главный герой изображен лежащим в поскинезисе перед участниками собора. (Vat. gr.1613, f.108).

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Редкие неопубликованные сфрагистические памятники Фракии и Македонии (Rare unpublished sphragistic monuments from Thrace and Macedonia)

Елена Степанова

Abstract: Thrace was the first European theme, established about 680 for counteraction against the Bulgarians. In the period between 789-802 within the limits of Thrace a new theme – Macedonia – was created. Seals, including the Hermitage ones, belong to numerous officials of both themes*: strategoi*, judges, tourmarhes, etc. Both themes were closely connected with each other, which came into full play in the XIth century: the seals name different high mainly civil officials who administered the union of Thrace and Macedonia. The article is devoted to the seals unknown before. Among them are the seals of Christophore, *spatharios* and *episkeptites* of Macedonia (late 11th century); Bardzahamis?, imperial *spatharokandidatos* and *chartoularios* of Macedonia (10th/11th century); Nikephoros, *patrikios* and *strategos* of Macedonians (late 8th century); ...imperial *protospatharios* and judge of Macedonia (10th century); George Tzykandyles?, *protoanthypatos* and *strategos* of Thrace (late 11th century); Nicholas, imperial *strator* and *tourmarches* of Thrace and Macedonia (first half of the 9th century); George, imperial *spatharios* and *strategos* of Thrace and Macedonia (10th century). These seals open new pages in the history of both themes.

Key words: Byzantine sphragistics, Thrace, Macedonia, spatharios, strator, strategos

Резюме: Тракия е първата европейска тема, основана към 680 г. за противодействие на българите. В периода между 789-802 г. в рамките на Тракия е била основана нова тема – Македония. Печатите, включително и тези от Ермитажа, принадлежат на множество служители от двете теми: стратези, съдии, турмархи и др. Двете теми са били тясно свързани и в 11 в. са били обединени: печатите посочват различни високопоставени граждански чиновници, които са администрирали обединението на Тракия и Македония. В настоящата статия се представят непознати до този момент печати. Сред тях са печатите на Христофор, спатарий и епископтит на Македония (късен 11 в.), Бардзахамис (?), императорски спатарокандидат и хартуларий на Македония (10-11 в.), Никифор, патрикий и стратег на македонците (късен 8 в.), ..., императорски протоспатарий и съдия в Македония (10 в.), Георги Цикандил (?), протоантипат и стратег на Тракия (късен 11 в.) и Николай, императорски стратор и турмарх на Тракия и Македония (10 в.). Тези печати отварят нови страници в историята на двете теми.

Как известно, история византийских фем Фракии и Македонии тесно взаимосвязана. Фракия была первой европейской фемой, учрежденной около 680 г. для противодействия болгарам. Она располагалась в восточной части Балканского полуострова, со столицей в Аркадиополисе. В период между 789 и 802 гг. на территории Фракии образовалась новая фема – Македония, которая существовала, вероятно, до XI в. Их история известна благодаря разнообразным свидетельствам письменных источников.[1] Эти свидетельства подкрепляются значительным корпусом сфрагистического материала. Печати, включая эрмитажные, принадлежат многочисленным чиновникам. Это анаграфевсы, стратиги, протонотарии, судьи, турмархи, и ряд других. В эрмитажном собрании хранится более 50 печатей Фракии и Македонии. Некоторые из них изданы,[2] другие ждут своей публикации. В этой небольшой статье речь пойдет о ряде печатей, ранее не издававшихся, но которые, на мой взгляд, открывают некоторые новые страницы в истории обеих фем.

1. Христофор, спафарий и эпископтит Македонии (конец XI в.) (Фиг. 1)

М-6154. Дм. – 19 мм. Оттиски сдвинуты вверх. Из коллекции Н.П. Лихачева.



Фиг. 1

Л.с. Надпись в четыре строки (верхняя строка не отпечаталась):
TWCW.|XPICTW|Ф,СПАΘ

[1] Библиографию см.: Jordanov 2003, 92, 112.

[2] Schlumberger 1884, 111-112. No. 8, 112; 122 - 123, 162, 1-2, 718, 730; 1900, No. 146; 1905, No. 206; Shandrovskaya 1977, № 703; 1981, 460 – 461; Seibt 1978, 235, 3; Likhachev 1991, табл. LXVII, 12.

О.с. Надпись в четыре строки (верхняя строка не отпечаталась):
ЕΠΤΙΤ.|ΜΑΚΕΔΟ|ΝΙΑС
τῷ σῷ [δ(ούλῳ)] Χριστ(ο)φ(όρῳ) σπαθ(αρίῳ) [(καὶ) ἐπισκ]ε(πτ)ίτ[ῃ] Μακεδονίας

Следует отметить две особенности легенды моливдовула. Одна эпиграфическая – редкая лигатура букв “П” и “Т” в слове “ἐπισκεπτίτῃ”. Вторая связана с достаточно низким титулом Христофора – он спафарий, хотя эпискептиты, имеющие низкие титулы, известны и по другим фемам.[3]

Эта вторая известная печать эпискептита Македонии, первая – Феофана (без титула), датированная XI в., из коллекции IFEB, была опубликована Ж.-Кл. Шене.[4] Большинство эпискептитов были управляющими императорскими доменами, автор подчеркивает, что этот пост в Македонии был очень значим, т.к. в этой феме клан Комнинов имел большие земельные владения, об этом свидетельствуют документы Афонских архивов.[5]

Существует несколько экземпляров печати Христофора, эпискептита Месопотамии, хранящиеся в разных коллекциях, с изображением Св. Николая на л.с. Они также относятся к XI в. (в стамбульском каталоге дается более узкая датировка - вторая треть XI в.[6]). Возможно, эти экземпляры и эрмитажная печать принадлежат одному и тому же владельцу, одним из доказательств этого может служить наличие редкой лигатуры “П” и “Т” в слове “ἐπισκεπτίτῃ” на всех сфрагистических памятниках.

2. Вардзахамис?, императорский спафарокандидат и хартулярий Македонии (X/XI вв.) (Фиг. 2)

М-11921. Дм.- 22, 5 мм (общ.); 19 мм (поля). Сохранность: щербины. Покрыта патиной. Из коллекции С.Г. Строганова.

[3] Cheynet 2002, 98; DOSeals 4.22.14.
[4] Cheynet 2002, 99-100.
[5] Cheynet 2002, 100.
[6] Cheynet, Gökyildirim *et al*. 2012, No. 3.72.



Фиг. 2

Л.с. Процветший патриарший крест на трех ступенях, по краю круговая надпись: +KEROHΘITWCWΔδΛ’

О.с. Надпись в шесть строк:
+BAPZ|AXA.ICR/C|ΠAΘAP,KAN|ΔIΔ,SXAPT|δΛAP,MAS|ΔONIAC
K(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λ(ῳ) Βαρζαχά[μ]ις? β(ασιλικῷ) σπαθαρ(ο) κανδιδ(άτῳ) (καὶ) χαρτ(ου)λαρ(ίῳ) Μα(κε)δονίας

Особенностью легенды оборотной стороны является аббревиатура в форме S в слове Μα(κε)δονίας.

Имя Вардзахамий в источниках найти не удалось. Это первая известная печать хартулярия фемы Македония.

3. Никифор, патрикий и стратиг македонцев (конец VIII в.) (Фиг. 3)

М-6949. Дм.- 28 мм. Сохранность: верхняя часть печати утрачена, выбоина на л.с., вспученности на л. и о.с. Из коллекции Н.П. Лихачева.



Фиг. 3

Л.с. Крестообразная инвокативная монограмма (тип V по В. Лорану), тетраграмма: Т.|.W|.δ|ΛW

О.с. Надпись в пять строк:
NIKHΦ|.PWΠATPI|.IWSCTPATI|.WTWNMAK|...NWN+
Θεοτόκε βοήθει τ[ῷ σ]ῷ [δ](ού)λῳ Νικηφ[ό]ρῳ πατρι[κ]ίῳ (καὶ) στρατ(η)[γ]ῷ τῶν Μακ[εδό]νων+

«Разлиновка» строк, вероятно, была процарапана уже после того, как печать была оттиснута.

От самого раннего периода существования фемы Македония сохранилось лишь несколько печатей стратигов. Это печать Давида из коллекций Г. Закоса[7] и В. Зайбта,[8] а также две печати, в легендах которых имена не читаются, из коллекции Дамбартон Оукса.[9] Двое из вышеупомянутых стратигов имеют ранг императорского спафария. Владелец же эрмитажной печати Никифор носит высокий для этого времени титул патрикия.

4. ...императорский протоспафарий и судья Македонии (X в.) (Фиг. 4)

М-1462. Дм.- 24, 5 мм (общ.), 20 мм (поля). Сохранность: прорывы канала на о.с. Из коллекции Русского Археологического общества в Константинополе.



Фиг. 4

Л.с. Процветший патриарший крест на четырех ступенях, по краю круговая надпись: KЄROHΘЄITWCWΔOVΛW

[7] Zacos & Veglery 1972, No. 3100.
[8] Wassiliou & Seibt 2004, No. 322.
[9] DO Seals 1991, No. 43. 35-36.

О.с. Надпись в семь строк:

...O...|⊥OVOR.|CIVIKO⅃⅂|.O⊥.C⅂..ԁΘ|.ЬIOKEKЬI|TIC.ԁK∈|∇ONIԁ.

..ο..τολ(ῷ) β[α]σιλικ(ῷ) π[ρ](ω)τ[ο]σπαθ[α]ρί(ῳ) κ(αὶ) κρίτις [Μ]ακεδονίας

На первых двух строках помещалось имя владельца печати, но от него сохранилась только буква «О».

На лицевой стороне печати помещен традиционный для этого времени сфрагистический тип – процветший патриарший крест на ступенях – выполненный на достаточно высоком профессиональном уровне. По контрасту с лицевой стороной крайне необычно выглядит эпиграфика надписи оборота. Некоторые буквы легенды написаны правильно, но некоторые из них: П, А, Т, Δ, Λ повернуты на 180°. В византийской сфрагистике известны случаи ошибок в написании отдельных литер или слов, а также зеркальные отображения слов, появившиеся в результате невысокой квалификации резчика. Однако в данном случае неправильное написание отдельных букв не было ошибкой гравера, а сознательным искажением надписи. Цель изготовления такой надписи непонятна, ведь, по сути, этот моливдовул является официальной печатью судьи Македонии.

Исследователи, изучающие печати Фракии, не раз сталкивались с тем, как сложно иногда отделить их от печатей фемы фракисийцев. Это бывает в тех случаях, когда топоним воспроизводится в легенде не полностью: Θρακησ-. Определение становится проще, если перед географическим названием стоит артикль τῆς или τῶν. Но так бывает не всегда. Ниже приводится одна из таких печатей.

5. Георгий Цикандил?, протоанфипат и стратиг Фракии (конец XI в.)(Фиг. 5)

М-9588. Дм.- 20, 5 мм (общ.), 16 мм (поля). Сохранность: прорывы канала на л. и о.с. Из коллекции Н.П. Лихачева.



Фиг. 5

Л.с. Погрудное изображение Св. Георгия со щитом в левой руке и копьем в правой. По обе стороны от изображения имя святого: Θ|Γ|Ε||Ω|Ρ|Γ, = Ὁ (ἅγιος) Γεώργ(ιος)

О.с. Надпись в семь строк:

+ΚΕRΘ-ΓΕWΡΓΙW-ĀΑΝΘ.ΠΑΤ,-.CΤΡΑΤΗΓ,-ΤϬΘΡΑΚΗC-ΤΟΤζΙΚϬ-...

Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γεωργίῳ (πρωτο)ανθ[υ]πάτ(ῳ) [(καὶ)] στρατηγ(ῷ) τοῦ Θρᾴκης τ(ῷ) Τζικ(ου)...

Перед топонимом, очевидно, стоит артикль «τοῦ», что не позволяет однозначно определить географическое название. После слова “Θρᾳκης” отсутствует знак сокращения, поэтому вариант «Фракия», а не «фракисийцы», более предпочтителен.

Владелец печати имеет редкий титул протоанфипата,[10] который появился в 80х гг. XI в. и исчез в конце XI - начале XII в.[11] Это позволяет отнести печать к концу XI в.

К сожалению, читается только первая часть родового имени заказчика печати: Τζικ(ου)... Возможно, речь идет о Цикандиле. Цикандилы – хорошо известный род, в основном военной аристократии XI-XII вв., особенно в период правления Мануила Комнина.[12] Известно несколько печатей этой семьи.[13] Письменные источники также не раз упоминают представителей этого рода, например, Льва Цикандила, проедра и дуку Кивирриотов (середина XI в.).[14] Возможно, печать из коллекции Института изящных искусств Барбера (Бирмингем), чьим владельцем был Лев Цикандил, проедр и стратиг Кивирриотов,[15] также принадлежит этому чиновнику.

В административном плане фемы Фракии и Македонии были тесно связаны друг с другом, что особенно ярко проявилось в XI в. Обычно печати называют различных гражданских чиновников высокого ранга: анаграфевсов, преторов, протонотариев, особенно многочисленны – судьи. Из письменных источников известно также о существовании военачальников, которые руководили объединенными войсками Фракии и Македонии - таким был, например, Лев Апостипп, стратиг Македонии и Фракии, отвоевавший Тарент в конце IX в.[16] Однако до сих пор отсутствовало сфрагистическое подтверждение этому. В эрмитажной коллекции хранятся две печати, которые закрывают эту лакуну.

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[10] Jordanov 2009, No. 1572-1573; Zacos 1984, No. 960.
[11] Oikonomidès 1972, 294.
[12] Kazhdan 1974, 291.
[13] Cheynet, Gökyildirim *et al*. 2012, 633, 717. No. 7.121.
[14] Cheynet 1985, 190.
[15] Dunn 1983, No. 34.
[16] Tsatsoulis 2012, 160.

6. Николай, императорский стратор и турмарх Фракии и Македонии (первая половина IX в.)(Фиг. 6)

М-7062. Дм.- 29, 5 мм. Сохранность: большие утраты на л.с., трещины и выбоины на о.с. Из коллекции Н.П. Лихачева.



Фиг. 6

Л.с. Крестообразная инвокативная монограмма (тип V по В. Лорану). В углах - тетраграмма: ..|CW|Δδ|ΛW

О.с. Надпись в четыре строки:
ΝΙΚΟΛΑ.|Β/CΤΡΑΤ,S..|ΡΜ/ΘΡΑΚ...|ΚΕΔΟΝ
Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει [τῷ] σῷ δούλῳ Νικολά[ῳ] β(ασιλικῷ) στράτ(ορι) (καὶ) [τ(ου)]ρμ(άρχῳ) Θρᾴκ[ης (καὶ) Μα]κεδον(ίας)

Печать очень интересная, она еще ждет своего специального анализа.

7. Георгий, императорский спафарий и стратиг Фракии и Македонии (X в.)(Фиг. 7)

М-5894. Дм.- 24 мм (общ.), 20 мм (поля). Сохранность: погнута, щербины на о.с. Из коллекции Н.П. Лихачева.



Фиг. 7

Л.с. Патриарший крест на трех ступенях, по краю круговая надпись: +KEROHΘHTWCWΔOVΛW

О.с. Надпись в пять строк:
+ΓEWP|ΓIWR'CΠAΘ|AP,..TP|.T,Θ.AK'.|MAKE.
K(ύρι)ε βοήθη τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ β(ασιλικῷ) σπαθαρ(ίῳ) [(καὶ) σ]τρ[α]τ(ηγῷ) Θ[ρ]ᾴκ(ης) [(καὶ)] Μακε[δ(ονίας)]

Таким образом, в научный оборот вводятся 7 ранее неизвестных печатей Македонии и Фракии, которые называют новые имена чиновников этих фем, и в некоторых случаях предполагают новое обращение к уже известным сюжетам.

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Lead plate with the name of Bishop Theodore found in Serdica

Dochka Vladimirova - Aladzhova

Abstract: The work presents an interesting artefact discovered during of archaeological excavations in the central part of ancient Serdica. It is a lead plate with an irregular rectangular shape with dimensions: maximum length of 23, 11 mm; maximum width of 18, 35 mm; 3 mm thick and weight of 9.56 g. There is a reason to assume that the present shape of the plate was obtained after a secondary treatment, which is evident from its surface. A block-type monogram is placed in a circular field on both sides of the plate.

Obverse: Block monogram.
δ - ε - θ - ο - ρ - υ – ω
(Θεοδώρου)

Reverse: Block monogram
ε - ι - κ - ο - π - σ – υ
(ἐπισκόπου)

Translation: Θεοδώρου ἐπισκόπου - (Seal of) Theodore bishop

The importance of the published artefact is enhanced by the fact that in 1936 during the excavations in Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima) a seal was found which has the same monograms and inscription style like the ones of the plate found in Serdica.

The newly found lead plate in Serdica with the name of Bishop Theodore is an important discovery for the late antique history and sigillography of the Balkans from the period of 6th-beginning of 7th century.

Key words: lead plate, monogram, Theodore, bishop, seal, tessera

Резюме: Работата представя един интересен паметник открит при археологическите разкопки в централната част на антична Сердика.

Той представлява оловна плочка с неправилна правоъгълна форма с размери: максимална дължина 23, 11 мм; максимална ширина 18, 35 мм; дебелина 3 мм и тегло 9,56 гр. Има основание да се предположи, че настоящата форма на плочката е получена след вторична обработка, което е видно от нейната повърхност. Върху двете страни на плочката в кръгло поле са разположени по един монограм от блоков тип.

Лице: Блоков монограм:
δ - ε - θ - ο - ρ - υ – ω
(Θεοδώρου)

Опако: Блоков монограм:
ε - ι - κ - ο - π - σ – υ
(έπισκόπου)

Θεοδώρου έπισκόπου - (Печат? на) Теодор епископ.

Важността на публикувания артефакт се засилва от факта, че през 1936 г. при разкопките на Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima) е открит печат със същите монограми и начин на изписване, като тези от плочката в Сердика.

Новооткритата оловна плочка в Сердика с името на епископ Теодор представлява важна находка за късноантичната история и сфрагистика на Балканите от периода VI - началото на VII в.

An interesting artefact was found during archaeological excavations in the central part of ancient Serdica.[1] It is a lead plate with an irregular rectangular shape with dimensions: maximum length of 23, 11 mm; maximum width of 18, 35 mm; 3 mm thick and - weight of 9.56 g.[2] There is a reason to assume that the present shape of the plate was obtained after a secondary treatment,[3] which is evident from its surface. A block-type monogram is placed in a circular field on both sides of the plate (fig. 1a, b).



Fig. 1a, b. Lead plate from Serdica.

[1] Archaeological excavations at 'Metro station 8 II'. I thank Dr. Mario Ivanov for the opportunity to publish the artefact.

[2] FIN/Field inventory number A 508. The plate was found in building 7 at depth of 2, 43 m.

[3] It is hard to find when and how this has happened, but it is certainly after the printing of the monograms.

Obverse: Block monogram.
δ - ε - θ - ο - ρ - υ - ω
Θεοδώρου

Reverse: Block monogram
ε - ι - κ - ο - π - σ - υ
έπισκόπου

Translation: Θεοδώρου έπισκόπου - (Seal of) Theodore bishop

The presented monograms of Theodore[4] and Bishop[5] are known in the literature and dated back to the 6th-7th centuries. This also is the date of the above-described lead plate, which is confirmed by the locally found numismatic and sigillographic material.

There is a reason to claim that the technology of printing the images on the plate is not different from the one used in the seals. The concave circular field surrounding the monograms supports the idea of using a *boulloterion* whose molds are consistent with the round shape of the blanks at the seals. On the heated lead plate, the two monograms are printed on both sides by using *boulloterion*. They are not centered to the working area, which leads to distorted symmetry of the sides of the plate.

It is hard to define the described artefact from Serdica as a standard bulla due to the lack of a channel for a cord serving as an attachment to the letter/parcel. In the available literature, we were not able to find a specimen with similar characteristics, which allows us to reflect upon different ideas as for instance that on the discussed plate a boulloterion was tested or that it is a private *tessera*[6] with the name and ecclesiastical sanction of its owner.[7]

The importance of the published artefact is enhanced by the fact that in 1936 during the excavations in Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima) a seal[8] was found which has the same monograms and inscription style as the ones of the plate found in Serdica.

There are two artefacts inscribed with the same name and position in the church hierarchy, which are found in two major urban centers of the Balkans - Serdica and Justiniana Prima.[9]

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[4] Zacos-Veglery 1971, pl. 233, no. 169.
[5] Zacos-Veglery 1971, pl. 232, no. 116.
[6] It could be assumed that the present unsightly appearance of the plate is due to a later intervention.
[7] Turcan 1987, 77.
[8] Sarna 1939, 3-9; Popović, Morrison *et al*. 2010, 410.
[9] The sources indicate that the bishops gradually gain great importance, and in the 6th century they are the actual city rulers, developing diverse and versatile activities (Velkov 1959, 221).

Serdica is the main city of Dacia Inferior province[10] and a bishop center,[11] which flourished during the 6th century according to the written sources.[12] It is confirmed by the revealed terrain infrastructure - streets, public and private buildings, churches, etc.[13] The rise of the city and its contacts with the central authority are confirmed by the seals discovered here: imperial seals of Justinian I (527-565),[14] Tiberius II Constantine (578-582)[15] and Heraclius (610-641),[16] a lead seal belonging to the military commander Priscus, who served the Byzantine emperors Maurice Tiberius (582-602) and Phocas (602-610)[17] etc.

The results from the archeological excavations in Justiniana Prima show that the city was developed during the period of 6th- beginning of 7th century.[18] Novella 11 of Justinian was issued in 535, which placed Eastern Illyricum, including both Dacia and Moesia Inferior under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Justiniana Prima. The city was an entirely new foundation that honored the nearby birthplace of Justinian, but, more importantly, was meant to decrease the influence of the Archbishop of Thessalonica, who was the papal vicar for Eastern Illyricum.[19] The emperor's ambition had little impact, however, and ten years later received the status of papal vicar and the church administration of the diocese of Dacia by Novella 131 (III) the Archbishop of Iustiniana Prima,[20] losing his administrative and ecclesiastical prerogatives over the diocese of Macedonia Secunda.

In Justiniana Prima are found seals of emperor Maurice Tiberius (582-602),[21] Archibishop Joan[22] and Bishops Joan and Theodore, etc.[23]

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[10] Velkov 1959, 79.
[11] For more information on the problem see Velkov 1959, 219 and the literature cited there; Markov 1995, 44-45 and the literature cited there.
[12] For more information on the problem see Dancheva-Vasileva 2017, 21-63.
[13] For more information on the problem see Ivanov 2011, 316-319; 2012, 315-317; 2013, 290-291.
[14] Unpublished material.
[15] Vladimirova-Aladzhova 2017, 627-632.
[16] Vladimirova-Aladzhova 2013/2014, 19-23.
[17] Vladimirova-Aladzhova 2016, 33-38.
[18] Duval 1984, 399-481; Bavant & Ivanišević 2006, 69; Ivanišević 2015, 95-98; 2016, 107-126. In Justiniana Prima are found seals of emperor Maurice Tiberius (502-602) (Popović, Morrison *et al*. 2010, 409), Archibishop Joan (Ivanišević 2016, 122) and Bishops Joan and Theodor (Popović, Morrison *et al*. 2010, 410-411; Ivanišević 2016, 122).
[19] Dumanov 2015, 93.
[20] Snively 2005, 216; Bavant & Ivanišević 2006, 69.
[21] Popović, Morrison *et al*. 2010, 409.
[22] Ivanišević 2016, 122.
[23] Popović, Morrison *et al*. 2010, 410-411; Ivanišević 2016, 122.

According to the written sources, there is some tension in the relations between the two cities, which is related to the subordination between the old episcopal center in Serdica and the new one founded in Justiniana Prima. In this situation, a connection between the two artefacts could be searched for - the seal from the letter to the Bishopric of Justiniana Prima, and the *tessera* worn / presented by an envoy in Serdica. In both cases the sender is the same - Bishop Theodore. His messages and addressees[24] are unknown to us, but it is possible that he was sent on a specific diplomatic mission.

In conclusion we could state that the newly found lead plate in Serdica with the name of Bishop Theodore is an important discovery for the late antique history and sigillography of the Balkans from the period of 6th-beginning of 7th century.

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[24] It is a well-known fact that the finding site of a molybdoboulla is related to its recipient and not to its sender.

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Beroe als militärisches Zentrum in der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit – Ein Beitrag zur Verwaltungsgeschichte

Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt

Abstract: The article presents all available information concerning the military position of Beroe/Beroia (modern Stara Zagora) during the middle-Byzantine period – Byzantine seals play a decisive role.

Beroe became a *thema* with a *strategos* at top after emperor Ioannes Tzimiskes had occupied territories which had been lost in former times to the Bulgars. Already in the Taktikon Escorial (971-975) this strategos is mentioned. The seal of a Michael β. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ τουρμάρχης Βερόης stems from this time, not from the early 11th century, as former editors had assumed.

Soon afterwards the region was again lost to the Bulgars under Samuel Komitopoulos, but AD 1000 the Byzantine army under Basil II could win again the regions till the Haimos mountains. Soon afterwards Ioseph β. πρωτοσπαθάριος and Andronikos β. πρωτοσπαθάριος – were *strategoi* of Beroe (in former times these seals were dated too early).

The seal of Romanos μάγιστρος, βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Βεροίης is the unique source documenting the upgrading of Beroe into a dukate/katepanate after the middle of the 11th century.

Key words: Beroe, Byzantine administration, Balkan Frontier, sigillography, Historical Geography

Резюме: Статията представя цялата налична информация относно военните позиции на Берое/Бероя (днешна Стара Загора) през средновизантийския период, сред която византийските печати играят основна роля.

Бероя се превръща в тема, начело на която е бил стратег, след като император Йоан Цимисхи завоювал територията от българите, която била изгубена в миналото. Този стратег се споменава вече в Ескуриалската тактика (971-975). Печатът на Михаил β. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ τουρμάρχης Βερόης произхожда от това време, а не от началото на 11 век, както е допуснал издателят му.

Много скоро районът отново е бил изгубен при Самиул Комитопул, но в 1000 г. византийската армия на Василий II отново завоювала районите до Стара планина. Скоро след това Йосиф β. πρωτοσπαθάριος и Андроник β. πρωτοσπαθάριος са били стратези на Берое (до сега тези печати се датираха много рано).

Печатът на Роман μάγιστρος, βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Βεροίης е единичен извор документиращ превръщането на Берое в дукатство/катепанство след средата на 11 век.

Der folgende Artikel hat die Rekonstruktion der militärischen Position Beroes in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit zum Gegenstand. Das Unternehmen als solches konnte insbesondere durch den von Ivan Jordanov veröffentlichten Siegelbefund in Bulgarien realisiert werden. Das byzantinische Beroe (heute Stara Zagora) war aufgrund seiner geographischen Lage am Schnittpunkt einer wichtigen Verkehrsverbindung in Nord-Süd-Richtung (von Nikopolis ad Istrum bzw. Tărnovo nach Arzon bzw. Konstanteia) mit einer Ost-West-Verbindung (von Anchialos nach Philippupolis) eine der zentralen Städte Thrakiens, bereits in römischer Zeit (Augusta Traiana).[1]

In byzantinischer Zeit wird Beroe zunächst zusammen mit Philippupolis und Anchialos als eine der Städte Thrakiens genannt, welche die Kaiserin Eirene und ihr Sohn Konstantin 784 besuchten,[2] nach dem erfolgreichen Feldzug des λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου Staurakios (783) gegen die slawischen Stämme auf dem Balkan, welcher sich positiv für die byzantinisch-bulgarischen Beziehungen auswirkte, zumal das Reich einen Großteil der einst verlorenen thrakischen Territorien zurückgewinnen konnte,[3] darunter auch Beroe, das Eirene wiederaufbauen ließ und zu Eirenupolis umbenannte – diese Bezeichnung setzte sich aber nicht durch. Nach der Teilung des großen militärischen Verwaltungsbezirkes (*thema*) Thrakien durch die Abkoppelung seines westlichen Teils, nämlich der Region zwischen Hebros/Maritza und Nestos, wurde Beroe Teil des neu eingerichteten Themas Makedonia (kurz nach 789 bzw. spätestens 792).[4] Im Rahmen der Feldzüge Krums gegen Byzanz (812-813) fiel Beroe an Bulgarien,[5] bis es unter Ioannes Tsimiskes zurückerobert wurde; um 986 geriet es in die Gewalt des Kometopulen

[1] Soustal 1991, 203 (Lemma Beroē) und 133 (Straßenverbindungen).

[2] Theophanes, Chronographia 457, Z. 6-11 (de Boor): ἐξῆλθεν ἡ βασίλισσα Εἰρήνη σὺν υἱῷ αὐτῆς καὶ δυνάμεως πολλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην ἐπιφερομένη ὄργανα καὶ μουσικά, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἕως Βεροίας, καὶ ταύτην οἰκοδομηθῆναι κελεύσασα ἐπωνόμασεν αὐτὴν Εἰρηνούπολιν. Κατῆλθε δὲ ἕως Φιλιππουπόλεως μετὰ πάσης ἀπαθείας καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ κτίσασα καὶ τὴν Ἀγχίαλον. – Βεροία ist eine der Nebenformen für Βερόη. Diesbezüglich s. Soustal 1991, 203. Zu den historischen Ereignissen s. umfassend Karagiannopulos 1979, 164-165.

[3] Zur ungefähren geographischen Ausdehnung der damaligen byzantinischen Reichspräsenz in Thrakien s. Soustal 1991, 81-82.

[4] Wassiliou-Seibt 2015, 230-231. Cf. Stauridu-Zaphraka 1995, 316-317.

[5] Theophanes, Chronographia 496, Z. 1-3: πλέον κατίσχυσαν (scil. οἱ Βούλγαροι) Θρᾴκης καὶ Μακεδονίας. Τότε καὶ τὴν Ἀγχίαλον καὶ Βέροιαν ἀφέντες Χριστιανοὶ ἔφυγον. – Zu den erfolgreichen Expansionszügen Krums in Thrakien s. umfassend Karagiannopulos 1979, 202-210.

Samuel, erst unter Basileios II. im Jahre 1000 konnte es erneut durch Byzanz annektiert werden.[6]

Der früheste bisher namentlich greifbare Militärkommandant von Beroe ist der Turmarch[7] Michael mit dem Rang β. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος, der auf einem Siegel der ursprünglichen Sammlung Zacos bezeugt ist, das später in den Besitz von Dumbarton Oaks kam. Die Av.-Seite ziert ein Patriarchenkreuz auf drei Stufen, mit Zierranken, die knapp über die Mitte des unteren Armes reichen. Ungefähr in der Höhe des oberen Kreuzarmes sind links und rechts vier kreuzförmig angeordnete Punkte bzw. Perlen (im Sinne von *horror vacui*) angebracht. Um die Kreuzdarstellung findet sich die übliche Anrufungsumschrift (beginnend links unten – vom Betrachter aus):

+ KE ROHΘ.I TW CW ΔOV
K(ύρι)ε βοήθ[ε]ι τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ), wobei OV ligiert sind.

Die auf fünf Zeilen verteilte Inschrift der Rv.-Seite lautet:

+ MIXA-HΛ R, CΠAΘ,-KANΔ, S TO-VPMAP, RE-POIOIC.
Μιχαὴλ β(ασιλικῷ) σπαθ(αρο)κανδ(διδάτῳ) (καὶ) τουρμάρ(χῃ) Βεροί(η)ς.

In der ursprünglichen Edition hat G. Zacos als Datierung irrtümlich ‘early 11th c.’ erwogen und an Βεροίας (im heutigen Zentralmakedonien/Griechenland) gedacht, trotz der richtigen Entzifferung des geographischen Terminus.[8] Nikos Oikonomides erwog bezüglich der Lautfolge –OIOI- eine Dittographie im Schnitt des Stempels und korrigierte auf Βερόης.[9] Zur Datierung äußerte er sich damals nicht, später jedoch schlug er ‘X/XI c.’ vor und plädierte für die Zugehörigkeit Beroes zum Thema Philippupolis.[10]

Das Stück ist chronologisch zweifellos in 10. Jh. einzugrenzen. Obwohl die Stilistik eine Datierung um die Mitte 10. Jh. zuließe, zwingen uns die historischen Gegebenheiten an der nördlichen Balkangrenze, es doch in die Zeit der Eroberungszüge des Ioannes Tzimiskes zu datieren. Demnach

[6] Oikonomidès 1972, 361 (jedoch nicht Teil des Themas von Philippupolis!).
[7] Zu Position und den Befugnissen der Turmarchen s. Wilson 2015.
[8] Zacos 1984, 240. Die Datierung wurde in Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1991, 149 übernommen und der τουρμάρχης Βερόης als ein Kommandant interpretiert, der dem Strategen von Philippupolis untergeordnet war.
[9] Oikonomidès 1986, 265: ‘Je crois qu’il faut reconnaître une dittographie et comprendre Βερόης (Stara Zagora, en Bulgarie), plutôt que Βεροίας’.
[10] Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1991, 149 (einleitender Kommentar zu Beroe); cf. Oikonomidès 1972, 361.

bezeichnet der Terminus τουρμάρχης Βερόης im konkreten Fall einen direkten Stellvertreter des Strategen von Beroe (Themenkommandant), der im Taktikon Escorial (971-975) als solcher erstmalig definitiv dokumentiert ist; er rangiert dort zwischen dem Strategen von Limnia (στρατηγὸς τῶν Λιμνίων) und jenem von Zermion (στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ζερμίου) – beide waren Kommandanten von ebenfalls neu geschaffenen kleineren Militärbezirken, allerdings im Osten des Reiches.[11] Im Unterschied zu seinem benachbarten Kollegen, dem Strategen von Thrake und Ioannupolis (Preslav) (στρατηγὸς Θρᾴκης καὶ Ἰαννουπόλεως)[12] nimmt er eine sehr bescheidene Position ein (65. Stelle). *En passant* sei in diesem Zusammenhang daran erinnert, dass im selben Taktikon an der nördlichen Balkangrenze ebenfalls Νέος Στρυμών[13] als neues Thema vorkommt. In einer rezenten Arbeit entschied ich mich, diesen Militärbezirk nördlich des Ruppel-Passes (als Prolongierung des bereits existierenden Themas Strymon) zu lokalisieren.[14]

Unmittelbar nach der Rückeroberung der Gebiete bis zum Haimos durch Basileios II. (1000) wurde Beroe erneut als Militärbezirk mit einem Strategen an der Spitze eingerichtet, was der Siegelbefund erhellt: Ein Ioseph im Rang eines β. πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου ist als στρατηγὸς Βερόης für Beginn 11. Jh. bezeugt;[15] Andronikos β. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Βερόης[16] dürfte sein unmittelbarer Nachfolger gewesen sein. Die Av.-Seite seines Siegeltypus ziert eine Büste des hl. Nikolaos. Bisher wurden beide Bleibullen in die Zeit vor der Eroberung Beroes durch den Kometopulen Samuel chronologisch eingegrenzt.

Die militärische Aufwertung Beroes zu einem Katepanat ist nach der Mitte des 11. Jh. anzusetzen und bisher ausschließlich durch ein Siegel eines Romanos ΚΑCΔ...μάγιστρος, βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω (ca. 1070/1110) bezeugt (Abb. 1).[17] Die Av.-Seite ziert die Standfigur des hl. Eustathios. Auf der Rv.-Seite verteilt sich in sechs Zeilen folgende Inschrift:

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[11] Oikonomidès 1972, 267, Z. 34 und 361, mit A. 406; 267, Z. 33 (ὁ τῶν Λιμνίων) und 361 (Kommentar); 269, Z. 1.

[12] Oikonomidès 1972, 265, Z. 9 (an neunter Stelle unter den Strategen).

[13] Oikonomidès 1972, 269, Z. 4 und 357 (Kommentar).

[14] Wassiliou-Seibt 2015, 237-239. Der sigillographisch dokumentierte Stephanos β. πρωτοσπαθάριος könnte eventuell στρατηγὸς Νέου Στρυμόνος gewesen sein (so auch Jordanov 2003, 53.1; 2009, 1360-1365).

[15] Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1991, 64.1 datierten 'X/XI c.' und plädierten im Kommentar - aufgrund des strahlenförmigen Monogramms auf dem Av. - eher für 'late tenth century'.

[16] Zuletzt Jordanov 2009, Nr. 1138-1143 (der Siegeltypus wurde dort in die Zeit vor der Eroberung Beroes durch Samuel datiert).

[17] Privatsammlung A-K. Wassiliou-Seibt 411.

.. – .WMANW – MAΓICTPW – RECTH S KA-TEΠANW RE-PO… – KACΔ….

<K(ύριε) β(οή)θ(ει)> – [P]ωμανῷ – μαγίστρῳ – βέστῃ (καὶ) κα-τεπάνω Βε-ρό[ης τ(ῷ)] Κάσ-δ[….].



Abb. 1

Die zweite Hälfte des auf die beiden letzten Zeilen aufgeteilten Familiennamens ist aufgrund von Beschädigungen im Siegelfeld unlesbar und kann nicht sicher rekonstruiert werden, zumal sich dafür anderweitig für byzantinische Zeit keine Anhaltspunkte bieten. Als Hypothese erwägen wir jedoch mit Vorbehalt Kasdagles, einen Familiennamen, der heute in Griechenland ausreichend dokumentiert ist (Κάσδαγλης). Dem κατεπάνω von Beroe kam als Oberhaupt der dort stationierten Truppen eine Schlüsselfunktion bei den Kämpfen gegen die Petschenegen (später gegen Kumanen) zu. In der *Alexias* ist Beroe definitiv als Stützpunkt solcher Operationen für 1087, 1091 und 1094 dokumentiert.[18]

Die Aufwertung Beroes von einem Strategensitz zu einem Katepanat ist als Ergebnis einer allgemeinen Entwicklung zu sehen, die am nördlichen Balkan bereits vor der Mitte des 11. Jh. begonnen hat (Einrichtung des Militärbezirkes Paradunabon[19] durch die Abkoppelung des östlichen Teils des Dukats Bulgaria) und als effizientere militärische Maßnahme gegen Invasionen von Völkerschaften (Petschenegen und später Kumanen) jenseits der Donau gedacht war. Infolge des zeitweiligen Verlustes der byzantinischen Kontrolle

[18] Annae Comnenae, Alexias VII 3.12, 54; 4.4, 98; X 2.6, 45 (Reinsch & Kambylis 214, 216, 286).

[19] Wassiliou-Seibt 2013, 183 (wahrscheinlich spätestens 1037). Cf. Krsmanović 2008, 195 ('before 1043').

in Paradunabon (1072–1091), wo sich lokale Notablen mit Petschenegen und „Paulikianern" gegen die Zentralgewalt arrangierten,[20] wurde die militärische Präsenz des Reiches durch die Einrichtung mehrerer Operationsstützpunkte (jeweils mit einem κατεπάνω bzw. δούξ an der Spitze) südlich des Haimos verstärkt. Neben Beroe sind als solche Stützpunkte Philippupolis, Mesembria und Anchialos dokumentiert.[21]

Für das 12. Jh. ist Beroe als Basis von militärischen Operationen gegen Petschenegen, und Bulgarovlachen erwähnt: Ioannes II. Komnenos benutzte es als Ausgangspunkt seiner Expeditionen gegen die Petschenegen 1121/1123,[22] und Isaakios II. Angelos konnte von dort aus 1187 kurzfristig die Bulgaren und Vlachen fernhalten.[23] Nach einer schweren Niederlage der byzantinischen Truppen im Jahre 1191 vor Beroe erfolgte die Plünderung der Stadt samt Umgebung durch die Söhne Kalojans, Peter und Asan.[24]

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[20] Eine ausführliche Darstellung der bedrohlichen Situation am nördlichen Balkan in der Zeitspanne 1025 bis 1100 findet sich bei Stephenson 2000, 80–116.

[21] Ausführlich diesbezüglich s. Wassiliou-Seibt 2017.

[22] Nicetae Choniatae, Historia 14, 62-63 (van Dieten): Ἄρας (scil. Ioannes II.) τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν τῆς Βερόης μερῶν (ἐκεῖσε γὰρ ἐστρατοπεδεύετο) κνεφαῖος τοῖς Σκύθαις συρρήγνυται.

[23] Nicetae Choniatae, Historia 396, 8-79: Μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάρας (scil. ἐκ Βαστέρνας) τῆς εὐθὺ τῆς Βερόης ἐπορθρευσάμενος ἥπτετο.

[24] Nicetae Choniatae, Historia 398, 18-29. – Zu den kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen der Byzantiner mit den Petschenegen/Kumanen und Bulgarovlachen im 12. Jh. s. einschlägig Soustal 1991, 99-101; Angold 1997, 299; 483-487. – Zur Frühphase des Aseniden-Aufstandes s. Prinzing 1999/2000.

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