

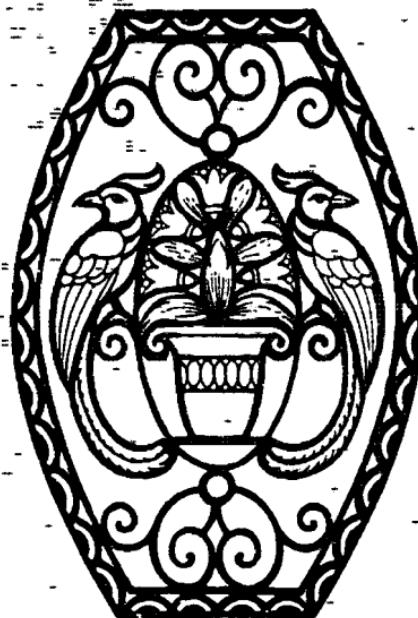
FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN
BYZANTINISCH-NEUGRIECHISCHES SEMINAR

ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA

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JOHN F. HALDON

BYZANTINE PRAETORIANS



DR. RUDOLF HABELT GMBH · BONN

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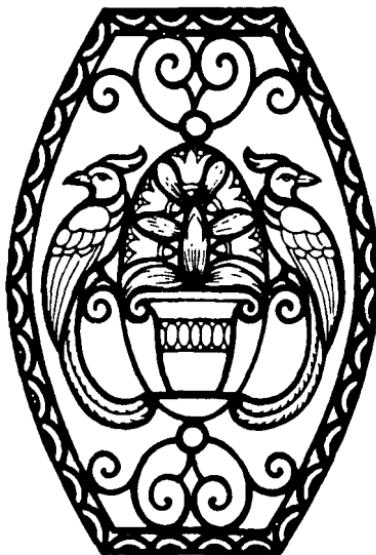
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ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ

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1984

DR. RUDOLF HABELT GMBH · BONN

BYZANTINE PRAETORIANS

AN ADMINISTRATIVE, INSTITUTIONAL
AND SOCIAL SURVEY
OF THE OPSIKION AND TAGMATA, c.580 - 900

BY

JOHN F. HALDON
μ



1984

DR. RUDOLF HABELT GMBH · BONN

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τὸν στρατόν σου μὴ καταδέξῃ καταλυθῆναι καὶ πτωχεῦσαι, καὶ πτωχεύσης σὺ καὶ πολλὰ σεαυτὸν ταλανίσεις· ὁ γὰρ στρατός ἐστιν ἡ δόξα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ παλατίου ἡ δύναμις. στρατοῦ γὰρ μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲ ὁ δημόσιος συνίσταται, ἀλλὰ πάντας ὁ βουλόμενος ἀντιστῆσεταιί σοι.

(Logos Nouthetetikos, 101, ²⁸⁻³²)

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Foreword and acknowledgements

The present work is the result of a number of years of often sporadic research on a subject which seemed to me to merit more attention than it had traditionally received. In its writing I have profited from the assistance and advice of friends and colleagues, from the generosity of the Greek Government and the Greek Department of Education, the Deutscher akademischer Austauschdienst, the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, the Centre for Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham, the Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie of the University of Munich and its Director, Prof. A. Hohlweg, and of libraries in Athens, Thessaloniki, Munich, London, Oxford and Birmingham. In acknowledging assistance in ventures such as this, it is customary to mention also relatives of varying degrees of affinity and acquaintances of little or no scientific relevance at all; and if only to highlight this odd characteristic of academic practice I have been tempted also to acknowledge that brilliant and recently deceased player of the Northumbrian small pipes, Billy Pigg.

Nevertheless, I would like to thank, for a variety of important, relevant but often quite intangible contributions over the years my friends Dave Nicholls, Dieter Stein, Ralph Lilie, Steve Butters, Franz Tinnefeld, Michael Hendy and Val Webb. More particularly, I owe a great deal to my teachers and colleagues Margaret Alexiou and Anthony Bryer, without whom the whole venture would never have been undertaken.

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these days of soaring costs it might otherwise have been consigned to collect dust in some forgotten corner of a University library - perhaps deservedly. I must leave it to the reader to judge.

Birmingham, March 1983

John Haldon

A Brief Note on Sources

To avoid unnecessarily burdening both text and reader, I have, except where it has been deemed vital to the context and the presentation of the evidence, avoided detailed discussion of the nature and tradition of the majority of the literary sources employed. The reader is instead referred to the material in the various encyclopaedic compilations and handbooks of scholars such as Krumbacher, Halkin, Beck, Hunger, Ševčenko et al., listed in the bibliography of secondary works consulted, and to the discussions in the notes to the chapters.

Bibliography

1) Collections and periodicals cited in abbreviation

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|-----------|--|
| AHASH | Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest 1952ff.) |
| AIPHOS | Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves (Bruxelles 1932ff.) |
| 'Ανάλεκτα | 'Ανάλεκτα Τεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυλογίας, I-IV, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg 1891-9) |
| AB | Analecta Bollandiana (Bruxelles 1882ff.) |
| ANRW | Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt |
| AP | Archeion Pontou (Athens 1928ff.) |
| AS | Acta Sanctorum (Antwerp 1643ff.) |
| BBA | Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten (Berlin 1955ff.) |
| BCH | Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (Paris 1877ff.) |
| BF | Byzantinische Forschungen (Amsterdam 1966ff.) |
| BGA | Bibliotheca Geographorum Araborum, ed. M.-J. De Goeje (Leyden 1870ff.). Nunc continuata consultantibus R. Blachère (etc.) (Leyden 1938ff.) |
| BGU | Ägyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin: griechische Urkunden (Berlin 1892 - 1937) |

- BHG³ F.Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*
(Brussels 1957)
- BHG, Auct. F.Halkin, *Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae
Graecae* (Brussels 1969)
- BNJ Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher (Berlin
[Athens] 1920ff.)
- Byz Byzantion (Bruxelles [Paris] 1924ff.)
- ByzBulg Byzantinobulgarica (Sofia 1962ff.)
- ByzSlav Byzantinoslavica (Prague 1929ff.)
- BZ Byzantinische Zeitschrift ([Leipzig] München
1892ff.)
- CEHE Cambridge Economic History of Europe (Cambridge
1941ff.)
- CFHB Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Washington
1967ff. [Series Washingtoniensis]; Berlin [New
York] 1967ff. [Series Berolinensis]; Wien 1975ff.
[Series Vindobonensis]; Roma 1975ff. [Series
Italica]; Bruxelles 1975ff. [Series Bruxellensis])
- CM Classica et Medievalia (Copenhagen 1938ff.)
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Wien
1866ff.)
- CSHB Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn 1828-
1897)

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| ΔΙΕΕ | Δελτίον τῆς Ἰστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Athens 1883ff.) |
| DOP | Dumbarton Oaks Papers ([Cambridge, Mass.]) Washington 1941ff.) |
| ΔΧΑΕ | Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας (Athens 1892ff.); περίοδος Α', vols. 1-10 (Athens 1892-1911); περίοδος Β', vols. 1-2 (Athens 1924-1925); περίοδος Γ', vols. 1-4 (Athens 1933-1939); περίοδος Δ', vols. 1ff. (Athens 1960ff.) |
| ΕΕΒΣ | Ἐπετερίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (Athens 1924ff.) |
| EHR | English Historical Review (London 1885ff.) |
| EI | Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edn. (Leyden/London 1960ff.) |
| EO | Échos d'Orient, 1-39 (Paris [Constantinople/Bucarest] 1897-1941/2) |
| FHG | Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, ed. C. and Th. Müller, 5 vols. (Paris 1874 - 85) |
| GCS | Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten (drei) Jahrhunderte (Leipzig [Berlin] 1897ff.) |
| GRBS | Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies (1: Greek and Byzantine Studies), (San Antonio) ([University/Miss.-] Cambridge/Mass.) (Durham 1958ff.) |

- HC L'Hellénisme Contemporain (Athens 1947ff.)
- Hell. Ἑλληνικά (Athens [Thessaloniki] 1928ff.)
- HGM ·Historici Graeci Minores, 2 vols., ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig 1870-1)
- IRAIK Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole, 1-16 ([Odessa] Sofia 1896-1912)
- Ioannou,
Mnemeia Th. Ioannou, Μνημεῖα Ἅγιολογικά (Venice 1884)
- JA Journal Asiatique (Paris 1822ff.)
- JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies (London 1880ff.)
- JIAN Journal Internationale d'Archéologie Numismatique (Athènes 1897-1927)
- JÖB Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik, 18- (Wien-[Köln/Graz] 1969ff.)
- JÖBG Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft, 1-17 (Wien-[Köln-Graz] 1951-1968)
- JRS Journal of Roman Studies (London 1911ff.)
- JS Journal des Savants (Paris 1748ff.;)
- Mansi Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio, ed. J.D.Mansi (Florence 1759ff.)

- MGH(AA) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Auctores Antiquissimi)*, edd. G. Pertz, Th. Mommsen et al. (Berlin 1877-1919)
- MM *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*, edd. F.Miklosich, J.Müller, 6 vols. (Wien 1860-90)
- NPB *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, ed. A.Mai, vols. i-vii (Rome 1852-4); ed. I.Cozza-Luzi, vols. viii-x (Rome 1871-1905)
- OC *Oriens Christianus* (Leipzig 1901ff.)
- OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome 1935ff.)
- PG *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series Graeco-Latina*, ed. J.P.Migne (Paris 1857-66; 1880-1903)
- PL *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series Latina*, ed. J.P.Migne (Paris 1844ff.)
- PO *Patrologia Orientalis*, edd. R.Graffin, F.Nau (Paris 1904ff.)
- PP *Past and Present* (London 1952ff.)
- QFIA *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven* (Rome 1897ff.)
- RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*, ed. Th.Klauser (Stuttgart 1950ff.)

- RE Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen
Altertums-Wissenschaft, neue Bearbeitung, ed.
G.Wissowa (vol.I/1, Stuttgart 1893ff.); vol.I/1
(1893) - XXIII/2 (1959; with index of additions);
XXIV (1963); I/A1 (1914) - X A (1972); Suppl. I
(1903) - XIV (1974)
- REA Revue des Études Arméniennes, new series (Paris
1964ff.)
- REB Revue des Études Byzantines (vols. 1-3: Études
Byzantines). ([Bucarest] Paris 1944f.)
- REG Revue des Études Grècques (Paris 1888ff.)
- RESEE Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes (Bucarest
1963ff.)
- RH Revue Historique (Paris 1876ff.)
- RHSEE Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen (Bucarest
1924ff.)
- RN Revue Numismatique (Paris 1836ff.)
- ROC Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, ser. 1, vols. 1-10
(Paris 1896-1905); ser. 2, vols. 1-10 (Paris
1906-1915/17); ser. 3, vols. 1-10 (Paris
1918/19-1935/6): vols. 1-30.
- RSBN Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, n.s.
(Rome 1964ff.)

| | |
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| SBB | Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse. |
| SBN | Studi Bizantini (vols. 1-2) e Neoellenici (vols. 3-10) (Rome 1925ff.) (cont. as RSBN) |
| SBÖ | Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse. |
| SBS | Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse. |
| Speculum | Speculum (Cambridge/Mass. 1925ff.) |
| TM | Travaux et Memoires (Paris 1965ff.) |
| TRHS | Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (London 1869ff.) |
| Varia | Varia Graeca Sacra, ed. A.Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg 1909) |
| VSW | Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte ([Leipzig-]Wiesbaden 1903ff.) |
| VV | Vizantiiskii Vremmenik, vols. 1-25 (St. Petersburg [Leningrad] 1894-1927); new series (Moscow 1947ff.) |
| WBS | Wiener Byzantinistische Studien (Wien-[Graz-Köln] 1964ff.) |
| ZK | Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte (Gotha 1877ff.) |

ZRVI Zbornik Radova (vols. 1-6: Vizantološki Institut,
kn. 1-6 = Srpska Akademija Nauka, Zbornik Radova,
kn. 21, 36, 44, 49, 59, 65) Vizantološkog Instituta
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1894) 1-12 BHG³:84
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| Anon.Chron. ad 724 | Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domini 724 pertinens, ed. E.W.Brooks, tr. J.B.Chabot, in: CSCO Scriptores Syri, ser. 3, t.4, Chronica minora pars ii, 4, 63-119 |
| Anon.Chron. ad 813 | Chronicon anonymi ad annum Domini 813 pertinens, ed. and tr. E.W.Brooks, in: CSCO Scriptores Syri, ser. 3, t.4, Chronica minora pars iii, 1, 185-96 |
| Anon.Chron. ad 846 | Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domini 846 pertinens, ed. E.W.Brooks, tr. J.B.Chabot, in: CSCO Scriptores Syri, ser. 3, t.4, Chronica minora pars ii, 5, 123-80 |
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1-385
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J.B.Chabot, in: CSCO Scriptores Syri, ser.
3, t.4, Chronica minora pars ii, 3, 35-57 .
- Chron.Pasch. Chronicon Paschale, ed. L.Dindorf (CSHB,
Bonn 1832)
- Claudian,
In Eutrop. Claudianus, In Eutropium, in: MGH(AA), x,
74-118
- CJ Codex Justinianus, ed. P.Krüger, in: CJC ii
(Berlin 1963)
- CJC Corpus Juris Civilis, edd. Th.Mommsen,
P.Krüger, R.Schöll, W.Kroll, 3 vols. (Berlin
1892-95; repr. 1945-63)
- CIG Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. A.Boeckh
(vols. 1,2) and I.Franz (vols. 3ff.) (Berlin
1828ff.)
- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, edd.
Th.Mommsen, O.Hirschfeld, A.Domaszewski et
al. (Berlin 1863ff.)

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| CTh. | Codex Theodosianus = Theodosiani Libri xvi cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis, edd. Th.Mommsen, P.Meyer et al. (Berlin 1905) |
| Cor., In Laud.Iust. | Corippus, In Laudem Iustini Imperatoris, in: MGH(AA), iii, 115-56 |
| Cor., In Laud. Iust. (Cameron) | Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris Libri IV, ed. with transl. and commentary, Averil Cameron (London 1976) |
| Const.VII, Nov. | Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Novellae, in: JGR (Zepos), i. |
| Cumont, Inscriptions | F.Cumont, 'Les inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure', Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'histoire 15(1895) |
| DAI | Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, I: Greek text, ed. Gy.Moravcsik, Eng. trans., R.J.H.Jenkins. New revised edn. (CFHB I) (= Dumbarton Oaks Texts I) (Washington 1967); II: Commentary, ed. R.J.H.Jenkins (London 1962) |
| Darrouzès, Épistoliers | J.Darrouzès, Épistoliers byzantins du X ^e siècle (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 6) (Paris 1960) |

- De Cer. Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De Ceremoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo, ed. J.Reiske (CSHB, Bonn 1829-30)
- De Eudocimo in: Synax.CP, 857 (and see also AS Jul. vii, 308f; Chr.Loparev, in: Pamjatniki Drevnej Pismennosti 96 (St. Petersburg 1893) 1-23, for the Vita by Symeon Metaphrastes) BHG³ 607
- De Hilarione De Hilarione Dalmatae, in: Synax. CP, 731-4 BHG, Auct., 2177b; cf. BHG³ 2177
- De Ioann.Heg.Cath. De Ioanni (ἡγεμῶν τῆς μουῆς τῶν καθαρῶν) in: Synax.CP, 631-4 BHG, Auct., 2184n
- De Martyr.CP De SS.Martyribus Constantinopolitanis, AS Aug. ii, 434-47 (Acta Georgii spatharii)
BHG³ 1195
- Denys of Tell-Mahré Pseudo-Denys de Tell-Mahré, Chronique, ed. et trad. J.B.Chabot (Paris 1895)
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Byzantinisten-Kongress, München 1958, v/1
(München 1958)

Introduction

This is an empirical study. I have attempted to present and to discuss the evidence for a series of administrative and institutional developments central to the changing structure of a medieval society and the state which gave to it its particular character. I have not undertaken an analysis of the wider structure of the Byzantine social formation as such, but have rather tried to establish some of the essential elements for such an analysis, which must necessarily depend upon, but be less immediately grounded in, the empirical detail set out in what follows. For the history of its military administrative establishment is of singular importance in the study of the Byzantine state, its society and the institutions which these supported. The armies of the empire represented both the means of survival, in terms of the maintenance of territorial integrity and internal order; as well as being one of the chief tools of imperial ideology - in respect of both foreign policy and internal politics - an ideology which asserted imperial claims to universal sovereignty and, in a more restricted sense, to sovereignty over those lands which had formerly been within the bounds of the imperium romanum.¹ The Byzantine army was the leading instrument of this ideology at times when the empire was strong enough economically and politically to go over to the offensive. The inevitable failure to realise the aims of this ideology, however, reflects the failure of the Byzantine social formation as a whole to support the burden of expansion, consisting, as this social formation did, of elements from two antagonistic modes of production - ancient and feudal - held together in an uneasy compromise by a centralised administration which had developed in a completely different social and economic environment from that which had come to obtain by the sixth and seventh centuries. For the economic and social formation which had developed by the first century A.D. within the parameters of

the ancient mode of production was drastically modified during the following two hundred and fifty years by the development of new relations of production, notably the establishment of a widespread colonate system of farming estates. It was able to maintain a precarious existence until the twelfth century, although continually threatened from within by the development of new economic relationships, which were restrained only with considerable effort by the central government. Thus tendencies towards a decentralisation of political and economic power, such as had occurred in western Europe, were continually held in check, for their future development would have resulted in the breakdown of the traditional administrative and political establishment.²

It is in this respect that the history of the élite corps of the Byzantine army is so important. It reflects the struggles between, on the one hand, the centralising efforts of the state (represented by the Constantinopolitan bureaucracy and the emperors) and the effects of the structure on its institutions, in its attempt to retain direct control over the economic and military resources of the empire; and on the other hand, the centrifugal tendencies which developed gradually but ever more intensively from the sixth and especially from the seventh century as a response to changes in the internal and external situation of the empire. It was in this area that contradictions within the Byzantine social and political structure expressed themselves most clearly.³

For while the soldiers had to maintain internal authority and imperial territorial integrity, they were inscribed both individually and collectively within the same sets of relations and practices which affected the society as a whole, and indeed had to accomodate themselves to any changes in order to carry out effectively their traditional functions. The Byzantine army can thus be examined on two levels: the first must consider the relationship between the state and the army, viewed

institutionally: while the army had to respond to and satisfy the needs of the state, the latter had likewise to continually modify the administrative machinery by means of which it maintained its control over the armies.

The second must take into account the relationship between the army and the political order of the social formation within which it functioned, and upon which it also depended. The internal structure of the army and its social composition reflect the constitution of the social formation in general. The army acted as a prism, through which class relationships appear more obviously, not only vertical relationships - between classes but horizontal relationships - within classes, and between sectional class interests.

The present study does not pretend to analyse the army as a whole, however. Instead, those sections of the Byzantine forces closest to the central administration have been selected; and attention will be devoted to the first level of analysis referred to above, rather than the second. To examine adequately the latter would require at least a major study devoted to the political and social history of the provincial armies, and although this research has already begun, much more needs to be done.⁴ The present book may act as a preliminary step in this process, but it will examine only briefly the relationship between the centrally-controlled troops and the provinces.

By the same token, I have limited the analysis to the period c.565 - 900, for two reasons. In the first place, it was during this period that the changes and transformations which characterised the middle Byzantine state occurred. In the second place, the period after c.900 requires study in its own right, rather than the status of a closing chapter in an analysis centred elsewhere.

It was a period marked out by the visible emergence of the structural contradictions within the Byzantine social formation. Alongside the military expansion of the tenth century, there

appeared at last quite clearly on the political arena the tension between the interests of the entrenched service aristocracy, as opposed to the interests of the state; interests which the former, of course, had also to represent in their capacity as state functionaries, both military and civilian, of the administrative establishment. But in addition, this period - in contrast to that preceding it - has already been the subject of a number of competent studies. It seems reasonable to suggest that the later social and institutional history of the elite units of the army, given the structural changes of the tenth century, should deserve a separate analysis.

One point in particular must be borne in mind when considering the history of armies and their administration. Not only do armed forces reflect in general the social order of the state which maintains them - in terms of the social origins of officers, methods of recruitment and promotion, qualities required for admittance to the officer ranks and so forth; they constitute a discrete group within their own society and to this extent develop distinct, institutionalised patterns of behaviour and related attitudes. In the Byzantine state, of course, the army played a specific and recognised role as one of the three official bodies or 'estates' which, by its confirmation or rejection of a newly-elected emperor, could confer or deny legitimacy. We should therefore expect 'the army' as such - or sections of it - to become involved in 'political' activities, since this function provided an adequate justification.^{4a} Alongside this ancient tradition, which served to legitimate the presence of this 'group within a group', the 'army' within the society, both politically and ideologically, there also developed a tradition of the Christian soldier fighting for the empire and the Christian faith under the first soldier, the emperor himself. The soldier was accorded a certain degree of respect, at least in theory, for he was the defender of the empire and the converter of the heathen (see chap. five, and note 901). These

factors alone promoted an awareness of difference between the members of the army and the rest of society.

But, in addition, 'military' and 'regimental' traditions develop which define the role and conduct of the soldiers and officers; and while such traditions reflect and refract in a generalised form the received values of the whole society - and within the army, the ideological consciousness of the respective classes from which ordinary soldiers and officers were recruited - they exist and are promoted within a specific environment and thus attain a certain autonomy.⁵ Thus soldiers - and more specifically their officers - tend to be conservative and critical of any change in the establishment which brought them into being and maintains them. No self-conscious group, existing within a firmly defined institutional framework through which it obtains or maintains its raison d'être, will usually fail to object to attempts to alter or tamper with that framework. The greater the scope of the alteration, the greater the resulting insecurity, for change threatens the purpose and possibly the existence of the group and thereby the social and economic status of its members.⁶ Mutinies, riots, military coups and rebellions should all be considered in this light - as conservative, rather than radical in intent - as well as in terms of more general social and political conflict. In Byzantium this is especially important; for while other western medieval 'states had armies, these were generally merely gatherings of representatives of one or several social classes under arms, organised on an 'estate' basis alone. On the other hand, in the Byzantine state during the period under consideration here, the existence of a central administrative apparatus and the contingent failure of an independent feudal nobility to arise before the later eleventh century, which could otherwise alienate from the state a largely free peasantry, meant that the continued existence of a standing army - albeit in the very widest sense of the term - was assured. Such a tendency towards

'professionalism' was of course vitiated by the nature of the Byzantine class structure. Only at the level of officers of middling rank and middling wealth - those most likely to profit from the 'theoretical meritocracy which existed - does a form of professionalism exist. Otherwise, class loyalties and interests hinder the development of a militaristic ideology in the modern sense. It must be remembered that proficiency with weapons and full-time military duties, or a military career, do not in themselves constitute professionalism.⁷ The latter can properly exist only in a social context where 'freedom of choice' in terms of careers (however limited it may remain in practice) is possible throughout the whole spectrum of the society - a situation which can develop only where pre-industrial class ideologies and relationships have been broken down.⁸ Thus in a non-industrial society with a tradition of centralised, bureaucratic administration, only those who were able to distance themselves from the ideology of the class to which they belonged could achieve this, and then only to a limited degree. We therefore find the middle-ranking army officers, and likewise the equivalent group within the civil administration, coming nearest to this definition, gaining their initial positions through patronage, and developing loyalties to the establishment which promotes their interests and abilities and its ideology, rather than to the social class from which they were drawn. But even here, as Weiss has demonstrated, such attitudes developed genuinely - as a real reflection of group interests - only among the civil servants of the bureaucracy, where the conditions mentioned above were more likely to prevail. In the army, the majority of junior officers or of those of middling status were drawn from various strata of the ruling class, that is to say, the landowning class, at least after the eighth century. As long as their interests appeared to be consonant with those of the state, a form of semi-professionalism flourished; but as the economic independence of this class increased, along with an

awareness of its interests relative to the central government - and more especially relative to the civil/administrative bureaucratic faction in Constantinople - this attitude disappeared, and the apparently monolithic state superstructure begins to break down.⁹

While we cannot legitimately speak of 'professionalism', therefore, it is certainly possible to deal in terms of group interests within the military establishment of the Byzantine state, the clearest example, and the justification in terms of social and administrative history for this study, being the tagmata themselves, in which a distinct regimental and political tradition developed.

The study of administrative institutions and of the government machinery which directed them, however, is a complex and often unrewarding one. Byzantinists have been collecting and interpreting the available sources for many years: studies by eminent historians in this field have been devoted to subjects such as the origins of the military provinces or themata, or to the intricacies of the system of taxation during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and although historians now have a good deal more material at their disposal than was available in the last century, there are still substantial gaps in our knowledge of the framework of Byzantine society, the administration it maintained and the economic conditions which supported it and in which it existed. The present study will attempt to supply the want in one respect, by analysing and tracing the history of that small but important section of the Byzantine administrative and military machine, the imperial field armies and the tagmata based in or near Constantinople.

No study has yet been devoted entirely to this subject, although several historians have examined the question of the differences between the tagmatic regiments and the thematic or provincial units, the former generally being classified as consisting of professional and essentially mercenary soldiers,

the latter being seen as a form of militia - whether or not they were a full-time or a part-time force is not a question with which we are concerned here.¹⁰

Th. Uspenskij first noted the difference and commented upon it.¹¹ He saw that whereas the tagmatic soldiers were recruited at regular intervals for a variety of needs, the thematic troops, at least as they appeared from the tenth-century evidence, seemed to be based on the whole on local centres and were expected to turn out at certain times of the year with their equipment and provisions. Gelzer also discussed the tagmata, using in addition Arabic texts of the ninth and tenth centuries.¹²,

The work of Gelzer and Uspenskij was followed by that of J.B. Bury on the imperial administration, and slightly later by that of Ernst Stein. Bury gave a full analysis of the structure and function of the guards units and the élite regiments in the ninth century as a part of his examination of the administrative system of the period, incorporating a detailed discussion on the Byzantine treatises on precedents then available, one appended to the *De Caerimoniis* of Constantine VII, the other edited and published by Uspenskij.¹³ Stein's work concentrated less on the four imperial tagmata and more on the origins of the themata of Opsikion, Optimation and Boukellarion, all of which took their names from the military units of the later sixth century. Stein modified several suggestions made by Bury and also by Charles Diehl, and his work remained the basis of later discussion of these units until the 1950s.¹⁴

More recently, a number of general works and more specialist articles have discussed the tagmata and the élite units, adhering for the most part to the theses set forth by Bury and Stein. The problem of the Opsikion theme, of course, is bound up with the difficult question of the origins of the thematic system as a whole, and has been discussed most frequently in this context. The most recent accounts of the tagmata were written in the 1960s

by Ahrweiler and Guillard and on the guards regiments of the sixth century and before by A.H.M. Jones and R.I. Frank.¹⁵

Only Bury, in his work on the ninth-century military establishment, and Stein in his discussion of the Optimates and the Opsikion, attempted to bridge the gap in our knowledge of the history of the tagmata and similar units and trace the connection between the organisation in the ninth century as it is revealed by the various treatises on offices and precedence, and that of the sixth century. But Bury, like Ahrweiler in her analysis of the administration, was concerned with the ninth century only, and although he suggested a number of possible solutions to several interesting problems, he did not concentrate on the seventh and eighth centuries.

This period has long been regarded as the 'dark age' of Byzantium, if only because the greater part of the source material is not of a character amenable to an administrative or organisational analysis. The problems which it presents must nevertheless be tackled, for the period of Heraclius' successors witnessed a substantial modification of the structure of the Byzantine state in every respect. By examining one aspect of the Byzantine administrative machinery, this study will attempt to document the progress of these modifications and to highlight their causes in terms of the changes which occurred within the Byzantine world and outside it. For the nature of the evidence is such that only by first establishing something of the concrete structure of Byzantine society in terms of its administrative institutions and the paths along which they developed, can the historian hope eventually to establish a framework for the examination and understanding of the economic and social formations which supported them. At a more mundane level, this study will attempt to reply to a number of questions about a period of Byzantine history, and more specifically about an aspect of late Roman and Byzantine administrative institutions which, although often formulated, have yet to be adequately

answered.¹⁶

One area of discussion which I have deliberately curtailed has been the detailed textual-critical examination of literary sources. This is not to say that such materials have been taken unquestioningly at face-value; but I have preferred, wherever possible, to refer the reader to the literature which treats these questions in detail, unless an unavoidable problem is encountered. The chief grounds for this otherwise unacceptable omission will, I hope, be clear enough: the extended nature of this analysis, ranging as it does across several centuries and a vast array of source materials; and the availability of textual-critical literature which, if it has not always provided neat solutions to often complex problems, has at the least pinpointed the nature of the difficulties to be encountered in the reading and historiographical application of literary sources. Where such problems are present, I have noted them and have taken account of them in the argument. But a detailed textual deconstruction of the sort exemplified in, for example, volume 2 of this series, Paul Speck's *Artabasdos*, would clearly render the present analysis unwieldy, over-extended and difficult to use.

The material which follows has been organised in a way which, I hope, will enable the reader to pursue both the 'history' of the tagmata and elite regiments diachronically, and to follow certain themes within the general analysis. It goes without saying that my conclusions are not intended to be final; some conclusions will be found acceptable, others may be rejected as based on too little evidence or too much speculation. In this respect, it is worth making the point - often neglected by the historian closely involved in his/her empirical work - that 'evidence' does not 'speak for itself', it is rather the historian, who interprets and 'translates' the evidence, who speaks. Further, evidence - 'facts' - must be set in a context of possibilities, of structural and causal relationships, which necessarily limits the direction and multiplicity of

interpretations placed on any single item or set of 'facts'. To take a common example, that of numbers given for the size of armies in medieval - in this case Byzantine and Arab - texts, it is methodologically inadequate simply to analyse the texts which give such figures for their internal and comparative consistency and to assume that whatever figures thus result must be 'accurate'. We must also ask whether or not - given what we know of the nature, capacity and dynamic of the social formation in question, and its various apparatuses (tax-collecting machinery, bureaucratic structure, military administrative structure, and so on) - the results of the analysis are feasible. Do they fit in with what is otherwise known - or better, assumed - about the society in question? If figures are arrived at which do not accord with such assumptions, then what the 'evidence' appears to 'tell' us must be re-assessed, the evidence itself must possibly be set aside (even if temporarily) as impossible to interpret in a contextually adequate manner. Blind faith in facts is the worst enemy of the historian and the social scientist, since it more often than not accompanies a naive lack of awareness of the implicit value-judgements and subjectivity which are found where historians fail to make their theoretical premises explicit. As I have said, facts never speak, we merely make them look as if they do: in relation to our facts, we are all ventriloquists.¹⁷ Alternatively, of course, the general structures assumed for the social formation in one or other of its aspects may be in need of revision, possibly even rejecting entirely; although this is less likely where the 'evidence' and the levels of analysis are of such a different order of magnitude as those considered above: the relationship between the relatively restricted pieces of contextual evidence and the general structures within which they are to be contextualised is not reversible.¹⁸

It is always easy, of course, to offer a range of alternative or conflicting 'answers' to problems presented by historical data, when only the immediate context of this data has been

considered. And indeed, historians have often justified their differences on the grounds that the evidence at their disposal was not sufficient to reach a generally acceptable conclusion. Now this may sometimes be true, and in the following chapters there are a number of instances where the available evidence permits only the broadest generalisations and can offer no firm answers to questions of detail. But in other cases such differences arise primarily because the whole of the relevant historical context has not been brought into the picture, and because the premises upon which such interpretations are founded are never really made explicit to the interpreters themselves. These two points are inseparable: for it is surely only possible to conceive adequately of aspects of past societies from the point of view of the society as a totality, even if generalised to a great degree; and to do this, certain assumptions about the forms human social/political/economic organisation takes are necessarily made. All scientific research, all academic work, however it may be justified by those who practise it and are themselves subject to this practice, has a method and theory included in it, whether it be made explicit or not, and whether it be internally consistent or not. It is the making explicit of such assumptions, their basis and their coherence, which is under discussion here. Without this, assumptions and interpretations which might otherwise be perceived as structurally incompatible can exist happily side by side, often with the disclaimer that 'not enough' evidence is available to decide between them. But when and where is 'enough'? In practice, such disclaimers may actually signal a real failure to be aware of and to examine the basis of the production of historical knowledge and hence to confront the implications of the historian's own social and scientific practice, for both are highly relevant.

This question of the nature of knowledge constitutes, of course, the traditional dilemma of the historian as well as of the philosopher, but it is one which must not be passed over, a

common tendency where 'historians' are not expected to be 'philosophers', where specialists are not assumed to know much outside their own field of expertise (but who defines this field?), and where the dual advantage of both specialist and general knowledge is more often than not the privilege of an educational super-élite. History - which is both the 'story' and the understanding of societies - must avoid this pitfall at all costs. History can be both sociology and social anthropology as well as political events - one side cannot be understood without the other. And so the epistemological question of the nature and production of knowledge, which carries with its answer a series of methodological consequences for the processing and interpretation of data, as well as a general theory, however loosely formulated, of human agency and social organisation, must be faced, even if it is not always answered, by every historian. For only thus can 'evidence' be seen for what it is, and only then can the historian attempt to produce a unified interpretation, however limited or narrow the areas he may be examining, an interpretation which is not internally contradicted by the presence of assumptions based on principles which may, ultimately, be mutually exclusive.

In what follows, therefore, I have attempted to bear this wider structure and context always in mind, both as the backdrop to the 'facts' and as the basis upon which the interpretations offered here must be judged.

Chapter One

The Elite Field Units and the Palatine Regiments in the later sixth century.

The natural starting point for a study of Byzantine military organisation is the sixth century. Primarily, because in spite of the excellent analyses of late Roman society and institutions undertaken by Jones and others, many points of detail which are of significance for later developments have still to be clarified. The problem of the origins of the corps of Optimates, bucellarii and foederati; of the method of recruitment and the tactical organisation of the army of the later sixth century; of the internal administration and the role of the scholae, and of the fate of the protectores and domestici; these and many other problems still need a great deal of attention. Not only this, but the relationship of these units to one another, and of their role in the events which led up to the establishment of the praesental Obsequium, is still a mystery. To begin in the sixth century is therefore unavoidable if this study is to trace adequately the changes which took place in the military organisation of the empire during the seventh and eighth centuries, and to make these changes comprehensible in terms of the developments in Byzantine society, economy and culture during this period.

In order to provide a firm basis for discussion it has been necessary in this chapter to recapitulate and in some cases to revise some of the conclusions previously reached by scholars about the organisation of the sixth-century army.¹⁹ On the whole, however, the material presented and the discussion deal only with those subjects which have not been adequately examined before, either in general terms or insofar as the requirements of later arguments are concerned, and which bear directly on what follows in subsequent chapters.

Part one: the Optimates, Bucellarii and Foederati, and the field army.

a) Origins of the elite units.

These regiments first appear as distinct corps during the reign of the emperor Maurice, forming the elite element of the forces under the magistri militum in praesenti. The origin of the Optimates is uncertain. It has been suggested that they were selected from among 'the best' of the troops at the disposal of the master of the soldiers; or that they were made up from the descendants of Gothic troops settled in the empire during the early years of the fifth century.²⁰ The latter theory proposes that the Goths whom Stilicho defeated, called Optimatoi by Olympiodorus,²¹ are connected with the sixth-century unit of the same name, and thence with the Gothograeci and the area called Gothograecia, a district which formed a part of the Opsikion theme in the later seventh and eighth centuries.²² This area and its Gothic half-barbarian population is documented from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, but there are difficulties in establishing a connection between a force of Gothic federates mentioned in the West in the early fifth century and a regular unit of the late sixth century.²³

There is only one reference to a possible settlement of Goths in the East, in Phrygia, before the Gothograeci appear. These were a group of Ostrogoths who may have been settled here after their defeat on the Danube in 386. An account of the Eunomian heresy in Constantinople and Asia Minor in the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates and Sozomenos suggests that they were quickly integrated with the local population, for Selenas, Bishop of the Goths on the Danube, was of a Gothic father and a Phrygian mother. These Phrygian Goths, as well as the Gothic federates in Thrace and the capital, seem to have taken part in some faction fighting between the Arians and Eunomians in the 380s, although they do not appear in the sources after this time. Nevertheless, the possibility that they were the original Gothograeci cannot be

completely discounted, and it may be that the sixth-century corps of Optimates was either by chance or deliberately established in the same region. The Acta of David, Symeon and George suggest that the eighth-century Gothograecia had a littoral; and its situation in Mysia, Bithynia and parts of Phrygia - the district usually identified with the theme of Optimaton - is suggested both by this account, which places it two days sail away from the isle of Lesbos; and by the description of the chora ton Dagotthenon in the De Thematibus of Constantine VII, near Prusa and Mt. Olympus in Bithynia.²⁴

But I suggest that the name Optimaton was applied to this district only after the billeting there, sometime during the early seventh century, of a large force of Gothic Optimates, a unit first established during the reign of Tiberius Constantine. While Optimates and Gothograeci thus became synonymous, any connection which they may have had with the Optimates of Radagaisus was entirely fortuitous - the former were established in this district for purely practical, military purposes.²⁵ The fact that other regions occupied by distinct military corps also began to be called after the units established there at the same period only lends support to this hypothesis.

The creation of this unit seems in fact to be related to the massive recruiting drive undertaken by Tiberius Constantine in 575, when large numbers of foreign soldiers as well as members of warlike groups within the empire were enrolled into the Roman armies.²⁶ Numbering fifteen thousand according to Theophanes, one hundred and fifty thousand according to Evagrius, clearly an inflated figure, and twelve thousand according to other sources, they were recruited for service on the Persian front. Theophanes states that they were commanded by the comes foederatorum Maurice, although other sources are unanimous that Maurice was comes excubitorum at the time.²⁷ The name applied to one of the new corps of foreign soldiers in the Strategikon of Maurice, and was retained after that corps was

permanently billeted in Bithynia in the seventh century. The creation of this corps is clearly to be connected with the reorganisation of the field forces which took place under Maurice, first in his capacity as comes excubitorum and magister militum per Orientem, later as emperor.²⁸

Now the Optimates had certain privileges which have not hitherto been sufficiently emphasised. Esquires or attendants were permitted to members of the unit, two esquires for each group of five Optimates, although it seems that they may have had an esquire each.²⁹ The presence of servants and slaves to look after equipment, feed and water animals and carry out other menial tasks is regarded by the author of the Strategikon attributed to the emperor Maurice as a necessity. Soldiers who cannot afford them must club together and hire or buy them through their actuary.³⁰ But such men were not expected to be soldiers, whereas the esquires of the Optimates clearly were. The presence of esquires among the Optimates (and also the federates) suggests a much greater difference between these units on the one hand and the regular regiments on the other than has hitherto been appreciated. While the federates were basically regular troops, with a superior grade of attendant indicative of their own status, it seems to me that the Optimates held yet higher rank, as the presence of their personal esquires in battle indicates. We have to do here with the germanic personal retinue rather than the paid servants of slaves of poor soldiers.³¹ The Optimates were recruited predominantly from germanic sources;³² and in view of the presence of esquires, called variously ἄρμάτοι, ὑπεραρμάται or σύνταγοι, and the provenance of the soldiers themselves, it seems a reasonable explanation of their name to propose that they were composed of nobles, warriors of middling and higher status and their followers, recruited into the imperial forces in a single corps.³³ It is significant that the Strategikon lays down no rules for the equipping of these esquires - nor for that of the Optimates themselves, although the

'bucellarii and foederati are both expressly catered for.³⁴ In effect, the Optimates did not come under the 'direct supervision of the military authorities. The presence of the esquires, members of each man's personal following, also explains the otherwise puzzling reference to the greater number of men permitted in each tagma or regiment of Optimates;³⁵ while the whole corps is clearly set apart from the regular establishment by coming under the authority of a taxiarchos, equivalent to the title moirarchos, but not a usual name. Its use in this context suggests that the Optimates and their commander were quite distinct from other regular formations in the field army.³⁶ Perhaps these men enlisted in the imperial forces in order to escape the Lombard invasion of Italy in 568. That they were predominantly Goths there can be no doubt, for the evidence of John of Ephesus makes this quite clear. The hostility of the population of the capital to the Arian faith of the new soldiers, which John also reports, renders this identification certain, for the Goths were the only germanic people at this time apart from the Lombards still to profess the Arian creed.³⁷ In addition, it should be noted that the Optimates were horsemen, and were expected to fight as heavy cavalrymen in close combat, a detail which might also confirm their Gothic origin.³⁸

The Optimates, then, were organised somewhat differently from the other élite regiments and the regular units. They were of higher status than the foederati but probably numbered less altogether;³⁹ and their soldiers were considered individually the most capable in the army, a point which is made clear when the Strategikon regulates the depth of each line of battle: the weaker regiments were to form up in lines up to ten men deep, the federates, Illyrians and vexillations up to eight deep; and the Optimates, whether in the first or second line, were to be only seven deep, but sometimes as few as five.⁴⁰ Whether their higher status involved also greater privileges is not clear. As mentioned above, a great number of the new recruits of

575 and after were Arian; and as in Justinian's day, they were allowed to maintain a church in the City, although John of Ephesus makes it clear that this was not at all popular with the population.⁴¹

The foederati were another of the élite regiments or corps of the field army at this time. Jones and others have already discussed the changes in meaning which affected the term foederatus during the fifth and the sixth centuries, when it came to mean not a member of a confederate tribe allied on certain terms to the empire, but rather a member of a troop of mercenaries hired to the empire on a temporary basis, and finally an individual, usually a barbarian, who joined one of several units made up predominantly of foreigners, under the administrative control of their paymasters or optiones.⁴² The composition of the foederati was clearly mixed, and Romans could join in the same way as barbarians appear to have been able to join the regular units of comitatenses.⁴³ On active service, they generally came under the authority of the chief officer of the area, but a comes foederatorum could also be appointed. The first such officer we hear of (excluding a few anachronistic references of the fifth century) was also a magister militum praesentalis, and suggests that as early as 548 the foederati might be grouped together tactically for a particular operation,⁴⁴ although for much of Justinian's reign they were scattered operationally throughout the empire.

Towards the end of the sixth century, however, the foederati were reorganised under the command of the magister militum praesentalis, placed in a single large corps, a move foreshadowed in 548 by the appointment of Artabanus as comes foederatorum, referred to above. Once again, I consider that this reorganisation should be connected with the recruiting drive of Tiberius and with the changes instituted by Maurice. Such large numbers of foreign soldiers as the sources describe can only have been absorbed properly into the foederati, a category of troops

which was administered on similar lines and under similar conditions to the regular comitatenses but which was organised to enrol barbarians rather than ordinary Romans. It is significant that the recruits were, according to John of Ephesus and Evagrius, brave and fierce warriors from among the best of their people, which certainly accords with the increased status of these units under Maurice and later.⁴⁵ To what extent we can rely entirely on the opinion of these contemporaries is a point open to debate; but their statements reflect at the least the attitudes of their time, if not the reality of the recruits origins. Whether detached units of federates continued to operate in other parts of the empire at the same time, as they had done previously, is difficult to say. That all such units came to be a part of this corps, however, is probable, for the term phoideratoi is retained in later times to signify a specific corps rather than a particular type of soldier.

Finally, the bucellarii who were likewise reorganised under Maurice. As with the term foederatus, so the meaning of bucellarius also changed during the fifth and sixth centuries. In Justinian's time it meant hand-picked soldiers serving military personnel as private guards, but swearing an oath of loyalty to the emperor as well as to their own commander. Private citizens and non-military personnel were forbidden to hire bucellarii, although this ruling was frequently ignored.⁴⁶ In Egypt, at least, it seems that the state commissioned citizens in positions of military authority to recruit bucellarii, which were then eligible for state annonae and capitus, and were presumably entered in the military registers. Such bucellarii, as Gascou has suggested, came effectively under the official military commander for real military operations, and were used predominantly for state purposes, such as police duties, the collection of taxes and so on.⁴⁷ This development seems, in effect, to have been the final phase in the development of officially-raised and approved

units of regular bucellarii.

Under Maurice, while private and state-commissioned bucellarii clearly continued to exist,⁴⁸ a second group appeared, organised into two or more regular units or tagmata serving as the guard of the commander-in-chief of the praesental army while on campaign. Their superior status is emphasised by their better arms and equipment, their direct attendance on the commander-in-chief, and the fact that they occasionally served as guards at the capital under the comes excubitorum. The essential difference between the older bucellarii and the new establishment lay in the source of their pay: for the former from the landholders, state officials upon whom they were billeted and by whom they were recruited; for the latter from the state.⁴⁹ While private bucellarii, as has been suggested, were also supported at the state's expense when employed for state' purposes under the authority of the state's officers, this was not their permanent situation, as the reference to the guards of Priscus makes clear. It is also apparent that from this time on, the title bucellarii is used only of these regular, imperial troops. Hypaspistai, doryphoroi and spatharioi, among other titles, replace the older term for privately-hired soldiers. The creation of the units of bucellarii may have been an attempt to control the sometimes very large numbers of private soldiers maintained by the wealthier officers, by drafting some of them into regular units which served both as a military elite force and as a source of staff officers. It seems also to have been an attempt to end the confusion between these regulars in the military establishment and the irregularly-drafted bucellarii, who may have been able to usurp fiscal privileges, rights of hospitium and so forth.⁵⁰

b) Recruitment and enrolment

The internal administration and organisation of these corps cannot have differed substantially from that of the regular units of the field army.⁵¹ Conditions of recruitment and service differed only insofar as these units were of higher status. They were certainly better equipped⁵² and were expected to possess the esquires referred to already.⁵³

Numbers varied. Aussareses, following the Strategikon, suggested that the bucellarii numbered between three hundred and six hundred,⁵⁴ the foederati between six and seven thousand (one meros or division), organised into tagmata/arithmoi of normal size,⁵⁵ and the Optimates about two thousand: a moira or brigade. Their tagmata could exceed the maximum, laid down for other units, of four hundred.⁵⁶ On the whole, the figures which the Strategikon gives agree with those from other sources and with the figures for the earlier sixth century, with units of both infantry and cavalry numbering from two hundred to five hundred, sometimes less than this, sometimes more.⁵⁷ The establishment of a standard of two to three hundred may well have involved the tacit admission that large units were difficult to keep up to strength and to administer. Commanders seem to have preferred smaller units, if only because they could thus reduce the expense of maintaining the unit, and fraudulently administer the accounts.⁵⁸

Enrolment into the elite forces involved all the usual qualifications and conditions laid down for regular soldiers of the sixth century, and during the reigns of Maurice and Phocas remained voluntary. Slaves, curiales, coloni and cohortales, as well as a number of special groups such as Samaritans were all prohibited from enlisting,⁵⁹ the minimum age for which was eighteen years. No upper age-limit appears in the sixth-century legal sources, but the Strategikon implies that men over forty years of age were ineligible.⁶⁰ All new recruits had to present their credentials and undergo inspection by the

recruiting officers of the unit, and could only be admitted if the probatoriae required by the central scrinia had been issued, signed, in return for the suggestiones submitted by the officers of the unit.⁶¹ A fourth-century law establishes a height minimum of five feet and seven inches for entry, but this is omitted from the codex Iustinianus and the Strategikon. This matter was presumably left to the discretion of the recruiting officer.⁶²

Upon acceptance, recruits had been issued with their uniform and arms. This had been replaced during the later fifth century by a cash grant, although during the latter part of Justinian's reign and later, there is evidence that soldiers were unwilling to spend adequately on their equipment and clothing. Maurice attempted to re-introduce stricter measures to ensure that the soldiers were properly equipped. These included a check at the yearly roll-call or ḥōvoúμiov supervised by the junior officers and the actuary of each unit. At the same time the actuary and other responsible officials no doubt decided upon the number of replacements necessary to bring the unit up to strength, for whom a request for probatoriae would be sent to the central scrinia.⁶³ Enlistment in the regular forces also involved a number of privileges, which will be discussed below.

Soldiers were recruited essentially from volunteers, for the comitatenses, and by the maintenance of a hereditary conscription among the limitanei. It has generally been agreed that recruitment under Justinian had become for the most part voluntary.⁶⁴ The enlistment of the various warlike peoples within the empire or adjacent to its borders was encouraged - Isaurians, Armenians, Illyrians and Goths, for example, are all found in considerable numbers in the armies of the sixth century.⁶⁵ There is enough evidence to suggest that foreign mercenaries were not as difficult to obtain as some historians have maintained, and that numbers were kept up through recruitment campaigns carried out by both military and other

imperial officials.⁶⁶ Hereditary enlistment was certainly maintained among the limitanei, as mentioned above, however, a 'burden' that was regarded rather as an honour, since it conferred not only military status - and the attendant privileges - on the soldier, but affected the daily lives of those thus conscripted only marginally, the units being stationed permanently in their garrison towns.⁶⁷

The Optimates, Foederati and Bucellarii were certainly recruited from volunteers, enrolled through the various recruiting drives referred to already, or additionally, in the case of the Bucellarii, possibly transferred from other units on account of special qualities noted by their commanding officer.

c) Service conditions and internal structure.

The privileges attached to military service in the sixth century were considerable, and gave the individual and a number of his near relatives a variety of exemptions from taxes and other impositions for which they might otherwise have been liable. Military status also included the right of a military peculium, that is to say, the right of the soldier to dispose of his estate as he wished. These privileges have been dealt with at length elsewhere and need not be discussed here. In effect, soldiers and their immediate relatives formed a legally-definable group with many of the characteristics of the Roman guild, including specific juridical status.⁶⁸ As far as concerns the three units under discussion, legal and fiscal privileges are unlikely to have differed significantly, although the juridical status of the Optimates, who appear to have formed a more distinctively non-Roman corps, remains unclear. Certainly foederati were treated in the same way as other soldiers of the empire in the Justinianic novels and the fact that they are mentioned specifically in a number of instances may suggest that membership of the armed forces was meant to bring with it Roman citizenship. On this basis, it is possible that the Optimates were treated similarly, at least insofar as they had dealings

with Roman citizens. Their internal legal administration, on the other hand, may have been based on germanic customs rather than Roman law, and only in terms of pay and equipment, and perhaps also in the length of the term of service, was there any divergence from the norm. Promotion prospects, especially in the bucellarii, may have been much greater; the high status of private bucellarii in the mid-sixth century has been noted by Jones.⁶⁹ The regular units of bucellarii referred to in the Strategikon probably inherited this status and may well have been preferred, as direct servants of the state, where matters of promotion were concerned. The Strategikon implies the higher status of troopers in the foederati and bucellarii when it brackets them with the lower officers of regular units.⁷⁰

Like the Optimates already discussed, the foederati had certain special privileges. Esquires or attendants were permitted to members of the unit, and unlike those of the regular units, they were allowed to fight in the line of battle if they were suitable. Such attendants were of lower status than those of the Optimates, however, and only one 'boy' is specified in the Strategikon for every seven federate soldiers.⁷¹

Regulations for leave were by Maurice's time very generous. Since the reign of Anastasius, the commander of a unit had been allowed to grant leave to as many as thirty men at a time. The granting of leave above this maximum - through bribery, for example - was severely punished. Soldiers who were away without permission were liable to have their annonae confiscated by the actuary of the unit and returned to the state warehouse or the fisc. Justinian added a time-limit of thirty days for leave, and ordered that soldiers who went absent without leave were to be returned to their units by the local authorities, to be punished according to military law, and to have their property confiscated. Officers who connived at the illegal granting of leave were to be fined ten pounds of gold. Commanders of units and other officers were strictly forbidden to grant leave through

bribes.⁷²

The Strategikon modifies these regulations. Those who stay absent longer than the permitted time were to be expelled dishonourably, stripped of all honours and handed over to the civil authorities unprotected by military privilege. Fines of thirty solidi were to be imposed upon officers who granted leave to soldiers in time of war. But while in winter quarters, leave of up to three months could be taken; and in peace-time, no time limit was set, but soldiers could not leave the province in which they were stationed. Whether or not the thirty-man limit of Anastasius was retained is not stated, but some limit must have been imposed; for otherwise units would have been reduced to nothing for considerable periods. Most probably, leave was granted for relatively short periods, so that a 'rota' system could operate. The Strategikon lays down the maximum.⁷³

The internal establishment of the elite regiments does not appear to have differed appreciably from that of the regular comitatenses regiments, at least after the reform undertaken by Maurice. The Optimates differed only in the numbers permitted to each tagma, being subdivided into decarchies and centuries like the remaining units.⁷⁴

The reasons for Maurice's reforms, which involved some alteration to the internal structure of field units, are stated at several points by the author of the treatise.⁷⁵ They were necessary because of the general lack of discipline and order within the forces, and the inability of the armies to retain their fighting efficiency over long periods.⁷⁶ The reforms were probably begun, with the emperor's support, shortly after Maurice's appointment to the post of comes excubitorum and later as magister militum per Orientem, as the reference of Menander the protector implies, and were continued at irregular intervals throughout the reign of Maurice himself. But the changes which concern us here are by no means revolutionary, and did not affect the basic administration of the regular units. They were an

attempt to rationalise and simplify the existing structure, and to establish a simple and effective hierarchy of command.

The internal organisation of sixth-century field units before the reforms has been examined already,⁷⁷ and was divided into two overlapping areas of responsibility: that concerned with the administration of the unit in terms of supply, pay, recruitment and equipment; and that concerned with the tactical organisation of the unit, discipline, military skills and drill. The officers concerned primarily with the second group of duties included the commander of the unit - comes/tribunus - and his second-in-command, the vicarius; followed by the primicerius (who was often the domesticus or personal assistant of the comes), the leading officers - senator, ducenarius and centenarius - and the junior officers - biarchus, circitor and semassisalis - and finally those with special duties, such as the campiductor or regimental drill instructor, the ensign-bearers - draconarii, signiferi and so on; and trumpeters - tubatores.⁷⁸

On the administrative side, the actuarium headed the list, aided by a number of officials - optiones, chartularii and lesser clerks - and working in conjunction with the biarchus, in charge of mess arrangements, and the campiductor, with whom he collaborated over the admission of recruits, the muster roll, and related matters.⁷⁹ In charge of both aspects was the comes, helped by his vicar and domestic and aided by a number of lesser officials and officers - messengers (mandatores), guards (spatharii) and esquires (stratores).⁸⁰ The primicerius supervised the actuary and his department.

This organisation had been established during the first part of the fourth century, and had lasted with very little change until Maurice's time. A large proportion of the officiales attached to each unit were civilians, dealing with purely administrative jobs, to whom the Strategikon devotes very little space.⁸¹ It concentrates instead on establishing clearly and concisely regulations for the tactical administration and

organisation of each regiment. The army envisaged by the author was the field army, made up of units under the authority of the various magistri militum, and organised according to the description above.⁸²

The organisation described is very simple. Each unit was divided into 'platoons' and 'sections', and each section or dekarchia is inturn subdivided and placed under non-commissioned officers for tactical purposes. The larger subdivisions are 'centuries', units of between eighty and one hundred men under a ἑκατοντάρχης,⁸³ the older centenarius. The senior ἑκατοντάρχης/centenarius was also referred to as the ιλάρχης and was second-in-command to the comes, equivalent to the older vicarius. The ilarches, who might also be a campiductor (a combination of duties which seems to have been traditional) supervised the junior officers and the non-commissioned officers, and commanded half the unit when it was split for tactical reasons into two sections. As with the other officers, he was to be selected for his bravery and intelligence. He can be identified with the ducenarius and senator of the earlier period, although his authority was greater.⁸⁴

The lower ranking officers - lochagoi/dekarchai, pentarchai and tetrarchai had both a tactical and administrative role. They headed groups of ten (sixteen in the infantry), five and four men respectively, although the pentarch and tetrarch had supervisory powers only, the pentarch serving as the second-in-command to the dekarch. The latter was responsible for the discipline, equipment and dress of his men. His position may possibly have been equivalent to that of the semissalis, a post which is occasionally mentioned in fifth and sixth-century sources. The pentarch and tetrarch were the senior members of the dekarchia or contubernium (mess-group), probably with prospects of promotion to the position of dekarch.⁸⁵

There is no description of the unit administration. It seems to have remained unchanged from the system of the earlier sixth

century. A διαγράφος is referred to, a member of the civilian officium of the unit, identifiable with the actuary;⁸⁶ while the whole system of supplying and provisioning field units and garrison regiments which is described in sixth-century sources continued to operate into the seventh century.⁸⁷

The Strategikon is fairly precise about numbers, although it is difficult to say how far its recommendations were implemented. A cavalry unit of three hundred men had thirty dekarchies, each made up of a dekarch, pentarch and tetrarch and seven rankers.⁸⁸ In addition to the officers already referred to, there were two ensign-bearers - δρακονάριοι/βανδοφόροι;⁸⁹ two mandatores to transmit orders;⁹⁰ a βουκινάτωρ or bugler⁹¹ and a campiductor in charge of drill and discipline.⁹² The biarchus and the circitor are not mentioned in the treatise, but there is little reason to doubt their existence at this time. The Strategikon omits them because they have no explicit tactical role.

Finally, each senior officer was attended by adjutants or esquires - spatharii and stratores - to protect him and to cater for his horse and weapons.⁹³

How far the Strategikon can be relied upon in the matter of Maurice's reform is difficult to judge. Some of the titles given to the officers - ἔκατοντάρχης, δεκάρχης, λοχαγός - are much-used Greek titles and appear frequently in later Hellenistic⁹⁴ treatises as equivalents for the Latin terminology of the Roman army, terms such as decurio or centurio. Neither is the reliance upon units of ten and sixteen new, and figures prominently in Hellenistic and Roman treatises on tactical organisation.⁹⁵

But Maurice's terminology is applied quite differently and much more rigidly than the latter. Tetrarch refers to the senior man of four, also referred to as the ouragos because he stood at the back of the file; dekarch to the senior of ten; lochagos to the senior of sixteen infantrymen; and ilarch to the senior of

the centurions.⁹⁶

In the older treatises there is a divergent and very much less precise application of these terms. Tetrarch applies to the commander of four lochoi, or sixty-four men;⁹⁷ while the leading man of four - the tetrarch of the Strategikon - is referred to as an ἐνωμοτάρχης commanding one quarter of a lochos.⁹⁸ Ilarch can be synonymous with lochagos,⁹⁹ and lochos, which is applied only to infantry units in the Strategikon, can also mean dekarchia/dekania in older treatises.¹⁰⁰ The ouragos appears, but has no special function, unlike in the Strategikon. In older treatises he is simply the man at the back of the file.¹⁰¹

The differences are striking, and it seems clear to me that Maurice is not merely imitating older practice when he makes use of these terms, but is applying them very strictly to late Roman military formations. He admits only the essentials, and is careful to retain terms still current, whether Latin or Greek. Were he merely a copyist, one would expect to find terms such as σαλπιγκή instead of βουκινάτωρ, συνταγματάρχης instead of κόμης or τριβούνος, and so on.¹⁰² In short, the treatise reflects contemporary usage rather than an archaising style, and it is noteworthy that the majority of the terms found in the Strategikon remain in use during the next three hundred years and more, notably in other military treatises, but in non-military writings also. Terms such as centenarius and ducenarius, decanus and semissalis disappear, except for a few special cases which will be dealt with below. Instead, we read of δεκάρχαι, πεντηκοντάρχαι, ἑκατοντάρχαι and so on.¹⁰³ It cannot be claimed that the Strategikon was responsible for the increased frequency of these terms in the later sixth century, which was rather a result of the gradual hellenisation of the empire which was taking place during the fifth and especially the sixth centuries; but it is reasonable to suggest that the Strategikon is symptomatic of this hellenisation, and that the reforms

carried out by Maurice, and the issue of the treatise to senior officers, influenced to some extent the official terminology, an influence which reflects the importance of the reorganisation undertaken.¹⁰⁴

To what extent the reform was applied to the regular field units is difficult to say. It is fair to assume that the units referred to in the Strategikon were affected, since it was at them that Maurice's regulations were directed: the regiments of bucellarii, foederati and Optimates, which, as units recently formed or reconstituted, probably followed very closely the pattern outlined in the Strategikon; the units of Illyrikanoi,¹⁰⁵ probably augmented during Maurice's wars with the Avars and the units termed Bixellationes,¹⁰⁶ consisting of the older vexillations under the magistri militum.

While the reorganisation may have been promoted in the field forces, however - especially in the newly raised units¹⁰⁷ - it did not affect the limitanei or those units which had become more or less permanently established in one town, whether or not they were technically comitatenses. Such regiments had, by the sixth century, become firmly attached to their stations, and suffered few, if any, tactical or administrative changes. This applied also to those units settled or established in Italy after the reconquest under Justinian.¹⁰⁸

Nevertheless, the organisation described in the Strategikon was eventually established as the standard for the military forces of the whole empire, for it is Maurice's system, virtually unchanged, which prevails in the following period. The size and tactical organisation of the units are clearly rooted in the reforms begun in the 570s and 580s, and under Tiberius Constantine and Maurice.¹⁰⁹

d) Cash and other emoluments; veterans

The troops of the later sixth century were equipped and provisioned from two main sources. Food was provided through the issue of annonae to the soldiers, rations which were drawn by the unit actuary and dealt out accordingly. The system as it operated in the earlier part of the century changed during the reigns of Justinian's immediate successors only insofar as the troops were made more dependent upon local resources - of the lands which they passed through - than hitherto.¹¹⁰ The units with which we are concerned, as part of the field army, were subject to the same system. Troops in transit were generally obliged to receive their rations in kind, as were those in garrison towns or on active service; but it is clear that commutation was often preferred, at least in winter quarters. A regulation of the Strategikon orders that officers are to insure that the district in which the army winters can provide adequately for the soldiers' needs, so that they can buy sufficient provisions and replace their damaged weapons or injured mounts,¹¹¹ a ruling which assumes the issue of cash for this purpose and which illustrates the trend towards local self-reliance - (whether by foraging or otherwise) noted above. There are unfortunately no figures for the rate of issues of annonae and capitus to troops and officers during the later years of the sixth century, but the rates established in the fourth century, which still applied in Justinian's reign, were unlikely to have altered substantially by Maurice's day.¹¹² Possibly soldiers of the élite regiments received a higher ration than the ordinary soldiers, but this is unlikely. Such troops were remunerated by better equipment allowances and conditions of service.

Weapons and clothing, which had originally been a state issue, were bought by the soldier with his yearly allowance.¹¹³ The first issue to recruits of a uniform, and probably of weapons and other equipment also, was made by the state; thereafter, soldiers received an annual cash grant.¹¹⁴ Evidently the troops were

reluctant to spend their allowance properly, for Maurice attempted to split the grant three ways - one third on clothing, one third on weapons and the remaining third to be spent according to the soldiers' other needs. The move met with a good deal of opposition, although Theophylact Simocatta is ambiguous as to whether or not it was finally accepted. The Strategikon is careful to insist that officers were held partly responsible for ensuring that their men were adequately equipped, each according to the rate of his allowance.¹¹⁵ The allowance was recorded by the actuary when issued, and the equipment of the soldier was also checked off. Those who had been granted special leave - reparatio - were responsible for their weapons. Should they be damaged or rendered unusable, and the dekarch fail to ensure that the soldier in question replaced them, then both were liable to be punished.¹¹⁶ Throwing one's arms away in flight was considered a help to the enemy and was, of course, punishable.¹¹⁷

Elaborate regulations for the transport and delivery of weapons were laid down.¹¹⁸ When arms were to be shipped from one place to another, the responsible official acting for the master of offices (either the subadiuva for a particular area in the scrinium fabricarum, or the responsible comes fabricarum) was instructed to inform the office of the praetorian prefect of the number of arms in the consignment and the point of departure. The latter was then to inform the various provincial moderatores through whose territory the consignment was to pass, who were in turn to requisition the necessary transport. Delays caused by the prefect's office were punishable by a fine of fifty pounds of gold; while similar delays caused by the moderatores or their staff were punishable by fines of up to thirty pounds of gold.¹¹⁹ Armourers and soldiers from the unit to which the arms were consigned were attached to the shipment as guards, but were not permitted to tamper with it.¹²⁰ Upon arrival at the unit headquarters, the arms apparently came under the authority of the actuary, who kept records of issues of weapons and cash

allowances.¹²¹

In addition to the allowance for clothing and equipment, and the regular rations, troops were also issued with a cash donative upon the accession of emperors and with a quinquennial donative, the former usually of five solidi and a pound of silver (although Tiberius gave the whole in gold - nine solidi), the latter of five solidi.¹²² According to Procopius, Justinian abolished the quinquennial donative, but Jones considers it more likely that the payment was rationalised and paid at the rate of one solidus a year, incorporated in the commutation of annonae.¹²³

Added together, the cash allowance, annonae and capitus, and the various donativa kept the late Roman soldier well-fed and well-equipped, at least in theory. The cash grant was frequently withheld, however, as was the commutation for the annonae, resulting in unrest among the troops and hostility towards the government.¹²⁴ Maurice's attempts to economise, first by reducing the annonae by twenty-five per cent and later by ordering the troops to live off enemy territory in order to cut down expenditure, led to mutinies, the last of which, in 602, proved fatal to him.¹²⁵ The dangers involved in failure to pay troops adequately were certainly recognised, and it seems to have become the practice to pay the troops at the beginning of a campaign, before winter quarters were abandoned. This at least ensured the morale of the army during the campaign; and Maurice's regulations governing the spending of the equipment allowance were an attempt to ensure that the troops were adequately prepared for the fighting.¹²⁶

Upon leaving the army, veterans received a number of benefits in terms of tax exemptions and exemption from certain corvées and public duties.¹²⁷ Many privileges enjoyed by discharged men in the fifth century and before seem to have been withdrawn by Justinian's time - cash discharge bounties, or grants of land or other property do not appear in the codex Iustinianus. But Jones may be correct in suggesting that such grants were no longer as

necessary as before, since men could stay on indefinitely in their unit, thus building up enough wealth to retire on. Justinian, according to Procopius, suppressed this practice (which had been specifically allowed for on a small scale by Anastasius), discharging veterans or the disabled without compensation.¹²⁸ It was probably to rectify this situation that Maurice introduced the practice of discharging men disabled in action, giving them a state pension and settling them in cities. He also re-introduced the law whereby a soldier's eldest son succeeded to his father's rank and pay if the latter were killed in action, a law which appears in the codex Iustinianus but which had apparently not been enforced.¹²⁹

A final privilege which veterans might receive was the title of protector, also called adorator from the nature of the ceremony by which the title was conferred. Membership of the corps of protectores had originally given the holder of the title a number of privileges; but by Justinian's day the name alone appears to have survived, as an honour granted to deserving veterans, except for those who belonged to the corps of protectores and domestici, a section of the palatine guard which will be discussed below. In addition, of course, soldiers often went into the Church, generally as monks, a choice which seems always to have been popular.¹³⁰ There is no reason to doubt that the three units of the bucellarii, foederati and Optimates, as part of the regular army, received all the usual advantages of veterans upon their retirement.

e) Duties, arms and equipment.

The duties of these regiments are carefully described in the Strategikon, and characterise the role of élite units in a larger force. They held the centre of the first and second lines of battle.¹³¹ The bucellarii were kept in reserve with the commander-in-chief of the army, a 'crack' unit which, if necessary, could defend him in flight and which normally conducted him around the field of battle, accompanying him also as the leading regiment on the march.¹³² They appear also to have served under the comes excubitorum at Constantinople in 610, although whether this was a normal situation for the unit we cannot say. Normally they were commanded by the magister militum¹³³ whose army they accompanied on campaign.

While on active service, troops were billeted in towns or outlying districts of towns, according to the regulations laid down in the codex Iustinianus. These regulations were designed to protect both soldiers and civilians from exploitation although, understandably enough, the soldiers generally came off best. The regulations in the Strategikon re-affirm those set down in the codex Iustinianus, and include also references to the rules governing the transit of troops through the provinces.¹³⁴

Finally, arms and equipment. The Strategikon gives a great deal of information about the weapons and other equipment of the late sixth-century soldiers, although the author was no doubt describing the ideal force. Many of the items listed were expensive, and the emphasis on the arming of the officers and the leading soldiers makes it clear that not all soldiers were uniformly kitted out. The equipment of the foederati and bucellarii differed from that of the other regular units only in its superior quality and quantity.¹³⁵ That of the Optimates is not referred to, but these soldiers were probably well-equipped according to their own fashion.¹³⁶ Horses were provided from two sources: the military stud-farms in central Asia Minor and Thrace,¹³⁷ and from private sources,¹³⁸

under the general supervision of the comes stabuli and his stratores. Horses had at one time been levied, at fixed rates, from tenants of the imperial estates and from private estates, but by the early fifth century the levy in horses was generally commuted, at a rate of twenty-three solidi per horse; from which the soldier received up to eight solidi with which to buy his mount. Probably the remaining third of the soldiers' cash allowances in Maurice's time was spent on mounts and other equestrian matters, at least in cavalry units.¹³⁹ The officers in each unit were to check what number of remounts was required for each regiment, and to ensure that these were available for sale to the troops in winter quarters. Presumably the stratores of the comes stabuli were sent out to levy or to buy the horses from the provincials and the stud-farms, and organise the sales to the troops.¹⁴⁰

The three elite units were an important part of the field army, and were established in 575 or shortly after in the form in which they appear in the Strategikon. They were recruited in the normal way and were organised along the same lines as the other regular field units, with the probable exception of the Optimates, a unit composed solely of warriors and nobles of barbarian, mainly Gothic, origins, armed and equipped according to their own tradition and forming a distinct corps. The Optimates, together with the bucellarii and other units of the magistri militum in praesenti, were to make up the army of the Obsequium, the seventh-century successor to the praesental armies.

Part two: the Scholae

The scholae in the sixth century retained their original organisation, although their role had altered. In theory, they were a 'crack' force of elite soldiers, especially selected and highly paid, serving as the emperor's personal bodyguard. In many cases, officers or men of the scholae had been chosen to command important corps or to carry out important missions.¹⁴¹

By the time of the emperor Zeno, however, they had ceased to serve as an active force, having become mere show troops; although they still retained their privileges and some scholares did accept a more active military role.¹⁴²

At the beginning of the fifth century there were five scholae in the west and seven in the east; and in the sixth century there were at least seven, established in and around Constantinople.¹⁴³ Each schola numbered five hundred men. Procopius states that there were three thousand five hundred scholarians, but that Justinian added two thousand 'super-numeraries'; and the codex Iustinianus refers to eleven scholae. This suggests that each schola numbered five hundred and that the usual number of scholae was seven. The four 'super-numerary' scholae were later disbanded.¹⁴⁴

Enrolment in the scholae was highly valued, and granted at first only to tried soldiers - Germans, later Armenians and Isaurians.¹⁴⁵ By the sixth century, enrolment was chiefly by favour or purchase rather than by merit, for by this time the emperors had ceased to campaign themselves and so these guards became mere parade troops. The usual requirements for entry to military service applied also to the scholae, who were counted among the regular soldiery of the empire, registered ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς καταλόγοις.¹⁴⁶ A law of Honorius and Theodosius requires that all new scholarians should enter their unit at the bottom and work their way up, although this regulation, like that concerning the minimum age of enrolment,

may well have been ignored. The greater the sum paid, the higher the rank assumed.¹⁴⁷ The popularity of places in the scholae is illustrated by the creation of four new units by Justin I, totalling two thousand places. They were all filled, although Justinian later dismissed these extras without compensation.¹⁴⁸

Since they ranked among the regular troops, the scholares were eligible, for all the usual benefits of military status.¹⁴⁹ In addition to their higher rate of annonae and capitus, they were granted a number of other privileges, both while serving and during their retirement. Corporal punishment of the senatores and ducenarii by the comites of each schola was forbidden. Praepositi and tribuni (= comites) who have the right to adore the purple, who reach the grade of comes primi ordinis, were to be held equal in honour to those who held the governorships of Egypt or Pontica when they retired. Those who failed to reach this grade by the time of their retirement were to be honoured as ex-duces, a privilege which applied also to the comes sacri stabuli and the cura palatii.¹⁵⁰ Primicerii of the scholae were to adore the sacred purple and rank as clarissimi, and were to come under the authority of the master of offices for life; likewise ordinary scholares, their wives, widowed mothers, widows, children and slaves came under the master's jurisdiction, except for criminal cases in the provinces, where they came under that of the provincial rectores: in theory at least to prevent the perversion of justice.¹⁵¹ Scholares and candidati were permitted to hold grades in both corps in plurality, and to retain their titles and privileges after their retirement. Finally, retired troopers could receive sinecure commissions and were entitled to horse money from their unit and one solidus from each annona to which they had formerly been entitled. If they died before receiving this, then their heirs could claim it.¹⁵²

The internal organisation of the scholae was the same as that of regular units. What evidence there is proves the existence of the majority of regular comitatenses grades referred to already,

from comes down to miles/scholaris. Only the circitor and the semassisalis do not appear, but there is little reason to doubt the existence of the former. Possibly, the position of semassisalis had lapsed in the scholae of the sixth century. If not, it must have been a purely honorary rank.¹⁵³ For the administrative side, the optio or actuary and his assistants appear, along with the clerical staff of the campiductor; suggesting that the administrative functionaries of the unit operated as they had done previously. It is significant that the scholae, unlike the active elite regiments already discussed, did not undergo any major changes in their internal structure. The old posts and grades, as we shall see, remained in force until the reforms instituted during the eighth century, a state of affairs which emphasises the inactive role of the scholae in military matters. The unit was relegated to palatine duties alone, and its administrative structure became fossilised. The excubitores likewise retained their original establishment, partly as a result of their exceptional position and status - small in number as they were and based at Constantinople - and partly because, like the scholae, they too degenerated into a parade-ground force, during the later seventh century. It is clear from the situation revealed by the sources of the later eighth and ninth centuries that both regiments remained quite untouched by the reforms which affected the field army regiments during the later sixth and early seventh centuries.¹⁵⁴

The scholares received the same donatives as the ordinary soldiers.¹⁵⁵ The issue of annonae and capitus was higher, however. According to a seventh-century source the rate for the scholae was four times that of regular soldiers. A reference in the hypomnesticum dealing with the persecution of Maximus and Anastasius by the Monothelites, a document dated to the years 668/9 A.D., refers to the τερπάροιτον of the scholares, that is to say, their quadruple annonae. It is possible to establish a rough check on this, for a law of 362 establishes an issue of six

capitus (and presumably more annone) for the protectores domestici, a rate which appears not to have altered by the sixth century. Scholarians, who ranked lower than the domestici (the latter equal in rank to the higher officers in the scholae - primicerii and vicarii), received a proportionally lower issue. On the assumption that the protectores domestici are equivalent to the primicerii in the scholae, a probable rate for the scholae can be obtained.¹⁵⁶ The regular primicerius (in a unit of comitatenses) received two capitus, while the domesticus received six: that is, three times the usual issue.¹⁵⁷ The result of this comparison, set out below, does not differ substantially from the seventh-century information already mentioned, and we can conclude that the rate for the scholae was from three to four times that for the ordinary field regiments. The existence of a variety of grades and rates within the scholae, is confirmed by a law in the codex Iustinianus in which the hierarchy is explicitly referred to, with the implication that different grades received different rates.¹⁵⁸

For the purposes of comparison, the rates of commutation of annonae and capitus are also included.

Comitatenses

Scholae

| GRADE | ANNONAE | COMMUTATION | CAPITUS | COMMUTATION | ANNONAE' | COMMUTATION | CAPITUS | COMMUTATION |
|--------------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|----------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| Primicerius | 5 | 25 sol. | 2 | 8 sol. | 15-20 | 75-100 sol. | 6-8 | 24-32 sol. |
| Senator | 4 | 20 " | 2 | 8 " | 12-16 | 60- 80 " | 6-8 | 24-32 " |
| Ducenarius | 3½ | 17½ " | 1½ | 6 " | 10½-14 | 52½-70 " | 4½-6 | 18-24 " |
| Centenarius | 2½ | 12½ | 1 | 4 " | 7½-10 | 37½-50 " | 3-4 | 12-16 " |
| Biarcus | 2 | 10 " | 1 | 4 " | 6-8 | 30- 40 " | 3-4 | 12-16 " |
| Circitor | 2 | 10 " | 1 | 4 " | 6-8 | 30- 40 " | 3-4 | 12-16 " |
| Miles/Schol. | 1 | 5 " | 1 | 4 " | 3-4 | 15- 20 " | 3-4 | 12-16 " |

The semissalis has been omitted.

Officers' rations were correspondingly higher, and although no figures exist, it is possible once more to make an intelligent guess. Retired comites scholarum ranked with ex-duces or with ex-governors of Egypt and Pontica; those of primi ordinis rank were counted among ex-duces before retirement, and were spectabiles,¹⁵⁹ as has been pointed out already. Now we do have some information about the duces of provinces during the sixth century. Like the counts of the scholae, they were spectabiles, and so received the same privileges. The Dux of Libya Inferior received fifty cash annonae and fifty cash capitus commuted for four hundred solidi.¹⁶⁰ The Dux of Mauretania received a similar amount, as did the praefectus augustalis, the governor of Egypt. The praetor of Thrace, also of spectabilis rank, received three hundred solidi.¹⁶¹ It is unlikely that a count of a schola received such a high salary as these officials, which was meant partly to cover the expenses of running a provincial governor's establishment. But the figures do provide a ceiling and illustrate the high position of the comites scholarum in relation to that of ordinary regimental commanders.

Apart from their basic rations, officers received also donatives, probably higher than those of their men, and supplemented their income in a variety of ways - granting illegal leave, for example, in return for a consideration; keeping 'dead men' on the muster list and appropriating their rations; and the stellatura, originally an illegal practice, but recognised by Justinian's day, whereby officers received seven days' rations yearly from each of their subordinates and rank-and-file.¹⁶²

Finally, the scholares received also a cash grant for their uniform, as did the active troops. In view of the expenses of serving at court and of appearing frequently on parade in ceremonial dress, the grant may have been higher than usual, although this is not certain.¹⁶³

Two points which have not received attention hitherto are

worthy of notice. First, for controlling the issue of annonae and capitus to the scholares there appears to have been a special bureau under the praetorian prefect, staffed by mancipes and headed in the seventh century at least by an imperial manceps or contractor.¹⁶⁴ Second, the scholae also received a special bread ration, originally a small portion of the annonae civicae issued as a dole to the populations of Rome and Constantinople. Only two of the scholae regiments were originally entitled to a ration, and it was confirmed at the end of the fourth century that the ration should be passed on to their heirs.¹⁶⁵ The general issue of this ration was rescinded in 618 as a result of the loss of the Egyptian grain supplies, but in 615 we find the scholares along with a mob (of relatives and hangers-on?) rioting over the increase in the price of their ration.¹⁶⁶ In the event, the proposed price increase, from three folles to eight folles per issue was not enforced. The official involved, John Seismos, who may have been praefectus annonae or the Βασιλικὸς μάγικος referred to above, was overruled by the praetorian prefect Alexander, who promised to deal with the issue himself. The increase in price may have been an attempt to subsidise the price of rations for the regular troops then in the capital to defend it from Persian attack.¹⁶⁷

The duties of the scholae were originally those of an elite guard, although, as Procopius and Agathias assert, they were by the end of the fifth century of a quite un-military nature. The real duties of guarding and escorting the emperor were by now left to the excubitores, while the scholae attended court ceremonies, accompanied the emperor and other dignitaries on processions and took part in acclamations.¹⁶⁸ As the descriptions of Corippus and the accounts of ceremonies preserved in the De Caerimoniis of Constantine VII show, the duties involved were considerable, although of a purely formal nature. How these duties were organised is not certain, for the majority of the scholae were billeted a good distance from the capital, in

towns in Bithynia, for example. Only one or two scholae were based in the City itself, the scholae praesentales, made up of ordinary scholares and the candidati, as a passage of De Caerimoniis makes clear.¹⁶⁹

This picture of the scholae as purely ornamental troops with no military function whatsoever has been generally accepted hitherto. But the picture is not quite accurate, for there is some evidence that individual scholares or officers did opt for active service - or were seconded - and were involved in the empire's wars.¹⁷⁰ The father of the patriarch Eutychius, Alexander, is said to have been one of the right-hand men of Belisarius in Italy while a scholarian. Possibly he is to be identified with an Alexander who commanded a contingent of cavalry referred to by Procopius.¹⁷¹ If so, he was probably of quite high rank, possibly even a comes. Theophanes records a defeat of the scholae in 559 near the Long Walls, and the posting of the scholae, along with the protectores, the senate and the arithmoi along the Theodosian walls to face a Slav attack.¹⁷² The presence of the senate illustrates the nature of the emergency, but the scholares still had some military capacity. In the first example, they were accompanied by the City militia. Shortly afterwards, in 561, the rest of the scholae - the greater number, it seems - were transferred from Bithynia to Thrace, apparently to face a possible attack on the City by a group of Avars who had recently crossed the Danube,¹⁷³ a move which would hardly have been made had the scholae been of no military value at all.

During Anastasius' reign, the scholae appear to have contributed to the defeat of the Isaurian rebellion of 491/2. At least one of the three commanders referred to is a comes scholarum, and may have commanded troops of his own corps. It is interesting that the scholae, who have been replaced by this time as the real palace guard by the still predominantly Isaurian excubitores, may have been called out in a campaign against the

Isaurians.¹⁷⁴ The decisive battle was near Kotyaion, later one of the bases of the scholae.¹⁷⁵ This may well have been the last engagement in which the scholae fought in an 'active capacity.

They are also mentioned in connection with the crushing of the Nika rioters in 532. Zachariah of Mitylene and the Paschal Chronicle both suggest that the scholae helped Belisarius' troops to defeat the mob. But Procopius and Malalas make no mention of them. Procopius does refer to 'guardsmen' who fail to obey Belisarius' commands, but these might be excubitors.¹⁷⁶

Some members of the scholae did serve actively in the provinces, as a novel of Justinian makes clear; but whether the reference to scholares refers to whole units or to individuals is uncertain. Since the paragraph in question is concerned with the possible death in action of scholares along with regular soldiers, federates and 'others on imperial service', their duties were clearly on the front line, which would in turn suggest that these references are to individuals rather than whole units of the scholae.¹⁷⁷

The scholae were also involved in a number of riots, notably that of 562 in Thrace, where they protested strongly to their comes over the withdrawal of certain *ouvnθeiai*, and that of 615 in Constantinople, which has already been mentioned. This might suggest that they were still active troops, ready to object strongly and violently if their privileges were infringed. But the picture we have of the scholae from Procopius and Agathias need not be invalidated. Once possessed of privileges which set them apart from the 'regular' soldiery, and probably made life a good deal more comfortable, there is no reason to doubt that, ineffective as they were militarily, they would not hesitate to defend their position in the strongest terms.¹⁷⁸

This material does not amount to much, but it suffices to show that while the scholae were considered as a group as an ineffective force of parade troops, individual members of the

corps, whether officers or troopers, could and did serve in the provinces and on the front line; possibly in the capacity of brigade or divisional commanders, such as Alexander, the father of Eutychius; or as staff officers and domestici to the regular commanders. Such service was entirely voluntary, for Justinian was able to exploit the scholars' fear of being sent to the front by demanding in lieu of this the surrender of their pay for a limited period.¹⁷⁹ No doubt those who volunteered for active duty were welcomed.

In spite of their uselessness as a military force, therefore, the scholae were still regarded as such and equipped as such. In emergencies they were called upon to fulfil a military role, although they were of little help; and by 615 the government considered it not unreasonable to deprive them of some of their privileges in order to provide for real troops.¹⁸⁰

They appear to have been organised into two groups, those based inside the City and those outside. There seems always to have been a force of scholae at Constantinople, and until 541 at least there were scholares and their officers from all seven scholae in the capital.¹⁸¹ Theophanes' list of garrison towns in Bithynia, in which the scholae were based in 561, includes only six towns: Nikomedeia, Kion, Prousa, Kyzikos, Kotyaion and Dorylaion, suggesting that there was one schola at the capital and six outside,¹⁸² for scholares were certainly present in the City in 559.¹⁸³

The towns in which the various scholae were established seem to have become more or less permanent bases. Agathias says that of the scholares at Constantinople, the majority were natives of the City.¹⁸⁴ Those based at towns such as Nikomedeia made up an important section of the populace; and despite their transfer to Thrace in 561/2, they are back in their home bases by the reign of Phocas. One was even a city councillor.¹⁸⁵

Part three: the Candidati

These soldiers appear originally as a select group of scholares, chosen for their physical prowess. As their name suggests, they wore a white uniform, as a variety of sources confirm.¹⁸⁶ They were enrolled in the same way as scholares, with whom they shared the numerous privileges already referred to. There is no doubt that they were a part of the scholae.¹⁸⁷

There were two groups of candidates, one attached to the sixth schola, and one attached to the seventh. Each group was headed by a primicerius (the reference to more than one in the De Caerimoniis confirms this), who was probably also the primicerius of his schola.¹⁸⁸ The Paschal Chronicle refers to a group of candidati seniores attached to the sixth schola, and of candidati iuniores attached to the seventh. The reference is probably anachronistic, but confirms that two such groups did exist at the time that the Chronicle was compiled, at the beginning of the seventh century,¹⁸⁹ groups which maintained their existence until the reforms of the eighth century.

There were forty candidati appointed to attend the emperor, and these were always praesentales; but there were other candidati, also praesentales, who ranked lower and who appear to have received no annonae, like the supernumerary scholares.¹⁹⁰

It is possible that the forty enrolled among the scholares drew rations in their capacity as candidati as well as in their capacity as scholares, thus receiving a double issue, a considerable privilege. As far as concerns other grants and allowances, donatives and so on, the candidates did not differ from the scholariants.

The position of candidatus was an important one, for constant service in the emperor's presence was greatly valued. Candidati were often given important positions, and may have had also some authority over other scholares.¹⁹¹ Like the latter, however, their function as an inner guard seems to have lapsed. They

played a prominent part in court ceremonial, and were occasionally deputed to accompany visiting foreign potentates.¹⁹² But by the end of the sixth century the title was being awarded (or sold) as a rank of honour to deserving officials and officers, a process which was completed by the eighth century. Henceforth, two groups of candidati existed, those who held the title as an honorary rank, and those who belonged to the corps of candidati attached to the scholae.¹⁹³

Part four: the Protectores

The term protector has a complex history, and has been the subject of much discussion. The schola of protectores, probably created by Gordian in the third century, was originally a staff school for junior officers, who were then posted as adjutants to senior officers or given independent commands. From 354 at least a separate corps entitled protectores domestici had been established, under its own comes, so that whereas the simple protectores were scattered throughout the empire exercising a variety of functions - staff officers, independent commanders, special envoys - the protectores domestici, as their title implies, were a praesental unit, based at the imperial court, and having higher status as a consequence, although they could likewise be posted to the provinces (deputated).¹⁹⁴

The protectores came under the authority of the various magistri militum in whose districts they served, although the register of the ordo was maintained centrally, controlled by a primicerius and decemprimi.¹⁹⁵ Men originally left the corps by promotion to other commands, but by the early fifth century the ordo had become to a large extent ornamental, and played little part in military affairs. Members now remained in the corps until they reached the decemprimate, and the position of

primicerius, with the numerous privileges which went with these offices.¹⁹⁶

The term protector was also applied to deserving veterans as a reward for good service, and they were discharged ex-protectoribus.¹⁹⁷ This practice was kept up during the sixth century and into the seventh century, and the title may have been awarded also to senior serving soldiers or to those who distinguished themselves.¹⁹⁸ A protector gained his commission by adoring the purple, or if a retiring veteran, by receiving a testimonialis. By the middle of the sixth century, those who received permission to enter the corps were also given a probatoria, a change of some significance which will be discussed shortly,¹⁹⁹ for the ordo of protectores appears to have become obsolete by Justinian's time.²⁰⁰

It has been suggested that the term protector came to be applied generally to all non-commissioned officers - centenarii, ducenarii and senatores - and that the ordo was established in the first place in order to maintain standards in the centurionate.²⁰¹ Jones opposes this view with reason, and shows that the title remained an honorary one, certainly granted to non-commissioned officers, but to other soldiers also. This conclusion is confirmed by the continued existence in the sixth century of a variety of non-commissioned officers after the ordo protectorum had disappeared.²⁰² There is no evidence which shows that all non-commissioned officers were members of the ordo. Babut produces a great deal of material, but it demonstrates only that a large number of non-commissioned officers were at various times protectores, a promotion which opened the door to more rapid advancement.²⁰³

Another suggestion is that the whole of the first schola (of guards) was raised to the rank of protectores in the early part of the fifth century, an argument which might be supported by the non-appearance of the protectores in the Notitia.²⁰⁴ Stein and Frank accepted this, and the latter suggested that the

primoscutarii, one of the scholae was the unit in question.²⁰⁵

But such a move would entail the transfer of the protectores from the authority of the various magistri militum to that of the magister officiorum, and there is no evidence for this in the early fifth century. Lydus makes no reference to a separate corps of 'adoratores'.²⁰⁶

While the term protector and adorator continued to be used in the sixth century, as a mark of honour granted to veterans or to senior serving soldiers, the ordo protectorum, with its primicerius and decemprimi, seems to disappear. The process by which this occurred has not been sufficiently examined and it seems in fact that the ordo of the protectores was merged with that of the (protectores) domestici; or rather, placed under the authority of the comes domesticorum. Why this occurred is not clear, although it is probably to be related to the tightening up of the recruiting system as a whole which was undertaken by Zeno in the period 476-491. The process was begun by the establishment of a centrally-organised ordo under its own comes, along the lines of the domestici. A consular diptych for the year 500 names a COM.PROTIC., and counts of the protectores and domestici are mentioned in the De Caerimoninis for the beginning of Anastasius' reign in 491. But by Justinian's time, there seems to have been only one comes domesticorum, with his two scholae of equites and pedites. No reference to a properly organised ordo protectorum with its attendant officers occurs. The comes domesticorum appears without further description in the codex Iustinianus; while the frequent interchanging of the names protector and domesticus in both legal documents and unofficial accounts, as well as the continued use of the term protector by itself, suggests that a body of protectores was maintained, and that they retained some degree of separateness from the domestici, under whose comes they fell. The retention of the term protector cannot to my mind be explained away by the stubbornness of custom or by literary archaism, for even

Procopius, who is generally specific in his official terminology (when he takes the trouble to use the official terms of the day), and the novels, refer to both protectores and domestici, the latter on different occasions and in different circumstances.²⁰⁷

The merging of the two ordines would mean, as mentioned above, a transfer of the protectores from the jurisdiction of the magistri militum under whom they served to that of the magister officiorum. This transfer seems to have taken place before 491, for in that year we find the master of offices directing both the comites protectorum et domesticorum in the events prior to the coronation of Anastasius. Corippus refers also to the 'numeris protectorum mandante magistro'.²⁰⁸ That the two groups retained their separateness is clear from a ceremony recorded after 548 preserved by Peter the patrician and incorporated in the De Caerimoniis. Here, the ceremony by which the protectores and protectores domestici are appointed is described. The old custom, it is stated, was to receive the title by adoring the purple only; whereas now a probatoria is also issued.²⁰⁹ Now probatoriae were issued, not to retiring men, but to those who were newly commissioned or enlisted,²¹⁰ which suggests that the protectores in this ceremony were being enrolled into the corps of domestici, for no corps of protectores - as an independent establishment - existed at this time. The text implies clearly that those who have thus bought their places take up their position in the corps after receiving their insignia.²¹¹

There would have been no difficulty in assimilating the two corps. The privileges of the primicerii domesticorum were greater than those of the primicerii protectorum; but the decemprimi of both corps and the rank-and-file of both corps had equal rights, excluding the rate at which they were remunerated.²¹² Whether the capitus of the protectores was raised to equal that of the domestici is not known. While under

the magistri militum they no doubt received rations according to the military grade they occupied. But once placed under the authority of the comes domesticorum and the magister officiorum they must have received a fixed, regular issue. Procopius refers to the protectores in the same context as the domestici.²¹³

That the protectores survived the sixth century as a distinct group is confirmed by the appearance of the title in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, in the officium of the domestic of the scholae. The bearers of the title appear as subordinate officers,²¹⁴ under the domestic and his comites.²¹⁵ As will be shown below, the comes domesticorum became comes Obsequii in the seventh century, and the ornamental units of the domestici/protectores were merged with the scholae.

Part five: the Protectores Domestici

The domestici were originally a branch of the protectores, forming a separate corps from the middle of the fourth century. As a result of their position at court, they came to have higher status and a centralised administration under a comes. By 362 there were more than two units of domestici, identified by the early part of the fifth century as the domestici equites and pedites, each having two scholae, of iuniores and seniores. Each group was headed by a primicerius and deceprimi.²¹⁶

In both East and West the domestici had become ornamental bodies, like the scholae, by the early fifth century. Theoderic pensioned them off in Rome, and they were finally abolished in the West after the reconquest by Justinian.²¹⁷ In the East, equites and pedites remained separate corps with their own order of seniority, and service within the corps was extremely popular.²¹⁸ Men bought their commissions in Justinian's day, and the prices were evidently high. An especially 'tied' price for the places in the two units cost two thousand solidi, in

return for which the recruit adored the purple, as before, and received his probatoria.²¹⁹

The privileges of the domestici were considerable. They had higher issues of annonae and capitus than the scholae, fixed in 362 at six capitus (and probably twelve annonae); and, according to Procopius, they retained this privileged position in his day.²²⁰ The primicerii and decepmulti held senatorial rank and the title of clarissimus, but were exempted from the expenses which went with senatorial duties. From 432 the primicerii were given equal honours with those who held a ducatus, and were honoured with spectabilis rank.²²¹ The importance of the corps is emphasised by the rank of its comites - both were illustres - belonging to the highest group of court officials; and by the eagerness of recruits to pay exorbitant prices for places.²²²

The duties of the domestici had originally been those of guards, forming a pool of tried and experienced officers. But like the protectores who were placed under the authority of the comes domesticorum during the first part of the sixth century, their role had become ceremonial and ornamental. In one emergency, the protectores (which is probably to be understood as both protectores and domestici together) were called out to defend the City (in 559), but service of this nature was clearly most unpopular, for Justinian was able to exploit their fear of active service in the same way as he had with that of the scholae.²²³ Some domestici and protectores were based outside the capital (as deputati), in Galatia and 'other districts' according to Procopius, and in Cappadocia, the Pontus and the city and Ankyra according to other sources. Evidently they had become more or less permanently based in these places, for the protectores at Ankyra are clearly men of authority, and local residents.²²⁴

The corps of protectores and domestici is last attested in the early seventh century. After this, it disappears, and reappears

in a different form only in the later eighth century, with the domestici as the senior officers in the scholae directly under the comites. The reasons for this development will be discussed in chapter two.

Part six: the Excubitores

This corps, a small unit of three hundred men enrolled by Leo I, was created to take over the role of guarding the emperor when the scholae ceased to be an effective military force.²²⁵ They were fighting troops and remained so well into the seventh century. They were commanded by a comes, an officer of considerable power and influence, and during the sixth century it was usual for the most trusted officers of the emperor or those whom he adopted as his successor to be appointed to the post.²²⁶ The comes was independent of all other officials, and responsible directly to the emperor. Thus the excubitores were completely separate from the scholae and their commander the master of offices, and formed a guard absolutely loyal to the emperor.²²⁷ It is noticeable that in the confusion over the succession to Anastasius in 518, the excubitores and scholares opposed one another in suggesting candidates, and it was eventually Justin, the comes excubitorum, whom the senate nominated. By the end of the sixth century, the comes held the rank of patricius and gloriosissimus, a leading officer of state,²²⁸ and he exercised a variety of functions, such as leading military campaigns, organising the recruitment of troops,²²⁹ interrogating those accused of treason, and so on.

That the excubitores were an active force and went on campaign there can be no doubt. In addition to the two occasions referred to by Jones, there were campaigns led by Maurice, Priscus and Nicetas in Europe and in the East, and at least one occasion when the excubitors accompanied Maurice as emperor to defend the Long

Walls.²³⁰

Whereas the scholae and related units were in a privileged position, however, we know virtually nothing about that of the excubitors. They probably received higher pay than the other regular soldiers, and their officers the scribones were of high rank. Conditions for recruitment were the same as for regulars, with additional requirements in terms of height, fitness and strength. But while we read frequently of the scholae or domestici in the legal sources, nothing is said of the excubitores; and we can only assume that for most purposes they were regarded as ordinary troops.²³¹

Evidence for the establishment of the excubitors is also lacking. The soldiers themselves most probably volunteered - or were selected - from other units for their prowess, discipline and fitness. In the early period, Isaurians predominated, but clearly all suitable soldiers were accepted - Justin was from Illyricum, for example. Germans also enrolled, as is suggested by the presence of the scribo Sagaleva, perhaps a Lombard name, in the mid-seventh century; and the Gepid mentioned by Theophylact Simocatta in the excubitors under Maurice.²³² The senior officers after the comes were the scribones, men of high rank frequently entrusted with important missions such as delivering letters, preparing expeditions, carrying out arrests and similar tasks. They appear first in Justinian's reign, and are described as bodyguards.²³³ Bury and Jones both express doubts as to whether the scribones are the excubitor officers, or whether they may not be a related unit, in the same way that the domestici were related to the scholae. But no evidence for an ordo of scribones exists in any source, while the references cited by Jones and the fact that they were a part of the excubitors in the ninth and tenth centuries would tend to support the first hypothesis. Nevertheless, the possibility that the scribones formed an elite group within the general framework of the excubitors should not be excluded.²³⁴

Among the duties entrusted to the scribones was that of delivering and issuing the pay of the regular soldiers; and it is not impossible that they fulfilled the same role for the excubitores as did the optiones of the foederati for their units: responsible, with the chartularii, for the register and accounts of the unit, for the issue of rations and pay and the provision of supplies. These duties might also explain why the term scribo was adopted for these particular officers.²³⁵

For the rest of the establishment of the regiment, we know very little. In the late ninth-century list of Philothaeos, the officium of the domestic of the excubitors contains a number of much older titles. Thus we find, after the scribones, draconarii and senatores, the former originally ensign-bearers, the latter senior non-commissioned officers. The presence of these two titles, which must have been retained from the sixth and seventh-century establishment, suggests that the grades in the excubitores were no different from those in the scholae, for example, or in any other regular unit of the same type.²³⁶

Of their arms and equipment we know nothing, except that they seem to have been equipped with maces. It may be assumed that they were supplied with the best equipment and weapons available.²³⁷ There are no references to their having been a mounted unit: service in and around the palace would make this unnecessary, and they were not intended to be front-line troops, as the scholae, who were mounted, had originally been.

It has been suggested that the excubitores of the later sixth and seventh centuries are to be identified with the spatharii, and the scribones with the protospatharii. This seems extremely unlikely, and there is no evidence at all which supports the theory. From the middle of the sixth century, the title spatharius was granted to a number of high-ranking officers of a military nature who belonged to no specific unit, and it was just as frequently applied to soldiers of relatively humble status who formed the personal guard or retinue of commanders of units or

divisions in the field. At the beginning of the seventh century there are examples of candidati who were also spatharii, but there is no connection at all between the candidati, who were a section of the scholae, and the excubitores.²³⁸

The excubitores in the sixth century were therefore a small elite of hand-picked men. They formed the palace guard par excellence, in contrast to the numerous ornamental regiments on duty in the palace, and sometimes served on active campaign duties. They retained their fighting qualities under Heraclius and his immediate successors, only becoming parade-troops during the latter part of the seventh century, a development which will be analysed below.

This completes our survey of the military establishment of the later sixth century, at least in respect of the elite units and the field armies. I have concentrated for the most part on institutional and administrative aspects in order to provide the basis for the analysis undertaken in the following chapters, in which I shall deal with questions such as the social origins of the soldiers, the social basis of recruitment and similar themes at greater length, where appropriate. But while those aspects of the institutions examined which contributed to the continuity observable between what historians regard as 'late Roman' and 'Byzantine' should become fairly obvious, certain less obvious factors deserve some emphasis at this point.

As we have seen, soldiers enjoyed a particular juridical status, like many other discrete groups within late Roman society, a juridical status which reflected accurately the function of the members of the group, and which conformed to a basic principle of the Roman administrative apparatus and the fiscal system which this operated: the direct assignation of a group of individuals, subject as citizens to the burden of tax responsibility, to certain delegated functions of the state. There was a corresponding reduction in the totality of (fiscal)

responsibilities placed upon members of the group, rather than a redistribution to them of income from other sectors.²³⁹ Fiscal exemption thus played a key role in the total redistributive machinery of the state, although the comitatenses and related units, unlike the limitanei and castrensiiani, received also certain cash emoluments. But this juridical status, with the legal and fiscal privileges attached to it, is important not simply as a descriptive category - it represents also an aspect of the state and fiscal machinery which is integral to the Byzantine administrative establishment, and is therefore of key significance for institutional and functional continuity throughout the period in question here. It represents also an aspect of Roman and Byzantine social organisation and awareness, for it was precisely through such juridical status, amongst other factors, that soldiers were made aware, and remained aware, of themselves as members of a distinct group, a point which will be developed in chapters four and five below. It was likewise the existence of this functional status, realised in juridical and fiscal practice, which made certain developments in the military administrative structure of the state possible - notably the appearance and form of the so-called 'military lands', directly associated with the immunities granted to soldiers and certain of their relatives, as well as their property, from all but the basic public taxes.²⁴⁰

A second phenomenon which deserves emphasis is the effort of the state to incorporate private forces formally into its military establishment. The process has been documented to some extent by Gascou, but it seems to have reached a decisive stage with the establishment of a corps of Bucellarii. To what extent this reflects the attempts of the state to control the recruitment of soldiers by offering to bucellarii the same juridical status as the other soldiers remains uncertain. The measures taken to incorporate the bucellarii of Priscus by Heraclius are revealing in this respect. It is at any rate clear

that the corps of Bucellarii described in the Strategikon of Maurice, and which later constituted the division of the same name within the Obsequium, was distinct from the traditional, privately-raised soldiers of the mid-sixth century and before. Its existence is clear evidence that the corps was no mere ad hoc collection of bodyguards for the purposes of one or two campaigns only.²⁴¹ The re-organisation and consolidation of the field armies represented by the Strategikon, together with the clear juridical distinction between military and civilian status, mark the beginnings of what we can later recognise as a 'Byzantine' and not a 'late Roman' army and military establishment. They reflect also a number of shifts within the structure of social and institutional relationships of the late Roman state itself, in particular the increasing centralisation of administrative and social life around Constantinople - made most apparent, of course, after the loss of major metropolitan centres such as Antioch and Alexandria to the Arabs, but by no means caused by this loss - a centralisation which was itself the administrative and ideological result of the slow decline over some three centuries of the traditional polis, with all that this entailed for the fiscal, institutional and social structure of the state.²⁴²

Chapter Two

Heraclius to Constantine V: the establishment of the Opsikion

Part One: the Magister and the Scholae in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The mutinies which overthrew Maurice, the disorganisation and heavy casualties suffered by the imperial armies under Phocas, and their reconstitution during the reign of Heraclius, open a new period in Byzantine administrative history. This has long been recognised, but many of the developments which took place remain to be clarified. Those with which we are concerned are the emergence of the Opsikion thema as the new praesental army, and the complete eclipse of the scholae and the excubitores during the seventh and much of the eighth centuries. The two problems are very much interwoven, but I will attempt to deal with them separately in order to show more clearly the course of events and the nature of the changes which took place. The most important connection between the two corps lies in their command structure, and it will be best to deal with this first.

The supreme commander of the scholae had from the beginning been the magister officiorum, an officer attached to the imperial comitatus and originally the leading tribune of the five scholae, a purely military official.²⁴³ He had partial supervision over the militarised court officia as reorganised by Diocletian and Constantine. By the end of the reign of Constantine I he had become one of the most powerful court officers, and during the fourth and fifth centuries gained control of the arms factories, the secret service, the public post and in the East the supervision of the military forces deployed along the frontier, the limitanei and castrensiani. The growth of his power and the establishment of his wide jurisdiction have been examined by several historians, most notably, J.B. Bury, A.E.R. Boak and A.H.M. Jones, and their analyses will serve as the basis for this

discussion.²⁴⁴

That the magister commanded the scholae there can be no doubt, for he is frequently referred to in this capacity as well as by the shortened title 'the master'.²⁴⁵ He was in charge of recruitment: ascertaining the vacancies and applying for probatoriae to the emperor and the central bureau; sending in the quarterly accounts,²⁴⁶ and all other aspects of the scholae administration: promotion, discipline and discharge.²⁴⁷ His legal authority covered the scholares and a number of their relatives and dependents, and although attempts were made in the fifth century to limit abuses of magisterial authority, they appear to have been only partly successful.²⁴⁸

The magister was thus the commander of the scholae under whom the various tribuni or comites held their posts and through whom they were vested with authority from the emperor. But while the master was the commander of the scholae in law, the evidence suggests that in fact the comes domesticorum came to command them, apparently during the second half of the sixth century, a result of the heavy administrative burden which the master bore and the overwhelmingly civilian nature of his duties during the fifth and sixth centuries. The evidence for this development has not really received the attention it deserves,²⁴⁹ and I will show that the position of the count of the domestici helps to explain part of the problem referred to above, that of the origin of the Obsequium.

As early as the third quarter of the fourth century the comes seems to have exercised some control over the scholae. When Julian's troops forced their way into the palace in 360, for example, they drove out the scholae, their tribunes and the comes domesticorum.²⁵⁰ Again, in the early fifth century, Alaric kept back two vital posts for himself and his appointees after setting up Attalus as emperor, those of magister utriusque militiae and comes domesticorum, the one in charge of the field forces, the other in charge of the palatine regiments.²⁵¹

When Valentinian III had Aetius murdered, he called Majorian to his aid and made him comes domesticorum, commander of the turmae palatinae.²⁵² This evidence strongly suggests that at times the comes domesticorum rather than the master of offices was the effective head of the scholae, since he himself commanded a detachment of guards. Two events of the sixth and early seventh centuries reinforce this view. The first is the mutiny of the scholae newly transferred to Thrace in 561/2, who rebelled against their comes.²⁵³ Now it has generally been assumed that Theophanes' text carries a mistake: τῷ κόμητι αὐτῷ instead of the dative plural. This seems in fact not to be a mistake, but refers to the comes domesticorum. The scholae were quieted by the comes with the help of Theodore the son of Peter the magister.

Support for this argument lies in the existence of a memorial stone, dated to the year 582, of 'Σολομῶν ὁ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μνήμης γενόμενος κόμης τῶν καθωσιουμένων δομεστίκων καὶ βικάριος Θράκης'. Now the Vicar of Thrace (or Praetor) was responsible for the area between the Long Walls and Constantinople, and commanded also a military force, at least in theory. As I will show in chapter four, however, he rarely had the troops at his disposal to defend the area effectively. The occurrence of a Vicar of Thrace who was also comes domesticorum, at a time when Avar attack threatened the capital, and when the scholae had been recently transferred to the area, would strongly suggest that this officer was in general command of the endangered region with authority over the only 'troops' then available - the scholae. That the comes domesticorum was regarded, and acted as, head of the scholae, seems highly likely.²⁵⁴

The second event concerns the scholae who rioted in 615. They were appeased by the Patriarch, the praetorian prefect, a number of other officials, and the κόμης τοῦ ὄψικιου. Diehl suggested many years ago that this should be emended to τοῦ ὄψικιου, an emendation which has met with general acceptance.²⁵⁵ But in

addition, comes Obsequii should by this time be seen as the equivalent of comes domesticorum, the commander of the palatine forces or Obsequium, made up primarily of the domestici protectores and the scholae. The term Obsequium used to describe these units is by no means new, and was usual from the fifth century at least in this sense. It was also used in everyday speech, of the following of a powerful or important man, often a group of privately-hired guards. The Paschal Chronicle, compiled in Alexandria in the 620s or 630s uses the term in this sense, a retinue or comitatus, a body of soldiers or retainers. The evidence upon which this conclusion is based will be set out below, but there is no difficulty in identifying the comes Obsequii of 615 with the comes domesticorum, the officer in effective command of the palatine regiments with the exception of the, excubitores,²⁵⁶ an identification which, in the context of this particular passage, lends further support to the proposal that the comes domesticorum (= Obsequii) exercised an effective authority over the scholae. This argument has not been elaborated before, but since it is crucial to later developments, it is worth emphasising at this stage.

The fact that this was the case, however, did not affect the original position of the magister as de iure commander-in-chief of this corps; a position which, I will suggest, did not alter appreciably until the time of Constantine V. It has already been shown that the scholae had become parade troops by the sixth century,²⁵⁷ and it seems that they retained this status until their reorganisation in the second half of the eighth century.

That the magister was their commander, and not the domestic of the magister, as suggested by Bury, is clear from a number of references which show that no separate command structure for the scholae was created until the time of Constantine V. The later domestic of the scholae is first mentioned for the year 767/8, but Bury, followed by Boak and later Guillard, suggested that the domestic of the magister referred to for the year 624 in the

Paschal Chronicle was his predecessor, and that his appearance at this time illustrates the beginning of a reduction in the power of the magister by the creation of a separate, semi-independent command.²⁵⁸

Now the title of domesticus has a long history in the later Roman empire. It began as the title of an unofficial lieutenant serving a high official, either in a civilian or in a military capacity. But by the time of Valentinian I it had been recognised as an official rank and had become a part of the regular establishment.²⁵⁹ The first domestic of the magister recorded is for the year 374, and for the sixth century there is a βονδὸς τοῦ μαγίστρου. Finally, we have the mention already referred to for the year 624.²⁶⁰ Bury suggested that when Heraclius left Constantinople for the East, he left Bonus, the magister (officiorum) and Sergius the Patriarch in command, taking with him the scholae under the magister's second-in-command, the domestic.²⁶¹ In view of what we know of the scholae, this hypothesis seems very unlikely. First, it is clear from this title, the domesticus of the magister, that Anianus was still subordinate to Bonus. By 635 he had himself been appointed magister.²⁶² Second, among the duties of the master were those of 'foreign minister' - dealing with embassies, signing treaties and so on.²⁶³ It seems much more likely that the domestic of the master accompanied Heraclius, not as military commander, but as the official responsible for the day-to-day dealings with foreigners, the supervision of treaty arrangements, and as chief minister with the travelling court which accompanied the emperor. For as second-in-command of the master of offices he would undoubtedly have had an intimate knowledge of the imperial administration and of the ways in which the emperor might best implement his diplomatic policies. The βονδὸς τοῦ μαγίστρου referred to above carried out just such duties in Justinian's time.²⁶⁴ Third, the suggestion that Heraclius took the scholae with him - although they appear

nowhere in the sources in this context - implies that they were of some use as fighting troops, and as we have seen, the scholae of the time were simply parade troops. Individual scholares - officers or men - may well have accompanied Heraclius, but an official of Anianus' standing would hardly be needed to command them as a separate corps; although they doubtless came under his general authority. It is most unlikely that the scholae as a corps went with Heraclius.

Fourth, I have suggested above that the scholae came under the active command of the comes domesticorum until 616 at least, and since no major reform of the corps seems to have been undertaken at this time to place them on a fighting footing, they are unlikely to have been transferred from the joint supervision of the magister and comes to go on a long and hazardous campaign.²⁶⁵ They were still firmly settled in the towns of Bithynia at the beginning of Heraclius' reign.²⁶⁶ In addition the active guards regiment of excubitors did campaign in Asia Minor under Priscus, and possibly Nicetas, their counts, both of whom commanded forces against the Persians. It would be strange indeed if the larger corps of the scholae were reorganised but not mentioned in the sources, while the smaller but still active force of the excubitores is referred to.²⁶⁷ The evidence supports the hypothesis that the scholae did not accompany Heraclius, and that they remained under the master of offices, having no connection with his domestic at all.

That the scholae remained a parade force is suggested by their conspicuous absence from all major political and military events from the time of Heraclius to that of Constantine V, in whose reign they suddenly reappear as an important military corps rather than a group of wealthy parade-ground troopers. The fact that Theophanes records their reorganisation at this time under the auspices of their domestic - probably a new creation, as will be shown below - and the magister, suggests that the latter was still at least partly responsible for them, and that the reform

was comparatively recent; for soon after this the scholae rapidly lost any connection they may previously have had with the magister, and the domestic alone figures as their commander.²⁶⁸ That the reorganisation of the scholae was an event which took place during the reign of Constantine V and not before, is confirmed by seventh and eighth century material. In the letter of confirmation of the sixth ecumenical council, held at Constantinople in 680, sent to Pope John by Justinian II in 687, the excubitores, the 'militantes incolas sancti palatii', that is, the scholae and domestici/protectores, and the field armies, including the Obsequium, are listed among those who accepted and confirmed the decisions of the council. Actually present at the council meetings were Anastasius, the second-in-command of the comes excubitorum, Theodore the comes Obsequii, and the magister (among others), the last two bracketed together.²⁶⁹ Since the topoteretes of the comes excubitorum represented the regiment of the same name, and the comes Obsequii represented his army, it is not unlikely that the magister represented the remaining group of Constantinopolitan troops, the scholae. I have pointed out above that the count of the domestici exercised some authority over the scholae, and it is possible that he retained this authority after he was given command of the praesental forces. The bracketing together of the master and the count here may indicate the joint supervision which these two officers had over the scholae, who were still based in Constantinople, perhaps with some of their number outside as before. There is certainly no separate officer - a domestic or any other title - associated with the scholae.

The continued association of the scholae with the magister on more or less the same administrative basis as in the sixth century is confirmed by what we know of the changes which took place in the imperial administration as a whole during the sixth and seventh centuries. This is not the place to discuss the problem of the themes, although the Obsequium will be dealt with

below, but it is worth emphasising that only one positive and deliberate administrative reorganisation has yet been proved to have occurred before the later seventh century, concerned with the reorganisation of the mints and fiscal administration under Heraclius.

Between 627 and 630 the system of coin production, which reflected the pattern of late Roman fiscal administration, was dismantled and replaced by a more centralised organisation. The mints of the exarchates of Africa and Italy, and that of Alexandria, remained in operation. This change probably represents a more general reorganisation of state finances and financial bureaux, and may be responsible for the establishment of the central independent secreta familiar in the later period. Possibly it was a feature of an attempt by Heraclius to reconstitute state finances after the dislocation of the Persian wars. But such a change, if carried this far, does not appear to have immediately affected the patterns of provincial civil and military administration.²⁷⁰

The economic developments which affected the active organs of state administration did not have the same effect upon semi-obsolete institutions such as the scholae. There were no stimuli to change acting upon these regiments or their relationship with the master of offices. They remained a decorative palace guard, while their commander the magister gradually lost most of his former authority during the seventh and eighth centuries. By the end of the reign of Leo III, the creation of the λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως, and several other officials, each with his own department, and all originally under the authority of the master, had left him with very little real power.²⁷¹ But he remained an important official until the end of the eighth century, for magistroi played a significant role in imperial politics on several occasions: in the rising against Leo III in 718/9; in the fact that there was appointed a magistros ek prosopou in 741,

whilst Constantine V was absent from the City; and in the events of 767/8 and 784, when the master is associated first with the reorganisation of the scholae, and later with the domestic of the scholae and the logothete of the Drome - the latter originally his subordinate - on an embassy to the Arabs. Perhaps he still retained some authority in dealings with foreign powers as well as some vestigial authority over the scholae.²⁷²

By the middle of the eighth century, however, two magistroi were often appointed, one to accompany the emperor, the other to remain in the City and supervise the general administration, so that by this time the authority of the magistros depended rather on the emperor's continued appointment of trustworthy and reliable men to the post and his granting to them temporary supervisory powers than to the actual control by the master of a large part of the daily administrative machinery.²⁷³

Part two: the scholae and related corps - protectores/domestici and candidati.

Only one change in the internal structure of the scholae appears to have occurred during the seventh century, and that is the amalgamation of the sixth-century domestici and protectores into the establishment of the scholae. This can be regarded as part of a wider process of amalgamation, beginning with the assimilation of the protectores into the corps of domestici discussed in chapter one.²⁷⁴ The de facto command of the comes domesticorum over the scholae which had been established by the sixth century brought under a unified command the various palatine guards units, with the exception of the excubitors. Transfers from one to the other very probably took place during the fifth and sixth centuries, although there is unfortunately no legislation or other evidence to prove this conclusively. But the fact that the three groups - scholae, protectores and

domestici - were amalgamated is not in doubt, since we find officers in the scholae in the eighth century and after bearing the titles of domestic and protector.²⁷⁵ It has already been suggested by Babut, followed by Frank, that during the later fourth century protectores domestici were posted from their own corps into the scholae.²⁷⁶ But Jones has shown that this did not take place, since the theory depends upon the rigid translation of the term schola to mean one of the seven scholae of guards, when it is frequently used to refer to any palatine group, of either soldiers or officiales: in this case, the schola ²⁷⁷ domesticorum.

Frank went on to suggest that the domestici made up the senatores, ducenarii and centenarii of the scholae. Again, however, it has been pointed out that this transfer was hardly a promotion, for the domestici ranked level with or higher than the primicerii of the scholae.²⁷⁸ In fact the domestici, who were based both in Constantinople and the provinces,²⁷⁹ with the scholae, seem to have been transferred into the latter corps as senior officers or appointed as comites scholarum direct. Such transfers may well have been facilitated during the fifth and sixth centuries by a law of 441, which prohibits the appointment to the post of personal domesticus to the count of a schola, of scholae non-commissioned officers.²⁸⁰ The appointment of domestici (protectores) to the rank of primicerius or personal domesticus of the count of a schola was a simple matter of transferring the appointee's name from one matrix to another, since these ranks were equivalent; while retiring or promoted primicerii of the domestici held a grade equivalent to that of comites scholarum who were not of primi ordinis grade.²⁸¹ In this way, the whole corps of domestici may have been equated with officers of the grade of primicerius, so that men who enrolled into the domestici were automatically listed as primicerii scholarum. Alternatively, and far more probably, primicerii and officers of equivalent rank in the scholae may

have been granted the privilege and title of the rank of protector domesticus as a matter of course upon their attaining the appropriate grade, so that the ordo of domestici was assimilated into that of the scholae. Since the comes domesticorum commanded both units, such a process could occur quite easily and result eventually in the disappearance of a separate ordo of domestici protectores. Note that primicerii and comites of the scholae had the right to adore the purple - one of the privileges of the protectores and domestici - from the early fifth century.²⁸²

Whichever course events in fact took, it is clear that the domestici were assimilated with the scholae, almost certainly during the seventh century. In the later eighth century, the domestici held the position of senior officers immediately below the comites, each count having several domestici, not simply one to act as a personal adjutant.²⁸³ The domestici at this time were more than simple aides or assistants, as the personal domestici of the counts of the scholae had originally been. They were not descended from this latter group at all, but from the protectores domestici, officers whose origins were partly forgotten when the scholae were reconstituted as a fighting force during the eighth century. That the domestici of the eighth century and later are the descendants of these officers is confirmed by the fact that the later domestici combine both the ceremonial attributes of their predecessors and the duties of commissioned officers in their unit.²⁸⁴ One would naturally expect officers in a palace regiment to have ceremonial duties, but the reasons for the preservation of the older ceremonies at all may support this suggestion. It is significant that the sixth-century ceremonies which the De Caerimoniis preserves nearly all have parallels in the period during which the material for the book was compiled, the middle decades of the tenth century. Thus the sixth-century accounts of the appointment of a europalates are paralleled by a description of a contemporary

ceremony, as are earlier accounts of imperial coronations, receptions of ambassadors and all the ceremonies which this entailed, the appointment of pro-consuls, and of a variety of officiales from different scrinia.²⁸⁵ Among such 'duplicated' ceremonies are those for domestikoi and protiktores of the scholae dating to the eighth century, but still in use during the tenth century, paralleled by sixth-century descriptions of the promotion of protectores and protectores domestici.²⁸⁶ Such descriptions appear to be included not merely for antiquarian purposes, but in order to illustrate the differences between the older and newer ceremonies, to point out the changes which had taken place, and to emphasise the continuity of tradition and practice which may have been the compiler's aim in commissioning the collection in the first place. Note that the later ceremony still brackets together protiktores and domestikoi, even though the former are of much lower rank.²⁸⁷

The domestikoi of the scholae of the eighth to the tenth centuries are therefore the lineal descendants of the protectores domestici of the sixth century and before, amalgamated, as was suggested above, when the comes domesticorum/comes Obsequii exercised some authority over all the units involved.

The history of the protectores follows the same course as that of the domestici. As has already been demonstrated, the protectores were placed under the authority of the comes domesticorum during the sixth century. That they retained their slightly lower status vis-à-vis the domestici is also confirmed, for they appear in the eighth century, in the officium of the domestic of the scholae, as subordinate officers, quite separate from the domestikoi. There was only one group of protectores in the sixth century, and their appearance in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries confirms their survival, within the scholae, until that time. The automatic listing of scholae non-commissioned officers as protectores probably took place in the same way and at the same time as described for the domestici.

The identity of the senior non-commissioned officers of the scholae - senatores - with the protectores poses no problem. The latter held the same rank and privileges as the former, for the primicerii of the protectores, and their decemprimi, were of equivalent status to the primicerii of the scholae.²⁸⁸ As mentioned above, the protectores probably merged with the scholae through the appointment of scholae non-commissioned officers to the rank of protector when they were admitted to the ordo of the regiment or when they reached their post through seniority, resulting once again in the assimilation of this group into the ordo of the scholae.

Thus the practical authority over the scholae exercised by the comes domesticorum during the later sixth and seventh centuries had the effect of bringing the protectores/domestici, already united under the comes, into even closer contact with the scholae than before. Transfer between the various groups probably took place before their formal amalgamation had been recognised, for they were closely associated administratively, their members were recruited in the same way and in addition came from the same social background. Such transfers resulted eventually in the assimilation of the domestici and protectores with the scholae, the final result being that the titles protector and domesticus were applied to non-commissioned and commissioned ranks respectively.²⁸⁹

The parade-ground nature of the scholae is illustrated not only by their absence from the forefront of Byzantine affairs throughout the seventh and much of the eighth centuries, as noted already, but also by the evidence of seals, which suggests that the corps in question became increasingly de-militarised during this period. Thus by the later seventh century, the grades of scholaris and candidatus were awarded as honorary purchasable dignities, and came to have only an indirect connection with the still existing corps of the scholae and the attached candidati. This development is clearest for the candidati, although there is

some evidence for the scholares. Thus a seal of the late sixth or early part of the seventh century belonging to one Leontios bears the titles scholarios and archiatros; while the seals of Kallinikos, illoustrios and scholarios, dating to the period 550-650, and that of the anonymous vestitor and scholarios have already been referred to.²⁹⁰ More significant is a seal of the seventh century belonging to George, scholarios and excubitor, a most unusual combination of titles, suggesting not only the honorific nature of the position of scholarios at this time, but that possibly the corps of excubitores was itself following on the lines taken by the scholae.²⁹¹ Other seals of scholares exist for the seventh and eighth centuries, but they tell us little more than that the title continued to be awarded and that the corps continued to exist, a fact which is already implied by its reappearance in the later eighth century.²⁹²

The evidence of the seals is much more rewarding (although more complex) where the candidati are concerned. As already mentioned, this corps was closely connected to the scholae, forming a section thereof. By the late sixth and early seventh centuries, the title candidatus was being awarded to imperial officials of spatharius rank attached to the palace. The spatharii had originally been sword-bearers attached to the emperor, and indeed the term was still used in this sense in military contexts.²⁹³ But in Justinian's time, the title also denoted an honorific grade rather than a post - signifying a high position in the emperor's court. Narses the general was spatharius and cubicularius under Justinian I, and another Narses, sent as ambassador to the Avars by Tiberius Constantine, is described by John of Ephesus as a 'great spatharius'.²⁹⁴ The seals suggest that the title spatharius, and later also imperial spatharius (the latter appearing early in the seventh century) became honorific titles before that of candidatus (see below). The latter retained its connection with the ordo of candidati in the scholae probably until the appearance of a grade

of imperial candidati, also lower in rank than that of the
²⁹⁵
spatharii.

The first hint that candidatus may already be in the process of becoming an honorific, as opposed to a graded post within a specific ordo, occurs in the early seventh century. A reference to John and Tzittas, spatharioi and kandidatoi, occurs in the Paschal Chronicle for the year 605. The combination finally resulted in the early eighth century in a grade of spatharokandidatoi. But this combination of titles alone tells us little more than that candidati were of high rank and bore also other imperial dignities - in this case, that of spatharius. Since it is a general (but not infallible) rule that dignities appear before offices on Byzantine seals, these officers were presumably praesental members of the ordo of candidati who had purchased or been awarded the dignity of spatharius.²⁹⁶

From the middle of the seventh century, however, seals of imperial candidati appear, suggesting the devaluation of the old title and its frequent bestowal upon individuals who have no connection with the original candidati in the scholae. Now it would seem that the epithet 'imperial' added to such titles as candidatus, spatharius, strator and so on is not a result simply of individual whim and choice, nor the effect of an individualistic lack of conformity in seal inscriptions, but on the contrary reflects a general trend in the 'devaluation' of such titles, and the creation of a new, higher grade, bestowed in the first place only upon those who actually belonged to the praesental ordo, established at Constantinople and centred about the imperial palace, serving directly under the emperor. Seals cannot, unfortunately, provide very exact evidence, but this is what they suggest. Thus, as the title candidatus was bestowed more and more liberally - whether as a purchased and therefore purely honorific grade, or earned through service at court or elsewhere and held in vacante is not important - it lost its close connection with the praesental ordo of candidati. It

became, in fact, a dignity, although still theoretically involving membership of the ordo based at the capital, and payment of the roga attached. Hence we find seals of such officials as a balnitor and candidatus or a candidatus and genikos kommerkiarios; or again, of candidati and imperial spatharii. In all these cases, candidatus is a 'dignity; the other titles may denote functions (as with the genikos kommerkiarios) or additional dignities.²⁹⁷

As mentioned above, the title imperial candidatus appears first about the middle of the seventh century. It was created, it seems, specifically for those candidati who actually belonged to the ordo of praesental candidati attached to the scholae, theoretically limited in number to forty, but probably much larger. Of course, the corps as such had no real military duties, and possibly only limited parade duties. Its members probably bought their positions, as Procopius describes for the sixth century. Those that did not, may have been promoted to the ordo as an honour bestowed by the emperor. What is important is that they were all attached to palatine service.

To begin with, we find the title imperial candidatus by itself. But this title too became very quickly more widely awarded, and men who are clearly state officials appear with the title imperial candidatus in addition to that of their post or office. For there came to be, as with other titles, a number of groups of candidati or imperial candidati: those who held a state post, and received also the dignity of candidatus; those who held the title as a dignity alone; and those who were members of the 'active' ordo of candidati serving - in principle, at least - at court. All these titles (the last counting also as a post) could be purchased, and a roga was also accorded to the holder, depending upon how much he paid for the privilege. The appearance of the title imperial candidatus implies the attribution of a new title to those actively serving at court and in addition the abolition of the difference in status between

those who received a roga and the 'supernumeraries' of the sixth century, who received the title only.

As already pointed out, however, the title imperial candidatus retained this exclusive character only for a short period, the large number of seals of officials bearing the rank imperial candidatus and occupying a variety of posts in the imperial establishment - both civil and military - bearing witness to its being awarded very widely as a simple dignity.²⁹⁸

The praesental candidati certainly retained some connection with the establishment of the scholae, however, for during the later eighth and ninth centuries there is clear evidence for candidati attached to the reformed scholae, and imperial candidati attached to the hippodrome. The last two groups are the same, serving permanently in the palace but being in fact part of the reformed scholae.²⁹⁹ The reference in the Taktikon Uspenskij to two groups of candidati, horse and foot, and references in the De Caerimonis to candidati of the scholae would suggest this. By the time the Kleterologion of Philotheos was compiled the horse and foot candidati seem to have been united into a single group of imperial candidati under ὁ πρωτοστάθμιος τῶν βασιλικῶν.³⁰⁰ Their connection with the scholae in the later eighth century is confirmed by two seals, one of Megalonas, kandidatos of the fifth schola; the other of a kandidatos of the eighth schola; and in the ninth and tenth centuries by the nature of their duties, that is, guarding parts of the imperial palace and quarters, duties already catalogued by Guilland.³⁰¹ I suggest that the seal of Megalonas dates to the period after the reorganisation of the scholae, since as we have seen, candidati belonged originally to the sixth and seventh scholae alone. It appears that the candidati, who were still associated with the scholae and who probably still had ceremonial duties at court during the seventh and eighth centuries, were reorganised along with the scholae by Constantine V, creating once more an active group of candidati - scholares with duties in

and near the palace or the emperor.

Civilian and military officials continued to be awarded the title candidatus or imperial candidatus, of course, and they will have received also the roga attached to the title.³⁰² The new praesental candidati came at first under the domestic of the scholae, but were later transferred to the authority of the protospatharius of the imperials, an official who supervised a number of palatine corps such as spatharii and mandatores, who appear to have retained a closer and more active connection with the palatine establishment. The post appears to have evolved or been created under Constantine V, probably as part of his general reorganisation and rationalisation. The separate groups of spatharii and mandatores were placed under his command, and he appears in fact as the successor of the original imperial protospatharius, head of the palatine corps of spatharii. It was natural that the candidati, who appear to have made up detachments of the reorganised scholae based at Constantinople, should eventually have come within his competence also, since the bulk of the scholae was frequently away from the City on active service, after the reign of Irene. Nevertheless, the candidati, with posts and duties as guardsmen, were still recruited from among the now reorganised and militarily active scholares, as the seals of candidati of the fifth and eighth scholae appear to demonstrate.³⁰³ But during the ninth century, the formal connection between the candidati and the scholae appears finally to have been broken, a result in the first place of the permanent presence at court of the former, under a separate officer. Like the spatharii and stratores, the candidati appear quite soon (after their reorganisation during the reign of Constantine V) to have been opened to the purchase of commissions within their ranks, again a result of their presence in Constantinople and their purely ceremonial duties.

The evolution which the rank of candidatus underwent illustrates a tendency of late sixth-century functional titles to

be transformed into dignities. The ranks of strator and vestitor underwent similar changes.³⁰⁴ The title scholarius does not seem to have been subjected to quite such extreme changes, although an eighth-century seal of Nikolaos, imperial scholarios, suggests the beginnings of a development similar to that which led to the creation of titles such as imperial candidatus and imperial spatharius. But while seals bearing the title scholarius apparently as a dignity do occur, they are comparatively few as yet - more may of course be published in the future - and it is clear that the reorganisation of the scholae in the second half of the eighth century prevented the further development of the title into a purely honorary grade, and indeed reversed the process which had already begun. Scholarius, like candidatus, became once more a military grade with duties attached; but whereas the dignity of candidatus had by now become firmly established, and remained in existence alongside its revived functional counterpart, no honorary grade of scholarius survives the eighth century.

One final point remains which emphasises the retention during the seventh and eighth centuries by the scholae of their purely decorative or ceremonial role, and that is the nature of the members of the corps during the period under discussion. It is significant that all the seals we have of scholares - not officers or administrative officials of the unit - belong to the period before which the reform appears to have taken place. Such an imbalance in the number of seals cannot be explained by the coincidence of survival, but must reflect the character of the scholares themselves, men who were socially respected in their communities, and who took an interest in possessing their own seals as a mark of status, identity and privilege. The issue of seals by such men is normal, as it is by administrative officials who require seals as part of their duties, seals which add official validation to whatever transaction they may be involved in. This view is reinforced by what we know of the reformed

scholae in the later eighth century, made up from active soldiers, mostly of peasant origin, not the sort of men who would normally take an interest in issuing their own seals, even for such common uses as letter-writing, for the majority were apparently illiterate;³⁰⁵ and in fact there are no seals which can be attributed to ordinary scholares after the late eighth century.

The scholae thus remained a parade-ground force until their reform under Constantine V. They were made up increasingly of men who held honorary commissions, under the authority of the magister (officiorum), and perhaps partially supervised by the comes Obsequii. They had no military role whatever.

Part three: the Excubitores and Scribones

It has already been suggested that for much of the seventh century the excubitores retained their status as a fighting unit, and that unlike the scholae they did not develop into a parade-ground force.³⁰⁶ They were apparently active on campaign against the Persians under Heraclius, and members of the corps appear again in the middle of the seventh century as the guards of Pope Martin.³⁰⁷ A topoteretes of the comes excubitorum is referred to in the acts of the sixth ecumenical council, convened in 680, holding the rank of ἐνδοξότατος ἡγώ ὑπάτων μαρτίκιος, a man of considerable importance. The last mention of the excubitores is for the year 687, when a confirmatory letter from Justinian II regarding the decisions of the sixth council was sent to Pope John. Here, the excubitores are referred to after the scholae and the demes and guilds, and before the list of field armies.³⁰⁸

These references tell us little about the military status of the excubitores. Clearly they were still an active force in the middle decades of the seventh century, but what evidence there is

does suggest a decline in their importance after this date, and their degeneration into a parade-ground regiment, a result perhaps of the growing importance of the army of the obsequium. The evidence of seals is crucial in this respect, for it suggests very strongly that during the seventh and eighth centuries the titles of excubitor and scribon were awarded increasingly as dignities, in the same way as we have seen for the titles candidatus and scholarius. It is also important in that it shows a sudden increase in the number of seals of ordinary excubitores during the seventh and eighth centuries - indeed, there are hardly any sixth-century seals of such soldiers - and the disappearance of such seals at the end of the eighth century, after the reform of the excubitores which, like that of the scholae, took place during the reign of Constantine V. In the same way that seals of the scholae during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries may indicate the relatively high social status or pretensions of members of this corps, in contrast to what we know of them after Constantine's reform, so the seals of the excubitores illustrate a comparable development. It is notable that there are no seals of either ranker scholares or excubitores after the suggested date of the reorganisation - in the 760s - the reason for this being as stated above, for the simple soldiery recruited into the new guards regiments had no social or administrative need for seals.

Thus for the pre-reform years there are seals not only of the comes excubitorum,³⁰⁹ but also of a number of ordinary excubitores: that of George, excubitor and vicarius, for example, and that of another George, who was both scholarius and excubitor, as well as those of several other excubitores bearing no extra titles.³¹⁰ The occurrence of these double titles strongly suggests that during the second half of the seventh century members of the corps could occupy other posts, either in different military units, such as the scholae, or in administrative bureaux. Such a hypothesis is confirmed by what

is known of the scribones, the senior officers of the excubitores. Seals of scribones exist for the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. Those dating to the sixth and early part of the seventh century generally bear the title scribon alone and appear to have belonged to active, serving officers.³¹¹ But from the later seventh century the title appears as a dignity. Three seals of George, skribon and genikos kommerkiarios, dated to the years 690/1 and 691/2 illustrate this development most clearly, for the post of genikos kommerkiarios was an important fiscal position, involving extensive supervisory and administrative duties. George can hardly have been a soldier or full-time military officer at the same time. The fact that George was later promoted from skribon to apo hypaton emphasises that the former title could by this time be awarded as a simple dignity.³¹²

Other seals of the eighth century confirm this development. Two seals of another George, imperial skribon and dioiketes and one of John, skribon and imperial zygostates, show clearly the development that has taken place.³¹³ The appearance of the title imperial skribon on the above seals and on that of Gregory, hypatos and imperial skribon, further emphasises the evolution of the title from the name of a function to that of an honorary dignity.³¹⁴

But while this trend is evident for both scribon and excubitor, it is clear that it was halted during the later eighth century. No seals bearing either title occur for the ninth century, the reasons for which have already been suggested. If the assumptions made above are correct - that is to say, if seals were issued on the whole by those in administrative posts, by those occupying positions of authority in either the civil or the military sphere, and by those interested in demonstrating their social position and privilege - then the absence of seals of scholares and excubitores in the later eighth and ninth centuries suggests either a considerable change in the social attitudes of

these men, or a complete change in the membership of the corps involved and hence the source of recruits. That the latter is the correct solution I have no doubt.³¹⁵

It seems clear, therefore, that the excubitores and the scholae, with the other corps connected with them - the domestici and protectores, and the candidati - underwent no substantial organisational changes during the seventh and the greater part of the eighth centuries. The protectores and domestici were amalgamated with the scholae, while the titles of scholarius and candidatus, excubitor and scribon came increasingly to be granted or purchased as honorary grades, involving no duties and only nominal membership of the corps in question. Only candidatus was adopted permanently in this way, however, which suggests that the emperors awarded the remaining titles more sparingly; and that men who bore these titles, although having no duties at court and holding often a full-time administrative post, retained their membership of the ordo in question. When the palatine corps were reconstituted in the 750s or 760s the various grades had their original status and meaning restored. While the scholae remained under the authority of the magister until this time, the excubitores remained under their comes, certainly during the seventh century, and there is no reason to doubt that this was likewise the case during the eighth century.

Part four: the origins and establishment of the Obsequium

While the scholae and excubitores, thus withdrew temporarily from the foreground, they were replaced both militarily and politically by a much larger unit, the Obsequium, a term which itself once referred to the palatine regiments alone. I have shown above that the comes domesticorum exercised a de facto authority over the scholae during the sixth century, and probably earlier; and I have also suggested that this officer was known as

the comes Obsequii during the early part of the seventh century. In this section, I propose to examine the process by which this officer came to command the later Opsikion army, and how that army was established.

It has long been recognised that the early theme armies - those referred to in Justinian II's letter of 687 - are the regional field forces of the sixth century under a new guise and in new positions. The armies of Orientalis, Thracianus, Armenianus, Italianus, Septensianis and Cabarisanus (Carabisionus³¹⁶) are recognisably those of the magistri militum per Orientem, per Thracias, per Armeniam, per Italiam, per Africam (Septem) and a more recently established naval force.³¹⁷ The army of the Obsequium referred to in the letter is the same as that also called Opsikion, identified by Diehl as the army of the magister militum praesentalis.³¹⁸ Diehl suggested that a section of the troops of the latter officer were garrisoned in areas of Asia Minor, that is, the scholae, protectores and domestici, stationed, as we have already seen, in districts of Galatia, Bithynia and the Pontus, as well as in the City. Diehl proposed that these troops formed the nucleus of the Opsikion army.³¹⁹ But such troops were not under the authority of the magister militum at all. The scholae were supervised by the magister officiorum, and the protectores and domestici, who merged in the sixth century, came under the authority of the comes domesticorum.³²⁰ The existence of an Obsequium which included the palatine units as well as the field army regiments must therefore have involved the transfer of the scholae to the authority of a magister militum - which I have shown does not appear to have occurred - or of the field units to the authority of the magister officiorum, which seems equally unlikely, for while the magister still existed in the seventh and eighth centuries as an administrative official, he was by no means a military commander. Instead, we find a comes in charge of the Obsequium, an officer who would appear to have very little

connection with the magister. On the whole, Diehl's view has been adopted, but little attempt has been made to examine the problems it presents. Haussig proposed a modification which identified the comes of the Obsequium with the comes referred to by Theophanes for the year 561/2; in other words, with an unidentified officer commanding the scholae in the middle of the sixth century.³²¹ Both Diehl and Haussig came near to solving the problem, but neither went quite far enough. Their view has been accepted by Pertusi and Karayannopoulos (protagonists of the 'gradualist' theory of the origins of the themes) and by Ostrogorsky, who argues strongly in favour of a deliberate administrative reorganisation under Heraclius.³²² No-one has yet attempted to analyse the Obsequium and its origins, a consideration which, in view of current disagreements about the beginnings of the themes, must surely rank highly.

The answer to the problem must be sought in the events of the reign of Phocas and the subsequent disintegration of the Byzantine forces in the East. Heraclius' reorganisation of the troops left to him after 610 constitutes one of the key points, and must be carefully examined. What was the real situation when he succeeded to the throne, and how did he set about the reorganisation of government and army?

It is not easy to determine what state the imperial forces were in during the last years of Phocas and before Heraclius had undertaken the reforms described by George of Pisidia. What is clear is that the field forces were constantly on the move, and that upon Heraclius' succession there was an army in the East and an army in Thrace as before. There is no information relating to the limitanei, but what is known of the situation in Egypt, for example, before the Persian occupation, suggests that the military structure retained its old form, but with the additional strains thrust upon it from the continued state of civil war or military discontent directed against Phocas. The transfer of troops from East to West or vice versa was a tactic frequently

employed by the emperors of the sixth century as part of the strategy forced upon them in order to contain foes on two fronts. Once peace had been established along the eastern frontier after 591, for example, the majority of the eastern field forces were transferred to the West to take part in the long campaign against the Avars and Slavs.³²³ Phocas seems to have maintained a large garrison in Constantinople, and shortly after his accession transferred a number of units back from the West to face the renewed Persian attacks. At first he tried - naturally enough - to maintain forces in Thrace to face the Avars, and along the Eastern front, as before, as well as a large praesental force. But he was faced with hostility from a number of quarters, and the revolt of Narses in 603 provided an excuse for the Persian king Chosroes to launch an attack, ostensibly to support the cause of the murdered Maurice.³²⁴ Narses asked for Persian aid when Germanus besieged him in Edessa (Germanus having previously replaced Narses as magister militum per Orientem in the last two years of Maurice).³²⁵ Germanus was defeated by the Persians, however, and died, and his successor Leontius fared no better. The Roman forces were defeated again, and Phocas finally appointed his nephew Domentziolus commander-in-chief of the East, making him at the same time Curopalates. Domentziolus persuaded Narses to surrender himself on the promise of a safe conduct, but Phocas executed him upon his arrival in the capital.³²⁶ The situation on the northern and eastern fronts in 605 must have been very similar to that before 591, in which year Maurice carried out the transfers already referred to. Phocas had reversed this move by 605, so that the relative dispositions were once more evenly spread. But the rebellion of Narses and the Persian attacks of 604 and 605 took place before the returning troops had properly assembled, resulting in two defeats in a very short space of time. In 607 the Persians made use of the disarray they had caused the previous year, and succeeded not only in seizing much of Mesopotamia and Syria, but

also in taking Daras.³²⁷ We hear little of what the Byzantine forces in Armenia and Syria were doing at this time, but they appear to have suffered a series of reverses. The magister militum Domentziolus appears not to have accomplished a great deal, for the Persians attacked Palestine, Syria and Phoenicia in 607 under Šahrbaraz, occupying much territory, and in 608 another force under Šahin struck through Armenia and Cappadocia, defeating the Roman forces there and raiding Galatia and Paphlagonia. In 609 the invaders withdrew temporarily, but attacked again in 610, taking Apamea and Edessa and attacking Antioch. A revolt of the Jews of Antioch in 609 had meanwhile caused further distraction, and Phocas had despatched Bonosus as comes Orientis and Cottanas as magister militum (praesentalis?) to deal with the situation. The revolt was crushed, but Bonosus and Cottanas met defeat at the hands of the Persians the following year, and Theophanes records that their army was completely routed.³²⁸ The situation as it was at the end of 610, when Heraclius replaced Phocas, has recently been analysed by Kaegi, who draws attention to further internal discord after Heraclius' return.³²⁹ Comentiolus, another brother of Phocas, held command 'in the East'. Kaegi suggests that he may perhaps have been magister militum per Armenianiam, but in view of the state of Byzantine military affairs at this time, it is more likely that he held command of both the eastern and the Armenian fronts, the better to oppose the penetration of both areas by the Persians.³³⁰ Whatever his title, it is clear that he commanded a large and important force, including a body of Armenian troops under their commander Justinus, and that this was the only cohesive military force left in the East (apart from the forces of Nicetas isolated in Egypt). The events which follow make this quite clear, for Heraclius seems to have had no force with which to oppose Comentiolus, while Priscus who succeeded the latter in the command of these forces, bottled the Persians up in Caesarea for a year but received no reinforcement; and when the

Persian army was eventually able to break out, it apparently faced a clear route home.³³¹

After the Persian escape from Caesarea the Roman troops remained in Cappadocia, which was now effectively a frontier area, while the Persians proceeded to occupy all the eastern provinces and take most of the major cities during the following six or seven years, with little opposition except that offered by small local forces and garrisons.³³²

Heraclius' reorganisation of the Empire's military resources does not appear to have begun until 621/2, when he transferred the majority of the troops left in Europe to Asia Minor.³³³ Only a very small contingent remained in Thrace, and from this time until the final defeat of the Persians in 627 the regional field forces ceased to exist, there being instead one large field division under Heraclius' personal command. Elsewhere, there were only isolated groups scattered throughout Asia Minor and in the few eastern cities which had managed to avoid capture by the Persians. According to George of Pisidia, the broken forces scattered through the districts of Asia Minor not occupied by the Persians flocked to Heraclius' standard. He reorganised these troops and set about a lengthy period of training and exercising the reformed army.³³⁴ This army became the chief force of the empire. When Heraclius needed to oppose more than one enemy force, he divided his army; and the absence of large bodies of troops in Thrace or Constantinople is amply evidenced by Heraclius' despatch of a corps to defend the City against the Avar attack of 626.³³⁵

The disorganisation and disarray which characterised what was left of Byzantine forces in the East by 620 is well described by George of Pisidia, followed by Theophanes; but the regiments by no means disbanded completely, for when Heraclius arrived in Bithynia he informed them by letter of the assembly point, and it appears that the leaderless troops were able to reform and march to his standard fairly quickly.³³⁶

That the troops were reformed and reorganised in central Asia Minor is clear from Sebeos' statement that Heraclius sent orders to the troops to gather at Caesarea in Cappadocia, taken but later abandoned by the Persians, to which he travelled from Chalcedon. The port of Pylai referred to by George of Pisidia and Theophanes is near Chalcedon; and from there Theophanes reports that Heraclius travelled επὶ τὰς τῶν θεμάτων χώρας.³³⁷ This phrase has been the subject of a great deal of discussion among scholars, for Theophanes may here be referring to the later themata or military provinces.

The phrase occurs in Theophanes' text also under the year 611/12 with reference to the armies Heraclius found on his accession, a passage convincingly re-dated by Oikonomidès to 626. Ostrogorsky has suggested that the second mention is used in a geographical sense, of the themata as military and also as administrative districts.³³⁸ But thema at this time means little more than military corps, divisions of armies. Thus Heraclius established his headquarters in the districts where the themata were quartered in 662. That Theophanes is using the word anachronistically, a proposal of Baynes, has been refuted by Oikonomidès, but the latter goes on to assert that the themata were by 626/7 military districts based on new methods of recruitment introduced by Heraclius in 622. As I have shown elsewhere, this was not the case. Heraclius marched to Cappadocia - to Caesarea in fact - where he set up his headquarters and began the reorganisation of his troops.³³⁹ The reorganisation itself seems to have been limited to the re-training and re-establishment of the field units which had been broken up or left without central direction during the preceding ten years. No major military administrative changes can be shown to have accompanied this reorganisation, with the possible exception of the re-application of hereditary enlistment and service.

Leaving the question of the extent of the reorganisation for

the moment, it has been assumed that the area in which it took place was Bithynia, and that Bithynia was the area later occupied by the Opsikion thema.³⁴⁰ While the latter is certainly correct, Heraclius appears to have set up his headquarters at Caesarea in Cappadocia, or so it would seem from the evidence of Sebeos. The account of George of Pisidia suggests that Heraclius marched through Asia Minor to reach the area where the troops had assembled, as does that of Theophanes; and the soldiers who rallied to him did so in the course of this march.³⁴¹ Upon his arrival in Cappadocia he set about reforming and re-training the scattered and demoralised remnants of the older corps, and having tried and tested his troops, he set out for Armenia.

So far, there is no evidence to suggest that any wide-reaching reforms, either administrative or military, were introduced by Heraclius other than a possible re-introduction of conscription, which will in any case have taken some years to organise properly and take effect. His reorganisation of the forces at his disposal in 622/3 appears to have been along traditional lines, for the troops he transported from Thrace were thus organised, as were those left over from Philippicus' army of 613 and later. It is hardly conceivable that Heraclius set up a new command structure and tactical establishment in less than a year, which has been suggested.³⁴² As we have seen, a number of lesser structural reforms were undertaken during Maurice's reign, or perhaps slightly earlier, and it was with troops organised along these lines that Heraclius conducted his campaigns. Terminology changed, so that the titles applied to various officers and the formations they commanded were being altered gradually, but such a change may not necessarily denote a change in structure, still less a change which took place under Heraclius. The forces described in the later seventh century are recognisably those of Maurice's reform,³⁴³ and Heraclius' task lay in re-organising, re-equipping and re-assembling the older units.

In order to do this, he needed cash to pay the soldiers and to

hire allies, cash which he finally obtained by coining a large amount of money from gold plate and church vessels, which were turned over to him on loan.³⁴⁴ The fact that Heraclius needed such a large amount of cash suggests that the troops were to be paid on a regular basis as before. It seems that even at this time, recruitment on a large scale was not undertaken. Indeed, the conditions of the time would prohibit such a policy at the outset. The account of George of Pisidia suggests the voluntary return to the colours of the majority of the soldiers and units of the armies in Anatolia, although his rather eulogistic approach should be treated with care. His account at least makes it clear that at this point soldiers were not lacking.

But the later Opsikion, with which we are here chiefly concerned, was not established territorially by the military reform of Heraclius and by the stationing of troops in Cappadocia; nor by the establishment in Bithynia and Galatia, at least until 613 and probably later, of scholares and domestici. In 620-622, Heraclius had two organised forces at his disposal: the forces in Thrace, a number of whom he transferred to Cappadocia; and the army originally under Philippicus, which had campaigned in Armenian territory in 613 and appears to have returned to the capital by 617, since Stratos has plausibly suggested that it was this force which encouraged Šahin to retire from Chalcedon at that time. Scattered throughout Asia Minor, but probably centred in Isauria and the neighbouring provinces, were the troops Heraclius had himself commanded in 613. What state of order these troops were in is not known. Since no Persian forces had been campaigning in Asia Minor for several years, with the exception of Šahin's troops, who were not encountered in battle, it is probable that these remaining Byzantine forces retained some sort of order, although George of Pisidia makes it clear that the units were very widely scattered - presumably in strongholds and cities.³⁴⁵ Heraclius thus

had regular forces with which to re-establish his army.

I have suggested in the foregoing narrative that the reorganisation undertaken by Heraclius followed traditional lines: he merely reconstructed the forces existing at the time of Phocas' accession. Older units clearly survived - the foederati, bucellarii and optimates, for example - units which were eventually quartered in districts which came to be called after them. Regiments - βάσια - from the corps of Illyrikianoi are mentioned during the last years of Heraclius' reign. In tenth-century sources there are references to units bearing fourth- and fifth-century titles - the Théodosiaci and Victores - regiments whose importance I will discuss below in connection with the Vigla, and which may have been part of the corps entitled βιελλατίονες ἀριθμοί mentioned in the Strategikon of Maurice.³⁴⁶ Clearly, these units, and probably many others like them, survived and retained their identity, which again suggests that no deep structural reorganisation took place.

After Heraclius' defeat of the Persian forces and his return of the Holy Cross to Jerusalem, he was faced with the problem of re-establishing imperial authority in areas which, like Egypt, Syria and Palestine, had been under Persian control for ten years or more. It is surely significant that no new administrative organisation is evidenced for these areas. Instead, we hear of an appointment in Egypt of an Augustalios - Manuel, an Armenian - and of a local dux Arcadiae, an officer of 'the old establishment'.³⁴⁷ Provincial magistri militum also appear during the latter part of Heraclius' reign and into that of Constans II. The usual word for this post is stratelates, but strategos and often simply patrikios suffice.³⁴⁸ Thus the magistri militum of Thrace, of Oriens, of Africa, and officers who may have been either magister militum Orientis or comes Orientis are mentioned during the reign of Heraclius;³⁴⁹ as also are a number of lesser officers such as duces and vicarii. An interesting anecdote in Theophanes refers to the limitanei

garrisons along the frontier with Arabia, and illustrates that the old system was still functioning quite efficiently. The story also includes a reference to the eunuch official who visited the area in order to hand over the soldiers' pay. Clearly, such troops as these were still in their former positions in the middle of the seventh century on the same basis as in the time of Justinian and Maurice.³⁵⁰ Whether or not army corps were referred to as themata, it does seem that the old system was re-established by Heraclius with very little alteration.³⁵¹

The single exception to this rule seems to be the praesental army. Mention is made of an officer who may have been a magister militum praesentalis, and it is clear that there was a fairly large army based near Constantinople in Asia Minor, which played a very important role in the events following the death of Heraclius.³⁵² This force was under the command of Valentinus, the ὑπαστορής of Philagrius, the Sacellarius; and I suggest that, although no explicit information is given by the sources, he held the post of comes Obsequii. The post is first referred to in the Paschal Chronicle in an entry which the Chronicle dates to the year 626, as κόμης βψαπίου.³⁵³ As we have seen, Diehl first suggested that this might in fact be a mistake for κόμης τοῦ δψικίου, an emendation which has met with general acceptance. A recent article has plausibly suggested that this particular entry has accidentally been transposed, and belongs to the year 615.³⁵⁴ The author considers that if this is the case, then we can take the creation of the Opsikion army back another ten years or so, and perhaps support Ostrogorsky's contention that Heraclius reorganised the armies and established the 'theme system' before the Persian wars in the 620s.

But the appearance of a comes Obsequii at this time should not be seen as particularly surprising, for already in the fifth century the term Obsequium was used to describe the milites

praesentales, that is, the scholae and the domestici.³⁵⁵ The comes Obsequii was simply an officer in charge of the same regiments, and as I have attempted to show, the comes domesticorum already occupied such a position in the sixth century. Comes Obsequii was thus a less formal title for the count of the domestics. The presence of such an officer in the emperor's company would no doubt increase the frequency of this title. Opsikion in everyday speech meant exactly this, the following of a man, whether it was of a civilian or a military nature.³⁵⁶ The identification of the comes domesticorum with the kóμης Ὀψικίου is supported by the latter's rank, for he was a spatharius, a high-ranking military officer.³⁵⁷

The kóμης Ὀψικίου of 615 was therefore the comes domesticorum of an earlier period - the direct connection between the scholae and the comes in the riot of 615 confirms the identification. The disappearance of the latter title at about the same time as the appearance of the former gives further credence to this proposal; for it seems that the one title simply replaced the other in popular and official usage.³⁵⁸

The process by which the comes Obsequii of 615, commander of the domestici/protectores, and sharing with the master of offices the command of the scholae, came to command one of the most important imperial armies, and eventually to lose authority over his own domestici, is less easily demonstrated. What seems to have happened is that the comes Obsequii accompanied Heraclius on his Persian campaign. This is suggested by accounts of the siege of 626, when Bonus, the master of offices, was in complete command of the civil and military administration, sharing general authority with the Patriarch Sergius.³⁵⁹ Surely as important an officer as the comes domesticorum would have been involved in the preparations for the siege, yet Theodore Syncellus makes it clear that Bonus was responsible for all military affairs.³⁶⁰ But as one of the higher military officials accompanying Heraclius, the comes may well have commanded a considerable

portion of the troops on the campaign, fighting units and not his own parade-ground regiments, who had no part in such a venture. They remained in or around Constantinople, under the authority of Bonus, the master of offices.³⁶¹

The appointment of such an officer to a command in the praesental forces as regrouped by Heraclius after 622 would have been a logical step for the emperor, for the comes domesticorum/Obsequii had always been in close contact with the court; a trusted official in this position was important to any emperor. It may well have been chance - the existence in the post of a suitably qualified and trusted man - which led to the replacement of the magister militum praesentalis by the comes domesticorum, or the appointment of one man to both positions, but that this did occur is suggested by the evidence. During the campaign against the Persians from 622, Heraclius left his army under the command of one general while absent in Constantinople. We know that when, in 629, Heraclius returned to the Holy Land to replace the True Cross, he took with him the 'domesticité royale', which Stein has plausibly suggested refers to the Opsikion army as well as to the imperial household. Theophanes records simply that he had 'his army' with him.³⁶²

An interesting development which has gone for the most part unnoticed is that from Maurice's reign there appears to have been only one praesental army in existence: at least, the sources suggest that this was the case. The army described in the Strategikon could no doubt be subdivided, but it was envisaged that on the whole, the various corps described - Illyrians, federates, optimates and so on - would work together under a unified command.³⁶³ This large, mobile force was seen as the chief field army of the empire, which could be transported to any field of operations, although the author clearly regarded the northern front as the most important. Under Maurice, several corps operated in Thrace and the Balkans, but on the whole we read of only one supreme commander with a number of subordinates;

and higher officers with similar powers operating in Armenia and on the eastern front.³⁶⁴ This praesental force seems to have comprised the regular divisions from Thrace and Illyricum; while there is no reference to any corps stationed at the capital until Phocas' time, when a large portion of the field army of Europe had been moved to Asia Minor. The troops under Bonosus and Cottanas sent against Antioch in 609, and those later found under Comentiolus, the brother of Phocas, seem to have constituted some sort of praesental force.³⁶⁵ At any rate, Heraclius seems to have had only one reliable force in Asia Minor after 622, and a few troops left in Thrace, based near Constantinople.³⁶⁶ It was this Anatolian force which accompanied him on campaign until 627/8, and which he split into three corps in 627.³⁶⁷

After his return, he re-established most of the old military stations, as has been shown above. The praesental army was that which accompanied him in 629, and which was established near the capital, probably in Bithynia, in 641/2; and to which Heraclius Constantine wrote for support.³⁶⁸ No other forces are referred to in the area except in Thrace, from where Martina was able to summon a small force, enough to defend the capital. But Martina and Heracleonas were compelled to negotiate with Valentinus in order to secure their position.³⁶⁹

It seems, therefore, that Heraclius also maintained the single praesental army which, for purely strategic reasons, had become the norm during the reign of Maurice; and I suggest that, probably before 629, this force came under the command of the comes Obsequii, as a trusted officer and a close contact of the emperor. He may well have been magister militum praesentalis at the same time, of course, but the use of the shorter and originally less 'official' title seems to have prevailed. His association with this field army gradually resulted in the loss of any real authority over the palatine regiments, which still remained officially under the magister officiorum; although the presence of such troops in parts of Bithynia and Galatia may have

meant the retention of some link with them.³⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that the emperor Constantine VII used material which records the army of the Obsequium as the imperial field army, that which accompanied the emperor on his campaigns.³⁷¹ As we have seen, the term Obsequium was applied originally to the guards units in the palace, and the title comes Obsequii was simply a popular version of the title comes domesticorum. Constantine's evidence, indeed the very existence of a field army called the Obsequium, illustrates the transfer of the name from one (palatine) group of units to another (field) group, which was associated quite clearly with the emperor himself, through a change in the duties of their commanding officer. The field army commanded by the comes Obsequii now became the Obsequium; while the older guards regiments became known simply as 'the regiments of the palace'.³⁷²

Thus the army which Heraclius took with him to Jerusalem in 629, and which Valentinus commanded in 641/2 and after was a field army, part of that established by the regrouping of 622. It was probably centred about the corps which Heraclius kept with him when he split his forces in 626; and I have no hesitation in identifying it with the later Obsequium found established in Bithynia. Sebeos refers to the 'army of the East' under Valentinus' command, the latter having been appointed to this post by Heraclius Constantine shortly before his death.³⁷³ That this was the chief army then in Asia Minor, excluding the forces in Armenia, there seems little doubt.³⁷⁴ John of Nikiu relates that the same force under Valentinus was unable to aid Egypt; while Sebeos reports that after his appointment to the post of comes excubitorum by Martina and Heracleonas, Valentinus 'marched into the East', perhaps to Cappadocia, to prepare to meet the Arab forces which had by this time forced the abandonment by Byzantine armies of Syria and Mesopotamia. All these accounts suggest that Valentinus, as commander-in-chief,

held command of two forces, his own praesental troops - the Obsequii - as well as the forces established in Cilicia and Cappadocia, part of the armies of the magister militum per Orientem re-established in the 630s by Heraclius. Cappadocia seems to have been the mustering point and headquarters of the resistance to the Arab drive to the north. Valentinus appears to have taken the praesental troops with him on his campaigns in the East, since it is no doubt these troops 'of Cappadocia' to whom John of Nikiu refers when he mentions the rebellion against Martina and her sons. Valentinus therefore held a position similar to that of the comes Obsequii and ὑποστράτηγος Θράκης of 680.³⁷⁵

The role played by Valentinus and his army foreshadows that played by later Obsequium forces. Intervening first on behalf of the son of Heraclius Constantine, he was later made Caesar. But his unpopularity led to serious riots, and Valentinus attempted to use his troops, some of whom were garrisoned in Constantinople, to suppress them. In this he failed, for Constans was able to win over the troops (although he appears to have had no military forces at his disposal) and execute Valentinus.³⁷⁶

The first reference to the Obsequium army and its comes does not occur until 668, when Mizizios, comes Obsequii, was proclaimed emperor in Sicily after the assassination of Constans II. It seems that the Opsikion, or a section of it, together with a part of the Anatolikon force, accompanied Constans on his expedition in 662, and fought with him against the Slavs and the Lombards. The next reference is for the year 680, when Θεόδωρος, ἐνδοξότατος ἀνὴρ ὑπάτων πατρίκιος κόμης τοῦ βασιλικοῦ Ὀψικίου, καὶ ὑποστράτηγος Θράκης is listed among those present at the sixth ecumenical council.³⁷⁷ His army is referred to in the iussio of Justinian II, and that it had by this time become firmly associated with the district in which it was stationed is made clear by a reference of Theophanes for the same year.

Noting the great number of Slavs captured in Justinian's campaigns, he remarks that Justinian transported them and εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὀψικίου διὰ τῆς Ἀβύδου περάσας κατέστησε μέρη.³⁷⁸ Discussing the same events, the Patriarch Nicephorus refers to τὴν τοῦ Ὀψικίου λεγομένην χώραν,³⁷⁹ and from this time on the Opsikion forces and their comes recur frequently in the sources.

But when did the Opsikion army become firmly associated and established in this area? Clearly, by the 680s it had been settled in the one district long enough for its name to become identified with the whole region, perhaps for twenty or thirty years, from the time of the presence of the army under Valentinus which had so decisively intervened in imperial politics. Lille's analysis shows that from 640 on Arab forces penetrated into Asia Minor, and therefore that from this time the Byzantine forces had begun to fall back and to take up their new positions. The establishment of the Opsikion in Bithynia is to be situated at about the same time.³⁸⁰

To determine how the various armies mentioned in the letter of 687 had come to be established in their respective areas has been a problem of Byzantine history for many years. This complicated and as yet only partly resolved matter will not be dealt with in detail here, chiefly because, as past discussions of the problem have demonstrated, it must be tackled as a problem in its own right, a task which the present study cannot undertake.³⁸¹

The course of events envisaged by the majority of scholars is one in which, with the gradual reduction in size of the imperial territories after the middle of the seventh century, the regional forces were pulled back and billeted - perhaps temporarily in the first instance - in various districts of Asia Minor. It has been suggested that while themata as military divisions existed, they had no administrative identity until the last years of the seventh century, and even at this late stage merely overlay a pre-existing civil framework. Pertusi has suggested that a civil administration existed within each theme area, an administration

that was basically older than the military province, but which was subordinated to a new military governor and his staff.³⁸² The evidence mentioned above in relation to the continued existence of civil districts is important in this respect, for this evidence would support such a thesis; so that while the theme strategos had supreme authority in order to facilitate troop recruitment, collecting and transporting supplies, quartering soldiers, ensuring the production of weapons and so on, the essential structure of the old administration remained unchanged, merely having certain departments supervised by officials from the bureau of the strategos, and certain of its funds diverted to the strategos' military chest. It is clear that many of the chief fiscal departments remained under firm central control.³⁸³ The establishment of the themata as military districts may well have occurred soon after the arrival of the various corps in Anatolia. Presumably a series of civil districts were placed under the general authority of a strategos, and while in popular speech the new district thus formed was referred to by the name of the army based there, in official parlance the civil areas retained their identity. Thus we hear of the Opsikion theme as a territorial entity by 680, the Anatolikon and Armeniakon somewhat earlier. But for the middle and later seventh century and earlier eighth century the seals of a number of commerciarii and other officials demonstrate that within these themes there continued to exist the older administrative districts.³⁸⁴

To discuss the question of the point at which military districts became also civil administration areas, and of the development of the so-called military holdings, however, is not necessary in the present context.³⁸⁵ Instead, I have attempted to suggest how the Obsequium came into existence and by what process the comes domesticorum (Obsequii) came to command it..

One question remains, and that is: who were the Obsequii? It

is known that during the eighth century the Opsikion theme was split into a number of separate commands - the Optimation, the Boukellarion and the Opsikion themes³⁸⁶ - and it is clear that a section of the Opsikion consisted of the elite troops referred to in the Strategikon of Maurice, troops who were later transferred to the East, perhaps during Phocas' reign, possibly during that of Heraclius, in 621/2. The federates appear in the early ninth century in the Anatolikon theme,³⁸⁷ having been detached to the forces of the magister militum per Orientem during the wars with the Arabs, and remaining as a part of this command upon the re-establishment of this force in the districts occupied by the Anatolikon forces. The Opsikion appears, therefore, to have consisted of a part of the old sixth-century elite, with the addition of units from the praesental field forces which had operated in Thrace during Maurice's reign. In the following chapter I will examine the fragmentation of the Opsikion in greater detail, the role it played before this fragmentation, and its replacement by the tagmata established by Constantine V.

Part five: the Spatharii

Before discussing this question, however, it will be helpful to look briefly at a group of palatine guardsmen who, along with the Opsikion (and, as I will suggest in chapter four, the regiments known as the Noumera and Teichistai), replaced the older palatine guards and praesental forces. While the scholae and excubitores became in effect parade troops, the emperors did retain a small guard made up of men of their own choosing. These were the spatharii. This group appears to have developed a new importance during the seventh century, especially during the period of the decline of the excubitores, whom it replaced as the emperor's real bodyguard, and many of whose functions and duties

it inherited.

The spatharii, who first appear during the reign of Theodosius II as a body of armed, eunuch sword-bearers, were an obvious choice for an emperor to use for special missions such as the delivery of important letters, carrying out arrests and similar duties. Likewise, the cubicularii, also a eunuch schola at first, were entrusted with similar tasks.³⁸⁸ The two groups are quite distinct, although their duties often overlapped. It is not my intention here to discuss the origins of the titles involved, since this has been examined elsewhere, but to show that it was the spatharii under their protospatharii who replaced the excubitors as the active guardsmen defending the emperor,³⁸⁹ although their number was never great.

It is difficult to distinguish in the sources between the various groups of spatharii: those who were military officers, serving as the guards or adjutants of field officers,³⁹⁰ those who bore the title as a dignity; those who had belonged to the corps formerly, but had been transferred to a different post, yet retained their old title as a dignity as well as their new one; and those who served in the palace as active members of the corps of spatharii. Seals exist for spatharii of the sixth century and after, and also for imperial spatharii, who appear during the seventh century. This new group can perhaps be identified with those who served actively at court as guardsmen, their title at first distinguishing them from ordinary spatharii - serving subordinate officers - and from spatharii holding the title as a dignity.³⁹¹ In the same way, the title imperial candidatus seems to have been created to distinguish those candidati who were enrolled into the old ordo within the sixth and seventh scholae, who fulfilled parade duties, from those who received simply a dignity.³⁹² But as with most titles, that of imperial spatharius seems quite soon after its creation to have been granted also as a dignity, increasing the uncertainty of correctly identifying active and honorary officers in the

sources.³⁹³

Two points deserve emphasis, however: that a separate title of imperial spatharius was created, illustrating the continued existence in attendance upon the emperor of a distinct corps; and that a protospatharius was created to take charge of them. Apart from two dubious fifth- and sixth-century examples, when the title protospatharius seems to have been awarded as an exceptional dignity, marking out a trusted officer - according to Theophanes, the eunuch Narses, favourite of Justin II, bore the title cubicularius and protospatharius.³⁹⁴ - the title first occurs in the later seventh century, when the protospatharius Zacharias was sent to arrest Pope Sergius.³⁹⁵ Guillard has compiled a very full list of protospatharii dating from this time.³⁹⁶ The fact that an officer entitled simply protospatharius τῶν βασιλικῶν existed as a special commander of the imperial spatharii and of the reorganised imperial candidati in the ninth and tenth centuries also suggests that one imperial protospatharius had exercised a specific function as commander of the palatine spatharii.³⁹⁷ The creation of this post at the end of the seventh century for a high-ranking officer who commanded those guardsmen closest to the emperor should probably be seen as an attempt to make up for the loss in power and importance of the excubitores and their comes, although the latter was seemingly still a figure of importance in the 680s.³⁹⁸ The appearance at this time of a small number of seals belonging to imperial protospatharii would support this,³⁹⁹ as do the important duties and missions entrusted to both spatharii and protospatharii during the seventh and eighth centuries. Spatharii play a significant role both militarily and politically during this period, and are mentioned far more frequently in the sources than hitherto. But it is important to note that this role lasts only from the later seventh century - although their importance as a palatine group had been increasing for some time prior to this - until the end of the eighth century.

and the establishment of the tagmata under Constantine V. After this time they retain their importance as a group of staff officers close to the emperor, who despatches them on a variety of duties, and possibly also as an officer-training corps; but their political significance dwindles, as does their importance as a military unit.

Their importance is attested in many ways. Promising young officers were promoted into the corps, from which they might later receive higher commands. Such was the case with the future Leo III.⁴⁰⁰ The spatharii of Justinian II played a prominent role both politically and militarily. Elias, a spatharius described as the emperor's δορυφόρος, was given an important mission to Cherson, although he changed sides.⁴⁰¹ Later, John Strouthos, another spatharius, was sent by Philippicus to execute the son of Justinian II, Tiberius;⁴⁰² while the above-mentioned Elias sent the spatharius Romanus to Philippicus bearing the head of the deposed Justinian.⁴⁰³ Romanus was later sent to the West with the head.

Spatharii also played an important part during Leo III's reign, and appear to have made up the small force which he used to implement his iconoclast policy in the City after 726. The first party of soldiers who accompanied the spatarocandidatus Julianus (or Jovinus in some MSS) in carrying out Leo's order to take down the icon on the Chalke gate are clearly palatine officers, probably spatharii although they may have belonged to the regiment of the Walls. They are described as βασιλικοὺς ἀνθρώπους by Theophanes, and οἱ τὴν σκάλωσιν ὄφείλοντες στῆσαι στρατιῶται in the Passio of the first martyrs to iconoclasm.⁴⁰⁴

One of their number, who was killed in the attempt to remove the icon, is described in both the Passio and the Vita Stephani Iunioris as a spatharius, but whether he is to be identified with the spatarocandidatus Jovinus mentioned in one of the letters to Leo attributed to Pope Gregory II is uncertain, since Theophanes reports the death of more than one imperial officer.⁴⁰⁵ In

response; Leo sent a force of five hundred στρατιώτας ξιφήρεις to disperse the mob and to arrest the leaders, although it is doubtful that these were all spatharii. Most probably they were soldiers of the Opsikion regiment based in the City, or of the units which guarded the walls of the palace.⁴⁰⁶

Spatharii played an important role in other episodes during Leo's reign. During the rebellion of the strategos of Sicily, the protospatharius Sergius, Leo sent Paul, his private secretary, with two spatharii to deal with the crisis.⁴⁰⁷ Spatharii arrested the Patriarch Germanus on Leo's orders,⁴⁰⁸ while officers of the same corps were active in Italy. Marinus, an imperial spatharius and commander of the Ducatus of Rome attempted to arrest Gregory II. When this failed, the exarch Paul (probably the same official who had earlier suppressed the rebellion of Sergius in Sicily) was ordered to carry out the mission, his orders being delivered by another spatharius.⁴⁰⁹ At the beginning of the reign of Constantine V, the spatharius Andreas was sent to the Caliph Walid to oppose Artavasdus' request for aid; and at the beginning of the reign of Leo IV 'certain spatharii, stratores and other imperials' were arrested, along with Nicephorus, Leo's brother.⁴¹⁰

But the appearance of the term of βασιλίκοι ($\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\kappa\omega\iota$) points to a reorganisation of certain palatine corps. By this time, the establishment of the new guards regiments by Constantine V had reduced the importance of the active, palatine spatharii and their commander in the military sphere. They seem indeed to have been placed under a new commander, ὁ πρωτοσπάθαρος τῶν βασιλίκων, along with other palatine corps such as the mandatores and the candidati as already mentioned. That such a reorganisation did take place during the reign of Constantine V is suggested by Theophanes' use of the term of βασιλίκοι - echoed in the Taktikon Uspenskij and the Kleterologion of Philotheos. The protospatharios commanded the spatharioi tou spatharikion (or tou ippodromou), the candidati and the foot candidati (by the

later ninth century this difference had disappeared) and the imperial mandatores. There were in addition other spatharioi attached to the emperor or to various areas of the imperial palace, who came under the emperor's direct authority and made up a varied group of court officers upon whom the emperor could draw to carry out special duties. While being members of a regular ordo, it is clear that by the ninth and tenth century, posts in these groups — which were, of course, salaried — were very expensive. All these titles might also be purchased or awarded, of course, as dignities.⁴¹¹

Spatharii are still found, along with the stratores and candidati, in the emperor's immediate entourage, but their duties are now restricted to non-military functions — embassies, bearing letters and so on. Thus in 780/1 Irene sent Theophilus the spatharius to arrest the rebellious Elpidius, strategos of Sicily,⁴¹² while spatharii appear throughout the ninth century entrusted with similar missions. In 807 Nicephorus I despatched the spatarius Bardanius to carry out an extraordinary tax-levy in Thrace; and the corps of spatarii based at court is referred to in the account of the life of Kallistos, one of the forty martyrs of Amorium, during the reign of Theophilus, when it was clearly a distinct corps whose members were tried and trusted officers. Kallistos, for example, had been a comes in the scholae. In 860, Arsavir, a spatarius, accompanied an embassy to Pope Nicholas; in 865 Michael, the protospatarius, went on a similar mission; and in 867 a letter to the Pope entrusted to the spatarius Euthymius was followed by a legation led by the spatarius Basil.⁴¹³ Again, Eustathius, 'spatarius candidatus', was despatched to meet the papal legation in 869; and other imperial officers — spatarii and protospatarii — attended the legation during its stay.⁴¹⁴ Many of these spatarii, protospatarii and candidati may, of course, have belonged to the oiketikoi rather than to the spatarii under the protospatarius τῶν βασιλικῶν.

These duties had never been limited to the spatharii alone, however. Silentarii and cubicularii, also corps closely dependent upon the emperor, played a similar role.⁴¹⁵ Indeed, cubicularii were often soldiers as well as personal attendants, and the close association between the two groups is illustrated by the development of a group of spatharocubicularii in the later ninth century,⁴¹⁶ in the same way that the group of spatharocandidati was established for officers who were members of both the sixth or seventh scholae and the spatharii.⁴¹⁷ All these titles were awarded in addition as graded dignities, of course, but it is clear that there were always a number of active imperial officers attendant upon the emperor.

The decline in the military importance of the spatharii dates from the establishment of the tagmata in the 760s; and the new situation was made clear when in 785/6 Irene attempted without success to impose her will upon the rioting tagmatic soldiers διὰ τῶν μαρεστών αὐτῇ οἰκειάκον ἀνθρόπων.⁴¹⁸ As a result of their failure, she was forced to create her own guards regiment, the Vigla, which will be dealt with in chapter four.

The material presented so far suggests that while the Opsikion army constituted the main military force at the emperor's disposal, the spatharii and related group of spatharocandidati made up his personal guards and replaced the less effective excubitores and scribones as the instruments of imperial policy within the City. It is significant that spatharii and cubicularii replaced the scribones and their soldiers of the fifth and sixth centuries almost entirely, and the appearance of the former as important officials in Italy, for example, coincides with the decline of the latter, the evidence for which has already been discussed.⁴¹⁹

Towards the end of the eighth century, there was a reorganisation of these corps, connected with the changes in the organisation of the Constantinopolitan forces. A regular corps of candidati began to be recruited once more from among the

scholae; and some of them were posted into the spatharii as spatharocandidati.⁴²⁰ Another palatine group, the mandatores, was also associated with the imperial spatharii and the candidati; and all three groups were placed under the authority of the protospatharius of the imperials. Their duties involved attendance upon the emperor and guard duties at certain positions in the palace;⁴²¹ and their reorganisation at this time alone suggests that, in spite of the bestowal and sale of the titles involved on an honorific basis, the central ordines of spatharii, candidati (in the scholae) and mandatores all maintained their integrity as distinct palatine groups during the seventh and eighth centuries, although of varying status and value.

As we have seen, the spatharii also provided a reservoir of trusted men for diplomatic missions, the delivery of letters and similar duties; but it is often difficult to ascertain from the sources whether an official entitled spatharius, for example, is actually a member of the palatine corps or another official who is of spatharius rank in the hierarchy. We can be sure that officers entitled spatharius or protospatharius who held military commands, at least during the seventh and early eighth centuries, were originally members of the active palatine corps and owed their promotion to membership thereof. The same no doubt applied to cubicularii. Once promoted, they either retained their old title or received the next title up in the hierarchy, a practice which follows directly from that observed during the period before the seventh century, and which can be readily understood when it is seen how quickly active official grades became honorary and thence assimilated with the various hierarchic grades which already existed.⁴²²

It is clear that the military role of the spatharii as a small guards unit ended with the establishment of the tagmata and the emergence of the maglobitai, although they did not retain their function as a policing unit. Theophilus, for example, sent Kallistos, a member of οἱ οἰκειακοὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν σωθαρίων, with

a group of other spatharii, to purge an iconophile monastery; for refusing which Kallistos was expelled from the corps - although he retained his title of spatharius.⁴²³ Membership of the praesental spatharii still constituted a route into a regular military career. Kallistos began as a scholarius, went on to join the spatharii, and was eventually given an independent command. But spatharii rarely appear in the late eighth and ninth centuries as soldiers carrying out specific military duties. We read rather of the various tagmatic troops on the one hand; and of the maglabitai on the other.⁴²⁴

Chapter Three

The Opsikion army and Constantine V

Part One: the Opsikion and its comes, c. 650-750.

In chapter two it was shown how the Opsikion force developed during the reign of Heraclius as the successor to the armies of the magistri militum in praesenti, and it was suggested how it came to be placed under the command of the comes domesticorum/comes Obsequii; as a result of which it became known as the army of the Obsequium, the army which accompanied the emperor. As Constantine VII states: τὸ δὲ θέμα τὸ καλοῦμενον ὄψικιον πάσιν ἔχει γνώριμον τὴν προσηγορίαν· ὄψικιον γὰρ ψωμαῖστὶ λέγεται, ὅπερ σημαίνει τῇ Ἑλλήνων· φωνῇ τοὺς προπορευομένους ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ εὐταξίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ.⁴²⁵ In an earlier age such troops were known as comitatenses; they formed the comitatus of the emperors.

While the guards regiments of the scholae had long since become useless in military terms, the same fate befell the once-active excubitores during the later seventh century. As the evidence of seals suggests, the titles of scribon and even excubitor were awarded in an honorary capacity during the later seventh century, and in addition to the causes already suggested, we should look to the appearance of the Opsikion army at this time for some of the reasons behind this decline.⁴²⁶

The first decisive intervention of what can be seen as the Opsikion force came in 641 when the Arsacid Valentinus, appointed to command the forces near Constantinople by Heraclius Constantine, moved against Martina and Heracleonas. The pretext upon which he made this move was the possible danger from Heracleonas and Martina to the son of Heraclius Constantine, Heraclius (later Constans II), and Valentinus had, shortly before the death of Heraclius Constantine, been given a large amount of cash to persuade the field army nearby to support the claims of the latter's son. Upon the death of Heraclius Constantine, Martina and her son had quickly made sure of their position by

exiling Philagrius, imperial sacellarius and a confidant of Heraclius Constantine.⁴²⁷ When Valentinus, who had been the ὑπαρχίας (i.e. bucellarius?) of Philagrius, heard of these events he mobilised his army and encamped at Chalcedon opposite the City.⁴²⁸ Despite several attempts, Martina and Heracleonas failed to convince Valentinus that their intentions towards Heraclius were good, and the army stayed at Chalcedon. Martina had managed to defend the City with a handful of troops from Thrace,⁴²⁹ but Valentinus had the largest army of the empire behind him. Judging from its staunch support for Valentinus in his role as protector of Heraclius' grandson, and its distrust of Heracleonas, this force may have consisted of many units which had fought under Heraclius himself.⁴³⁰ Valentinus had also gained the support of other military officers throughout the empire, or so it would seem. The expeditionary force assembling on Rhodes was apparently prepared to support him.⁴³¹ The eventual outcome was the coronation of Heraclius, renamed Constans, by Heracleonas, as a result of the pressure placed upon the latter and Martina by the population of Constantinople, who were unable to protect their vineyards around Chalcedon from the depredations of Valentinus' soldiers. There were, of course, many other factors involved, but the fact remains that it was Valentinus and his army who forced the issue. As a result of the compromise thus reached, Valentinus was appointed comes excubitorum, and he left shortly afterwards to face the Arab forces pushing up into N. Syria and Cilicia.⁴³² Whether or not he took the excubitors with him is unknown, but two points of importance emerge: firstly, Martina and Heracleonas felt it necessary to appease the troops of Valentinus with cash, suggesting that these troops were likely to be dangerous again; that is they were stationed nearby and might interfere. Second, Valentinus was made count of the excubitors to gain his neutrality; yet this would have considerably increased his power in the sixth century, an increase which Martina and Heracleonas

would not have welcomed. It is possible that he was appointed in vacante in the same way that Nicetas, the cousin of Heraclius, had been appointed in 612 before his return to Egypt.⁴³³ If this was the case, then we have here two examples of the appointment of counts of the excubitors as prestige posts held by men who were not in fact commanding the unit involved, a development which may signify the beginnings of the process by which other titles in the corps were awarded on an honorary basis.⁴³⁴

In his capacity as what I have identified as commander of the Opsikion army, Valentinus undoubtedly wielded a great deal of authority. He decided in 643/4 to establish himself on the throne, perhaps as co-emperor and guardian of Constans. This much at least is suggested by the statement of Sebeos.⁴³⁵ But accounts of the events at this point are confused, and it is difficult to know exactly what happened. This attempt was preceded by the deposition of Martina, Heracleonas and the latter's two brothers, David Tiberius and Marinus, probably at the instigation of Valentinus, supported by Theodore, an Armenian officer and one of Valentinus' subordinates, and the army.⁴³⁶ Valentinus, according to Sebeos, later had three thousand soldiers with him in the City, and he attempted to impose his will on the populace with these and other troops. But Theophanes and Sebeos record that he failed, for Constans managed to have him killed before the situation got out of hand.⁴³⁷ Upon his death, Theodore was appointed by Constans as commander of the three thousand soldiers inside the City, as well as the ⁴³⁸ praesental army. It is unfortunate that the events which followed are difficult to ascertain, for of the Byzantine sources only the chronography of Theophanes, copied also by later writers, tells us about events after Valentinus' death. John of Nikiu is trustworthy only for Egypt, and Sebeos' information is often confused or mistaken; while Arab accounts suffer from the same difficulties. But enough can be gleaned from this material

to support the general thesis that while the Opsikion army and its commander are mentioned by name only from 668, they had existed from the time of Heraclius Constantine and the last years of Heraclius as the main field army, usually engaged on the frontiers in co-operation with other forces - as we have seen already - but nevertheless regarded as the reserve force, the army at the emperor's disposal to be sent wherever he commanded, and under the immediate authority of a high-ranking and trusted officer. It is not certain that Valentinus or Theodore bore the title komes Opsikiou and that their army was always referred to as the Opsikion; but it is probable, for by 668, and certainly by 680, the title had been officially recognised and assimilated to the other higher military titles, while by 687 at the latest the army was normally referred to by its new name.⁴³⁹

The komes of the Opsikion thus commanded the field troops established near the capital.⁴⁴⁰ This seems often to have included those troops based in Thrace. The komes present at the council of 680 was also Ὀποστράτηγος Θράκης;⁴⁴¹ and while independent action was no doubt carried on by the soldiers based here,⁴⁴² the area under their command seems also to have occasionally come under the authority of the count of the Opsikion, if only because the latter commanded the reserve force, a field force which could be moved rapidly across the Bosphorus to defend Constantinople and to campaign against the Slavs or Bulgars.

The possible presence of Valentinus himself in Thrace before his march on Constantinople suggests that this was from the beginning an aspect of the duties of the Opsikion army and its komes. Barasbakourios, one of the right-hand men of Justinian II, was count of the Opsikion and Strategos of (? Thrace).⁴⁴³ Constans was probably accompanied by Opsikion troops on his campaigns into Armenia in 651-2, and it was sections of this force which Constans took with him in 662, under its komes Mizizios or Mzez - although Stratos considers them Anatolikon and

Armeniakon troops, which seems unlikely in view of the need to maintain the frontier defence in these areas as fully as possible. It is most probably to units of this army - the Opsikion - that our accounts refer when they mention, for example, that Constantine, the son of Constans, 'despatched Nikephoros the patrikios with a Roman force', or that he sailed to Syracuse with a fleet against the rebel comes Obsequii Mizizios in 668/9.⁴⁴⁴ The troops he might have taken with him in order to accomplish this were probably from the only army normally at his immediate disposal, those of the Opsikion.⁴⁴⁵ The role of the Opsikion as the emperor's field army can be seen both from the campaigns of 662-8 in Macedonia and Italy, and also at the end of the second reign of Justinian II, for example. They were mustered together with the detachments from the Thrakesion forces and some Bulgar symmachoi from Thrace, to face Philippikos Bardanes at Damatrys. But in this case the soldiers, whose komes Barasbakourios was not present, were easily won over by promises of pardons and cash rewards. Barasbakourios himself was hunted down and killed shortly afterwards.⁴⁴⁶

That the Opsikion was a regular campaigning force is equally evident from the nature of the expeditions which took place during the second half of the seventh century. Indeed, a comparison of the accounts of Theophylact Simocatta describing the campaigns during the reign of Maurice with the various accounts of the later seventh-century campaigns against Arabs and Bulgars makes interesting reading. Mobile field divisions, able to move rapidly from one field of operations to another, with a unified general command, were the prime necessities, and this is just the role which the Opsikion, as the emperor's reserve army, seems to have fulfilled. In the latter period, the emperor himself frequently conducted operations - although not always with marked success - but the pattern is basically the same: assemble the troops from their various quarters, and march from the assembly point into enemy territory. The Opsikion army

formed the core of these campaign forces, and since it consisted of the greater part of the elite of Maurice's day, the parallels are close. In spite of the drawing-in of the northern and eastern frontiers and the establishment of army corps much nearer the capital than hitherto, large offensive campaigns were still based upon the assumption that troops could be safely withdrawn from a temporarily 'passive' front and employed elsewhere. The campaigns against the Bulgars in 679/80 and that of 687/8 both involved the emperor, and if Constantine VII is to be trusted, he will have been accompanied by detachments of his own force, the Opsikion.⁴⁴⁷ Both occasions were well-chosen: in 679 the Caliphate was exhausted by the abortive attack on Constantinople (674-8), and Moawiya died shortly thereafter; in 687, there was a drought in Syria, while the southern flank of the empire was covered by the Mardaitai.⁴⁴⁸

But while such tactics were occasionally successful, as in the 687/8 campaign of Justinian II, they frequently resulted in defeats which left the empire wide-open to attacks and raids in depth. The campaign of 692/3, which involved all the cavalry divisions of the army and an additional thirty thousand Slav recruits, was a complete failure. The greater part of the new force deserted, and the imperial troops were heavily defeated.⁴⁴⁹ The following years saw the desertion of Armenia from the Byzantine camp to the Arabs, and a series of attacks on Byzantine territory in Anatolia.⁴⁵⁰ But the most significant event was Justinian's attempt to recruit soldiers from captured Slavs transferred to the territory of the Opsikion army, a transfer which illustrates the chronic manpower shortage the empire was facing at that time.⁴⁵¹

The main point, however, is that the Opsikion was both a field army - to be counted, I think, among the καβαλλαρικὰ θέματα⁴⁵² - and also the emperor's army, which accompanied him on campaign, defended the capital, and was used as a reserve force to strengthen other divisions or carry out special expeditions.

It was not placed under the command of officers commanding frontier units, at least during the later years of the seventh century; so much is suggested by the difference noted by Theophanes who speaks of the cavalry themata as a whole when on campaign with the emperor, but of the ἔξω καβαλλαρικὰ θέματα when referring to those corps which garrisoned the frontier districts and their hinterland. The Opsikion remained a 'home' division.
453

The establishment of the Opsikion in this position is confirmed not only by the evidence presented above with regard to its role on campaigns and as the praesental army of the emperor; but also by the pre-eminent role of the komes at this time, and the fact that he appears to have been based as much in Constantinople as in his provincial capital, Ankyra. The list of state officers who signed the acts of the sixth ecumenical council in 680, for example, includes such officers as the magister officiorum, the military logothete, the curator of the imperial houses of Hormisdas, the quaestor, the domestic of the imperial table and the dioiketes of the eastern provinces; the topotertes of the comes excubitorum and the comes of the Opsikion are the only military officers.
454 The significance of the list is that all these officers are known to have been based at Constantinople, where either their headquarters and bureaux were maintained, or their regiment (in the case of the excubitors) was based. No provincial officials, military or civil, take part, with the single exception of the komes of the Opsikion. A similar list of officers, although in a different situation, occurs for the year 718, when the exiled ex-emperor Artemios plotted from Thessaloniki to overthrow Leo and regain the throne. Apart from Artemios himself, the archbishop of Thessaloniki and Sisinnios the patrician, sent by Leo on a mission to the Bulgars and brought into the plot by Artemios, all the other officials involved are Constantinopolitan.
455 They include Niketas Xylinites, the magister, Niketas Anthrax, archon

of the Walls, Theoktistos the protoasekretes, and finally, Isoes, komes of the imperial Opsikion. The account of Nicephorus suggests that the komes, along with all the other officials, was based at Constantinople rather than elsewhere.⁴⁵⁶ Many other minor officials were involved, but the plot failed when Leo apprehended the letters to Niketas "the magister" and others, and Artemios and Sisinnios were handed over by the Bulgars, their erstwhile allies, to Leo.⁴⁵⁷

It thus seems extremely likely that the count of the Opsikion was established at least some of the time at Constantinople,⁴⁵⁸ for he is in both cases cited above the only provincial military official present among officers who are either civilians or military officers with duties directly connected with the court. The probability is increased when we consider that both Theodore, the komes of 680, and Barasbakourios, komes between 705 and 711, commanded troops in Thrace, the latter, for a time at least, as the official strategos, as his titles suggest. Constantinople was much more convenient for directing operations in both Asia Minor and Thrace than Ankyra or Nicaea. Theophanes' text implies that Barasbakourios was apprehended in the capital, where he had fled for safety. At any rate, the importance of the komes and his force is demonstrated by his inclusion on both the above-mentioned occasions.⁴⁵⁹

The count of the Opsikion should thus be counted among the officials based at the City. It was his troops who constituted the real garrison of Constantinople, rather than the excubitores and their komes, who are not referred to after 687 until the time of Constantine V. The Opsikion superseded the palatine regiments in their task of defending the capital, and thus constituted not only the field army but also the garrison of the City. That this was the case is illustrated by the references in Theophanes to the betrayal of the Blachernai defences to the troops of Tiberius Apsimar in 698, ὅποι ἐξωτικῶν ὄρχόντων, who had been entrusted by Leontios with the keys to the gates. These may well have been

Opsikion officers and their troops, brought in from outside for the siege.⁴⁶⁰

The evidence of Kudāma's *Kitab al-Harādj*, compiled c. 928-932,⁴⁶¹ may also refer to earlier times. The writer mentions the optimates as part of the infantry garrison of the capital, yet includes also the thema Optimaton in a different list. That Kudāma was using material of which part was recent and part much older and out-of-date is clear, as his misunderstanding of the word arithmos, recorded as arfos, shows.⁴⁶² The optimates, originally a separate regiment in the elite forces making up the Opsikion corps, gave their name to a separate province during the reign of Constantine V, when the Opsikion was reduced in importance and size; so that a section of Kudāma's material appears to date from at least the first half of the eighth century, possibly from as early as the reign of Justinian II, and suggests that the optimates constituted a section of the garrison of Constantinople. If this is so, it renders the suggestion that the optimates were reduced to a relatively humble position by Cohstantine V, since they were the most dangerous section of the Opsikion, all the more reasonable, a proposition which I will discuss in greater detail below.

The number given by Kudāma - four thousand - seems to be a generalisation from the accounts of his sources and from other geographers whose accounts have survived. As I will suggest in chapter five, the unit was probably much smaller than this,⁴⁶³ although such a figure is not to be entirely ruled out. At least twelve- thousand soldiers, many of them cavalry, could be garrisoned, albeit for a limited time, 'within the Theodosian walls, as accounts of the siege of 626 illustrate, although the latter figure was undoubtedly an exception.'⁴⁶⁴ The presence of Opsikion troops - perhaps a part of the corps of optimates - provided a bodyguard and police force for the emperor.

The émperor's reliance on the Opsikion as a reserve and as an expeditionary force is emphasised by accounts of the attack on

the Arab fleet planned by Artemios in 715. The emperor mustered the fast ships from his own fleet and placed units of the Opsikion aboard, ordering this force to Rhodes where it was to be joined by other squadrons of the fleet. But Nicephorus reports that whereas the soldiers and sailors from the other parts of the empire were prepared to sail against the Arabs, the Opsikion troops objected, slew John, the general logothete whom Artemios had put in charge of the expedition, and sailed back to the Opsikion district.⁴⁶⁵ Here, they arrived at Adramyttion, a port opposite the island of Lesbos, where they chose a certain Theodosios, a local revenue official, as emperor. Artemios prepared his fleet to defend the City, while he took refuge in Nicaea in Bithynia. There followed six months of desultory warfare, until eventually the capital was betrayed from inside, and Theodosios' troops, the Opsikion forces and the Gothograeci, marched in.⁴⁶⁶

The accounts of Theophanes and Nicephorus raise several interesting points. First, it is clear from Nicephorus' statement that Artemios raised his troops ἐκ τῶν τῆς χώρας τοῦ καλουμένου Ὀψικίου, that the soldiers were billeted outside the City, and that not all of the Opsikion force went, an assertion supported by the account of Theophanes. He states that after their arrival at Adramyttion, the mutineers were joined by the rest of the Opsikion force and by the Gothograeci.⁴⁶⁷ Later, upon the betrayal of Constantinople, these 'lawless' Opsikion troops and the Gothograeci entered the City and did a great deal of damage.⁴⁶⁸ It is clear that Constantinople had only a small garrison, which was favourably inclined towards the mutineers, since they were allowed to enter. It is also clear that while the Opsikion detachments were in Rhodes, the rest of the Opsikion army remained outside Constantinople in their camps or bases. Artemios seems to have had no large corps of soldiers with him, only his personal following.⁴⁶⁹ We hear nothing of the scholae or the excubitores, which had by this time become

mere show troops. Clearly, the Opsikion provided detachments to protect the capital and the emperor, and in this case Artemios had left no regular troops in the capital.

The second point concerns the Gothograeci. Who were they? As I have suggested in chapter one, following the proposal of Du Cange and Kulakovskij, which Stein rejected, they are to be identified with the optimates.⁴⁷⁰ Stein maintained that the Gothograeci were to be identified with Goths from the Crimea, who had been recruited into the imperial forces. But Pertusi has shown that there is evidence for the existence of Gothograeci in the Opsikion theme, in Bithynia and Mysia,⁴⁷¹ and he accepts the identity of Gothograeci with the optimates who joined Stilicho's forces. While Kulakovskij and Pertusi are correct in identifying the Gothograeci of the later eighth century with the optimates, however, it is unlikely that such troops had any connection with the Goths of Radagaisus whatsoever. The Gothograeci are primarily the descendants of soldiers of the optimates division of the late sixth-century field army, enrolled by Tiberius Constantine and Maurice. This division, made up predominantly of Goths, was organised along lines which point to its being quite separate from the regular troops and the other elite forces of the empire at this time.⁴⁷² It seems that it came to be billeted in the district of Bithynia nearest the capital, Mysia, as the evidence of Constantine VII and Anna Comnena suggests,⁴⁷³ and formed the leading element in the Opsikion army. This area, still associated with its half-Gothic populace, was part of the Opsikion theme in the tenth century, but may well have been included in the Optimatlon district before the changes introduced by Constantine V. The boundaries of Constantine VII's day need by no means have corresponded with those of an earlier period, for reasons which will be set out below. Theophanes distinguishes the Gothograeci from the Opsikion, but this does not imply that they were not a part thereof, rather that they were a distinctive group within the

theme army.⁴⁷⁴ The Gothograeci are thus to be identified with the optimates, a corps of Gothic soldiers recruited in the later sixth century, and thereafter settled permanently in the area opposite the capital. Such a settlement may well have taken place quite soon after their enlistment, for we know that, while they brought their wives and families with them, for whom Tiberius provided an Arian Church, they were very unpopular in Constantinople as a result,⁴⁷⁵ and it would have been politic for the emperor to transfer the families from Constantinople to a less densely populated and hostile area.

The evidence of Kudāma can now be seen in a new light. Having established that the optimates/Gothograeci were billeted in the area more or less opposite Constantinople, the mention of four thousand infantry optimates can be understood as referring to the section of this corps, part of the Opsikion, which garrisoned the capital.⁴⁷⁶ The information supplied by Arethas of Caesarea in the tenth century shows that even then, the soldiers of Germanic descent who garrisoned the area were remembered as fierce warriors, and such troops would clearly have been a suitable choice for the corps which was to garrison, and protect the approaches to, the capital.⁴⁷⁷ Whether the optimates who served at Constantinople carried out their duties as infantry, or whether Kudāma had simply modified his older material according to what he knew about the optimates of his day - who were an infantry corps - is not known. Certainly no optimates served as a guards unit in Constantinople after the reorganisation carried out by Constantine V, and those of the earlier period had been cavalry of high status.⁴⁷⁸

A final point is perhaps worth mentioning. It is interesting that Artemios actually left Constantinople, and went to Nicaea, a city in the heart of the Opsikion district, and much less easily defended than the capital. The reasons for this are impossible to ascertain, but it is probable that in the first place Artemios hoped to gain the support of the remaining Opsikion forces

against the mutinous troops; and in the second place that he left the comes of the Opsikion in charge of the defence of the City. The returning mutineers are described by Theophanes as ἀκέφαλοι, their expedition having been commanded by the murdered logothete John. The count of the Opsikion presumably remained in the capital or in his province, and since Theophanes points out that Artemios left the City in the hands of οἰκειακοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπους, the capital seems the more likely.

The commander of the Opsikion theme was therefore an officer of the highest rank, as both his presence at the Council of 680, as well as the position of his forces at the head of the list of armies in the iussio of 687, clearly demonstrate. He wielded considerable power and controlled forces which could, if the situation arose, interfere crucially in imperial politics and affect the ability of the emperor to organise the defence of the empire and to maintain the domestic authority of the state. The troops of the Opsikion corps surrounded the capital of the empire and provided the greater part of its effective garrison. As we shall see, it eventually became necessary for the emperors to act decisively in order to reduce the power and influence of the Opsikion and its komes. Leo III attempted to check its influence by making his brother-in-law Artavasdos, ex-strategos of the Armeniakon theme, komes of the Opsikion, promoting him also to europalates. The Opsikion appears to have opposed Leo's attempt to march on the capital in 717, when they met him near Nikomedesia commanded by the son of Theodosius III. No serious opposition was offered, however, for it appears that the soldiers were tired of Theodosius' ineffective rule. Leo was able to win them over and continue his march.⁴⁷⁹ But decisive measures were finally forced upon Constantine V.

The situation that prevailed when Theodosius succeeded to the empire is well summarised by the Patriarch Nicephorus: ἐπεὶ οὐν πυκναὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαναστάσεις ἐγένοντο καὶ ί τυραννίς ἔκρατει τά τε τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατημελεῖτο καὶ διέπιπτε

πράγματα, οτι μὴν καὶ ἡ τῶν λόγων ἡφανίζετο παίδευσις καὶ τὰ τακτικὰ διελύετο.⁴⁸⁰ The troubles which assailed the empire lasted well into Leo's reign; for the military organisation and efficiency of the provincial forces seems to have been badly affected. Arab raids in depth, even after the heavy defeat which the latter suffered in the great siege of 717/8, continued to depopulate the countryside and reduce fortresses and cities.⁴⁸¹ Theophanes records only occasional opposition to such attacks, and the thematic forces appear to have been quite unable to cope with the yearly raids, often undertaken by very large Arab forces, which struck into the heart of the empire. Only at the end of the reign of Leo III was the challenge met effectively in the field.⁴⁸² It is significant that muslim forces were able to penetrate as far as Paphlagonia or Nicaea in Bithynia, a city which they besieged for a while in 726/7, apparently unhindered, before retiring. The town was garrisoned by soldiers of the Opsikion army under the authority of Artavasdos, but no opposition to the invading forces in the field was offered.⁴⁸³ The reasons for this ineffective response I have already examined elsewhere - the declining ability of the provincial or thematic armies to assemble and maintain 'their forces regularly in the field, which became established in definite regions, chiefly a result of the localisation of recruitment and the ineffectiveness of communications with Constantinople which must have followed from the situation prevailing in the later years of the seventh century.⁴⁸⁴ The picture we have of provincial armies in the middle of the eighth century from the Life of Philaretos is of a hodge-podge, scattered force, able to assemble only with difficulty.⁴⁸⁵ Such armies were effective only when a planned, offensive strategy was prepared - against sudden raids they can have had little more than a warning function, and constituted also a threat, once they had been assembled, to Arab raiders who had pushed into imperial territory leaving their rear unprotected.⁴⁸⁶

Neither Leo nor Constantine ignored these problems, however. Leo attempted to restore a more offensive strategy, making full use of the potential of the provincial armies once they were assembled, and campaigned with success in 739/40.⁴⁸⁷ Constantine probably intended to pursue the same policy. But the civil war which followed his accession, and the need to establish a more effective system of defence, appears to have encouraged a series of reforms which produced a radical change in the defensive strategy of the empire, and in the administration of that strategy.

Part Two: the revolt of Artavasdos, the role of the Opsikion, and the establishment of the themata of Optimation and Boukellarion.

Artavasdos' revolt began in 742 at the beginning of a campaign which Constantine proposed to undertake against the Arabs. The reasons for the revolt are not clear, but appear to have originated in Artavasdos' close association with the emperor's dead father Leo. He was his son-in-law, and had been made komes of the Opsikion theme after 717, and curopalates, both positions of great importance to the emperor, the former in respect of imperial security - Leo needed a faithful officer in charge of this army, which had taken upon itself something of the role of a praetorian guard - and the latter in respect of the close association of the curopalates - a palatine official - with Leo himself.⁴⁸⁸ Artavasdos seems to have made use of the unpopularity of the iconoclastic policy which Leo had pursued to gain support. According to Nicephorus, Artavasdos took the initiative, killing Constantine's emissary Beser and extracting an oath of allegiance from his forces, gathered at the time at Dorylaion. Theophanes, on the other hand, suggests that Constantine wished to obtain Artavasdos' two sons as guarantees

of the support of the latter, but that Artavasdos, realising that Constantine suspected him, refused and attacked him. Without the iconodule polemic, Theophanes' account is more detailed and probably more accurate, although both writers make it clear that there already existed some suspicion between the two. Constantine was in the weaker position, however, for Artavasdos commanded the army which ought in theory to have accompanied and defended the emperor. Constantine does not appear to have expected Artavasdos' move so quickly. He was forced to flee to Amorion, to the commander of the Anatolik theme, Logginos.⁴⁸⁹ There, he gained the support of the Anatolik army and of that of the Thrakesion theme.⁴⁹⁰ Artavasdos in his turn won Theophanes Monytes, the magistros ek prosopou left by Constantine in Constantinople, to his side, which brought the Thracian forces under Theophanes' son Nikephoros into Artavasdos' camp. The latter also despatched his own son Niketas to command the Armeniakon theme, where popular support could be counted on owing to the old association of the province with Artavasdos.⁴⁹¹

Artavasdos then marched to Constantinople, which he entered with the Opsikion forces, the City having been guarded for him by troops from Thrace under Monytes' son. But Constantine followed up quickly with the Thrakesion and Anatolikon forces, arriving at Chrysopolis shortly after Artavasdos had entered the City. He was unable to accomplish anything at that point, however, and returned to Amorion.⁴⁹²

The following year, Artavasdos advanced into the Opsikion district, intending no doubt to re-establish his authority. He recruited more soldiers, but was unable to unite with his son Niketas and the Armeniakon forces before meeting Constantine's troops in battle near Sardis in May 743. Artavasdos was defeated and fled to Constantinople, while shortly afterwards Constantine met Niketas at Modrina and defeated him also. By September 743 Constantine was outside the walls of the City, and after a short siege, during which Niketas again attempted to oppose Constantine

in the field, the City capitulated. Artavasdos fled to the fortress of Pouzanes, but was captured, and some time afterwards he and his son were blinded.⁴⁹³

There are several important aspects of this rebellion which have relevance to the problems we are discussing. First, it is important to note that Artavasdos had been made europalates and komes of the Opsikion by Leo, re-inforcing the view expressed above that the count of this army was regarded as a City officer as much as a provincial commander, although his centre of operations was Ankyra. The duties of a europalates, indeed, would fit in very well with those of a palatine guards officer, and underlines the suggestion that it was soldiers of the Opsikion regiment under their komes who garrisoned Constantinople and guarded the emperor.. There were other units in the City, of course, but these were based there permanently and did not go outside on campaign. The total garrison of the City was probably not very numerous.⁴⁹⁴

Second, it is clear that Constantine had actually set out from Constantinople to campaign against the Arabs, and to continue the policy of Leo by meeting raiding forces in strength and limiting their incursions to Cilicia and the border districts of Cappadocia. On the way, he had to collect his army, 'the most important division of which was the Opsikion', and he seems to have conceived the idea of having the sons of Artavasdos with him to prevent treachery (presumably already suspected) on the latter's part. What is significant is that he had no army of his own, apart from a very small detachment - ἀπόμοιράν τινα στρατοῦ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῆς πόλεως⁴⁹⁵ - according to Nicephorus. What exactly is meant by the 'army' here is unclear, but the regiment of the walls, the noumera and the Opsikion detachments formed the only real military detachments inside Constantinople, with the exception of the spatharii and cubicularii who made up the palatine corps. Constantine probably had with him a small detachment of the Opsikion forces detailed to duties in the

City. No resistance was offered when Artavasdos attacked him, and Constantine seems to have fled to Amorion virtually alone.⁴⁹⁶ The Opsikion troops probably deserted him for Artavasdos.

Third, it is clear that Constantine took the greater part of the effective garrison forces, however few they may have been, along with him, for Theophanes Monytes and Artavasdos felt it necessary to call in troops from the Thracian army under Monytes' son to secure the City, even though Monytes had already shut the gates and put the palace regiments on the alert.⁴⁹⁷ The arrival of Artavasdos with the Opsikion army secured the City effectively against Constantine's first advance to Chrysopolis.

Artavasdos' rebellion and occupation of Constantinople demonstrates clearly the importance of the Opsikion army and its komes in imperial politics, and the reliance on their support and goodwill for his own security. The revolts against Philippikos Bardanes in 713,⁴⁹⁸ against Anastasios II in 715,⁴⁹⁹ and the attempted coup against Leo in 718,⁵⁰⁰ which involved Isoes, the count of the Opsikion, are all illustrative of the power of the Opsikion and the need to gain its support. Leo appears to have done this in 717 by persuasion, for Theodosius III was neither an effective nor a successful ruler. But even after this date the komes Isoes was ready to throw in his lot with the exiled Artemios/Anastasios II on account of their old friendship, although it is clear that to succeed the exiled ex-emperor needed the support offered him. Leo was able to forestall the plotters only by arresting the leaders in Constantinople, including Isoes, before they had brought their men into the scheme; and he solved the problem of the Opsikion temporarily by appointing the europalates Artavasdos, his son-in-law and close supporter, as komes.

But the rebellion of 741/2 which nearly cost Constantine his throne must have impressed upon him the need to take decisive action to check the power of the Opsikion. In order to do this, however, he would have also to fragment its military

capabilities, and experience had shown that an emperor needed a strong force of reliable troops at his disposal, not only as a campaigning army, but also to discourage attempts on the part of provincial generals to deprive the emperor of military support and dictate policy to him.⁵⁰¹

Constantine's solution was to establish his own elite field army, and to split the large and influential Opsikion province into three districts. Exactly when this took place is uncertain, but since the Opsikion was still one unit in 742, while the scholarii and tagmata appear for the first time in 765, it must have occurred some time between these two dates. Significantly, the thema Boukellarion appears in the sources in 766, and that of the Optimaton in 773,⁵⁰² which suggests that Constantine undertook a series of deliberate reforms, all more or less at the same time, in order to safeguard his own position with regard to the Opsikion theme, and having in mind also the possible threats from other army corps. It should also be emphasised that it is at this time that the Thrakesion theme rises in importance. Constantine clearly chose to rely on this army (to which he later appointed a faithful supporter, Michael Lathenodrakon, as strategos) rather than the traditional Opsikion: the Thrakesion theme was not only geographically more remote from the capital; it had also supported him during the civil war with Artavasdos. The rise in the fortune of this theme is an important pointer to the general 're-shuffling' within the internal balance between military and political influence which occurred under Constantine.⁵⁰³

These reforms mark an important innovation on the part of the emperor, and a return in some ways to the military principles established by Constantine I, that is, with field armies established behind the frontiers, and a small but elite force at the emperor's immediate disposal. The 'thematic experiment', in military terms, was short-lived, for experience had shown that the scattered forces of the provinces were an inefficient

substitute for a regular field army. After only one hundred years Constantine V found it necessary, for reasons of political security in the first place, to establish once more such an elite force. It was clear that the old elite, the Opsikion, had acquired all the characteristics, and consequently all the failings, of the other provincial forces. The new army was to become the leading element in the empire's renewed offensive capacity during the ninth and tenth centuries.

Before examining in greater detail the results of Constantine's establishment of the reduced Opsikion, and the Boukellarion and Optimatōn and the role they played, it will be useful to look briefly at the organisation of the Opsikion before its fragmentation.

We have established already that the Opsikion was an important section of the imperial field army as reorganised by Heraclius after 622, consisting of at least two corps, the optimates (or Gothograeci) and the Bucellarii, two of the elite forces of the later sixth century.⁵⁰⁴ There were undoubtedly a number of other regiments attached to these corps, which together made up the Obsequium. The organisation of these units was that of the later sixth century, an organisation whose military aspects are carefully laid down in the Strategikon of the emperor Maurice. Leaving aside for the moment the internal structure of the individual regiments - arithmoi/banda - which remained unchanged from Maurice's time, it is notable that the organisation of the army corps as described in the Strategikon - in μέρη and ποίπαι - was retained and applied to all the old field armies, although the more popular terms tourma and drouggos replaced the formal terminology of the Strategikon.⁵⁰⁵ When this change in terminology took place is not clear, but by the later seventh and eighth centuries it seems to have been firmly established. Thus we read of a turmarch of the Thrakesion theme in 711,⁵⁰⁶ when the themata of Armeniakon, Anatolikon and Opsikion are firmly attested as military provinces.⁵⁰⁷ The terms

drouggarios and tourmarches were already in use during the time of Heraclius, for a George, τουρπάρχης τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων, is mentioned in the year 626/7 by Theophanes as a high-ranking officer in the imperial field army, while the Chronicon Paschale mentions θεόδοτος δομαλοπερέστατος δρουγγάριος for the same year.⁵⁰⁸ Sebeos also refers to the drungar Smbat, son of Theodore Rstuni, promoted to this position by Constans after the unsuccessful attempt of Valentinus to maintain himself as co-emperor; and there are a number of seals dated to the seventh and eighth centuries of officers of both drungar and turmarch rank.⁵⁰⁹ These titles are typical of the later military establishment in the thematic forces as shown from the description of the theme armies in the Tactica of the emperor Leo VI, and the descriptions of the same contained in the various Arab geographies.⁵¹⁰ The continuity from Maurice's time is significant, although the appearance of the titles at this date should not be used as evidence for the existence of a fully-fledged thematic organisation. They were simply examples of the new terminology being adopted for older institutions, part of a process begun during the later sixth century. The disorganisation of the field armies during the reign of Phocas and especially the first ten years of the reign of Heraclius necessitated a complete reorganisation of the remaining forces;⁵¹⁰ and although it seems to me unlikely that Heraclius undertook any civil administrative changes,⁵¹¹ it is probable that those forces which Heraclius reformed were organised already on the lines set down in the Strategikon. Such units were probably numerous, and included the bucellarii, the vexillationes, the foederati and the units making up the corps of Illyrians.⁵¹² Maurice's reforms probably applied to many other field units, although they may have proceeded slowly and spasmodically.⁵¹² The reorganisation undertaken by Heraclius in 622 was therefore an excellent opportunity for establishing new units on these lines, and perhaps reforming older regiments

not yet affected by the changes on the same basis. The fact that shortly after we hear of a drungar and a turmarch would support the contention that the command structure of the reformed army was organised along the lines laid down by the Strategikon for an imperial field army.

This army was later divided into three sections, one of which Heraclius kept with him. I have suggested that it was this force, under the comes domesticorum/Obsequii which later became the Obsequium, the emperor's praesental force, and which included the units of optimates and bucellarii, and if the above account of the reform implemented by Heracalius is correct, it will have been organised into divisions or tourmai and brigades or drouggoi. Unfortunately, this is as far as the contemporary evidence can take us. Only the komes of the Opsikion and one or two of his subordinates are firmly attested, and there is no evidence for the hierarchy or administration under his authority. There are, however, four seals of imperial spatharii and topoteretai of the Opsikion, which have been dated broadly to about 750 - 850. It is difficult to know when to place them. Are these topoteretai the seconds-in-command of the Opsikion before its dismemberment? Or do they belong to officers of the later eighth century, after the change?

The attitude of Constantine to the Opsikion and its komes after Artavasdos' revolt had been crushed, and the time necessary to set up the changed administrative organisation of the new themes, may suggest a solution. The count of the Opsikion must have seemed to Constantine far too powerful, and a useful way of checking that power was to place a relatively humble official in the position of komes, with an officer of equal status as his second-in-command, to keep a check on any dangerous moves and to split any possible opposition to the emperor. This was a temporary arrangement, intended to keep the power of the Opsikion army, and its komes in check until the themes of Optimaton and Boukellarion were properly organised.

The evidence for this hypothesis rests on the account of Theophanes, who refers to the new themata some considerable time after Artavasdos' revolt - the Boukellarion in 766, the Optimaton in 768 and the Opsikianoi in 773.⁵¹³ Now these references are quite explicit, and occur in lists of other thematic units or their commanders, but although Theophanes refers to several other campaigns of Constantine before this date, no new themes are mentioned. More important is the reference to David, spatharios κατὰ τὸν Βηρύπ and komes of the Opsikion, referred to as one of those suspected of treachery and arrested by the emperor in 765. The rank of spatharios was an unusually humble one for an officer who commanded such an important province as the Opsikion and its army. Previous komites were all of patrician rank;⁵¹⁴ and after the appearance of the new themata, they were generally of patrician and protospatharios rank, sometimes anthypatos as well.⁵¹⁵ There thus appears a short period during which the commanders of the Opsikion held only spatharios rank, and there is a seal of one Artavasdos, imperial spatharios and komes of the Opsikion (not to be confused with the rebel Artavasdos).⁵¹⁶ For the same period, there are also four seals of officers who hold the rank of spatharios and are topoteretai of the Opsikion. Such topoteretai seem to occur at this time only, for the post of topoteretes was generally associated with palatine officia, notably the tagmata; or with subordinate officers in the themes, officers responsible for districts inside a bandon.⁵¹⁷ The existence of topoteretai of the Opsikion, of spatharios rank, for the period under discussion, officers who were of equal rank to their commanders, suggests to me that the komes was reduced in rank and status, and that a 'watchdog' officer was appointed by Constantine to check his power and influence.

The "experiment seems to have been short-lived. No other topoteretai of the Opsikion appear before or after this period, the post probably having lapsed after the Opsikion was finally split up, which probably took place in the 760s, after the plot

against Constantine uncovered in 765. Possibly this served as a stimulus to Constantine to finally implement the reorganisation.

Thus until the 740s the Opsikion was commanded by a komes of patrician rank; and from 7742 to 7765 at least by a komes of spatharios rank and a topotetretes. After the establishment of the reduced Opsikion, the komes appears once more as a high-ranking officer, the equal of the other thematic strategoi.

To what extent the Opsikion was organised on the same lines as the other themes is difficult to say. In the early eighth century one of the chief officials appears to have been the protostrator of the theme,⁵¹⁸ an official who seems to be the same as the domestic of the stratores of Leo, the future emperor, when he was general of the Anatolikon theme.⁵¹⁹ The stratores were responsible for the horses of the strategos and his entourage, and similar matters, but might also act as a bodyguard. There was a group of imperial stratores, headed by a protostrator, at court from the middle of the eighth century at least, and there was also an honorific grade of stratores, both groups descended from the palatine schola of stratores of the sixth century and before.⁵²⁰ The presence of a protostrator/domestic of the stratores in both the Opsikion and the Anatolikon themes at the same time would suggest a similarity in their organisation; although it is clear that a protostrator and stratores were at the outset personal attendants of higher officers; and at this period their presence may signify only this aspect of their duties.⁵²¹

Evidence for other typical theme officials exists only for the later period, after the subdivision of the Opsikion, and is drawn mainly from seals. Thus for the first half of the ninth century we have a seal of an anonymous imperial kandidatos and domestic of the Opsikion,⁵²² and for the rest of the century there are seals for protonotarioi of the Opsikion, a chartoularios, an anagrapheus, a comes τῆς κόπτης, a strateutes,⁵²³ and on the military side a turmarch and a drungar. A reference of the first

part of the ninth century to a drouggarios (of the Opsikion) ordered by his strategos to assemble his troops at Malagina reflects the usual preparations for campaigns in Asia Minor as described in, for example, the De Caerimoniis.⁵²⁴ The lack of information for the eighth century makes it difficult to conclude from this that the administration of the Opsikion was any different before the reform. The evidence for all the themata before the ninth century is limited, mostly referring in general terms to the whole province, occasionally to specific officials such as the strategos or his komes tes kortes. Only from the ninth century do texts and seals provide evidence for all the lesser officials in the civil thematic hierarchy - chartoularioi, anagraphai and so on, although evidence for the military officials begins in the seventh century in the form of references to drouggarioi and tourmarchai.⁵²⁵ Apart from the seals of dioiketai and eparchai of the eparchiai, and of the kommerkiarioi of the eparchiai (sometimes with a theme also specified) - in other words, apart from seals of officials associated with a late Roman/transitional provincial civil administration - there are no seals I know of for proto-notarioroi, chartoularioi and so forth - the typical thematic officials of the ninth century and later - before the late eighth/early ninth century. This distribution strongly suggests that the civil administration - although subordinated to the military - retained much of its authority and a good deal of its late Roman form through the greater part of the eighth century. The appearance of the new, official titles not related specifically to purely military matters may point also to the date at which the final structural changes were accomplished. But neither is there any practical evidence to contradict the assumption that the civil and military organisation of the themes was substantially the same in the later eighth century as it was in the ninth century,⁵²⁶ and the evidence for the Opsikion before its subdivision does not conflict with this. It has already been

noted that by the early eighth century the Opsikion troops were billeted over a wide area and no longer concentrated in large garrisons or camps; while the appearance of distinct cavalry forces suggests the course of developments in the other districts.⁵²⁷ The similarity between the officials of the Opsikion theme and other, older themes in the ninth century, suggests that Constantine simply divided the older province into its three chief parts, which had previously formed tourmai of the original Opsikion. Two of these districts, the Boukellarion and the Opsikion, formed military provinces no different from the others. Only the Optimaton was anomalous, and as I will suggest, there were particular reasons for this.

The original Opsikion covered a wide area, and consisted of the provinces of Hellespontus, Bithynia, (with Honorias), parts of Galatia, and part of Phrygia. How far the later subdivision into Opsikion, Optimaton and Boukellarion matches the original contonments of these corps is difficult to say; although, as I have suggested, the later Optimaton is probably a much reduced version of the area originally allotted to this corps.⁵²⁸

The operation of the systems of recruitment applied in the themata are more problematic. As I have argued elsewhere, the gradual establishment of troops in fixed garrisons throughout Asia Minor and the localisation of the field armies - the comitatenses - encouraged the purchase, or procuring by other means, of landed property (as well as other forms of property and forms of wealth) on the part of the soldiers themselves, who were rapidly assimilated to the local populace, an assimilation which may have been helped by their higher status, in regard of the institutions of the state, within their new communities. Similar developments took place in Italy, for example, under similar conditions.⁵²⁹ The fact that the state was compelled within a short time to give official recognition to these developments suggests not that the developments themselves are unlikely, but

rather that the central administration had come to realise how advantageous it might be to permit soldiers to obtain property and to demand that, in return for the continued status and privileges which military service brought with it, the soldiers provide for and maintain themselves for a statutory period while on active service.⁵³⁰ Recruitment of much of the personnel in the theme forces was therefore based on an hereditary, personal obligation - an obligation eventually transferred to the land, the surplus from which went to support and maintain the duties of the incumbent - which had arisen during the later seventh and early eighth centuries as a result of a combination of two factors: an already-existing hereditary obligation to military service (reintroduced possibly under Heraclius, but certainly at some point in the seventh century);⁵³¹ and the permanent establishment of field troops in specific localities, their assimilation to and continued recruitment within their local communities, and their procuring land and other resources outside the framework of their military service. The consolidation of such a system was finally effected by government recognition and acceptance - epitomised in a chapter of the Ecloga of Leo III and Constantine - and ultimately by the protective measures enacted by the state regarding such holdings in the tenth century.⁵³²

Such soldiers, while we may view them on the basis of their non-military activities as 'soldier-farmers', were clearly viewed by the state as full-time, regular troops. The fact that they were scattered individually through farmsteads and villages in a particular region and paid only irregularly did not prevent the state from seeing them collectively as forming a 'stratopedon', as the account of the soldier Mousoulios in the Life of Philaretos illustrates.⁵³³

These troops formed the basis of the provincial armies.⁵³⁴ But conscription in the form of press-ganging also occurred, although on what scale the sources say nothing. Special

recruiting campaigns are mentioned, too, but it remains unclear whether those who joined up were volunteers or pressed men.⁵³⁵

Artavasdos conducted a recruiting campaign in 742 in an attempt to increase his forces - such recruits were most probably attracted either by cash bounties or promises of other rewards, or pressed into service; although they may equally have belonged to the ordinary thematic soldiery, called up in the usual manner.⁵³⁶ On his flight to Pouzanis he passed through Nicaea, where he again managed to conscript a small force.⁵³⁷ At the beginning of the reign of Leo IV, Theophanes reports that the emperor created new forces in each thema, as well as increasing the tagmata.⁵³⁸ The second 'vexation' of Nicephorus I was in effect the enforcement of a regular call-up or draft; and Michael I 'recruited' widely from the themes.⁵³⁹ But the verbs στρατεύω and στρατολογῶ do not necessarily mean recruit in the sense of newly enrol, but rather to call up those already enlisted, or rather, those suitable and fit for service from among the latter. This is what the recruiting officer in the Philaretos passage was doing, and illustrates the fact that, even if soldiers were not drawn from their own properties or holdings, they were widely dispersed throughout their respective provinces. The same applies to the later recruitment of troops for the Cretan expedition of 912, when Constantine VII notes that such-and-such a strategos ἐδέξατο i.e. accepted as his commission the raising of a specified number of soldiers. The local thematic establishment seems, in fact, to have had considerable freedom in selecting, from the military kodikes or rolls, those whom it required for a particular operation.⁵⁴⁰

In addition to the raising or mobilising of soldiers already enlisted, and the conscription of soldiers in special circumstances, voluntary enlistment also played a part, and indeed seems to have been not unusual, especially where the tagmata were concerned, a topic which will be discussed below. There is unfortunately little or no legislation dealing with the

subject, so we must rely upon the accounts of historians and chronographers, as well as the compilers of the lives of saints for our information. Such information, as might be expected, concerns only the men who made a success of their military careers, and were therefore worthy of mention. Leo III is perhaps one of the best-known examples, a man of humble origins who was enrolled in a provincial army, among the military entourage of a general, and who rose through fortune and his own efforts to high positions.⁵⁴¹ Others include Leo, Michael and Thomas in the early ninth century, all of whom volunteered to join the military entourage of Bardanios Tourkos, and who thus began promising military careers.⁵⁴² No doubt there were many others who served as full-time soldiers or officers in the entourage of senior officers - those who made up the recruiting party in the passage in the Life of Philaretos must have been of this nature. The drouggarios Nikephoros and his son Baanes appear to have belonged to this group, men who looked upon service in the provincial army on a full-time, salaried basis, as their career.⁵⁴³ In the tenth century Constantine VII notes that the military entourage of the strategos of the Thrakesion theme, including the leading turmarchs and their staff, numbered one hundred and fifty altogether.⁵⁴⁴ But the general impression gained from Theophanes and Nicephorus for the eighth century is that the majority of the soldiers employed on campaign were already enlisted, and were called up as and when required by special muster-parties sent out by the strategos.⁵⁴⁵

Within each 'thematic' army, therefore, there was a nucleus of regular soldiers, paid and provisioned in the same way, probably, as the tagmata. We occasionally glimpse them in action, as when, for example, Theophanes refers to groups of three thousand ἐπιλέκτους in each of several theme forces, who were to harass an invading force of Saracens.⁵⁴⁶ These must, I think, have consisted of a core of full-time soldiers, and selected 'part-time' troops called up for the purpose. A slightly

different meaning applies to references to contingents of Thracians and Macedonians raised by Michael III to fight the Paulicians. These would appear to be special contingents of full-time troops, raised for a specific purpose, and later disbanded. They may well have consisted of a large proportion of thematic soldiers, of course, but they were recruited on a full-time basis. The 'new forces' raised in each theme by Leo IV may also belong to this category - Leo was increasing the standing army in each province.⁵⁴⁷

Recruitment in the theme forces, therefore, including the Opsikion, involved both the attraction of volunteers and press-ganging, with the occasional regular conscription in emergencies, side by side with a more complex system involving both hereditary obligations and eventually a property qualification, a system of raising troops, a large proportion of whom could be supported by local communities and partly by the state.⁵⁴⁸

The task of maintaining up-to-date the military lists and of supervising⁵⁴⁹ the provincially-held muster fell in the ninth century and later to the strategi, an official under the general authority of the military logothesion, who operated under the immediate supervision of the provincial administration, and who co-operated with the office of the general logothete or his provincial representative in order to ascertain the extent to which listed holdings were subject to military service, and to carry out changes in the lists.⁵⁵⁰ Regular visits from such officials were maintained in order to keep the military forces up to the required number, but that the strategi was responsible for the levy of volunteers who served on a full-time, mercenary basis, as opposed to those who served because they had long-term obligations relating to their landed property, is unlikely. As the sources suggest, recruiting campaigns for immediate needs were carried out by the army staff itself. As I will show, such a system was maintained for the elite regiments,

and was supervised by the responsible military officials alone.⁵⁵¹ In general, recruitment in the later seventh and early eighth century is much more likely to have come under direct military supervision than later,⁵⁵² and only when individuals or groups of provincials became responsible for providing or equipping soldiers through definite obligations will the role of the strateutes have become important. It is highly likely that the establishment of the post of strateutes was comparatively late - dating from the ninth century - and is to be related to the reforms carried out by Nicéphorus I, for example. Such an hypothesis would certainly accord with the formalisation of the relationship between military service, land and individuals which seems to begin during the reign of Nicephorus I, and also with a general administrative reform of thematic civil administration, as suggested by the evidence of seals.⁵⁵³

In all these respects, the Opsikion theme does not appear to have differed from the other military provinces of the later seventh and eighth centuries.

But by the second half of the eighth century, it had lost the character of the imperial field army which had been its *raison d'être*; although there is some evidence to suggest that for a while, under its komes, it retained its connection with the capital. In 796, for example, Constantine VI despatched Bardanios, the domestic of the scholae with John, the count of the Opsikion, to arrest Plato, abbot of the monastery of Sakkoudion, for his attack on the emperor's marriage to Theodote.⁵⁵⁴ Shortly afterwards, in 798, the Opsikion forces under their komes Paul were heavily defeated by a large Arab raiding party. Theophanes records that they were defeated with the Optimatoi, and since the latter already acted by this time as a supply and transport corps (as well as soldiers proper), attached primarily to the tagmata and the Constantinopolitan troops, this might suggest that the Opsikion was for some time regarded still as an 'imperial' army.⁵⁵⁵ But this is the

last time that this association appears, and from then on the theme of Opsikion appears with all the characteristics of a provincial military district.

It remains to examine the remaining two sections of the old Opsikion which Constantine established. Of these, the Boukellarion need not detain us, for it is clear from the outset that this unit constituted a regular theme, in every sense of the word, a military and administrative district with its own governor, the strategos, controlling his local bureaux, and responsible to the emperor. The first strategos mentioned in the sources is for the year 766, Manes, appointed by Constantine as one who would support his iconoclast policy.⁵⁵⁶ Whether or not he was the first strategos we do not know, for Theophanes makes no explicit reference to Constantine's administrative reforms. As pointed out above, the division of the old Opsikion into its constituent parts probably took some time to organise, in order to establish new bureaux and administrative departments in the newly-created themes, and it was during this period that the komes of spatharios grade, seconded by a topotertes of the same status, held command. The final establishment of the small Opsikion and the themes of Boukellarion and Optimatlon (if the latter can properly be called a theme) should probably be placed in the years 765-6, the year after the plot in which the spatharios and count of the Opsikion David was involved, and before which the new tagmata are first mentioned.⁵⁵⁷ Constantine had by this time organised his new guards, and could afford to take action to reduce the Opsikion, without risk from either the military or political point of view. The Boukellarion appears from this time as one of the smaller but nevertheless important themes. Constantine was careful to appoint a man who supported his policies as strategos, but the new creation did not maintain its hitherto close connection - through its being a part of the Opsikion - with the capital, its forces becoming assimilated instead to the other Asia Minor themes.⁵⁵⁸

In contrast to the Boukellarioi the Optimatoi had a special position with regard to the new tagmata established by Constantine, and it appears that it was at this time that they were given the lowly status described by Constantine VII: Τὸ καλούμενον οὐκ οἰδ' ὅπως εἶπεῖν θέμα δητίματος οὐδεμίαν ἔχει κοινωνίαν πρὸς θέματα· εἰς γὰρ δουλείαν μόνην προσείληπται, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸς οἰκρότατον καὶ μήτε τούρμας μήτε δρούγγοις τετιμημένον, ἀλλ' ἡ τὸν τούτου κρατοῦντα, δομέστικον μόνον ἀγορευόμενον. Εἰς γὰρ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐτέτακτο τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὅτε οἱ βασιλεῖς τοῖς ἔθνεσι (μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ) ἐπεστράτευον, στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τάγμασι ταττομένων ὅσοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς Σχολαῖς καὶ τοῖς Ἰκανάτοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τάγμασιν ἐστρατεύοντο εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν, εἰς ἔκαστος αὐτῶν δητίματον ἐκέκτητο. Ὅστις δὲ δημοσίᾳ τῶν δητίμων Υστην Μέβριν φέρουσα τῶν παρὰ Ρωμαίοις καλουμένων κορτελίνων. Διὸ οὐδὲ εἰς θέματος τάξιν λελόγισται οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς δ τούτου ἄρχων κατονομάζεται, ἀλλὰ δομέστικος, δ ὑπὸ χείρα ἦν στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὴν δεῖαν καταδεέστερος.⁵⁵⁹

Shortly after the break-up of the Opsikion and the establishment of the new themata and the Optimatoi, Theophanes refers to the latter in a campaign in 773 against the Bulgars. Constantine V collected together the various themes detachments he had left in the forts along the Bulgarian frontier, together with the Thrakesion army, and ἐνώσας τοῖς τάγμασι τοὺς δητίμάτους he marched against the Bulgars.⁵⁶⁰ It seems clear that the Optimatoi may already have been acting in their capacity as transport soldiers and assistants to the tagmatic troops as Constantine VII describes them in the tenth century. Their commander was from the first a domestic, sometimes with the title of strategos, but as Pertusi has pointed out, this must be seen as an honorific rather than a practical title.⁵⁶¹ At first of relatively humble rank - stratores - the domestikoi of the Optimatoi are shortly after made spatharioi and then protospatharioi.⁵⁶² Like the domestics of the tagmatic

regiments, they were seconded by a topoteretes,⁵⁶³ and had a similar officium, with a chartulary, komites, kentarchs and a protokagkellarios, a post usually found under the strategos of a theme. Constantine's words must be noted carefully, however, for it is clear that this domestic was not the equal of a senior tagmatic domestic, but on the contrary, of the subordinate thematic domestic placed below the strategos - he was 'only a domestic' - a point which is usually overlooked. That the optimates also formed a tagma and were based in Constantinople is refuted by this, as well as by the fact that there is no evidence for units other than the tagmata themselves, along with the Walls unit and the noumera, in the capital at this time.⁵⁶⁴

Their duties can only be inferred from the occasional reference of Theophanes and the low rank of their commanders from the later eighth century, but this evidence agrees with what is known of their role in the tenth century. Apart from the description in the De Thematibus, referred to above, their duties on imperial expeditions are also described in detail in the De Caerimoniis. Under the command of their komes, a detachment of Optimatoi was to accompany the imperial baggage train, in charge of the mules and other pack-animals.⁵⁶⁵ By this time - the account dates from the later ninth century - they were partially supervised by the komes tou stablou and his subordinate, the chartularios of Malagina.⁵⁶⁶ The optimates were also detailed for duties under the $\xi\mu\ i\tau\eta\ \tau\omega\mu\epsilon\zeta\eta\varsigma$, to accompany the section of the imperial baggage carrying the imperial table-furniture, gold plate and so on.⁵⁶⁷ Their basic duties, whether with the imperial cortège or with the tagmata, were those of transporting baggage and tending the pack-animals; and probably personal service for the tagmatic soldiers such as looking after their horses and equipment, as implied in the passage from De Thematibus.⁵⁶⁸ A strict system of checks was operated to ensure that no material was stolen by the optimates put in charge of pack-animals. The domestic of the optimates

kept an accurate list of those serving on each campaign, with their places of origin. When a pack-animal was destroyed and the optimate was at fault, then the latter had to make good the loss; but if it died for other reasons, then the optimate must present the goods it was carrying, with their seals unbroken, to the count of the stable and the chartulary of Malagina.⁵⁶⁹

Constantine's establishment of such a unit was a move of considerable importance from a military point of view, for it meant that the imperial field army now had an effective transport and supply corps to maintain the life-lines upon which an army depends. That the optimates were not restricted simply to the tagmata or the imperial baggage train is clear from the reference of Theophanes mentioned above, when the optimates accompanied the touldon or baggage train of the Opsikion forces.⁵⁷⁰ Their number, according to Kudāma and Ibn al-Fakīh,⁵⁷¹ was from four to six thousand, less than the other main themata, but adequate for the tasks required of them; while the area of the optimates' district was much less than that of most themata.⁵⁷² The optimates themselves were recruited from the towns and villages according to the number required for each campaign, although the evidence suggests that generally the whole tagma turned out. They seem to have been raised on the same basis as soldiers in the other provinces, according to fixed obligations according to the value of their property,⁵⁷³ although they were organised like the other tagmata since they were attached primarily to the regiments of the capital.

The creation of the Optimatōn district thus had several results. It provided a regular transport corps for the new-field army of tagmata. Its creation entailed splitting up a much larger and potentially dangerous military province; and it acted also as a buffer province between Constantinople and the other themata. But its size did not represent the original importance or size of the old corps of Optimates, which, as we have seen, was one of the larger groups in the late sixth-century field

army. It seems possible that Constantine may have deliberately down-graded the optimates because they were the most dangerous section militarily of the old Opsikion. As pointed out above, the Gothograeci can be identified with the Optimates. They were an important element in the rebellious Opsikion forces in the early eighth century,⁵⁷⁴ and this group of Gothic descent was still remembered in the tenth century as particularly warlike.⁵⁷⁵ Yet the Optimatoi of the later eighth century and after are not predominantly a fighting unit, while the Gothic group referred to by Arethas seems still to have formed a military corps, and according to the De Thematibus, was situated in the Opsikion theme, in Mysia.⁵⁷⁶ What I suggest may have happened is that the Gothograeci were deprived of their old and prestigious title and incorporated into the new Opsikion army,⁵⁷⁷ while the new Optimatōn district included only a small area, sufficient for the needs of the four thousand-strong transport corps Constantine wished to create. The warlike and dangerous Gothograeci were thus deprived of their independent status as a separate unit, being placed under the count of the Opsikion, an army which included a number of older units of equal standing. This would account not only for the considerable reduction in prestige and status of the term Optimatoi, but also why the Gothograeci, originally the Optimates, were to be found in the tenth century in the Opsikion theme.

Constantine's reform, therefore, marks a major break with the hundred-year-old military development of the empire into settled and not always effective provincial armies; while it also appeared to solve the problem of dealing with rebellious provincial forces. A new field army had been established, with a transport corps to support it; and the pressures imposed upon the emperor and the ruling circle at Constantinople by a large and restive military province situated immediately opposite the capital, the latter in turn depending upon this military force for defence and the maintenance of its authority, had been

removed. At the same time, Constantine had created the army which was to form the spearhead of the Byzantine counter-attack against Arabs and Bulgars in the ninth and tenth centuries; but which was - inevitably - to replace the Opsikion as a threat to imperial integrity.

Chapter Four

The Tagmata and Elite Regiments from Constantine V to Nicephorus I.

Part one: Constantine V and the tagmata: the reform of the scholae and excubitores and the creation of a domestic of the scholae.

As we have seen, Constantine's demotion and subdivision of the Opsikion district was a direct response to the dangers implicit in maintaining a large military force in or around the capital, and the difficulties of appointing a completely trustworthy and reliable officer to command this force, a force upon which the emperors had to rely for their military and political security. The breaking-up of this force would leave a vacuum, however, which Constantine filled by the creation of a new and powerful palatine army commanded by an officer whose continued presence at court provided at least some guarantee of good faith.

The creation of the new units appears to have solved a number of problems. First, that already referred to, and the need to establish a powerful palatine force to defend imperial as opposed to provincial interests. Second, the need to establish a more effective field army than was normally available. The weaknesses of the provincial forces - localised, dispersed and frequently lacking in military capacity - have already been discussed; and in the context of Constantine's offensive against the Bulgars, it must have seemed very necessary to establish a well-trained, professional army based under the emperor's own command. He could no longer rely upon the forces which, effective though they were when well-led, took a month or more to mobilise and to concentrate. The creation of the tagmatic forces solved this problem, as the sources make clear, for from the later eighth century it was the new, 'professional' army which played the

leading role in offensive campaigns, and frequently in defensive wars as well. But the third and greatest problem which faced Constantine was that of imposing his authority, against considerable opposition, in terms of his domestic policy. The dominant feature of his reign after 754 was the drawn-out persecution of the iconophiles, and it is made quite clear by Theophanes and by other sources that it was with the aid of his specially recruited guards regiments that Constantine imposed his will on the population of Constantinople, or at least, on the monastic iconophile faction.⁵⁷⁸ He had to contend also with opposition from within the military units in Constantinople, and the purging of these units and their officers appears to have been one of his chief concerns. It is significant that the domestic of the excubitors, an officer entrusted with the command of one of the new guard units, was among those guards officers whom Constantine first purged.⁵⁷⁹ I will return to this later.

The form which the new forces took was dictated by circumstances. The two corps of the scholae and excubitores were still in existence, the latter probably still based in the City, the former perhaps in parts of the Opsikion theme. It would not have been difficult to reorganise these units as they existed, recruiting active soldiers into the ranks and probably pensioning off those who had bought their commissions - if this practice was still maintained. The end of the old 'parade-ground' scholae is suggested by the lack of seals after this time of titular or paid but inactive scholarioi, referred to in chapter two. That the scholae and the excubitors were reorganised after the old pattern is clear from the titles of the leading officers in the staff of the respective domestici. Alterations were made which reflected contemporary administrative and functional needs but on the whole the connection is quite clear.⁵⁸⁰

As I have attempted to show in chapter two, the scholae remained under the authority of the magister throughout the

seventh and much of the eighth century, until the reorganisation under Constantine.⁵⁸¹ Although the evidence is not considerable it is clear that they played no active part militarily or politically until the reform; and it follows from this that a change in their command structure is unlikely. The magister remained, often an official of some importance; and the connection between the magister, the new domestic, and the scholae in the 760s and after does suggest his connection with the scholae until at least this date. I have also suggested that there is no valid connection between the domestic of the magister mentioned in 624 and the later domestic of the scholae. Who, then, was the domestic of the scholae first recorded by Theophanes in 767?⁵⁸² The answer is to be found in an examination of his position, and in the history of the title domestikos in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The title domestic had a long history in the later Roman empire, and continued in use during the seventh century and beyond, generally to mean a private assistant, sometimes as the equivalent of an official adiutor or βοηθός.⁵⁸³ But during the seventh century it began to be used in a new way, being applied to officers or officials who were subordinate to the emperor rather than to another official, and who were responsible directly to the emperor for their particular department of the palatine administration. The first example I know of is the Paul, ἐνδοξόταρος ἀπὸ ὄντων καὶ δομέστικος τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης, mentioned among those present at the council of 680.⁵⁸⁴ Significantly, Paul is not the domestic of another official, but domestic of a department of the imperial administration. The use of the title in this way, to refer to a head of a department who was dependent upon the emperor or an equivalent officer in the provinces, the strategos, seems to have become usual. Theophanes records that one of the trusted officers of the future emperor Leo III while still strategos of the Anatolikon theme was ὁ δομέστικος τῶν στρατόρων αὐτοῦ,⁵⁸⁵

an officer of equivalent rank to the protostrator of the Opsikion referred to by Theophanes,⁵⁸⁶ at the beginning of the eighth century. Again, he is not simply the domestic of Leo, or domestic of the strategos, but the domestic of the stratores, the head of a distinct group of officers and soldiers in the entourage of the strategos.⁵⁸⁷

The evidence suggests to me that this particular application of the term began only during the middle and later seventh century, although the scarcity of references makes it impossible to be categorical. It is clear, nevertheless, that Anianus, the domestic of the magister, was what his title suggests, the assistant of the master of offices, and the man who was chosen to accompany Heraclius in order to carry out the various duties normally carried out by the magister himself. While the latter remained at Constantinople to supervise the central administration, his second-in-command accompanied Heraclius, probably to supervise the travelling court in the same way, and to take charge of all the problems of administration and logistics which such a venture entailed. There is no reason to speculate about his hypothetical command of the scholae.

The later domestic of the scholae, however, is in every way similar to the domestic of the imperial table and to the domestic of the stratores referred to above. He was an officer appointed directly by the emperor, as later evidence bears out,⁵⁸⁸ and he commanded a distinct corps, for which he alone was responsible. The conclusion to be drawn from this and the reform of the scholae in the second half of the eighth century, is that the domestic of the scholae was a completely new appointment, created by Constantine V to command the reorganised tagma of scholae which was to make up an important section of the new imperial guards division.⁵⁸⁹

It is clear from the beginning that the domestic and his unit formed a new weapon in Constantine's armoury. We first hear of them in 765 during the arrest of Stephen the younger, and again

shortly after in 767 when Theophanes refers to them as the tools of Constantine's policy. His description makes it apparent that the units were formed of especially chosen men, those who supported Constantine wholeheartedly; and it also implies that the regiments were newly-constituted in this way, having been deliberately raised for this purpose.⁵⁹⁰ As we have seen, there were many other reasons, political and military, why the emperor should have needed a loyal force of his own; but Theophanes' account makes it clear that the first duties of the new units were of a police nature, duties which are also evident in other sources. St. Stephen, for example, was arrested by a proximos, one of the senior subaltern officers of the domestic,⁵⁹¹ and the same fate befell Plato, higoumen of the monastery of Sakkoudion during the reign of Constantine VI.⁵⁹² In the early part of the ninth century the Patriarch Nicephorus recalled the function of the new units: περιέστηκε δὲ αὐτοὺς (sc. the iconophile monks) στρατιωτικὸν ξιφηφόρούντων καὶ παρακροτούντων σύνταγμα, τοῖς ἀπειλούμενοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς δογματιζούμενοις ὑπηρετούμενον,⁵⁹³ while the chronography of the monk George recalled the role of the soldiers whom Constantine enlisted.⁵⁹⁴

But even after the establishment of the new units, Constantine had to purge a large number of officers who reacted against his fiercely iconoclast policy. The success with which he was able to do this was a result of his recruitment of the rank-and-file of the tagmata from sources which he knew would support him. In 765, the year in which the new units are first mentioned, Strategios, spatharios and domestic of the excubitors, was arrested and executed along with his brother Constantine Podopagouros, the logothete of the drome, and several other high-ranking officers, for plotting against the emperor.⁵⁹⁵ Theophanes and Nicephorus also refer to the purging of a large number of other officers and soldiers in the same year, and the extraction of an oath from the army and the whole people not to

worship icons,⁵⁹⁶ a policy which resulted on the one hand in a firmly iconoclast tagmatic army, and on the other in a sizeable number of refugees, many of them deserters, or other soldiers who had refused to accept Constantine's policy.⁵⁹⁷

For the reigns of Constantine and Leo IV, however, and for part of the reigns of Eirene and Constantine VI, the tagmata formed the backbone of the iconoclast military strength. Individual generals and officers in the provinces who supported the policy were appointed by Constantine, and apparently received the support of their soldiers to a large extent;⁵⁹⁸ but it was the tagmata who kept the capital firmly iconoclastic, and it was the tagmata within which an iconoclast ideology flourished most readily. This comes out most clearly during the regency of Eirene, when an attempt to convene the seventh ecumenical council was prevented by the action of the iconoclast guardsmen in 785/6.⁵⁹⁹ The influence of these soldiers was not restricted to their lives on active service. Even after the disbandment by Eirene of the most troublesome units, and after a second purge, perhaps undertaken by Michael I, they remained to remind the capital of Constantine's policies,⁶⁰⁰ and it is hardly surprising that it was such men who pleaded at his tomb for Constantine to rise again and lead them to victory;⁶⁰¹ for military success had become closely linked to the names and policies of Leo III and Constantine.

As well as their role as instruments and defenders of the iconoclast policy of Constantine V, the tagmata had an active role as field troops, and very soon after their appearance they are found as the chief element in imperial field forces. That they were in military terms a new force, is clear from the references, in Theophanes and other texts, to Constantine's conversion of monastic and other religious buildings into barracks and stables for the new soldiers and their mounts, the majority of whom were garrisoned in the City: μοναστήρια δὲ τὰ εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν σωζομένων καταφύγια οἴκους κοινοῦς καθιστᾶ

τῶν διμοφρόνων αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν. τὴν γοῦν Δαλμάτον πρώτιστον οὖσαν
ἐν τοῖς κοινοβίοις τοῦ Βυζαντίου στρατιώταις εἰς κατοικίαν
⁶⁰² δέδωκεν...

They are referred to in 773, when with the thematic forces they campaigned with Constantine against the Bulgars, accompanied by the Optimates.⁶⁰³ Leo IV appears to have enrolled more tagmatic soldiers at the beginning of his reign;⁶⁰⁴ and they were a powerful enough force at the beginning of Eirene's reign (782) to be sent alone as part of a field force against an Arab raiding army.⁶⁰⁵ The accounts of the military life of Ioannikios, enrolled in the excubitors at the age of nineteen, suggest very active campaign duties, but that the tagmata - in this case the excubitors - were normally based at Constantinople.⁶⁰⁶

But while the tagmata of schools and excubitors thus had a dual role during the first years after their creation, their duties as the personal guards of the emperors, originally their chief function, came to be superseded by their role as the nucleus of a mobile and efficient field force; while a new tagma, the vigla or Watch was established to take over their role as the palatine guards par excellence. Analyses of the role of the tagmata of the later ninth and tenth centuries have shown clearly that they constituted a very important field force; indeed, they came by the early tenth century, to be based mostly outside Constantinople, in particular districts of Thrace and Macedonia, for example, or in the 'peratic' area opposite the City.⁶⁰⁷ And while the domestic of the scholae came to occupy the position of supreme commander of the field forces, often including thematic troops in the later ninth century and after, his duties as the personal guards captain to the emperor were taken over by the droungarios of the vigla.⁶⁰⁸

The significance of the scholae and excubitores as a powerful iconoclast force within the City ended during Eirene's reign. Indeed, it is possible that already Leo IV had attempted to

dilute the pre-Constantine V element within their ranks by the recruitment of a number of new soldiers.⁶⁰⁹

Her attempts to officially restore the icons met with forceful and hostile opposition from the tagmata, including their officers. In 785 they broke up the first meeting of the seventh ecumenical council under threat of violence; and as a result of their action, Eirene, like Constantine before her, was forced to take action to curb the power and influence over her and her policies of a potentially and, in the event, actually hostile military force. Exactly how she convinced the iconoclast soldiers to surrender their arms is uncertain. Theophanes, following the account of the Acts of the seventh council, simply recounts the course of events. Eirene ordered the tagmata to Malagina on the pretext of a campaign against the Arabs, sending along the imperial baggage and other paraphernalia to convince officers and soldiers alike that her plans were genuine. Once at Malagina, however, Eirene garrisoned the City with troops from the Asia Minor themes, who were at that time in Thrace; and having gained their support, she apparently ordered the tagmatic soldiers to surrender their arms, which they seem to have done, Ὡμὸ θεοῦ παταιωθέντες according to Theophanes, and then posted them to the provinces.⁶¹⁰ Her actions are hardly surprising, and the train of events is not difficult to follow. She then proceeded to recruit her own tagmatic soldiers⁶¹¹ - the scholae and excubitores were by no means disbanded completely - and to create her own guards regiment, the vigla, whose origins will be discussed below. Significantly, Eirene's retention of the tagmata established by Constantine suggests that it was clear to her and to her advisers how valuable was a field force such as this; and how much she still depended upon it politically, even after the establishment of the Watch, a point which will also be discussed below.

Part two: the origins and establishment of the *vigla*.

The origins of this regiment are obscure. The first drouggarios of the vigla to be mentioned in the sources is Alexios Mousoule, who appears in 791 sent by Eirene on a mission of considerable importance, to the Armeniakon theme.⁶¹² It would seem reasonable to connect the appearance of this officer and his unit with the changes instituted by Eirene, who had removed the tagmata from their influential position in the City and purged their ranks. But was the unit a new one, deliberately created for this purpose? And why was it commanded by a drouggarios and not a domestic? In addition, why was it known by two names, the arithmos (sometimes in the plural) and the vigla?⁶¹³

Bury suggested a possible answer in his analysis of the ninth-century administrative system, and Stein, in his history of the later Roman empire, proposed another. Guillard repeats Bury's hypothesis, but none of these suggestions account adequately for the origins of the unit. Bury suggested that, since the unit had a double title, and its commander was a drouggarios rather than a domestic, its origins must lie in the period before the reforms of the eighth century.⁶¹⁴ He argued, in fact, for a fifth or sixth century origin, basing this on the following evidence: according to Theophanes, the arithmoi were called out with the scholae, protectores and members of the senate in 559 to defend the walls of the City during a sudden attack;⁶¹⁵ again according to Theophanes, some 'Bulgars' captured in 540 were enrolled ἐν τοῖς νουμερίοις ἀριθμοῖς;⁶¹⁶ the unit in question might also be identified with that raised by Arcadius referred to by Malalas: ἔμοίνει καὶ ἵσιον ἀριθμὸν οὓς ἐκάλεσεν Ἀρκαδιακούς, perhaps the same unit as the comites Arcadiaci referred to as a vexillatio palatina under the magister militum per Thracias.⁶¹⁷ From this evidence, Bury conjectures that the Arcadiaci were given special duties - since

they were referred to by Malalas, and since their title comites suggests some dependence on the emperor in the first place. They were thus designated the arithmoi, and it is to these soldiers that Theophanes refers in his entry for 559.⁶¹⁸ As far as the drungar is concerned, Bury refers to a seal, possibly of the sixth century, of one Eugenios, whom he identifies with the Eugenios referred to by Theophanes in 560, an ex-eparch; and also to the Theodosios, drouggarios, whom Heraclius despatched on an embassy to Siroes in 628.⁶¹⁹

Stein's theory is simpler, but much less easily proved. His first suggestion is certainly valid, and indeed if we accept it then Bury's theory loses some of its force. Stein suggested that the arithmoi referred to by Theophanes in 559 are none other than the δημόται, the militia of the green and blue factions mobilised to defend the City. He points to the fact that Theophanes refers to them as πυραῖοι, which suggests that they were regarded as soldiers forming a distinct unit or units.⁶²⁰ This argument is supported by the fact that Agathias makes it clear that no regular soldiers were at Constantinople at that time; and that it clearly was part of the duty of the City militia to defend, when necessary, the City walls.⁶²¹ The problem of whether or not these arithmoi/demotai are to be identified with the later noumera, a guards regiment of the ninth and tenth centuries, as Stein goes on to suggest, need not detain us here. For from here Stein concluded that the later arithmos/oi might be a mounted version of the arithmoi/demotai (= the later noumera), formed by Belisarius in 559 when he requisitioned a large number of horses, including those of the Hippodrome;⁶²² and that this might explain the association of the drouggarios and the vigla in the tenth century with the Hippodrome. But this hypothesis does nothing to explain the title drouggarios, nor why the arithmoi, according to Stein a mounted City militia, should only appear in the later eighth century, and as an elite field regiment administered on standard military lines. Suffice it to say that

the evidence does not prove Stein's conclusions, nor does it prove any connection between the fifth or sixth-century arithmoi referred to by Bury, still less the two drungarii he cited, with the arithmos/vigla of Eirene's time.

Bury's reference to the Arcadiaci, however, and his assertion that the unit is an old one, does point the way to a different solution. He mentions two other palatine vexillations which are associated with the first unit, the comites Honoriaci, and the equites Theodosiaci.⁶²³ Now it is significant that in the sixth century, the vexillationes (palatinae) included in the imperial field forces - the combined forces of the magistri militum praesentales -⁶²⁴ were grouped among other elite corps - foederati, Illyrians and Optimates - and were referred to as τὰ (τάγματα) τὸν Βισελλατίόνων ἀριθμὸν or simply οἱ ἀριθμοί.⁶²⁵ These vexillations were, in the early fifth century, split up between the various magistri militum. Thus the magister militum per Thracias had three, the magister militum praesentalis I had five, and the magister militum praesentalis II had six.⁶²⁶ No doubt the frequent transfer of western and eastern units from one field to another resulted in these dispositions being altered;⁶²⁷ but the vexillations still existed as an important part of the regular field forces in the later sixth century; and some of these units survived into the tenth century and perhaps later. Thus Constantine VII records the turmarch of the Theodosiaci and the turmarch(s) of the Victores as taking part in the 949 expedition to Crete.⁶²⁸ The first regiment might be the equites Theodosiaci iuniores, stationed under the magister militum per Thracias in the early fifth century.⁶²⁹ The Victores were among the eighteen units of auxilia palatina in the forces of the magister militum per Thracias during the fifth, sixth or early seventh centuries, probably during the troubled period beginning during the reign of Maurice and extending into that of Heraclius.⁶³⁰

The comites Arcadiaci, as Bury notes, were also included among

the forces of the magister militum per Thracias, and on this basis he would like to have them serving in the capital. This is not impossible, but a more likely sequence of events is that they remained in the Thracian field army, and were transferred to Asia Minor in Heraclius' reign, along with the Theodosiaci and perhaps the Victores, to face the Arab attacks in Syria and Egypt. The magister militum per Thracias and his army were defeated in 638 in the east, Marinos, the magister, narrowly escaping.⁶³¹ In view of the subsequent Arab attacks on Asia Minor, it seems very likely that the bulk of his forces remained there, and were billeted in the area which came to be named after them, the Thrakesion district, under the authority of the magister militum per Orientem (= strategos of the Anatolikon theme). This at least is suggested by the presence of the Theodosiaci in the tenth century in the same army corps.

These regiments - vexillationes, arithmoi or whatever - would originally have been commanded by praepositi or tribuni.⁶³² But such titles appear to have been superseded by those of comes or drungarius, and for larger unities, turmarch. What part these units played in the military make-up of the Thrakesion army is uncertain. According to the De Cærimoniosis, the Theodosiaci and Victores were both under turmarchs, which suggests that by the tenth century whole districts had come to be named after the most important unit, or group of units, within the Thrakesion theme. But they may originally have been under drungarii, for such units consisted of one or more banda, each bandon under its comes, grouped in turn into drouggoi or brigades.⁶³³ During the seventh and eighth centuries, therefore, there were in the Thrakesion theme certainly, and in other themes very probably, units or groups of units which had in the sixth or early seventh centuries been referred to as $\beta\imath\xi\lambda\lambda\tau\imath\omega\varsigma$ $\delta\pi\theta\mu\imath\varsigma$ or simply $\delta\pi\theta\mu\imath\varsigma$, under the command of comites and drungarii.

Turning now to the events of Irene's reign which concern us, Theophanes states that Irene called in the peratic themata, who

were in Thrace at the time, to garrison the City, while the tagmata were purged. The core of the old units was posted to the provinces, their ranks filled by replacements drafted in by the empress.⁶³⁴ Once this had been done, she proceeded to create her own force, in charge of which she placed officers loyal to her.⁶³⁵

This reference relates, in my opinion, to the establishment of the vigla, and perhaps also the recruitment into the tagmata of soldiers loyal to Eirene rather than to her predecessors. The events in question took place in 786/7; and the first drouggarios of the vigla is mentioned in 790. The two events are surely connected, if we take into account their background.

We now come to the question of who the vigla or arithmos/oi were. As I have mentioned, units referred to at an earlier period as arithmoi were based in the Thrakesion and other districts. Such units were commanded by comites and drouggarioi. I think it not improbable that Eirgne selected one of the brigades or regiments which helped her garrison the City and disarm the tagmata in 786, and adopted it as a new guards regiment, one that was loyal to her alone. Its new role is quite clear from its title, ἡ Βίγλα, the watch;⁶³⁶ and the fact that its own title remained in use points to its origins. It was one of the arithmoi belonging to the field army - possibly the Arcadiaci, but it may equally have been another, similar unit. Its commander, a drouggarios, retained his original title, and the frequent confusion between the singular and plural in its older title - $\alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ or $\alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{o}\iota$ - suggests that it was originally a group of banda or arithmoi drawn from a particular brigade or drouggos. Such a hypothesis is supported by a seal of the eighth century, of the chartoularoi τοῦ Ἀριθμοῦ, suggesting the administrative division of the unit into at least two sections,⁶³⁷ although in the ninth and tenth centuries, only one chartoularios appears. Possibly the regiment was reorganised slightly after its promotion to palatine duties. The staff of

the drouggarios certainly suggest its older roots - including comites, which immediately suggests more than one bandon, κένταρχαι, λαβουρήσιοι and βανδοφόροι - posts which are associated with the regular establishment after the reforms of Maurice.⁶³⁸ In addition, a proportion of the soldiers from the late eighth century on were referred to on occasions as σκουτάριοι or σκουτάρια. They provided special escorts during imperial processions; and they made up the outer circuit or picket-line around the imperial camp when on campaign.⁶³⁹ Guillard refers briefly to them as part of the group of mandatores of the unit;⁶⁴⁰ but in view of their duties on campaign, where they are clearly regular soldiers, I suggest that this is yet another name which referred originally to a section of the unit when it was a part of the field army. The skoutatoi or defensores made up the heavily-armed section of the regular units, as opposed to the cursores or lighter troops, the skirmishers.⁶⁴¹ The name refers simply to the regular rank-and-file of the unit.

Thus the vigla established by Irene was a regular unit, drawn certainly from one of the provincial armies, possibly from the army of the Thrakesion theme.⁶⁴² Under its drungarius, at first of spatharios rank like many other drungarii of the time, it retained aspects of its original character - its double name, the presence of officers bearing titles associated with older field units rather than with palatine regiments - and was promoted to the position of a palatine guards regiment, with special responsibility for defending, in the first instance, Irene. Its commander held an important position from the first, and rapidly became one of the leading military officers attached to the palace. This much is clear from the change in his title, from spatharios in the late eighth century to protospatharios and patrikios before the mid-ninth century.⁶⁴³

For the early history of the vigla, however, there is little evidence. Its name suggests its duties and its special role as

the emperor's guard, but from the beginning it was also a field unit, and fought alongside the other tagmata when the emperor went on campaign. The drouggarios of the vigla was killed in the disastrous battle with the Bulgars in 811, but it was the scholae and their domestic who played the chief role politically in these events,⁶⁴⁴ as it had been the scholae and excubitores and the domestic who made possible the success of the rebellion against Eirene in 802.⁶⁴⁵ Possibly, we are to include the vigla among the tagmata in these events, but they played no major political role on their own. Their creation was a move on Eirene's part to secure her own position with regard to the numerous and powerful tagmatic troops established by Constantine V and re-inforced by Leo IV; but it was only partially successful, for while the drouggarios of the vigla was of comparatively humble status, having charge of only a small palatine force, the domestic of the scholae was already an established officer with considerable power, supported by the greater part of the field forces. This much was clear to Eirene, and so her establishment of the vigla was, as Theophanes says,⁶⁴⁶ for reasons of personal security.

The relative unimportance of the vigla during the later part of Eirene's reign may in addition be a result of the desertion of its commander, Alexios Mousele, in 790, to Constantine VI - who confirmed him as strategos of the Armeniak theme. No doubt Eirene felt less inclined to trust this unit after this time - it was by bribing the scholai and exkoubidores officers that she regained the imperial throne.

The scholae and excubitores played as important a part during Eirene's reign as they had done during the previous reigns, with the difference that their role was increasingly military and political, rather than that of a partisan force deliberately used to further the policies of a particular emperor, a development which must be related to the importance of the domestic and his relatively independent position as a powerful military officer.

based in the capital itself.

The importance of the original tagmata can be judged from the events during the reigns of Eirene and Constantine VI after 780. Already in 792 the tagmata had attempted to depose Constantine VI after a disastrous battle with the Bulgars, but Constantine had forestalled them by eliminating the alternative candidates for the throne, his uncles.⁶⁴⁷ In 796 it was Bardanios, the domestic of the scholae, along with John, count of the Opsikion, who were sent to arrest Plato, higoumen of the monastery of Sakkoudion.⁶⁴⁸ That the vigla does not appear in any of these events, nor in those of 797,⁶⁴⁹ reinforces the view that its initial importance waned considerably after Eirene had managed to win over the other tagmata. The creation of the vigla was little more than a temporary measure taken by Eirene to secure her position in the earliest years of her regency against the still strongly iconoclast and very tradition-conscious scholai and exkoubitores.

The plot against Constantine rested upon the support of the officers of the tagmata - the scholae and excubidores - for Eirene. She obtained this support chiefly by bribes and promises, and appears from the account of Theophanes to have succeeded in retaining their adhesion to her cause. Constantine was finally forced to flee to Pylai, while the tagmata remained with Eirene in Constantinople. He was eventually brought back by the agents and friends whom she had placed in his entourage.⁶⁵⁰ But the guards regiments were easily swayed. Staurakios gained their support in the same way only three years later, although his plot collapsed when the tagmata failed to back him up, chiefly, it seems, as a result of the hostility towards him of Niketas Triphyllios, the domestic of the scholae.⁶⁵¹ Finally, in 802, it was the support of the tagmata and the same domestic, Niketas, which made Eirene's deposition possible. The vigla and its drouggarios are not mentioned by Theophanes; but in the circumstances, the power and authority of the domestic are

likely to have brought them onto Nicephorus' side.

The increased political militancy of the tagmata and especially of their leading officers becomes quite clear during the last years of the eighth century. While I would agree with Kaegi that on the whole Byzantine soldiers seem generally to have been easily led by their superiors into supporting rebellions or coups on almost any pretext, it does seem clear that in the case of the tagmata, the soldiers themselves had some say in matters of this sort. Compare the near mutiny of 792, which Constantine forestalled only by acting very quickly against his rival claimants; a mutiny which seems to have been a spontaneous reaction of the tagmatic soldiers to a heavy defeat. It appears likewise to have been the lesser officers and the rank and file of the tagmata who took part in the deposition of Constantine VI. Theophanes' account suggests very strongly that even after accepting substantial bribes from Eirene, many were still not content and may have joined him on his flight to Pylai. The Patriarch Nicephorus makes it quite clear that the retired or dismissed tagmatic soldiers who hung about the streets of the City during the reign of Michael I were a very vocal group indeed. The difference between these soldiers and the (seemingly) more passive provincials lies in their position and status - and also in their obvious awareness of their power, which they could, and did, use to very considerable (financial) advantage. How far they were led by their officers, and how far they encouraged or even compelled their officers to adopt certain courses of action, is unfortunately impossible to say. But I would suggest that where the tagmata were concerned, the rank and file were at least as important in taking up or in formulating courses of action as were their officers.⁶⁵²

The tagmata of scholae and excubitores, once purged of their strongly iconoclast sentiments, thus maintained their position as one of the key political forces in Constantinople during the reign of Eirene. Although the vigla is to be included, it

appears at first to have constituted a force apart, at least until the reign of Nicephorus I, a result quite simply of Eirene's eventual success in winning over the other Constantinopolitan units. During the reign of Nicephorus, the vigla begins clearly to participate in the field army and to take on the appearance and role we read of in the tenth-century military treatises or in the De Caerimoniis; for it was during his reign that the final establishment of a distinct tagmatic army was realised.

Part three: the foederati, the hikanati and the establishment of the tagmata - themata opposition.

The reign of Nicephorus I (802-811) was marked by a number of changes, both in terms of the fiscal administration of the empire, and in terms of its military administration.⁶⁵³ The most important, for our purposes, are the creation of a new imperial tagma, the hikanatoi; the establishment of another provincial unit, the foederati, as a tagma; and the final appearance of a recognisable opposition between the tagmata in Constantinople and the provincial themata.

The exact situation in which Nicephorus decided to form the hikanatoi is difficult to assess. Evidence of the mid-ninth and tenth centuries shows that the officium of the domestic of the hikanatoi is remarkably similar to that of the drouggarios of the vigla, and suggests that the new regiment was formed along already established lines.⁶⁵⁴ The unit seems originally to have been a cadet regiment. Its first commander was Niketas, later the Patriarch Ignatios, the son of Michael Rhaggabe, and it appears to have been established especially for the son of Nicephorus, Staurakios.⁶⁵⁵ The life of Ignatios, compiled in the 940s, records that Ignatios/Niketas was made commander at the age of ten; and that when he was fourteen, he was castrated and

exiled with his relatives.⁶⁵⁶ These events took place in 814 upon the accession of Leo V, which dates the establishment of the hikanatoi to 809, perhaps shortly before. The regiment was, at least to begin with, made up of the sons of other imperial officers, those aged fifteen or more, although by the reign of Michael II it had become a regular fighting tagma.⁶⁵⁷

A second regiment which comes into prominence during the early part of the ninth century is the foederati, οἱ φοιδεράτοι. Originally an important section of the field army of the sixth and early seventh centuries, this corps appears finally to have been billeted in the Anatolikon theme, and is first mentioned by name during the reign of Nicephorus I, when the future Leo V was appointed as its commander.⁶⁵⁸ Its headquarters was apparently in the Anatolikon theme,⁶⁵⁹ and it appears to have been recruited locally, from among the hill people of Lykaonia and Pisidia.⁶⁶⁰ Its commanding officer was a turmarch, with the usual authority of such officers over matters of local civil and military importance.⁶⁶¹

The problem of the identity of the foederati and their turmarch was taken up by Stein, although his argument has not met with general acceptance.⁶⁶² Stein first of all rejected Bury's original hypothesis that the foederati are to be identified with the later hetaireia, a suggestion that is contradicted by the presence of both the foederati and the hetaireia in the Taktikon Uspenskij and the Kleterologion of Philotheos, as well as the reference to the foederati by Cedrenus.⁶⁶³

He then went on to suggest that certain entries in the Taktikon Uspenskij and the Kleterologion should be emended, the latter from ὁ σταθαροκανδίδατος καὶ τουρμάρχης Λυκαονίας καὶ Πισιδίας to ὁ σταθαροκανδίδατος καὶ τουρμάρχης Λυκαονίας καὶ Πισιδίας;⁶⁶⁴ the former from ὁ τουρμάρχης Λυκαονίας to ὁ τουρμάρχης Λυκαονίας καὶ Πισιδίας.⁶⁶⁵ The basis of the emendations was Stein's view, founded on the numerous references

to the reliance of Nicephorus I upon Lykaonians, and the eleventh-century evidence of Cedrenus already cited, that the foederati are to be identified with the Lykaonians and Pisidians, and that the turmarch of the federates was also turmarch of the Lykaonians and Pisidians.⁶⁶⁶

That the federates were made up at least partially of Lykaonians and Pisidians there is no question, as I think the above references show adequately. Again, Stein's correction of Pamphylia to Pisidia in the entry of the Kleterologion may be valid, since as he points out, Pamphylia was a part of the Kibyrrhaiot theme and not of the Anatolikon.⁶⁶⁷ But to identify the turmarch of the federates, a distinct military and administrative unit, with the turmarch of the districts of Lykaonia (and Pisidia) is, I think, unnecessary. In the first place, it seems unlikely that the list drawn up by Philotheos and his colleagues would repeat a mistake or an ambiguous entry of some fifty years previously, in a text which is remarkably clear and which rationalises or clarifies a great number of its entries. Had Philotheos wished to equate the turmarch of the federates, with the administrative district of Lykaonia and Pisidia (or Pamphylia), he would have said so. But both the Taktikon Uspenskij and the Kleterologion distinguish between the two, and I suggest that the answer is to be found in a less rigid explanation; one officer in charge of the federates, whose authority covered a particular area of the districts of Lykaonia and Pisidia; while the other was the officer responsible to the central government for the remaining area not occupied by the federates; known administratively as that of Lykaonia (and Pamphylia and/or Pisidia). If al-Fakih is to be trusted, the Anatolikon theme had three turmarchs - one of whom will have been that of the federates. The fact that Lykaonia was administratively distinct from the district under the authority of the turmarch of the federates says nothing about the make-up of the federate tourma and its constituent banda - as the

reference in Cedrenus has shown.⁶⁶⁸

The federates, like the Theodosiaci and Victores already mentioned, thus retained their identity as a specific unit, although clearly they now relied completely upon local recruitment. They were, in the sixth century at least, particularly warlike, and appear to have retained this quality, from which they were well-suited to their role as frontier troops. Under Nicephorus, who appears to have particularly favoured Lykaonians, the federates, or some of their banda, acted in effect as a tagma, a role which they retained until the time of Thomas the Slav's revolt in the 820s.⁶⁶⁹ In this connection, Stein assumes without further discussion that they were based at Constantinople.⁶⁷⁰ The presence of Lykaonians at the capital is strongly suggested by Nicephorus' use of them in asserting his authority, and references to his bestowing favours and honours upon them. The opposition to his fiscal policies, among other things, made him unpopular, and he needed support to maintain his position and to avert the threat of a tagmatic rising.⁶⁷¹ Did these Lykaonians constitute a detachment of the federates, however, or were they quite separate, making up a distinct group, identifiable simply as Lykaonians? There is, in fact, some evidence which does suggest that the federates were, for a short time, based in Constantinople. First, the reference of the continuator of Theophanes that Leo, a trusted friend of Nicephorus, was appointed to the command of the federates and granted καὶ βασιλικὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ζήνωνος καὶ τὸν Δαγισθέα; in other words, he was granted possession of these imperial houses in the City.⁶⁷² Second, Kudāma includes in his list of the guards regiments at Constantinople the federates, after the scholae, the excubitores and the arithmos.⁶⁷³ There is no mention of the hikanatoi, nor of any of the regiments created later, such as the hetaireia; and I have suggested that Kudāma is here using information collected before 809 when the hikanatoi were established, and

possibly after the beginning of the reign of Nicephorus I.⁶⁷⁴

Thus far, there is good reason for supposing that banda of the federates - made up predominantly of Lykaonians - were based in Constantinople for a while during the reign of Nicephorus I. Later evidence adduced by Stein that Michael of Amorion was commander of the federates in 820, as the continuator of Theophanes mentions,⁶⁷⁵ and was thus based with his unit at Constantinople, does not stand up to examination. The continuator himself contradicts this, stating that in 820 Thomas was commander of the federates, κατὰ τὸν Ἀνατολικὸν ἐνδιαιτηθεών; while Genesios and George the monk relate that Michael was commander of the excubitors, which was a Constantinople unit.⁶⁷⁶

It does not seem unreasonable that the federates should have been in Constantinople, or that a part of the unit should have been there; for why should Nicephorus, conscious as he must have been of his insecurity in the City, have appointed a trusted friend to command a little-heard-of provincial tourma, many days' march from Constantinople, when it was above all in the City itself that his position was most at risk, and where he needed a reliable force of soldiers who were not already infected by the partisan rivalries and interests of the capital? Furthermore, Nicephorus' action fits in very well with a tendency, discussed below, for emperors to bring in or establish units loyal to themselves upon their accession or in times of insecurity.

But the federates were there for only a short time. By 811, Leo had been appointed strategos of the Armeniakon theme, a promotion from his post of turmarch, and was on his way to deliver the roga of his theme forces when he was intercepted at Euchaita by Arab raiders.⁶⁷⁷ Shortly after this time, Michael I undertook a purge of Lykaonians and Phrygians, whom Theophanes condemns as Manichaeans and Athiganoi; and this may also have involved transferring the federates back to their own district.⁶⁷⁸ Although the evidence for the federates in

Constantinople applies to only a short period, I do not think it can be ignored, especially when the reference of Kudāma to the unit is considered. They were brought in by Nicephorus I, who appointed one of his officers to command them, and were perhaps posted back either under Nicephorus, before Leo's appointment to the position of strategos of the Armeniakon theme, or most probably under Michael I, in an attempt to remove their influence from the City.

The reason for the sudden prominence of the federates at this time is twofold. First, as we have seen, Nicephorus apparently had close contacts with Lykaonia and Pisidia. Second, he also had need of loyal soldiers to maintain his position. It was thus logical for him to select a unit of fellow-countrymen who were also redoubtable soldiers and who made up a unit already in existence, which had had much frontline experience. The appearance of the federates as an important unit at this time does not, therefore, seem so strange. Neither is the fact that Nicephorus needed to establish his own 'guards' units. Indeed, one of the most important developments of the later eighth and early ninth centuries is the apparent need to create new regiments which was imposed upon successive emperors, a need which resulted from the way in which the first tagmata were established and operated. As we have seen, Constantine V created an elite corps, the scholae and excubitores, primarily as a counter-force with which to balance the power of the thematic troops and their generals, and to make up for the reduction of the Opsikion to a less influential position; but which in the circumstances of his reign - notably the problem of imposing his iconoclast policy on iconophile elements - became also a powerful, thoroughly partisan tool for the carrying out of his internal policies. This placed pressure upon Irene to create a similar force, since she was herself in a weak position politically and militarily. The purging of the tagmata reduced their partisan nature, however, and they played a more prominent

role than Eirene's own unit, the vigla. In his turn, Nicephorus was obliged to bring in outside support, to begin with, at least; and his creation of the hikanatoi in 809 can be seen as an attempt to gain the loyalty of the Constantinopolitan administrative bureaucracy for himself and his son Staurakios, for whom the unit was originally created. It thus became necessary for successive rulers to gain the support of some military group, if possible within the capital, in order to maintain their position; if this proved difficult, or if erstwhile supporters rejected the emperor, then new units could be brought in or created.

Nicephorus' use of the federates and his reliance upon, among others, Lykaonians, meant that Michael I had to purge those units that threatened his rule. It was probably he who posted the federates back to Lykaonia, and he attempted to win over Leo, later Leo V, by appointing him strategos of the Anatolikon theme. From the accounts of the patriarch Nicephorus, he purged the other tagmata too, among whom, it seems, there were still a considerable number of 'iconoclasts'. The Continuator of Theophanes reports that many considered Michael's defeat by Krum in 813 not a result of Leo's desértion, but rather of that of the tagmata, clearly not much impressed by Michael's performance. In his turn, Leo V took steps to ensure his position - appointing his friends Thomas and Michael (and later imprisoning Michael on suspicion of plotting against him) to key commands, and removing from Constantinople those who were popular with the tagmatic troops, among them the young Niketas, who theoretically commanded the hikanatoi.⁶⁷⁹

This trend can be followed well into the ninth century, the motivation to create new units, especially of full-time professional soldiers, stemming from the necessity of providing both personal and imperial security. Under Theophilus, for example, at least two new corps were enrolled - the 'Persians' who deserted to the Byzantines, placed under the command of

Theophobos,⁶⁸⁰ and the 'Ethiopian' bandon, who were apparently the emperor's favourites.⁶⁸¹ During the reign of Theophilus' father Michael II the emperor raised a special corps known as the τεσσαρακοντάριον, after the rate at which the soldiers were paid - forty gold pieces each - by Michael. Ooryphas, the commander of this force, was later appointed drouggarios of the Watch.⁶⁸² Finally, there is the hetaireia, a unit originally of foreign soldiers which formed a detachment of the vigla, and was later raised to independent status, possibly as early as the reign of Michael II.⁶⁸³

Not all of these corps were raised explicitly for reasons of personal security on the part of the emperors, although many came to have that function also. During the reign of Theophilus, for example, the military situation appeared so bad that the emperor, as is well-known, appealed to the Franks and Venetians for aid,⁶⁸⁴ and the willingness with which he took in the 'Persian' refugees and organised them into a military force is a reflection of his attitude to the wars in the East. But the establishment of successive tagmata by one emperor after another is symptomatic of the power of the tagmatic soldiers in the capital, an inevitable result of the abolition of the large, 'imperial' Opsikion and the establishment of new units by Constantine V. It is also suggestive of the insecurity of successive emperors - Irene and Constantine, Nicephorus I, Leo V and Michael II - the last three of whom had all gained the throne by force, and of the importance attached to gaining tagmatic support.

This was, of course, not always easily obtained. The tagmatic soldiers, after Leo IV's reign, seem to have changed sides whenever it suited their interests to do so - they helped Nicephorus I to the throne, but were equally prepared to oppose him when his policies became disadvantageous to them. They appear at first to have followed their commander Stephanos in adhering to the mortally-wounded Staurakios, but were easily

persuaded later to accept Michael I., - whom they later abandoned for Leo V. Each emperor had to take special account of their wishes in order to ensure their continued support.⁶⁸⁵

This brings us to the final point, that of the setting up of a distinct, centrally-controlled and full-time army, based under officers who were themselves under the direct supervision of the emperor. On the whole, historians of the Byzantine world have noted the importance of the tagmata and their domestics in the ninth and tenth centuries in terms of the renewed offensive of that period, and of the decline of the theme system in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is frequently assumed that tagmata always existed, and that there was always a distinction between these units and the provincial forces.⁶⁸⁶ But such a view assumes first that the thematic armies were not field troops, and that they were a militia rather than a regular army; and second, that the scholae and the excubitores retained a military value throughout the seventh and early part of the eighth centuries. Both these assumptions, in my view, are without foundation. As far as concerns the first point, it seems clear that until the beginning of the eighth century, the themata retained, to a greater or lesser degree, their original character, modified perhaps by the circumstances already discussed.⁶⁸⁷ Only during the last years of the seventh century and the early part of the eighth century do the effects of localisation of forces and recruitment appear to have had a detrimental effect upon the provincial armies; and even after this date - throughout the rest of the eighth and ninth centuries - the thematic forces frequently went on long campaigns, far from their home bases; often being left for long periods as garrison troops on the other side of the empire.⁶⁸⁸ The limitations on their mobility (as opposed to their ability to move quickly) seem to me to be the effects of geography and, more especially climate. Campaigns generally began in April and May, and ended by October; although there are still examples of campaigns being mounted during the

winter months in order to gain a measure of surprise;⁶⁸⁹ and raids against 'Arab territories often began in September and lasted until the beginning of November. But while the theme armies were less effective, generally speaking, than regular, paid soldiers who were under the supervision of the emperor and his 'military entourage, as later developments illustrate,⁶⁹⁰ I do not think the chief motive of Constantine V in creating his tagmata was that of greater military effectiveness, but rather to fill the gap left by his demotion of the Opsikion theme, which had until the 740s been the imperial field army, in theory at least. Constantine's decision to establish his tagmata was in the first instance for reasons of personal security and political authority rather than a simple desire to have better armies - although Constantine must have seen the military value of such a force; and there is no evidence to suggest that Leo III did consider, or that his son would have considered the creation of a separate force, had it not been for the rebellion of Artavasdos and the obvious threat to the emperor which a powerful and hostile Opsikion constituted, a force upon which the emperors relied for their military support.

The second assumption, that the scholae and excubitores, later referred to as tagmata, retained a military role and were an effective palatine guards corps during the seventh century I have shown to be groundless. Until the establishment of Constantine V's tagmata in response to the conditions I have just referred to, the emperors relied upon the praesental armies in the form of the Opsikion, and the smaller palatine corps such as the spatharioi and koubikoularici. It must be stressed that there were no tagmata before Constantine V created them; and that the use of the word tagma before this time refers simply to regiment, the equivalent of bandon or arithmos.⁶⁹¹ Even after the establishment of the imperial tagmata, care must be taken to distinguish between the two uses of the word, for it remained in use as a general word for regiment or corps, both in a military

and non-military sense.⁶⁹² As Ahrweiler has pointed out, it is the association in the same text of tagmata and themata, or of tagmata with the domestic, or some other qualifying phrase, which signifies the imperial tagmata, τὰ βασιλικὰ τάγματα.⁶⁹³

The appearance of the tagmata as a military force involved in field duties - accompanying the emperor - dates from the establishment of the units in the second half of the eighth century. The presence of such a force, whose numbers seem never to have been considerable,⁶⁹⁴ greatly increased the emperor's resources in terms of military strength, for such units, adequately equipped and well-trained, could clearly be made the central feature of the imperial armies; in addition to which they were always on hand, ready for action much more quickly than the often distant and dispersed thematic armies. Once such a force had been established, it immediately took on these functions; and they constitute the predominant characteristics of the Constantinopolitan regiments. They formed a distinct, centrally-controlled force, whose supreme commander, the domestic of the scholae, gradually takes over the role of commander-in-chief of all the Byzantine armed forces on land. Thus we continually read in those sources which deal with the eighth and ninth centuries of the tagmata as opposed to the themata, and of the different roles they play.⁶⁹⁵ Their role as a field corps appears to have become a major part of their duties from the beginning, intentional or not. The excubitores campaigned under Leo IV and Constantine VI, as well as under later emperors, as did the scholae;⁶⁹⁶ and Leo IV's recruitment of more tagmatic soldiers suggests the importance which was already attached to the corps as an elite military force.⁶⁹⁷ Other differences marked out the tagmata from the themata, of course, differences which have been frequently pointed out - their regular establishment, monthly pay,⁶⁹⁸ better equipment and so on; but it is again to be emphasised that there were no such differences before the point during the reign of Constantine V at

which the tagmata were organised, for there were until then no
⁶⁹⁹
tagmata.

During the reign of Nicephorus, the final establishment of the tagmatic forces was reached. With the creation of the hikanatoi, the four units which became together the chief field army of the emperors had made their appearance, and it was during the reign of Nicephorus that they began regularly to campaign together as the leading element in the emperor's forces. The abortive campaign of 806 included the tagmata, as did the disastrous campaign of 811, which involved the two original tagmata as well as the vigla and the hikanatoi,⁷⁰⁰ and from this time, the inclusion of the tagmata in any centrally-planned offensive campaign, with or without the emperor, is usual. With this in mind, it can be seen that the opposition between the tagmata, as an especially raised imperial field army, and the themata, as the armies of the provinces, was a comparatively late development, a result of the policy of Constantine V in demoting the Opsikion and replacing them with his own elite troops.

Part four: the noumera, the regiment of the Walls, and Tafla/Talaya

In addition to the four main tagmata already discussed, there were also based at Constantinople two older units, one charged with the defence of the walls surrounding the imperial palace, and the Hippodrome area, the other with guarding the imperial prison of the noumera, and general police duties in and around the palace.

The whereabouts of the Noumera, one of the chief prisons of Constantinople,⁷⁰¹ has been established by Mango, following Janin, who has shown that the buildings later referred to as *ta vounepa* are in fact the same as the earlier baths of

Zeuxippos.⁷⁰² Guillard had identified the Noumera with the Prandiaria, also used as a prison during the seventh century. The latter was guarded by the excubitors until at least 654, when Pope Martin was imprisoned there, which led Guillard to conclude that there was no noumera regiment before this time; and that it was created later specifically as a prison guards unit.⁷⁰³ Aside from the fact that Mango has disproved this identification of the Noumera with the Prandiaria, Guillard's theory ignores the presence of a number of older Latin titles in the officium of the later domestic, which suggests a sixth- or seventh-century origin, possibly earlier.⁷⁰⁴ Bury, on the other hand, suggested that the later noumera regiment was formed from an original numerus of the excubitores, whose officers, tribuni and vicarii, were placed under the command of Justin, comes excubitorum, in 518.⁷⁰⁵ Arguing from Guillard's viewpoint, this theory is at first sight an attractive one, for it provides a link between the numerus referred to and the excubitors, and thus between the two regiments and the prison in question. On this basis, it could be argued that the numerus became an independent unit after 654, when it was placed in charge of the prison, which thus took its new name from the regiment in charge of it.⁷⁰⁶

The connection between the excubitors and the noumera is based on the identification of the Prandiaria with the Noumera, however, which cannot be accepted; while there are many more puzzling aspects which the theory does not account for. The domestic of the noumera first appears during the reign of Michael III (842-67), although the regiment itself is referred to in the passage on the garrison of the City in Kypâma, the evidence from which I have suggested should be dated partly to the reign of Nicephorus I, and partly to the later seventh or early eighth century.⁷⁰⁷ The unit is mentioned also in the Taktikon Uspenskij, and appears frequently in the Greek sources after this date.⁷⁰⁸ It probably existed in the reign of Constantine V,

for Theophanes refers to the scholae, excubitores and 'the other tagmata' at a time before the establishment of the arithmos or vigla and the hikanatoi. Two vicarii who appear as iconoclast supporters of Constantine V during the reigns of Constantine VI and Irene probably belonged to this regiment or to the sister unit of the Walls.⁷⁰⁹

Both the noumera and the Walls regiment, which is first referred to through its archon or comes for the year 718/9, and then occasionally during the ninth and tenth centuries,⁷¹⁰ have identical officia in the Kleterologion of Philotheos,⁷¹¹ and both are clearly linked to the two leading tagmata and to the factions in imperial ceremony of the ninth and tenth centuries.⁷¹²

This connection between the scholae, the noumera and the 'peratic' blue deme on the one hand,⁷¹³ and between the excubitores, the regiment of the Walls and the 'peratic' green deme on the other, has never really received an adequate explanation. Guillard has described 'various aspects of the organisation of each of the various components which make up the problem, but he does not explain the link. There still remains the problem of the factions or chariot-racing fan-clubs and of the role their organisation played both during the sixth century and before and at a later date. A review of what have become traditional views on the role of the demes in Byzantine religious and political history has recently been undertaken, and has shown that historians must revise and re-examine the conclusions reached some time ago by scholars such as Manojlović and Janssens.⁷¹⁴ But although the part played by Blues and Greens in religious politics and as an identifiable militia or military force has justifiably been questioned, it remains clear that they could have a role as part of a City-militia in Constantinople. The evidence for the role of a civic militia in emergencies is substantial, and has been examined elsewhere.⁷¹⁵ The membership of the official Blue and Green fan-clubs was

liable, like all other members of legally-constituted guilds, to serve in emergencies in such a force, enrolled in organised corps, supervised in this case by their demarchs. They may also have been issued in extreme cases with arms, although Cameron has shown that they were by no means a regular, trained and armed militia, as Manojlović would have it.⁷¹⁶ I shall suggest below, on the basis of the later close connections between them, that both the noumera and the Walls regiment were also originally connected with the two groups of ὄχυροτάι of Blues and Greens who contributed to this militia, and that they were indirectly descended from them. As I have already noted, the Walls unit and the noumera have a similar internal establishment and both were commanded by a comes in the first instance. This, together with the ancient nomenclature of their establishment, suggests a sixth- or seventh-century origin.⁷¹⁷

Now a near solution to the problem was suggested by Stein some time ago, although it has not generally been noted. Stein proposed that the arithmoi to whom Theophanes refers as present at the confrontation between the Byzantine forces at Constantinople and the invading Kutrigurs in 559, are to be identified with the demotai to whom he also refers; and with the later noumera.⁷¹⁸ The basis of his argument is Agathias' statement that, apart from the scholae, who were an ineffective parade force, there were no regular troops in the City. Belisarius was forced to mobilise what forces he could find, and these included the horses of ecclesiastical houses, of the Hippodrome, and of private citizens.⁷¹⁹ Since there were no regular troops in the City in 559 (the three hundred or so soldiers referred to by Agathias shortly after appear to be Belisarius' own Bucellarii, or the excubitores⁷²⁰), we must ask: who were the arithmoi? They were sent to defend the Theodosian walls by Justinian, along with the scholae and protectores and the senate, a most un-military combination.⁷²¹ Shortly before this, Justinian enrolled many (? citizens) and

sent them, with the scholae, 'to' fight the Kutrigurs. They were defeated and πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον τῶν Ρωμαίων καὶ σχολαρίων.⁷²² Stein would identify the ἀριθμοί with the Ρωμαῖοι, and connect the latter in turn with those whom Justinian δημόστευσε. In other words, the civic militia, once called out, was to some extent regarded as a military force, for the term Ρωμαῖοι was generally used as the equivalent of the term στρατιῶται, soldiers. To support this proposition, Stein points out that the arithmoi were deputed to defend the walls, and that this was a usual function of the militia, which could include also the demotai. In 602, for example, Maurice ordered the demarchs of the Greens and Blues to defend the City walls with their part of the militia against the mutinous forces of Phocas⁷²³ and Alexander; and in 610, Phocas likewise ordered the militia to defend certain sections of the City.

Note that in the first example, the verb is again δημοτεύειν - Maurice asked the demarchs how many were liable to be called up into the militia. It is interesting that on both occasions the faction members formed two groups - Greens and Blues, of course - which presumably had some form of internal, if temporary, organisation, and were distinct from one another. That regular lists of the establishment of those liable for such service were maintained is quite clear from the passage of Theophylact Simocatta: τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα, καὶ τοδε δημάρχους ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εἰσκαλεσάμενος πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια... ἄπινθάνετο τῶν δημοτεύοντων ἐπὶ λεπτοῦ τὸν ἀριθμόν. "Οὐ μὲν οὖν Σέργιος ἐν χάρτῃ τὴν σύνταξιν τῶν ἑραστῶν τοῦ χλοάζοντος ἐνεχάραξε χρώματος; πεντακοσίους πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις" τυγχάνοντας, δὲ δὲ Κοσμᾶς τοὺς τῆς ἀντιθέτου αἱρέσεως ἔκποντάδες ἐννέα συντέταχεν...

In further support of the identity of the militia of 559 (partly made up of faction members) and that which was called out in 601 to face a threatened Avar attack, with what was regarded by contemporaries as an armed and organised force, we might cite the phrase which Theophylact Simocatta uses to describe the

'militia' of 601 - τὸ ὄπλιτικόν - a phrase he repeats to describe the regular troops of the Khagan of the Avars. If such a phrase could be applied to an irregular citizen militia (whether or not members of the factions took part), the term ὁ ἀριθμός might equally have been used in the same sense.⁷²³ Stein's theory is therefore significant, since it does 'illustrate the application of a term such as arithmos or humerus - normally used of soldiers - to the civic militia, whether or not faction members were included.⁷²⁴ Given the association of the demes with the later noumera and Walls units, referred to already, the question now revolves around if and when two units of this militia, the later 'regiment' of the Walls and the houmera, became officially separated from it or formed out of it. The answer is, I think, that they did, and in the seventh century, for reasons which will become apparent below. The siege of 574-8 presents a possible occasion, when the resources of the whole City were called upon to repel the attacking forces and to aid the regular troops in the defence of Constantinople. The militia already appears to have aided the regular soldiery on at least one occasion in 626, and possibly more, in pitched battles.⁷²⁵ The results of these combats may have been the establishment, from the ranks of the Blue and Green demotai, of two units, to defend the walls of the palace. A tenth- or eleventh-century seal of a νούμερον τῶν Βεβίτων may hark back to an original association of the nouméra with the Blue deme.⁷²⁶ But an objection to an early date - in the later seventh century - is the absence of the units in question 'from' the list of parties ratifying the decisions of the sixth ecumenical council in the letter of Justinian II of 687. The palace regiments (i.e. scholae, domestici/protectores), excubitores, the 'guilds' of the City (and not just the demes as Gelzer thought), and the various provincial armies are included; but no others. Surely these units would have been referred to if they existed, unless we are to include them among the militantes incolas sancti palatii.

The evidence presented so far, therefore, has not been of much assistance in locating the date and origins of the units in question, except to suggest that it probably took place after 654, when the excubitores still guarded the Prandaria and, therefore, retained their active role,⁷²⁷ and indeed after 687, if the above suggestion is correct; but before the reign of Leo III, when the Walls unit, or rather its commander, first appears.

A more likely occasion for these developments may have been the last two or three years of the first reign of Justinian II. Theophanes states that he improved many palatine buildings, and also that he constructed new fortifications - periteichismata - around the palatine area.⁷²⁸ In the same year, however, he also had to contend with a great deal of popular opposition to his rule, and he is reported to have imprisoned a considerable number of citizens and especially of soldiers. The results of his actions were that 'these things increased the hatred of the people towards the emperor'.⁷²⁹ But at the same time, Justinian planned to construct a dais and reception area within the palace precincts for the Blues,⁷³⁰ an action which at first sight appears to conflict with the state of affairs just mentioned. It strongly suggests that Justinian had been able to win over or to mollify the officials and members of the fan-clubs by such actions. At any rate, his decision suggests some measure of concord between himself and the Blues; and it is possible that he gained their support (and probably that of the Greens also) to guard the imperial prisons and to help maintain his authority in the City. As Cameron, in his study of the circus factions, has pointed out, the emperor could often find himself in a situation where only the two circus parties were prepared to support him, or could be persuaded to do so. Justinian II's activities should perhaps be viewed in this light, especially when it is recalled that he cannot have been popular with the army towards the end of his reign - as mentioned above, he had imprisoned many soldiers

in the Praitorion, no doubt a result of their opposition to his rule.⁷³¹

Now it is the existence of a comes of both the Walls and the noumera in the middle of the ninth century, and the close contacts between these two units and the demes of Blues and Greens in ceremonies of that period and later, which has generated this line of argument. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Justinian II may have formed 'para-military' units from the ranks of the Blues' and Greens' fan-clubs, although it is quite clear that the circus factions were more often than not a danger to the security of the City than a reliable security force acting for the state. The fact that Justinian may have been compelled to rely upon them demonstrates the desperate position in which he found himself.⁷³²

Such a development may also explain the fact that the prison/barracks later occupied by these new units came to be referred to as ta noumera - the regiments - implying that two units or noumera were established, one from the Blues (*? τὸ νούμερον τῶν Βενίτων), another from the Greens (*? τὸ νούμερον τῶν Πρασίνων). One was eventually given responsibility for the prison, after 713, the other for the Chalke and the area of palatine walls around it. Both may originally have been garrisoned in the Zeuxippos, thus giving their name - in the plural - to that building, a term which was finally applied also to that unit which had most to do with it; while the duties of the other noumeron also provided a new name for the unit, (τὸ νούμερον) τῶν τείχεων or τοῦ τείχους.

The fact that the two regiments were each referred to as a noumeron may also be implied in the omission from the list of Kudāma dealing with the Constantinopolitan garrison of the Walls regiment. It mentions only the noumera, which I suggest actually refers to both units; and significantly, they are associated in his list with the Optimates. If, as I have suggested elsewhere, this part of Kudāma's list comes from an older source describing

the City garrison in the later seventh or earlier eighth century (possibly before 695), then the distinct title of ton teicheon may not yet have been ascribed to the other noumeron.⁷³³ As I have noted above, the Blue and Green demotai, along with members of other City guilds, in their temporary capacity as part of a City militia, had already been organised into 'regular' units - 'référred to as arithmoi' - for which regular lists appear to have been maintained, at least from the later sixth century. The establishment of the new noumera at the same time as one another is suggested by their parallel officia, placed originally under comités.

Now further support for the hypothesis that the noumera were established in the later seventh century may be adduced from a comment of Theophanes. Describing the events of the year 705, he notes that Justinian slew: ἀναρίθμητον δὲ μῆνας ἐκ τε τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ στρατιωτικοῦ καταλόγου'. Cameron considered that the politikos katalogos could mean the 'civil militia, called out to defend the City against Justinian'. It might equally mean citizens in general. But is it not also possible that it in fact refers to the new noumera, created from the civilian section of the populace - from the demotai, in fact - forming in practice a military force, a palatine 'police', but still regarded as essentially civilian in character and origins, and still placed under the authority of the City Prefect (from which they were transferred only during the reign of Constantine V)? As we have seen, both factions maintained the equivalent of katalogoi of members, and, given the usual Byzantine use of the word as a collective for those entered in such a list, it seems a plausible suggestion that it is to this katalogos that Theophanes refers. Admittedly, Theophanes' use of the singular would tend to favour one of the former interpretations; but I think the latter is a possibility worth bearing in mind.⁷³⁴

During Constantine V's reorganisation of the Constantinopolitan regiments and his establishment of the tagmata, the

noumera and Walls regiment were included in the re-shuffle, transferred to the authority of the military logothesion (see below), and placed under domestici with topotertai to assist them - although the latter may already have existed as assistants to the comites.

But Constantine retained the old titles of the officers, as he did in the scholae and excubitores. That Constantine did include the noumera and walls unit in his establishment of a loyal Constantinopolitan force is strongly suggested by Theophanes' references to the scholae, excubitores and other tagmata,⁷³⁵ and the presence of two βικάριοι from these units who appear during the reign of Constantine VI as convinced iconoclasts; or at least, convinced supporters of the rule and policies of Constantine V.⁷³⁶

The duties of the walls regiments and the noumera appear to have consisted primarily in guarding two of the imperial prisons and parts of the palace walls. That the regiment of the Walls was originally established to guard the walls of the palatine area appears very likely. It defended these walls during the eighth century and afterwards and was responsible also for the Chalke prison. Thus when the empress Theodora visited the three chief prisons of the City, the Praitorion, the Chalke and the noumera, she was conducted by the prefect of the City, the count of the walls, and the domestic of the noumera.⁷³⁷ During Michael III's reign, the command of the walls and the noumera was held by Theophilites, as ὁ τῶν Νουμέρων --- καὶ τοῦ τείχους κόπη,⁷³⁸ which again suggests the area of the palace rather than the Theodosian walls as the area of his command. During the reign of Leo III, reference is made to οἱ τὴν σκάλωσιν δεῖλοντες στήσαι στρατιώται, defending the palace area, who may have belonged to the noumera of the walls unit;⁷³⁹ while in 802 the officers who plotted with Nicephorus against Irene, who included the domestic of the scholae, appear to have found it necessary to trick the guards at the Chalke gate of the palace,

in order to gain entry.⁷⁴⁰ Theophanes' description informs us of two details: first, that the entrances, and therefore the walls, of the palace locality were guarded; second, that they were probably not guarded by one of the three regular tagmata, but by other units. For otherwise the domestic of the scholae Niketas would have had no difficulty in gaining their support in advance, or indeed in not posting the guards at all. That they were soldiers of the vigla is possible; but since the Chalke is named specifically, and since this was under the count of the walls in the mid-ninth century, the guards were more likely to have been of that unit.⁷⁴¹

During the ninth and tenth centuries, these two regiments also stood in for the tagmatic regiments proper⁷⁴² (as defined in the De Caerimoniis, where the former are often distinguished from the scholae, excubitores, arithmos and hikanatoi⁷⁴³) when the latter were on campaign; and were responsible for the security of the City and palace in the absence of the tagmata or the emperor, or both.⁷⁴⁴ They also acted at times as a police force, in the same way as the other tagmata, when the occasion arose.⁷⁴⁵

I have argued so far that the noumera and the regiment of the walls were formed during the later seventh century, probably during the first reign of Justinian II, from that section of the civil militia provided in emergencies by the guilds or fan-clubs of the Blue and Green chariot-racing teams. Originally enrolled for political reasons to strengthen the position of the emperor, their duties were connected primarily with the imperial palace and its two chief prisons, the Chalke and the Noumera. They were reorganised as part of the tagmatic force, placed under a domestikos, and transferred to the authority of the military logothesion by Constantine V in the second half of the eighth century, a development discussed below.⁷⁴⁶

This account goes some way towards reconciling the evidence for the early establishment of the two units in question - their archaic nomenclature, for example, and their presence in an early

list of Constantinopolitan units preserved in a later Arabic geography - with both the 'potential' 'militia' role of the official demes evident from the later sixth and seventh century; and with the fact of the close connection between the noumera and Walls units with the 'official' ceremonial demes of Blues and Greens in the ninth and tenth centuries, which Guillard has catalogued. It also provides, within the limitations imposed by the evidence, a context for their establishment. But it does not explain the association of the noumera and the Blues on the one hand with the domestic of the scholae; and on the other hand the association of the walls regiment and Green deme with the domestic of the excubitores.⁷⁴⁷ Significantly, the noumera and walls regiment, and the Blues and Greens, are never connected with any of the other tagmata - the hikanatoi, vigla or hetaireia; and significantly, the Blues and Greens, the noumera and Walls regiment, the scholae and excubitores, all existed long before the establishment of these later corps. The probability is, therefore, that the connection is an early one, formalised and rationalised by the various accounts of the De Caerimoniis. While the official demes were connected with the two noumera formed from them, it is clear that the scholae and excubitores were connected through the activities of their respective commanders as chiefs of the 'peratic' demes. Guillard has suggested that the Blue and Green demes of the City, as opposed to those of the peratic region, were in fact represented by the Whites and Reds respectively.⁷⁴⁸ This might possibly be acceptable for the later ninth and tenth centuries, but must in my view represent a deliberate rationalisation of the Hippodrome chariot-racing clubs by the authorities, and their association with two separate areas of the City and its environs for ceremonial purposes. The question remains, how did the domestics of the scholae and excubitores become so closely associated with the demes?

To answer this, it is necessary to look once again at the

early history of the noumera and Walls regiments. Since they were seemingly formed, in the first place, from demotai enrolled into the demes or guilds of chariot-racing supporters, it is probable that the two commanders of the units retained an important position in the guild hierarchy. Possibly they held the position of honorary demarch, or a similar title. They may thus have retained some authority over the clubs, which presumably still continued to supply a part of the City militia under the authority of the City Prefect, after the establishment of the two, noumera in the later seventh century,⁷⁴⁹ and may have appeared in ceremonies, for example, as both military officers and heads of sections of their demes.

Such an original connection between the noumera and the Walls regiment, and the Prefect of the City, appears to be reflected in later ceremony. On the Saturday after Easter the emperor held one of a series of receptions, in the Chrysotriklinos of the imperial palace. Invited to the reception were, the Prefect of the City, the two domestici of the noumera and Walls regiment, together with their topotetrai, the logothete of the Praitorian, and the symponos. During the same reception the γειτονιάρχαι and έπονται (officials, connected with the factions) and the πρωτοκαγκελάριοι of the Prefect are associated with the tribounoi and vikarioi of the noumera and Walls. Soldiers of the hetaireia were also present. Here we have a close association between two groups of officials, from the Prefect's officium on the one hand, and from the units of the noumera and the Walls on the other, an association which may reflect the original subordination of the demotai who made up the two noumera of Justinian II's time to the Prefect.

Another ceremony preserves a similar connection between the noumera and the Walls regiment, and the factions. This took place in the triclinium of Justinian, and involved the domestic of the scholae, the domestic of the noumera, the demarch of the Blues, the tribounoi and vicarioi of the noumera, and the

demotai; a similar ballet was enacted by the domestic of the excubitores, along with the commander of the Walls regiment, the demarch of the Greens, the tribunes and vicars of the Walls, and the demotai of the Greens.

In both these ceremonies is apparent a definite association of old-established officia, which in the case of the Prefect of the City and the demes certainly goes back to the sixth century and before. The close association of the noumera and the Walls unit with each of these groups would seem to me to reflect an original connection between all three, preserved, by the tenth century, in ceremonial alone.⁷⁵⁰ After the establishment of the two tagmata of the scholae and excubitores, however, the latter came to have precedence over the older noumera, who seem anyway to have been placed under the supervision of the domestici of the tagmata, and in this way the two senior domestics replaced the commanders of the noumera and Walls units on such ceremonial occasions; although when the tagmata were away, the commanders of the two lesser units again acted for the domestics, illustrating the original connection between the factions and the noumera and Walls units.⁷⁵¹

This situation appears to have arisen during the reign of Constantine V; for it was probably about the time of the establishment of the new tagmata that the supervision of the lists or katalogoi of demotai and the issue of the rogai of the demotai fell into the hands of the logothete of the stratiotikon. A passage in the De Caerimoniis informs us that at some time in the past (before the reign of Constantine VII) the Blues and Greens had become involved with the military; and whereas the 'ancient custom' had been to issue the rogai of the demotai or faction members through the praepositi, from the eidikon, the military logothesion with its chartularies and notaries had arrogated to itself the right to make these payments and to supervise the lists. It seems likely that this occurred when the two regiments, originally (and perhaps still in

the eighth century) recruited from the demotai, were transferred during Constantine's reforms from the authority of the Prefect to that of the tagmata (i.e. to that of the military logothesion). It seems to be these units who are described as Ὀνό τὰ τάγματα in the passage describing procedures for the defence of Constantinople during the eighth century; and the transfer from one sphere of authority to another, which must necessarily have involved the transfer of the regimental katalogoi, may also have resulted in the military logothesion obtaining and administering, together with those of the units originally recruited from them, the lists of demotai. Indeed, such a transfer could only have occurred if there developed a definite institutional connection between the Blue and Green factions and the military logothesion, in the form of the noumera and Walls regiments, of the sort I have described.⁷⁵²

How the so-called 'peratic' demes fit into this arrangement is uncertain. Possibly it was an emperor of the ninth century who formalised the association of two of the clubs with the peratic regions. But the evidence does at least suggest that the close ceremonial contacts between the commanders of the two leading tagmata and the demotai was quite simply a result of their supervisory function in regard of the noumera and Walls regiment, units in turn recruited originally from the Blue and Green factions, with whom they had maintained a close association.

In the foregoing account, I have suggested that the noumera and the teichistai or soldiers of the Walls were a seventh-century creation, established as guards for certain areas of the palatine enclosure and two of the more important imperial prisons. They were enrolled originally from that section of the militia provided in emergencies from, among other guilds, the Blue and Green chariot-racing fan-clubs, or factions.⁷⁵³ The term by which they eventually come to be known - noumera - is quite simply a later application of the term used of the civic

militia in descriptions of the events of 559 and later, the equivalent of arithmos or katalogos.⁷⁵⁴

Contrary to what has generally been accepted so far, however, and as I hope I have demonstrated above, neither the count of the Walls nor his regiment had any connection whatsoever with the Long Walls of Anastasius, or the area referred to by that name; nor was he the successor of the Praetor of Thrace, responsible for the district between the Theodosian walls and the Long Walls, a post established by Justinian I to replace the two vicarii of the region who had been established under Anastasius.⁷⁵⁵

The post of Praetor seems to have lapsed during the later sixth or seventh centuries, probably a result of the presence of large numbers of troops in Thrace and the Balkans, under the magister militum per Thracias or the magister militum praesentalis during the later years of Maurice's reign and the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius.⁷⁵⁶ The area may later have come under the authority of the Eparch of the City,⁷⁵⁷ and it may have formed a suburban province, although both possibilities seem to me very unlikely. It was not the same as the area called ἡ Ἀγρική, for the reference of Procopius to this district refers in fact to a quite different region of Thrace. As suggested above, the count of the Walls was responsible for the walls of the palace; and as confirmation of this, it is notable that neither the regiment of the walls nor its count are referred to in Justinian's letter of 687. Had the unit existed at that time, with the duties associated with the earlier Praetor of Thrace, it would surely have been mentioned, for the latter officer had in the sixth century a considerable force under his authority. It is more likely that by this time the area was supervised by the count of the Opsikion.⁷⁵⁸

There are other objections to the traditional assumptions, however. The Long Walls stretched for some forty miles across Thrace, and lie a considerable distance from Constantinople, two

days march according to Arab geographers.⁷⁵⁹ It would seem in the first place unlikely that a unit of apparently not more than 2,000 men (and probably far fewer)⁷⁶⁰ could (a) 'garrison' or 'man' such an extensive fortification, even if divided into small groups posted at the main gates; and would (b) have their quarters in the Chalke of the palace if their main duties were connected with walls such a distance away. That they were based in or near the palace seems quite clear from the account referred to already. The fact that both units have portarii on their establishment serves rather to confirm their connection with and duties in the palace prison of the Chalke and the Noumera prison, as Oikonomidès rightly saw - these officers are probably gaolers.⁷⁶¹

In the second place, it may legitimately be asked whether the Long Walls were ever 'manned' in the traditional sense of the word. They were originally constructed by Anastasius to protect the immediate environs of the capital, and to maintain a buffer district between the City and the frequent groups of Germanic and other raiders who had plagued the area throughout the fifth century.⁷⁶² Anastasius also established the two vicarii (later replaced by Justinian's praetor), one with civil, one with military authority, who were responsible for the walls and the district it protected. That the Long Walls were in theory meant to be manned, at least in times of danger, is clear from the existence of numerous watch-towers and several fortlets along its length. But it was clearly very difficult to hold, even though Justinian strengthened the towers and command-posts at each gate.⁷⁶³ Procopius' criticism must still have been to the point in the sixth century: οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν οἰκοδομίαν τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ἢ εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐξειργασθαι, ἢ φρουρεῖσθαι σὺν τῷ ἀκριβεῖ. Ἐπειδάν τε μοίρῃ τινὶ τούτων δῆ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκήψαιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἄπαντας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιοῦντο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐπιπίπτοντες ἀπροσδόκητοι κακὰ οὐκ εὐδιήγητα ἐξειργάζοντο.

Justinian's Novel 26, De Praetore Thraciae, suggests that the official who was responsible for the Long Walls (under the ultimate supervision of the magister militum praesentalis I) had a considerable force of troops at his disposal.⁷⁶⁴ Yet it is quite clear that in 559, 583, 601, 602 and 610, there were no troops available to man these fortifications, apart from the un-military scholae. Instead, scratch forces of militia, along with the emperor's guards, had to be marched out to face the enemy. In addition, a small force of soldiers stationed between the Long Walls and the new Theodosian walls in 626 did not even attempt to defend the former on the approach of the Avar advance guard, but withdrew immediately into the City. Surely, if there had been regular troops at this time to defend the Long Walls, we would read of them in the sources.⁷⁶⁵ As under the two earlier vicarii, therefore, it seems that whatever troops were based in the area of the Long Walls were under the command of the magister militum praesentalis I, and were on campaign with him on these occasions.

During the following two centuries, the Long Walls seem to have been of minimal significance in the defence of the City, although they did of course constitute a physical obstacle, and in this respect do appear occasionally to have played a useful role.⁷⁶⁶ But they seem rarely, if ever, to have been properly manned after the end of the sixth century, and by Irene's reign were already in a state of considerable disrepair.⁷⁶⁷ By the later eighth century, the Walls regiment and the noumera are both attested, and it would be strange to find a reorganised unit of the late eighth century defending a forty-mile stretch of broken-down and disused wall. That the walls were occasionally manned (when the troops happened to be on hand) and that their significance was realised, is clear both from the sixth-century references quoted above, and of the presence along parts of the wall of sherds of pottery dating from the sixth to the tenth century - perhaps relating to the

occasional presence of troops there - and an inscription of Basil II and Constantine VIII evidencing the repairs undertaken along the walls during their reign.⁷⁶⁸ But there is absolutely no evidence that there ever existed a unit especially commissioned for their defence. In all the battles that were fought in the area they are mentioned simply as a landmark rather than as a defended and contested line of fortifications; and during the several sieges of Constantinople, whether by Arabs or by Bulgars or by rival claimants to the throne, no mention is made of a unit of soldiers who might have been posted along the Long Walls. Indeed, references to the walls themselves are seldom, and they seem to have had little significance for Byzantines of the seventh century and after.

There remains the possibility that the Count of the Walls had to do with the Theodosian walls of the City. Again, the evidence against this is strong, and has been discussed above. In addition, the City walls needed no permanent garrison. Watchmen and guards on the gates there certainly were, but these came under the Prefect's authority, since it was he who was responsible for policing the City.⁷⁶⁹ During sieges or similar occasions, then the emperor's own guards - the tagmata (and almost certainly men from the noumera and teichistai too) after Constantine V, the detachment of the Opsikion currently based in the City before Constantine V - would have manned the walls. And unless the City was taken completely by surprise, there would almost certainly be provincial contingents drafted into the City at such times.⁷⁷⁰

The evidence seems to me conclusive. The Count of the Walls was responsible for sections of the palatine walls and the Chalke prison. He had nothing to do with either the Long Walls or the Walls of the City.

The district of Talaya, or Taila, or Tafla, which appears in certain Arab geographers of the later ninth and tenth centuries,⁷⁷¹ has also been at the root of several

misapprehensions, notably that it might be the successor to the earlier Long Walls region under its Praetor, referred to above. That there was an area distinguished as 'of the Long Walls', both in Greek and in Arabic sources, there can be no doubt.⁷⁷² But that it was a separate administrative district, coming under the Prefect, as Gelzer held, is dubious. Theophanes refers to the walls as lying in Thrace, and the region was distinguished chiefly by the presence of the Long Walls and the imperial estates there.⁷⁷³

As mentioned already, it was probably under the authority of the Count of the Opsikion, and later the Strategos of Thrace. During the tenth century, it appears to have been the area in which a proportion of the tagmata and field troops were quartered; and the solution to the word Talaya⁷⁷⁴ (which appears most frequently) lies in the Greek words τὰ ἀλλαγία = τὰλλαγία, which is phonetically indistinguishable from Talaya.⁷⁷⁵ During the later ninth and tenth centuries, and afterwards, the term allagion was applied to a unit of soldiers of varying size, and also to those regiments of the watch whose duties involved changing place at regular intervals and relieving one another.⁷⁷⁶

The term came thus to be applied to the whole district in which the corps involved were based, and it was natural that Arab observers should have seen in it a province rather than simply a district with a particular role, especially since the Long Walls gave it the appearance of a separate, distinct region. It is notable that the area was supposed to serve as a base for troops during the sixth century, and there is no reason to suppose that it did not retain this capacity during the following period.⁷⁷⁷

Chapter Five

The organisation and administration of the elite units in the later eighth and ninth centuries

Part one: numbers and internal establishment

The evidence for the internal organisation and administration of Constantine V's tagmata is scanty. A good deal comes from the later part of the ninth and tenth centuries, and so while it will be necessary to use this material and attempt to apply it retrospectively, a number of ceremonies which have been shown to date from the later eighth century, and which appear not to have been radically altered, suggest very strongly the continuity in the organisation of the tagmata - especially the scholai and the vigla - from their creation up to the tenth century.

As I have suggested, the organisation of the scholae, which were still in existence as a parade-ground unit in the eighth century, most probably took the form of an up-dating and rationalising of the structure which survived. The corps of domestici and protectores, which had merged with the scholae during the seventh century, was officially written off; instead, the two grades took on the duties of junior officers in each schola, which was headed by a comes.

The number of separate scholai within the tagma is difficult to ascertain. In the middle of the tenth century, there were nominally thirty, each commanded by a komes.⁷⁷⁸ Bury suggested that at this time there would have been some fifty men per bandon or schole, on analogy with the Praecepta Militaria of the emperor Nicephorus II; while Guilland, basing his estimation on the figures given by Ibn Khurradadhbih, who states that the emperor was guarded by six thousand soldiers and six thousand servants, suggested a total of two hundred per schole.⁷⁷⁹ But while Nicephorus' Praecepta makes it clear that the usual

cavalry bandon or allagion numbered fifty men, an earlier treatise, the Sylloge Tacticorum, gives more leeway, and makes the fifty-man limit the smallest; the maximum being about four hundred.⁷⁸⁰ This evidence, of course, relates to a much later period than that with which we are concerned, during which several changes in the structure of the scholai as established by Constantine V may have occurred. The figures of Kudāma, who compiled his geography in the 930s, are apparently out-of-date, but they also disagree with the older material supplied by Ibn Khurradadhbih. Kudāma gives each of the cavalry units based at Constantinople four thousand men (the scholai, exkoubidores, arithmos and federates) and each of the two infantry regiments the same, making a total of twenty-four thousand men at Constantinople.⁷⁸¹ But if we compare this more closely with Ibn Khurradadhbih's text, we arrive at a more reasonable figure. Guilland's reference to the figure of six thousand soldiers and six thousand servants, which Ibn Khurradadhbih does quote, refers in fact to the combined forces of the themata when united for expeditions, as will become clear below. Elsewhere, Ibn Khurradadhbih does make mention of the figure four thousand, on two occasions, each time when he refers to the garrison of Constantinople or of the palace explicitly. He makes a distinction between this force - the emperor's guard - and the field armies. Thus on page 76 we read: la garnison se compose de quatre mille cavaliers et de quatre mille fantassins, and on page 81: La garnison du palais se compose de quatre mille hommes de cavalerie et quatre mille hommes d'infanterie. But this statement is immediately followed by: Le camp du roi, qu'il soit dans sa résidence ou en expédition militaire, comprend quatre étendards (band), distribué à autant de patrices dont chacun a le commandement d'un corps de cavalerie fort de douze mille hommes, savoir six milles soldats et six mille servants. The last part of the statement gives a total of forty-eight thousand men, far too large a force to be considered a part of the tagmata; and

this is, in fact, a reference to the thematic armies. Even discounting the 'servants', twenty-four thousand is, in my opinion, far too large a figure for the tagmata, for such a large force permanently garrisoned at or near Constantinople would be not only a considerable drain on the resources of the empire; it would be unnecessary, for as we have seen, the tagmata were created partly as a security force to defend the emperors from possible thematic attacks; and the armies of the themes nearest Constantinople were by no means as large as this. Ibn Khurradadhbih gives ten thousand or less as the usual thematic army;⁷⁸² twenty-four thousand guardsmen would be taking security to a dangerously unstable degree, since such a large army established near the capital was at least as great a threat as the old Opsikion.

The answer lies in the figure of four thousand, repeated in different circumstances by both Kudāma and Ibn Khurradadhbih. According to the former, each of the six units of guards numbered four thousand men. According to the latter, the guards at Constantinople were grouped into two corps, one of cavalry and one of infantry, totalling four thousand each. But we must understand these corps as being composed of a number of smaller regiments. It seems in fact that Kudāma has misunderstood his source and his information; or that in trying to reconcile two apparently conflicting sources, he has overestimated the numbers. That there were six units in the City at the time his first source was compiled is probable, since he finds six names for them. But in reading Ibn Khurradadhbih - or the latter's source - he tried to reconcile the two groups of four thousand with his original six groups, and ended by giving each of his six regiments four thousand men.⁷⁸³ The sources of Ibn Khurradadhbih were the reports of al-Djarmi, a muslim prisoner-of-war released by the Byzantines in 845, as pointed out by Brooks; and of Kudāma and Ibn al-Fakīh, as well as Ibn Khurradadhbih, a lost list or lists of Constantinopolitan and

thematic regiments, of which Kudāma appears to have used one, and Ibn Khurradadhbih another. Kudāma and Ibn al-Fākih seem also to have used sources which were themselves based on al-Djarmi, although with many omissions. Al-Djarmi's material dates mostly from before 838, when Amorion was destroyed, although, as Winkelmann has shown, it may well contain information for the period up to 846; while the lost material, as I have suggested, dates partly from the reign of Nicephorus I. In the first half of the ninth century, therefore, the total garrison of the City can have amounted to little more than eight thousand, probably fewer than this - an estimate, incidentally, which fits far more comfortably with what is known of the demographic situation of the empire at this period. For it is worth remembering that the estimation of figures must depend at least as much upon what is known of the economic, social and demographic structure of a pre-industrial society as upon any figures in the sources, however 'reliable' they may appear to be. The question of the cost of maintaining and paying and above all of recruiting armies must be considered in the light of the structure of the society and the state as a whole, its needs and the ratio between productive and non-productive labour; and if whatever figures are available from the sources appear to conflict with what is otherwise known or supposed about a society, then both must be examined much more carefully. What is known of the Byzantine state during the eighth and much of the ninth century - a period of decline in population, of shrinking 'cities' and of both internal and external conflict - hardly supports high estimates of the numbers in either provincial or Constantinopolitan units.

It might, nevertheless, be argued that such a force was not large enough to serve as a field army with the emperors, and that the figure of 24,000 is far more reasonable. Against this, the comparatively small size of the tagmata during the first half of the tenth century - at a time when the empire's military activities were increasing - should be borne in mind (see below);

and also the frequent exaggeration of the numbers of soldiers participating in battles, to be found in Arabic, Byzantine and many other texts. Finally, it is quite clear that the tagmata rarely campaigned alone - they usually formed simply the 'hard core' of the Byzantine armies. Descriptions of their activities while on campaign with Theophilus, for example, hardly suggest that they totalled twenty thousand or more. They can have numbered a few thousand at the outside.⁷⁸⁴

The size of the units which made up this force is less easily defined. At one point in the tenth century, the excubitors numbered exactly seven hundred, including their officers; while the hikanatoi numbered some four hundred and fifty-six.⁷⁸⁵ In the late eighth century, there were at least eighteen banda of excubitors,⁷⁸⁶ and at least eight scholai, each with its komes.⁷⁸⁷ Whether or not there were only a small number of scholai and a large number of banda of excubitors, each group having different-sized units, is not known; but given the fact that the scholai and excubitors were both reorganised by Constantine V, and at the same time; that they were placed under a similarly 'rationalised' but originally much older organisation; and that their number was increased beyond what it had originally been (in terms of units per tagma) - there had been seven scholai before the reforms, but only three hundred excubitors - the size of the individual scholai probably equalled that of the excubitor banda; and fifty is a reasonable figure for each bandon or schole. This would give some nine hundred men for the excubitors and at least four hundred for the scholai at the end of the eighth century. Possibly as early as this there were thirty scholai, which would give the fifteen hundred suggested by Bury. If we add two more units to this total, each of between five hundred and one thousand men, we reach a figure which corresponds approximately to that reported by Ibn Khurradadhbih. No doubt the numbers within each schole or exkoubiton, as in the other units, varied greatly from time to time. Numbers had

fallen so low during the reign of Michael III, for example, that Basil I had to undertake a major recruiting drive and re-train a large number of guardsmen; while the number of units, or perhaps the number of men in each unit, was considerably increased at an early stage in the reign of Leo IV.⁷⁸⁸ In addition, it seems that new detachments of tagmata could be recruited for special purposes, such as large-scale offensive operations. Thus in the early tenth century, five hundred scholarioi were recruited especially from the Anatolikon theme for the expedition to Crete in 911.⁷⁸⁹ The numbers of the two tagmata of excubitors (seven hundred) and hikanatoi (four hundred and fifty-six) included in the Cretan expedition of 949 and listed in the De Caerimoniis are probably not typical - possibly they were normally less, possibly more, according to the exigencies of the moment, whether the unit had recently recruited new soldiers, and so on. But it seems likely that the average bandon in each of the various tagmata, regardless of how many of these banda went to make up each tagma, was numerically the same, for the units were all created or re-established within a fairly short time of one another, and were clearly organised on similar lines. The figure of fifty given by the Praecepta appears to apply only to the middle and later tenth century, but it is clear from the Sylloge that this particular figure was not unusual at an earlier period.⁷⁹⁰ The vigla or arithmos may at first have had a slightly different make-up, for as a provincial unit it would have been organised along the same lines as other provincial units. Its commander, a droungarios, was the head of up to one thousand men, theoretically at least, divided into two or three banda or arithmoi.⁷⁹¹ A seal of the chartularies of the arithmos suggests that to begin with there were at least two banda in the unit, each with its own administrative staff, although later material makes references to only one chartularios; the unit was probably reorganised, perhaps by Irene herself, on the same lines as the other regiments, with

banda of fifty men under comites.⁷⁹²

The evidence we have is not enough to make definite figures for each unit a possibility, however. What is clear is that for the later eighth and much of the ninth centuries, the total of the four chief tagmata in Constantinople was about four thousand men; but that, as during the tenth century, this figure may well have been increased temporarily.⁷⁹³

The internal establishment of the tagmata was similar in each unit, although the three leading regiments, the scholai, exkoubitores and vigla, had their own quite distinctive organisations to begin with. That of the hikanatoi was modelled on the officium of the drouggarios of the vigla, which was itself the nearest to the 'normal' establishment of the thematic field regiments.

a) The scholai

Taking the scholai first, it will be convenient to deal with the officium of the domestic in the order recorded by Philotheos in the Kleterologion. The leading officer below the domestic was the topotertes, who held the rank of spatharokandidatos at the end of the ninth century; although in 842/3 he had been of spatharios rank;⁷⁹⁴ and a seal of a protospatharios and topotertes of the scholae suggests that he might hold a higher rank than this during the early ninth century.⁷⁹⁵

This officer was the active second-in-command of the scholai, and often replaced the domestic as actual commander, notably during the tenth and eleventh centuries, where he commanded provincial detachments⁷⁹⁶ of the tagmata under the general authority of the local strategos.⁷⁹⁷ But his position as second-in-command is illustrated as early as the later eighth century by his role in certain ceremonies, when he often replaces the domestic.⁷⁹⁸ He was responsible for passing on from the domestic orders to the various comites of the scholai, and for ensuring that the regiment was properly equipped and turned-out,

in the same way as the topoteretai of the other tagmata were likewise the assistants and representatives of the other domestikoi. Whether or not there was only ever one topoteretes for each domestic is uncertain, but the probability is that there was more than one, certainly during the tenth century, when tagmatic detachments were frequently sent off on special missions to the provinces under the command of topoteretai.⁷⁹⁹ The topoteretes did have a greater part to play in the general command structure, however, for during the ninth century the domestic came increasingly to be the commander-in-chief of all the campaign forces, and must have delegated authority over his own unit more and more frequently to his second-in-command, the topoteretes, who was aided, it seems, by the chartularios of the ⁸⁰⁰ unit.

Hierarchically next in line come the komites, the commanders of the various scholai. Bury asks whether a komes might not have commanded more than one schole, but I see no reason to doubt that this was the case, since the evidence of texts and seals makes it clear.⁸⁰¹ In the ninth century, the komes held lower than spatharios grade, but by Philotheos' time he was included among the spatharioi; Kallistos, who joined the scholai during the reign of Theophilus, and was promoted to the position of komes, was later promoted from this position to join the imperial spatharioi.⁸⁰² The komes was the immediate commander of his schole, administratively and militarily, and was responsible to the topoteretes and the domestic for all his subordinate officers.⁸⁰³ He had to ensure the correct turnout of his men, for whose discipline he was also responsible, and he represented his schole, alone or with his subordinate domestikoi,⁸⁰⁴ in a variety of ceremonies. He received his promotion to the post of komes upon the recommendation of his domestic, and was appointed by imperial command, receiving an oratio from the emperor.⁸⁰⁵

The chartularios, who held the same rank as the komites,

follows. Like the topoteretes and the proximos, he belonged to the central bureau of the domestic, rather than to one of the various scholai.⁸⁰⁶ His duties were both administrative and military. As a leading member of the domestic's bureau, he commanded half of the tagma, subordinate to the topoteretes, who commanded the other half when on campaign without the domestic or in ceremonies; and he was a member of the group of senior staff officers in the scholai.⁸⁰⁷ His administrative duties were similar to those of the thematic chartularies described in Leo's Tactica: πρὸς τὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ καταγραφήν τε καὶ ἀναζήτησιν; and τοὺς λόγους τῶν ιδικῶν αὐτῶν διοικήσεων πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν ἀφορᾶν ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν μανθάνειν τὰς δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν πραγμάτων καταστάσεις καὶ διοικήσεις ἀσφαλέστερον ἠγούμεθα.⁸⁰⁸ Disregarding the references to civil matters, this passage summarises neatly the duties of the chartulary. He had a small number of clerks - notarioi - to aid him, although little is known of their number or the exact nature of their particular duties. One of them, the optio, was responsible also to the military logothete, and was in charge primarily, it can be assumed, of the issue of pay. He was no doubt descended from the officer of the same name of the sixth century and earlier; although whether the post continued to exist in all but name during the seventh and eighth centuries is difficult to say. Probably it was re-constituted along with the other administrative offices - chartulary, notaries and so on - at the time of Constantine's reform.⁸⁰⁹ The chartulary kept one regimental roster, and other records, and worked in co-operation with the military logothete's office, which retained a second list. He was generally responsible for the clerical side of the regimental establishment.⁸¹⁰

The origins of the post appear to lie in the existence of a schola chartulariorum which appears in the officium of the praetorian prefect of Africa in the sixth century, and which Bury has plausibly suggested was connected with the distribution of

the military annonae. Scrinarii who administer military expenses appear also on the staff of the praefectus Augustalis in Egypt, referred to as σταριώτοι.⁸¹¹ The chartularies and their staff of notaries in the themes are probably the descendants of these officials. No doubt when the tagmata were re-constituted by Constantine V, the supervision of pay and supplies fell to the military logothesion, which appointed a staff of notaries to aid the chartulary. The latter appears to have been under the joint supervision of the military logothete and the domestic, for as we have seen, he was also a soldier.⁸¹²

The domestikoi are the second officers of each schole, immediately subordinate to the komites, and counting as the δεύτεροι ἄρχοντες τῶν σχολῶν.⁸¹³ In the middle of the ninth century, they held the grade of kandidatoi, but in the Kleterologion of Philotheos, they are of strator rank.⁸¹⁴ They appeared in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, along with other officers and the domestic, in a number of ceremonies, and were an important part of the staff of the scholai.⁸¹⁵ In military terms, they were in command of the subdivisions of each schole, perhaps, as Bury has suggested already, in charge of groups of ten men in a schole of fifty.⁸¹⁶

Their origin lies in the earlier period, and they formed at first a separate corps. But as we have seen, this was finally amalgamated with the scholai, apparently during the seventh century, and the title was retained when the corps was reorganised in the second half of the eighth century.

The Kleterologion lists the proximos after the domestikoi. He is a subaltern officer, and appears as the head of the mandatores, the equivalent of the protomandator in other units, a duty which is confirmed by his presence at a tenth-century ceremony in which he plays an equivalent role to that of the protomandator.⁸¹⁷ He was also a soldier, however, and appears as the head of a group of soldiers sent during the reign

of Constantine V to prevent Stephen the younger from preaching in his prison, where he is described as an ἀνὴρ ξιφίρρος.⁸¹⁸ His rank was low, being below the grade of spatharios, a position which he maintains in the Taktikon Uspenskij and the Kleteroilogion.

The origins of the post are obscure, but it can best be understood as that of the senior non-commissioned officer, the link between the leading officers - komites and domestikoi - and the junior officers; as well as between the domestic and general headquarters on the one hand and the scholai or other units on the other. In the tenth century, for example, the proximos was at the emperor's disposal while on campaign, as head of the communications between the emperor and his generals, and the tagmata.⁸¹⁹ At an earlier period, during the sixth century and before, the title referred to the head of certain scrinia, such as the sacra scrinia memoriae, performing, according to Bury, similar duties to those carried out by the proximi on the staffs of the magistri militum and magister officiorum.⁸²⁰ But proximus could also mean the assistant to a certain official, the man to whom certain duties were delegated. Thus the μάρτυρος τῶν ἀδηννοιώνων mentioned above was the aide of the comes admissionum, in the same way as the βοηθὸς τοῦ μαρτύρου referred to in the same passage was the assistant to the magister officiorum.⁸²¹ The proximos of the scholai may well have been an assistant in the officium of the master of offices, who retained his connection with the scholai, when the master had lost most of his administrative duties, and become, rather than a link between the master's administration and the scholai, an officer in the scholai who liaised between the junior and senior officers.

During the tenth century, the proximos became much more important than hitherto. He appears as an officer of quite high rank attached to the entourage of the emperor, both at court and on campaign, undertaking missions which were usually carried out by spatharioi, koubikouarios and so on. The rise in his

fortunes demonstrates the importance to the emperor and to the imperial headquarters of the domestic of the scholai and his staff. As we have seen, the proximos of the mid-tenth century played an important role liaising between the emperor and his guards regiments.⁸²² A letter of the emperor Romanos Lakapenos refers to the spatharokandidatos and proximos Constantine, sent on a diplomatic mission to the prince of Ani; while letters of Archbishop Theophylact of Ochrida to a proximos may be directed to a similar official.⁸²³ By the later tenth century, however, the title appears to have been more widely used. The Katepano of Sicily had a proximos on his staff, an officer who acted as the $\epsilon\kappa\pi\mu\sigma\omega\nu$ of the Katepano in a boundary dispute; while an early eleventh-century Armenian Gospel was dedicated by John, imperial protospatharios and proximos of the Doux Theodorakan.⁸²⁴ These proximoi may belong to the scholai, although I think it more likely that the term was more widely adopted to refer to similar officials in a variety of bureaux.

Following the proximos come the protiktores, a group of lesser officers descended from the corps of the same name which was incorporated into the domestici and later the scholai during the sixth and seventh centuries.⁸²⁵ Their position on the staff of the scholai is difficult to determine. They are not grouped among the senior officers of the scholai, but neither do they figure among $\mathfrak{o}\iota\ \mu\iota\kappa\rho\iota\ \mathfrak{\ddot{o}}\chi\chi\sigma\tau\mathfrak{t}\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\mathfrak{\ddot{a}}\nu\ \tau\alpha\mu\sigma\tau\mathfrak{t}\omega\mathfrak{v}$.⁸²⁶ Their rank was low - beneath the stratores -⁸²⁷ and their function seems by this time to have been purely ceremonial. They took part in a number of court ceremonies, but never appear as active military officers. They were the bearers of certain imperial insignia - $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\bar{\eta}$ - and, along with the other junior officers in the scholai - $\epsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\chi\phi\bar{\rho}\sigma\iota$ and $\sigma\kappa\eta\pi\tau\phi\bar{\rho}\sigma\iota$ - appear to have made up a group of standard bearers,⁸²⁸ presumably attached to the staff of each komes.

The $\epsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\chi\phi\bar{\rho}\sigma\iota$ and the $\sigma\kappa\eta\pi\tau\phi\bar{\rho}\sigma\iota$ constituted similar

groups, being responsible for the εύτυχία (πτυχία) and σκῆνητρα, of which there were respectively seven and fifteen in the tenth century, stored, along with a number of other 'imperial' insignia, in the church of St. Stephen of Daphni and the church of the Lord.⁸²⁹ These insignia were held in great esteem, as can be seen from the attention devoted to them during a number of imperial ceremonies and processions;⁸³⁰ and may possibly have made up some of the original standards of the regiments concerned, or copies thereof.

The two final groups in the scholai were the βιομητικοί and μανδάτωρες.⁸³¹ The role and duties of the latter are well-known and need little explanation here. Such junior officers were present in most officia, whether civilian or military, their primary task being that of maintaining communications within a bureau or military unit.⁸³² Their chief in the scholai appears to have been the proximos already discussed.

The axiomatikoi are more of a problem. The term usually applies to those who possess an axioma or dignity, whatever their normal post may have been.⁸³³ But in a number of passages of the De Caerimoniis, it refers specifically to a group of officers in the scholai and the other tagmata.⁸³⁴ Guillard has suggested that the term, when used in this context, or in that of processions generally, refers to soldiers or officers in the tagmata who hold an axioma as well as their regular post.⁸³⁵ The axiomatikoi are certainly a distinct group within the scholai and the tagmata;⁸³⁶ but their exact position is difficult to ascertain. Guillard also suggests that since the axiomatikoi of the scholai appear sometimes to have no axioma, they derive their name from their duties, which consisted of escorting those who held axiomata or who had newly received titles.⁸³⁷ The alternative which I propose is that they were simply the subaltern officers of the scholai, the ducenarii and centenarii, officers who formed part of the original establishment of the

unit before the reform of Constantine V, but who do not appear in the eighth- and ninth-century sources. Since they survived in other units - notably the excubitores - and arithmoi - there is no reason for their not having survived in the scholai. Thus the phrase, when used of the other tagmata, is simply a generalised reference to officers of equivalent rank in these units - sinatores, doukiniaires, and probably the various standard-bearers - signophoroi, bandophoroi - as well.⁸³⁸

They were associated on the whole with the patrikioi - in processions, at appointments and so on - receiving synetheiae upon the promotion of the former, and accompanying them, with members of the senate, on processions. They were also present at imperial coronations, in association with the Senate.⁸³⁹ Possibly they were members of the scholai and other tagmata who, because of their ancient titles, were chosen from among the lower groups of active tagmatic officers to accompany those who had gained admission to the senatorial and patrician order. In this respect, Guilland's second suggestion (see note 837 above) may be partially valid, in that this came to be a secondary meaning of the term.⁸⁴⁰ Now the original status of the ducenarii and the centenarii in the sixth century was higher, of course - that of senior centurions, equivalent to the position held in the eighth century by the protiktores of the scholai. But it is likely that in the earlier period it was the senior officers of the scholae and excubitores who accompanied the processions of newly-appointed dignitaries. The reform of the eighth century confirmed the lower status which they came to have after the absorption of the domestici and protectores into the scholae, but left them with their older state functions; a pattern which was then deliberately repeated in the structure of the other, later tagmata.⁸⁴¹

But it is perhaps dangerous to impose too rigid a classification upon the various ranks and titles within the tagmata. Axiomatikoi applies to a distinct sub-group of officers

within the scholai, and by extension, to similar officers in other tagmatic units. But the term axiomata is also to be found, and appears to have a more general meaning, referring to all the officers not specifically named in a particular context.⁸⁴² We may assume that the two terms were easily interchanged, especially when it is recalled that axiomatikos was in any case a general term for one who bore a title or dignity - axioma.⁸⁴³

In addition to those officers listed in the bureau of the domestic of the scholai, there were a number of minor posts, including, for example, topoteretai of the komites.⁸⁴⁴

The establishment of the scholai as described above was thus a mixture of old and new posts, many of them descended from the original palatine corps of the fourth to sixth centuries. The distinction between administrative and purely military activities remains, although blurred. The chartulary, for example, had a military role, at least during the tenth century; although he came under the authority of the military logothete, under whose auspices worked the optiones and notarioi responsible for the administrative records of the tagmata.

b) The exkoubidores

The organisation of the three other tagmata differed hardly at all, except that different titles were used. The excubitors, like the scholai, had a long history, maintaining a nominal existence up to the time of Constantine's reforms. His reorganisation and re-establishment of these two units on an effective military basis meant the retention of the surviving older titles, but with changed functions; and the admission to the roster of new grades.

The topoteretes of the excubitors was the second-in-command to the domestic, and had similar duties to his counterpart in the scholai.⁸⁴⁵ A topoteretes of the comes is referred to at the council of 680, but was of very high rank and belongs to the old

establishment. In the later eighth and ninth centuries the topoteretes ranked as a strator or spatharios, and later spatharokandidatos, but certainly not as ἡρός θύτης πατρίκιος.⁸⁴⁶ The topoteretes of the excubitors may, like that of the scholai, have commanded provincial detachments of the unit. In the first half of the tenth century, the tagma of the excubitors numbered seven hundred men, including the officers; but there may have been additional detachments in Thrace and Macedonia. The De Caerimoniis refers on one occasion to more than one topoteretes, and the inconsistencies over this title would suggest that there were at times, perhaps infrequently, several topoteretai for each of these units.⁸⁴⁷

The chartulary follows the topoteretes in the list of Philotheos, an officer whose duties and history are doubtless the same in all the tagmata.⁸⁴⁸ There follow the skribones, the commanders of the various banda of excubitors, equivalent to the komites of the scholai.⁸⁴⁹ As we have seen, they formed the officer corps of the excubitors at an earlier period, but the title lost its active significance during the later seventh century. The title was retained during the reforms of Constantine, and applied to the officers subordinate to the domestic and the topoteretes. Their duties were the same as those of the komites of the scholai,⁸⁵⁰ and they also had additional ceremonial duties in association with the kandidatoi and imperial mandatores, which may reflect their original semi-independent status as an elite officer corps, a status they retained, like the kandidatoi and spatharioi, through the seventh and eighth centuries, in their capacity as the officers of a ceremonial regiment. It might also reflect the use of the title during this period as an honorific.⁸⁵¹

Bury considers that the skribones of the ninth and tenth centuries are no longer active officers; and he also connects them with the deputati scribones referred to in Leo's Tactica, officers whose duty it was to collect the injured from the

battlefield and take them back to the field hospital.⁸⁵² That the excubitor skribones were active officers, however, is clear from the reference to their duties on service in the De Caerimoniis. As for the scribones/deputati, I do not think that there is any connection between the skribones, officers of the excubitors, and those referred to by Leo. In the sixth century, these deputati were, as their name implies, soldiers deputed from each unit to follow some distance behind their regiment and rescue the wounded.⁸⁵³ The term was still used in the middle of the tenth century. But skribones occurs in several forms - οκρίβωνες, οκρίβωντες, κρίβωντες. In the Sylloge Tacticorum, it is kribantes, and since this treatise was compiled shortly after the middle of the tenth century - when skribones as officers in the excubitores existed and retained their military duties - I do not think the connection between deputati scribones and those of the excubitores can be maintained. Had the men involved been tagmatic skribones, then the writer of this treatise would have written οκρίβωνες.⁸⁵⁴ Finally, it would be very strange to find relatively high-ranking officers engaged upon such lowly duties, for which an extremely large number - far more indeed than ever existed - would have been required.⁸⁵⁵

The skribones of the excubitors were thus the senior officers of their tagma below the topotertes and the domestic. They were followed by the protomandator, who had similar duties to those of the proximos of the scholai,⁸⁵⁶ and by the drakonarioi, officers of low status, but who appear to hold a position similar to that of the subordinate domestikoi in the scholai. Their duties appear to be those of active subordinates to the skribones, and ensign-bearers; for while being classed with the skribones, they are also grouped with other ensign-bearers from the remaining tagmata.⁸⁵⁷ Their original duties were, of course, as ensign-bearers, as their name suggests;⁸⁵⁸ and while they appear to have preserved this aspect of their duties during the seventh and eighth centuries, Constantine's reform

seems also to have turned them into junior officers, equivalent to the lesser domestikoi in the scholai, and the kentarchai in the vigla and hikanatoi. Their δρακόντια were kept in the church of the Lord, and numbered twelve, although there were undoubtedly more drakonarici than this - there were at least eighteen ⁸⁵⁹ exkoubita at the end of the eighth century.

Of the remaining five groups of officers listed by Philotheos, the mandatores need no comment.⁸⁶⁰ The σκευοφόροι and σιγνοφόροι were bearers of imperial insignia, like those of the eutychophoroi and skeptrophoroi in the scholai, posts which were probably established by Constantine's reform.⁸⁶¹ The σινάτωρες have a much older origin, being originally subaltern officers, immediately below the komes and his personal domestic.⁸⁶² By the time the reform was instituted, the senatores had lost their original duties and role, and like the protiktores in the scholai were relegated to the role of junior officers and standard-bearers, with whom they are occasionally grouped.⁸⁶³

Finally, the legatarici, a second group of mandatores, found also in the vigla and in a number of other palatine bureaux, and possibly possessing police duties.⁸⁶⁴ Their origins are obscure, but probably go back to the late Roman period. John, an apo legatarion in the second half of the eighth century may have been an excubitor, for he was a member of a community of iconophile ex-soldiers purged by Constantine V.⁸⁶⁵ The presence of this post in the excubitors and in the arithmos may reflect their fourth- and fifth-century origins.

c) The vigla

The vigla or arithmos, although reorganised by Irene after its adoption as a palatine regiment, nevertheless retains clear signs of its origins as a field unit, a vexillatio. The duties of the various officers listed in the Kleterologion and the De Caerimoniis are the same as those of equivalent officers in the

⁸⁶⁶ other tagmata. The komites were the equivalent of the komites and skribones in the two regiments already discussed; the ἀκόλουθος is to be equated with the proximos in the scholai and the protomandator in the excubitors.⁸⁶⁷ The kentarchoi, originally commanders of one hundred men - although in practice often fewer - were the subordinates of the komites of the unit.⁸⁶⁸ Of the remaining eight groups listed in the Kleterologion, the bandophoroi and labouresioi demonstrate the ancient origins of the unit, both being ensign-bearers, with titles familiar in the fifth and sixth centuries. The labouresioi signified originally those who carried the regimental labarum, the standard adopted during the reign of Constantine I and issued to the units of comitatenses and vexillationes.⁸⁶⁹ The semeiophoroi were likewise ensign-bearers, but probably of the eighth-century establishment, introduced perhaps to make the new arithmos match the uniform organisation of the other tagmata. The group of δουκινιάτωρες is difficult to identify. They may also have been ensign-bearers, but were originally field officers - ducenarii - subordinate to the comes or tribunus of a bandon. Their presence is again illustrative of the antiquity of the unit. They are the equivalent of the sinatores in the excubitor tagma, and would originally have ranked slightly below them.⁸⁷⁰ The reason for their considerable loss in rank - they were originally senior to the centenarii (kentarchoi) - is to be found in the simplification of the tactical organisation of field units during the sixth and early seventh centuries, for there was no call for sections of two hundred men in the small units which predominated at this time, units whose average strength was between two hundred and five hundred men.⁸⁷¹ There is no mention of such officers in Maurice's Strategikon.

The mandatores, who are connected with the legatarioi, appear to have had the usual duties of such officials, and in addition acted in a police capacity under the authority of the drouggarios, who was sometimes responsible for the execution of

justice in the imperial court. In an account of the reign of Theophilus, for example, the mandatores are sent by the drouggarios to bring certain witnesses before the emperor's court.⁸⁷² This would tend to confirm the suggestion that the legatarioi, who are closely linked to the mandatores in the vigla and in the excubitors, also had police or disciplinary duties as their chief function.

The remaining groups - the θυρωποὶ and διατρέχοντες - were probably created during Irene's reign, when the vigla was first established as the security regiment of the palace.⁸⁷³ Whether or not the diatrechontes of the arithmos can be equated with those attached to the bureau of the logothete of the Drome, as Oikonomidès suggests, is doubtful.⁸⁷⁴ They are more likely to have been liaison officials, like the mandatores, who maintained communications between the headquarters of the vigla, in the Hippodrome, and the various bureaux with whom the drouggarios had constant dealings.⁸⁷⁵ The references cited by Oikonomidès might be to these or to the diatrechontes attached to the logothete of the Drome, but there is no reason to suppose that the two groups are the same.

d) The hikanatoi

The regiment of the hikanatoi appears to have been modelled exactly on the vigla. Only those posts which were peculiar to the vigla - the akolouthos and the labouresioi - were omitted; and instead of the former we find the more usual protomandator. Otherwise the establishment is the same.⁸⁷⁶ It is significant that this unit, created deliberately by Nicephorus I, and the only one of the four tagmata which was not an older unit reorganised, should have been modelled after the vigla, rather than either the scholai or the excubitors. It suggests that the vigla, which was originally a field unit of the theme forces, retained an organisation that was not seen as anomalous; that is, its basic structure was similar to that of most other units of

the theme armies, whereas the scholai and excubitors were both peculiar in having a variety of obsolescent groups with particular functions incorporated within their structure, not easily used as a model.

It should be clear from the foregoing account that the administration of the four tagmata, was standardised. Titles of officers or officials varied, but functions did not. The scholai were an exception, insofar as they were closely connected with the kandidatoi. As I have shown, the appearance of a group of active kandidatoi (as opposed to the large and diverse group of officials and others already bearing the title as an honorary dignity) who were attached to the Hippodrome, connected with similar groups of spatharioi and mandatores, under the supervision of ὁ πρωτοσταθάριος τῶν βασιλικῶν; and of kandidatoi closely linked to the scholai, is evidence for the reorganisation of an active corps of kandidatoi, recruited from among the scholarioi to begin with, and serving in special detachments at court.⁸⁷⁷ Originally divided into two groups, the (imperial) kandidatoi and the kandidatoi of the infantry, they later formed one group under the chief of the imperials.⁸⁷⁸ The distinction between the two groups appears to have derived from the division of the scholai into mounted and foot sections (for palatine and ceremonial duties at least), a distinction which did not become permanent.⁸⁷⁹ Their position was equivalent to, or perhaps slightly inferior to, that of the komites of the scholai. They formed a special group, perhaps within each schole - there are seals of kandidatoi of the fifth and eighth scholai, which proves that kandidatoi were no longer drawn from the sixth and seventh scholai as before - of men who were rewarded for good service or other reasons.⁸⁸⁰ But while counting as members of the scholai, they came under the authority of the protospatharios of the imperials.⁸⁸¹ This post does not appear until the later eighth century, although the βασιλικὸν ἄνθρωποι, made up of spatharioi, mandatores and others in close

attendance upon the emperor, make their appearance as a distinct group at the beginning of the reign of Leo IV, an appearance which I consider must be connected with the reforms and reorganisation of the palatine corps undertaken by Constantine V.⁸⁸² The post of protospatharios of the imperials was probably created to supervise the various groups of kandidatoi and spatharioi serving in different areas of the palace, and to bring them under a more unified control; although the kandidatoi were still recruited from among the scholai, as the evidence suggests, well into the tenth century.⁸⁸³

For the organisation of the other 'tagmatic' units I have referred to, we can say little about the Ethiopians or the Tessarakontarici. Their establishment was probably similar to that of the hikanatoi. The federates, who made up a tourma in the Anatolikon district, were almost certainly organised in the same way as other provincial corps, wherever they happened to have been stationed. Their commander was a tourmarches, with local authority over recruitment and civil affairs, although how far his competence extended in fiscal matters is difficult to say.⁸⁸⁴ The military organisation of the tourma no doubt corresponded with that of other tourmai in other themata, as described by Leo VI and the Arab geographers; that is to say, divided administratively into banda, each under a komes, and grouped for tactical purposes into drouggoi, under drouggarioi.⁸⁸⁵

Part two: recruitment and legal privileges

Recruitment of tagmatic soldiers was 'primarily voluntary, although it is clear that, as in the sixth and seventh centuries, extensive recruiting campaigns were undertaken to enlist men to the colours, including probably the offer of certain cash rewards upon signing up. Constantine's initial establishment seems to

have been based on the thematic forces, however, and notably those of the Anatolikon theme and similar regions. When Eirene disbanded sections of the scholai and excubitors in 786, she sent them, with their families, back to their own lands.⁸⁸⁶ Shortly afterwards, they are found fighting in the Anatolikon army, where many of them were killed during a Byzantine defeat.⁸⁸⁷ It seems, therefore, that Constantine recruited into his tagmata soldiers from the army of the eastern themata, and brought them to Constantinople, where he provided their families with quarters and equipped them as elite troops. Note that the disbanded scholarioi were willing to hand over their weapons, which suggests that these had been an imperial issue.⁸⁸⁸ Constantine's choice of these soldiers may have been based on two chief considerations: first, it had been the Anatolikon army which supported him most loyally during the rebellion of Artavasdos; soldiers from this district would be likely to have maintained their loyalty towards him after his victory. Second, the eastern regions appear to have been more favourable to Constantine's iconoclast policy, not only among the orthodox population, but also among those who, secretly or openly, professed heretical beliefs.⁸⁸⁹ The emperor certainly made use of the latter groups in his attempts to establish a strong military defence in Thrace, for example, and he was later reviled for his tendency to favour such groups.⁸⁹⁰ It is interesting to note in addition that on his flight to the Anatolikon district in 742, Constantine made certain promises to the troops in order to gain their allegiance, and it is possible that this later took the form of up-grading substantial sections of these troops and garrisoning them in Constantinople as tagmatic units.⁸⁹¹

Thus it seems that the initial recruitment of the tagmatic forces took place from among the theme soldiers of the Anatolikon area, and perhaps other themes also. Certainly, upon their release from tagmatic service, the soldiers concerned returned to their own districts and apparently continued their original

military duties.

After this time, however, it is clear that recruiting campaigns in the province and volunteers provided the bulk of the tagmatic forces. Thus Ioannikios was recruited into the eighteenth bandon of the tagma of the excubitors in 773, at the age of nineteen, κατ' ἐκλογὴν ὀκριβῆ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου ἐντάσσεται.⁸⁹² Shortly after, Leo IV carried out a further recruitment of tagmatic soldiers, presumably in the same way, by sending out parties of recruiting officers. These might be headed by the commander of the unit himself, as when Michael of Amorion, as commander of the excubitors, was sent away by Leo V to administer the recruitment of new guardsmen;⁸⁹³ while the soldiers themselves might be unenlisted free men, or theme soldiers. A story of Theophilus' reign relates how a soldier of the Opsikion forces wished to become a scholarios, but had to apply through his own strategos for permission to enrol in the guards. The general in fact refused to recommend the man for promotion, although as the result of the theft of the man's horse by the general the case came to the attention of the emperor, who ordered that the men be tried out in battle first, and if suitable, to be enrolled into the scholarioi.⁸⁹⁴ While the story is in fact concerned with Theophilus' legendary justice, it relates a number of interesting details. Theme soldiers could evidently enrol into the tagmata with permission from their strategos, through whom the application was made, at least in normal circumstances, presumably so that the theme chartulary could write them off the list of men owing service in the provincial army. It was up to the strategos to vouch for the bravery and fitness of the soldier in these circumstances. The soldier in question was initially refused permission by the strategos, who considered him unfit. In the event, he was proved correct, for the soldier was killed while fleeing from the enemy in battle.⁸⁹⁵ The story also implies that the man would have been willing to let the general have his horse in return for

recommending him for the scholai, and is an interesting example of an officer refusing what amounted to a bribe.

Enrolment of theme soldiers was therefore carefully controlled, for obvious reasons. Those not responsible for special duties with regard to the provincial forces, the post or whatever, were apparently able to enrol as they wished, if they qualified. How far the recruiting officer checked up on those who offered themselves for service is difficult to say. Leo, Michael and Thomas were able to enrol in the retinue of Bardanios Tourkos without difficulty; no doubt similar recruits were accepted as guardsmen.⁸⁹⁶ Kallistos, who was killed after the capture of Amorion in 838, joined the tagmata as a young man soon after completing his education in Constantinople, where he had been sent as a child by his parents. He was enrolled because of his strength and his good family. Whether he volunteered - as seems likely - or whether he was 'recruited' by officers of the tagmata, is not clear.⁸⁹⁷

Later recruitment seems also to have been voluntary, sometimes with cash bounties or rewards. Thus the troops enrolled by Ooryphas received forty nomismata upon their enlistment, a reward which no doubt made service in this unit very popular indeed. During the tenth century, special contingents of tagmatic soldiers were raised from among the theme armies, and likewise received a bounty and more favourable rates of pay.⁸⁹⁸ When Basil I succeeded to the throne, he found it necessary to enrol new tagmatic forces, which he did by making up the pay to its proper level, and by offering other inducements to encourage the enlistment of new recruits.⁸⁹⁹ As in the later sixth century, therefore, the recruitment of tagmatic forces was based chiefly on volunteers, who might join up for a long term, as did Ioannikios (who served for over twenty years), and remain in the ranks, or who might enlist with promotion and a military career in mind, as did Kallistos. Cash inducements, high rates of pay, and the provision of equipment by the state,⁹⁰⁰ as well as a

rise in social status and private wealth all contributed to make service in the tagmata desirable. The soldier whose horse was stolen was prepared to give it as a gift to the general, in return for his enlistment under the name of scholarios, and although his motives for joining appear to be those of bettering his social and economic position, the value of a place in the tagmata was clearly considerable.

The legal qualifications for recruitment into the tagmata differed little from those of the sixth century and earlier, and had probably remained in force; applicable to all soldiers, throughout the seventh and eighth centuries. Slaves were prohibited from enlisting, as were those who had been convicted of adultery or similar crimes, or publicly disgraced, condemned to exile, dishonourably discharged previously, and so on. It was also forbidden for monks or priests to join the army, and likewise for soldiers once enrolled to abandon their military service to join the Church.⁹⁰¹ The regulation concerning the holding of dignities or functions in duplicate was retained, even though it no longer applied in every aspect. The duplication of dignities was permitted; that of strateiai, that is to say, functions which involved membership of a recognised ordo; or of minor dignities, was not. Thus membership of a thematic force which constituted a strateia in the legal sense⁹⁰² was not compatible with membership of the tagmata, unless, as we have seen, special regulations were followed which allowed this.⁹⁰³

The chief requirements apart from these were physical prowess and strength. Young men who could be trained from the beginning were preferred, but for those who were older, and had already had some combat experience, some evidence of their fighting prowess was required. Most of the evidence which survives concerning the tagmatic soldiers suggests that the recruiting parties preferred the young, for such men could be welded into an elite force, remaining in the régiment and passing on their skills and esprit de corps to new recruits as they were enlisted. Ioannikios, who

enlisted at the age of nineteen, was still serving very actively in his forty-third year. The soldiers whom Leo and Constantine recruited were very probably enrolled young, for a good number of them still dwelt in Constantinople in the early ninth century,
⁹⁰⁴ although no longer members of the corps.

The minimum age for enlistment was eighteen years, as it had been from the fourth century, and as a number of texts make clear. It applied to theme soldiers as well as to tagmatic troops.
⁹⁰⁵ The maximum age for enlistment seems still to have been forty years, as in the later sixth century, although soldiers who enlisted before this age could serve until well after their fortieth birthday.
⁹⁰⁶ Ioannikios served until after he was forty-three, and Luke the stylite may have been forty-eight when he retired from the army of his theme.
⁹⁰⁷ The minimum period of service for theme soldiers appears to have been twelve years, if the report by Ibn Khurradadhbih is accurate; it was probably the same for the tagmatic troops, but there is no evidence for this. If forty years was the maximum age for enlistment, then fifty-two might have been the usual age for retirement. That there was an approximate limit on the length of service, although nowhere legally defined, is clear from Nicephorus' passage about the scholaroi of Constantine, for he refers to some of them as retired or too old for service, although they could still cause trouble in the City.
⁹⁰⁸ But soldiers might serve for at least twenty years, for the Basilica retains a clause of the codex Iustinianus releasing from sordida munera those who serve twenty years and more.
⁹⁰⁹

The process of registering the recruits is retained in the Basilica from the sixth century legal texts, but it is difficult to say whether or not the details of the process remained the same, although there is little doubt that the general admission of recruits followed the same lines. Permission from the military logothesion, under whose administrative jurisdiction the tagmata fell, had first to be obtained in the form of probatoriae

or θειαὶ ἀντίγραφαι. These were issued to the new recruits, who were then entered on the roster of the tagmata they had joined. The roster was kept by the chartulary of the tagmata in the military logothesia.⁹¹⁰ The tagmata were at first no doubt kept under the close scrutiny of the emperors, especially of Constantine V and Leo IV, who were responsible for the initial intake of tagmatic troops, and who wished to maintain a strongly iconoclast force, favourable to the ruling house. Theophanes' and others' descriptions of the way in which Constantine educated and purged his guards are indicative of the strict control he kept over recruitment.⁹¹¹ Likewise, Leo V ordered the recruitment of more excubitors, for which rescripts were presumably issued, although the recruiting campaign itself was directed by Michael the domestic.⁹¹² But during the ninth century the domestic of the scholai became increasingly the supreme commander of all the tagmata, with responsibility for recruitment also. Certainly, during the tenth century, the domestics of the scholai and excubitors were responsible for the appointment of their subordinate officers - komites, domestikoi and protiktores, and skribones - as their presence at special promotion ceremonies indicates. In normal circumstances they themselves may have made the appointments and passed on the insignia or documents of office,⁹¹³ a situation which was probably normal from the time of the establishment of the units.

Once enlisted, the soldier of the tagmata received a number of privileges, some of which he shared with other members of the imperial armies also. The most important of these was that of military peculium, that is to say the right of enlisted men to dispose of property gained through military service or by inheritance as they wished, without reference to the conditions of the lex falcidiae (whereby personal property must be apportioned among certain groups of relatives before its dispersal).⁹¹⁴ The households of the provincial soldiery were also exempted from all impositions except the basic taxes, a

custom which had existed from before the late Roman period, and which characterises the privileged position of the soldier and the importance which the state attached to his maintenance. These regulations had applied generally in late Roman times; and although they have been associated on the whole with 'thematic' military holdings during the later period, would seem to have applied to all soldiers. Thus tagmatic troops likewise gained exemption from all extraordinary or regular impositions, except for the usual public tax.⁹¹⁵ Soldiers in general were not to be condemned to the mines or tortured, although it is unlikely that such a regulation was always observed, especially during periods of internal unrest or repression.⁹¹⁶ But on the whole, it appears from the later legal texts that soldiers preserved the privileged position they held at the end of the sixth century, and this is supported by what is known from, among other sources, military treatises.

As well as these more limited privileges, the tagmatic soldiers, like all distinct groups within Byzantine society, had the right of appearing in the courts of their own commanders for offences relating to their duties. The extent of the jurisdiction of the domestics of the tagmata is not known. Clearly they had authority over their officers and men for internal matters, and they shared jurisdiction with other relevant officials in matters which concerned a tagmatic soldier and a member of another group, whether civilian or part of the bureaucracy.⁹¹⁷ Similarly, the wives, dependent widows and children, and other legally dependent relatives remained under the appropriate authority, so that they also had the right to appear in their own court.⁹¹⁸ But the laws of praescriptio fori, by which a plaintiff could refuse to appear in any court but his own, even for criminal offences, does not seem to have been retained, except for exceptional cases. Thus the regulations of the codex Iustinianus which abolish rights of praescriptio fori are retained in the Basilica, while those which

restore the privilege to certain groups are omitted.⁹¹⁹ Those clauses which are retained, however, and which deal with the rights of those who possess the privilege of præscriptio, are difficult to interpret, for they relate to the court of the magister officiorum, an officer who no longer possessed such wide authority; and indeed whose titles by the tenth century referred to a dignity and not a post.⁹²⁰ These passages, it is clear, like many other out-of-date clauses referring to obsolete posts or to situations which no longer applied, were meant as examples, and were included in the text of the various revisions of the Justinianic laws in order to illustrate certain technical, legal processes. We may assume, I think, that although prescription of forum no longer applied to the subordinates of the master of offices, it may have applied still to certain groups of favoured officials, or for limited periods in exceptional circumstances.⁹²¹ Whether or not the court of the domestic of the scholai or the courts of the other domestics exercised such powers is difficult to say. Since he had no provincial detachments serving under him, at least until the tenth century, it is unlikely that the necessity of obtaining this right was pressing. Ahrweiler has already noted two possible references to the extra-military legal activities of the domestic, for the second half of the ninth century, but as she has herself pointed out, these might equally refer to matters of internal jurisdiction.⁹²² During the tenth century, however, detachments of all the tagmata were based in the provinces, temporarily and permanently, and will normally have come under the legal authority of the local strategos. For military purposes, such detachments were in effect a part of the local army, and subject to the orders of the local commander.⁹²³ But legally they retained their dependence upon their own court, and may have had the right to appear in that court alone even when bringing a case of purely provincial relevance. It was a fundamental principle of Roman and Byzantine law that the

plaintiff must bring a suit in the court of the defendant, a ruling which was in legal theory aimed at assuring the latter his/her basic rights. This applied to military courts also for civil and criminal offences; so that cases had to be heard in the court of the appropriate commanding officer when involving two soldiers, or when a person subject to the jurisdiction of a different court brought a case against a soldier.⁹²⁴ This ruling was overridden only by imperial edict, or by the application of the right of praescriptio fori (until the middle of the sixth century at least); or when the case involved matters not within the competence of the appropriate judge, in which case the matter was referred to a higher court, generally one of those in the capital which dealt with more specialised points of law or privilege.⁹²⁵ There is unfortunately no evidence on the matter which can lead to a completely satisfactory conclusion. Neither are there any examples in the Peira which might illuminate the problem. The one reference to the special courts of officers like the domestic of the scholai would suggest that praescriptio fori no longer existed as a definable legal instrument, for the passage discusses the authority of the various officers involved; and while giving examples of the misapplication of such authority, which resulted in the invalidation of the decision reached by the court, it makes no mention of exceptions to the rule: ἐὰν οὖν τις ἔχων δίκην, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθής ἔστιν ἢ διαθήκη, ἐλκύσει τὸν ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ, ὁ δὲ ἀμυνοτηθῇ καὶ ψφίσονται τι κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐπαρχος, οὐκ ισχύει ἡ δικαιοδοσία· δμοίως καὶ ἐὰν περὶ κεκωλυμένων βλαττίων ἡ ἑτέρας τέχνης κινῶν τις δίκην ἐλκύσῃ τὸν ἀντίδικον ἐπὶ τῷ παρα-θαλασσίῳ, οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ δύναται ἡ δικαιοδοσία τοῦ παρα-θαλασσίου· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δμοίως. Indeed, such a positive ruling seems to rule out the use of prescription of forum altogether. I think it most unlikely, therefore, that members of the staff of the domestic of the scholai, or of the tagmata as a whole, exercised this right during the eighth, ninth

and tenth centuries, or after.⁹²⁶

The privileged status of soldiers of the tagmata and the themata therefore remained much the same during the eighth and ninth centuries as it had done before this time. They formed juridically a collegium or koivóv, although the degree to which this affected the status and privileges of the provincial, thematic troops, must be left unexamined here.

The retention of the material referred to above and the deliberate omission from later legal texts of certain earlier material suggests that the codifiers were up-dating their material to some extent, even if the 'reality' which their texts attempted to deal with was in some ways still a theoretical one. It must in any event have been substantially modified in daily practice by the exigencies of Byzantine administrative and cultural tradition - sale of justice, bribery and so forth - and by the fact that Byzantine 'judges' acted not in order to assert a unified legal and juridical practice, but rather to maintain an order and values in which they themselves believed. Legal texts, in this respect, acted merely as collections of cases and principles, from which one might extract material to support a given, conjuncturally-bound, argument.⁹²⁷

Part three: conditions of service; cash and other remunerations

Conditions of service in the tagmata were undoubtedly better than those of provincial regiments, if only because the soldiers were paid regularly, and garrisoned in or near Constantinople. The regular payment of the tagmatic units is well attested by the sources, and has been pointed out frequently.⁹²⁸ The procedure adopted for paying the troops involved officials of the military logothesion, who held copies of the muster-list of each unit, the men's names listed according to their rank and seniority within the unit. The chartularies controlled the

muster-list, while the optiones of the tagmata attached to the logothesion issued the cash or provisions accordingly.⁹²⁹ This regular monthly disbursement was no doubt interrupted during campaigns, although payment in the field - notably the provision of fodder, for example - must have been necessary at times. During Michael III's reign the tagmata soldiers were not paid regularly, and the result appears to have been the reduction of their numbers, presumably through desertion or absenteeism.⁹³⁰ The writer of the Logos Nouthetetikos advised the emperor to pay his tagmata regularly and in full: φιλοτιμοῦ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐπιβουλευθῆσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν.⁹³¹

The rate at which tagmatic soldiers were paid is not certain, although it was surely higher than that of ordinary soldiers; there was clearly a strong attraction to service in the tagmata which was a result of both the superior status and the higher salary of these troops.⁹³² The figures preserved for the expedition of 911/12 and 949 in the De Caerimoniis are of dubious value, for they tend to be expressed in terms of lump sums for the whole unit, including officers, making it difficult to establish how much each officer of the varying grades received and how much each soldier received.⁹³³ It is clear that the figure given for the scholarioi and the various groups of Armenians enrolled into the tagmata, or forming special units enlisted specifically for the Cretan expedition of 911/12, are not representative. For example, the Armenian soldiers of Platanion, especially raised for the expedition, received six nomismata each, with a further fourteen nomismata each, twice as much as that given to the 'Thrakesian' and Macedonian scholarioi.⁹³⁴ By comparison, the latter received a good deal more than the soldiers of the Thrakesian theme proper, over twice as much and about ten per cent more than the soldiers of the theme of Sebasteia.⁹³⁵ These figures, and those διὰ τοῦ προχρέου⁹³⁶ (which were advance payments to cover the cost of buying or replacing equipment and other preparations) may

represent exceptional payments, the first group apparently as cash grants to encourage enlistment and to cover the initial purchase of equipment. Such payments, where issued to regular soldiers, took the form of extra grants on top of their regular pay. On the other hand, a rate for the month might be deduced from these figures, since the text states that the Thrakesian thematic soldiers receive ten nomismata each, yet the average figure attained from the figures given amounts to some 4.3 nomismata. Are we to assume that fifty per cent of the Thrakesian roga is therefore for the officers? This might seem a reasonable assumption, although since the text explicitly mentions the men of the corps only, it is unclear. Alternatively, we may have here the roga for twice the length of time for which two nomismata are normally paid on expeditions - perhaps one month? Thus the Thrakesion troops receive not two nomismata for one month, but four for two months. If this hypothesis is correct - and it is both hypothetical and very tentative - then the 141 litrai and 24 nomismata (= 10, 176 nn.), averaging 9.8 nomismata per man, paid to the 'Thrakesian' and Macedonian scholarioi, may in fact represent the two months pay of some four nomismata per month.⁹³⁷

Some conclusions can be reached from this material, however, with regard to the ratio observed between the rates of pay in the themata and the rates in the tagmata. On the whole, a rate of three or two : one in favour of the tagmatic soldiers is maintained, when extra payments to encourage support for the expedition in question were concerned. Thus, when in 949 a contingent of some four hundred and ninety-three scholarioi from Thrace were rewarded for their service during the campaign by a payment of some one hundred and seventy-one pounds of gold, the fifteen hundred or so soldiers of the theme of Samos received altogether only one hundred and thirty-four pounds of gold; and a similar ratio is maintained between the grants to the other tagmatic contingents - of three hundred and seventy-six scholarioi from

table 1: comparative rates between tagmata and themata in 949.
Note (a) the figures for the scholarioi (i.e. tagmatikoi) are special payments - roga philotimias; whereas those for the two naval themes appear to be ordinary rogai. The comparison is thus distorted to a degree.

(b) naval thematikoi were anyway paid at a lower rate - generally - than the kaballarika themata. This must also be taken into account when considering the vast differences expressed as averages below.

(c) the averages are for comparative purposes only. They do not represent any attempt to approximate to the actual pay received by officers or men, whatever their rank or grade. The cash sum for both is given as a single total in the De Cer.

Notes

(1) The apparent difference between the roga of the peratic units and those of Thrace and Macedonia may represent a real pay differential; or more probably the fact that the total sum given for the peratic units includes rogai for two domestikoi also.

(2) The text here is clearly corrupt: at 668, 7-8 a kai should be inserted between ἀρχόντιν and στρατοῦ (cf. lines 9-10); at lines 4-5 στρατηγοῦ should be emended to στρατοῦ. The roga is clearly for the officers and the men, cf. 668, 5-7.

(3) Again, the differences between Samian and Kibyrrhaiot pay may be real differentials; or again, they may - and in this case probably do - represent extra cash paid to the Mardaites of that theme, cf. 668, 10.

scholarioi (tagmatikoi) from Thrace:

| | |
|-------------|---|
| officers | 139 |
| men | 354 |
| total | 493 (De Cer., 666, ²⁻⁵) |
| <u>roga</u> | 171 <u>litrai</u> , 29nn. (De Cer., 688, ¹⁹⁻²¹) |
| | = 12,341nn. |

Average: 25nn. (approx.) per person.

scholarioi from Macedonia:

| | |
|-------------|---|
| officers | 83 |
| men | 293 |
| total | 376 (De Cer., 666, ⁵⁻⁸) |
| <u>roga</u> | 130 <u>litrai</u> , 68nn. (De Cer., 669, ¹⁻²) |
| | = 9,428nn. |

Average: 25nn. (approx.) per person.

peratic exkoubitores:

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| men | 700 (includes officers) |
|-----|-------------------------|

peratic hikanatoi:

| | |
|-------------|---|
| men | 456 (includes officers) |
| total | 1,156 (De Cer., 666, ⁸⁻¹³) |
| <u>roga</u> | 480 <u>litrai</u> (De Cer., 669, ³⁻⁵) |
| | = 34,560nn. |

Average: 29.8nn. (approx.) per person.¹

thema of Samos:

| | |
|------------------|--|
| officers and men | 1548 (De Cer., 665, ²⁻⁴) |
| <u>roga</u> | 134 <u>litrai</u> , 20nn. (De Cer., 668, ⁷⁻⁸) ² |
| | = 9,668nn. |

Average: 6.25nn. (approx.) per person.

thema Kibyrrhaioton:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| officers and men | 1560 (De Cer., 665, ⁶⁻⁸) |
| <u>roga</u> | 177 <u>litrai</u> , 4nn. (De Cer., 668, ⁸⁻¹¹) |
| | = 12,748nn. |

Average: 8nn. (approx.) per person.³

Macedonia, who received some one hundred and thirty pounds of gold, and of the combined excubitors and hikanatoi, eleven hundred and fifty-six men, who received some four hundred and eighty pounds of gold - and the thematic forces. The Kibyrrhaiot force, for example, of some fifteen hundred and sixty men, received only one hundred and seventy-seven pounds of gold.⁹³⁸ No doubt the disparity between tagmatic pay and the pay of the land themata, as opposed to the naval forces in the example, was less marked, for the latter would appear to have generally received less than the land themata.⁹³⁹ But the rate is obviously very much in favour of the tagmatic troops (see Table 1).

More precise figures are difficult to establish. It is clear from the accounts preserved in the De Caerimoniis that rates of pay for officers in the different themata were not always the same. The officers of the regular naval themata, for example, received considerably higher rates than those of the theme of Charpezikion.⁹⁴⁰ But a comparison of the figures recorded for the advanced pay or campaign grants to the officers and men of the Mardaites and Armenians in 911/12, and those of the thematic fleets in 949 does illustrate the ratio of the pay of officers to men; the basic rate in the tagmata was much higher, but it is probable that the same ratios were observed between the salaries of the officers and the ordinary rank-and-file of the tagmata.⁹⁴¹ By referring to the Taktikon Uspenskij and the Kleterologion of Philotheos, the relevant thematic officers in question can be related to their counterparts in the tagmata; and assuming, not unreasonably, I think, that the ratios between officers and men, if not the rates, were constant, it will thus be possible to establish roughly the ratio observed between the pay of officers and men in the tagmata. Broadly speaking, the topoteretai in the tagmata were regarded as equivalent to the theme tourmarchai; the komites of the scholai, and the chartoularioi of the scholai and excubitors, were seen as equivalent to the komites tes kortes and the chartularies of the

eastern themes; the lesser domestikoi of the scholai and the skribones were regarded as equivalent to the theme domestikoi; and the komites and chartularies of the arithmos and hikanatoi were equivalent to the drouggarioi and komites of the themata.⁹⁴² Thus the topoteretai of the tagmata received half as much again as their senior staff officers - chartularies, komites, skribones and the lesser domestikoi in the scholai; who in turn received up to four or five times as much as the junior officers such as kentarchoi, protiktores and so on. The rank-and-file, therefore, received about one eighth or one tenth of the sum paid to the topoteretes. There were in addition differences in status between the tagmata, for the scholai had precedence over the excubitors, which was followed by the arithmos and hikanatoi in descending order; and these distinctions in rank may have involved differences in pay.⁹⁴³

The figures given by Ibn Khurradadhbih would seem to apply to the thematic forces alone. As Bury pointed out, he makes two statements concerning the pay of the soldiers: one to the effect that it varies between twelve and eighteen nomismata per year; the other that young recruits receive one nomisma for their first year, two for their second, and so on until they reach a total of twelve years' service, receiving twelve nomismata per year.⁹⁴⁴ This certainly appears to refer to troops in the thematic forces; it is far too low for tagmatic troops; and I suggest that the twelve to eighteen nomismata was probably the maximum a serving soldier or junior officer received, for it is approximately the same as that received by men of similar rank during the sixth century.⁹⁴⁵ No mention is made of the salaries of the tagmatic soldiers, but they probably amounted to some fifty nomismata per year for the rank-and-file, or four nomismata per month. The evidence does not permit us to be more precise than this. Such figures, however, should be treated as suggestive only; it is not possible to base any wider calculations upon them with any degree of certainty; nor to abstract from them any but

the most crude generalisations about military expenditure and the like.⁹⁴⁶

In addition to their monthly salaries, tagmatic soldiers were also issued with χορτάρια or fodder for their horses, and with σιρίσια or rations.⁹⁴⁷ Whether or not these could be commuted for cash - gold - is not certain, and there are unfortunately no figures which show how much these issues were worth.⁹⁴⁸ Regulations on the commutation of annonae and capitus which appear in the Codex Iustinianus are retained also in the Basilica; and it would appear that, while on campaign, tagmatic troops and officers generally received their rations and fodder in kind - as was the practice in the sixth century - provided by the officials of the theme protonotarios.

The section in the De Caerimoniis dealing with imperial expeditions makes it clear that the provisions for the troops of the tagmata and for thematic forces passing through a province were provided by the protonotarios of each thema through which the army marched, the amount required being calculated in advance by the officials of the military logothesion and the other imperial sekreta which contribute to the expedition.⁹⁴⁹ Such provisions were raised both by special impositions upon the local population and from the regular ουνωνή of the theme, that is to say, the usual levy of foodstuffs and fodder in kind to provide for the local thematic forces. The system for supplying local theme troops does not appear to have differed in any great details from that operated for garrison troops during the fifth and sixth centuries, the workings of which are known. The theme chartulary was thus responsible for sending in returns to the military logothesion, probably on a yearly basis, upon which the calculations for the synone were based; and upon which the general logothesion in turn based its calculations (established by the ἐμόνται and ἑξιώνται despatched from Constantinople). It was then up to the theme protonotary to administer the collection of the synone, and to transfer the supplies to the districts

where they were required. The whole operation - which did not necessarily involve cash - was presumably conducted in the theme, and the returns then sent to the military and general logothesia,
and deducted from the full tax-quota for the province.⁹⁵⁰

For moving forces passing through a province, the general outlines of the later operation once again do not seem to have differed markedly from that of the earlier period. In this case, the prototonarios provided supplies based on calculations sent in advance; while extra necessities could be raised on the spot by special impositions. In both cases, the protonotary and chartulary involved were to send returns for the produce consumed or delivered to the relevant central bureaux - the genikon, chiefly - and this would then be taken into account during the next assessment.⁹⁵¹ The fact that the central sekreta were involved in this case suggests that they were also involved regularly in the provisioning of the local forces referred to above.⁹⁵² It should, however, be noted that this 'regularised' system became the norm only during the ninth century. Between the later sixth century and the first half of the ninth century, troops were forced on the whole to rely upon foraging expeditions in the district through which they were passing or in which they were temporarily based. This may have taken the form either of forced purchases at reduced rates by local theme officials, or of a wider exploitation of the rights of mitaton and aplekton, in addition to simple cash purchases by the soldiers, or jointly through their actuaries. Together, these procedures could often result in considerable damage to the properties of peasants and farmers within the empire, and it is not surprising that Leo VI advised generals to forage on enemy territory rather than rely upon the (unwilling) citizens of the state. Of the theme officials connected with this procedure, the ad hoc theme prefects appear to have played a central role, appointed originally by the central government expressly to cater for the needs of the field forces. The system outlined in the CJ

seems already in the later sixth century to have been relaxed, and the forces we read of in Maurice's wars against the Persians and Avars were to a large extent left to fend for themselves. The situation during the seventh and eighth centuries seems to have been little better, if the results of Teall's analysis are to be accepted; and the change may have come only in the early ninth century, represented possibly by the appearance at that time of seals of theme protonotarioi. These officers appear to have replaced the earlier prefects, who are still represented in the Taktikon Uspenskij; and with them came a tightening-up and stricter organisation of provincial supplies for the theme troops and the field armies.⁹⁵³

In Constantinople, rations and fodder were issued by the optiones of the tagmata from the appropriate section of the military logothesion. The duties of the military logothesion were limited to assessing the rates and amounts of payment, the amount of fodder and rations required, and similar administrative functions. It had no machinery for obtaining cash or supplies, except in local, limited terms, by the extraction of such through the application of rights of mitaton and aplekton; it established rather what was required.⁹⁵⁴ It must be asked, therefore, from which of the other bureaux the military logothesion received its supplies and cash. For the cash roga, the most likely candidate is the general logothesion, since this was the leading bureau for the collection of the chief taxes and revenues upon which the administration of the state was based.⁹⁵⁵ The eidikon certainly contributed, but to the cash gifts and donatives, as will be pointed out below, rather than to the regular payments of rogai. As far as the provision of rations and fodder is concerned, the genikon was probably responsible, since it was through its subordinates in the provinces, and those sent out at regular intervals from Constantinople, that the regular tax assessments were drawn up. It was therefore up to the military logothete to inform the general logothesion of its requirements,

both for the provinces and for Constantinople.⁹⁵⁶

While regular cash payments, rations and fodder thus came from the general logothete's office via the military logothete, special cash disbursements, issues of clothing, donatives and similar irregular issues were the responsibility of the eidikon, in conjunction with the imperial private fund, the κοίτων. Such extraordinary issues, of clothing or of cash, were a regular feature of the tagmatic soldier's income, although the amount and frequency varied according to circumstances. Donatives in the form of cash grants were disbursed to the troops to gain support for particular actions. Thus Eirene bribed the officers and men of the tagmata to support her against Constantine in 797; and Staurakios bribed the same men to support him in an attempted rising against Eirene shortly afterwards, although he failed.⁹⁵⁷ The continuator of Theophanes regards such extras as almost a regular part of the tagmatic soldiers' income, and it was left to Basil I, upon his accession, to restore morale among the tagmatic and other troops by the regular payment of the basic rations and pay, and by the issue of cash donatives.⁹⁵⁸ Cash donatives were also issued both immediately before and after expeditions in order to stiffen morale, as for example before the first campaign of Leo V against the Bulgars. In addition, there was, of course, the possibility of a division of booty captured from the enemy, theoretically regulated by law, although not always observed. The best example of the distribution of booty by regiment occurs in 811, after Nicephorus I had captured Krum's treasure, when the emperor: εἰσελθὼν τοίνυν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ Κρούμου, ἐρευνήσας τὰ ταμεῖα αὐτοῦ καὶ εὑρὼν σκύλα πλειστα, ἤρξατο διαιμερίζειν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ ἐν καταγραφῇ χαλκόν τε καὶ ἑσθῆτας καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ εἴδη διάφορα, ...⁹⁵⁹

While such donatives were issued by the emperors and by other officers to the thematic and tagmatic forces - although the tagmata, being more centrally based, naturally tended to receive more frequent gifts and bribes - the tagmata received also,

certainly in the tenth century, and probably earlier, extra donatives when they accompanied the emperor on campaigns or performed guard duties in the palace or expeditionary camps. The account of imperial expeditions during the second half of the ninth century makes this clear, as it also makes clear the role of the eidikon and the emperor's personal chest, the koiton, in the issue of such donatives.⁹⁶⁰ It was thus the emperor, rather than the public fisc, that was responsible for such outgoings, as the account of the reform and reorganisation undertaken by Basil I after 867 makes apparent.⁹⁶¹

Part four: arms production, arms and other equipment

With their regular monthly payments, their free rations and fodder, and their donatives, the tagmatic soldiers were obviously quite well off. In addition, they also received from the state their arms and equipment. The scholarioi enrolled by Constantine V appear to have been issued with their weapons when they enlisted, and they and other scholarioi handed these over again when they were disbanded in 786 by Irene. Had the weapons been their own, they would not, I think, have handed them back so easily.⁹⁶² The passage of Nicephorus' Apologeticus makes this clear, for it refers to the arms of these soldiers as part of a general issue of rations and pay.⁹⁶³ Exceptions to this rule occurred when thematic troops valued for their warlike spirit were enlisted temporarily into the tagmata, as were the five hundred Armenian Platanianoi from the Anatolikon theme in 911. These had to provide their own military equipment from their roga (prochreοn), although those without adequate mounts were to be supplied from the metata like the regular tagmatic forces.⁹⁶⁴ On the whole, however, the state was responsible for arming and equipping the tagmata and similar forces which it raised for particular campaigns. Basil I reorganised the tagmata

and re-equipped them, as well as refurbishing the equipment of the thematic forces.⁹⁶⁵ But whereas the latter were usually required to 'look after themselves', the tagmata were armed from the imperial armamenton.

The organisation of the production of arms after the early seventh century is difficult to assess. From the fourth to the end of the sixth centuries a sizeable number of arms-factories, organised on a military basis, had been established in a number of major cities in the eastern and western parts of the empire. During the sixth century, the production of arms became a state monopoly, and the transport and issue of arms was carefully regulated.⁹⁶⁶ It is probable that those arms-factories which had been forced to close down were re-established after the defeat of the Persians in 628 and their withdrawal from the eastern provinces; but the Avar and later Bulgar attacks in the north, and the Arab conquests in the east, deprived the empire of the majority of the cities that had supported the production of arms. The factories at Caesarea in Cappadocia, Nikomedea, Sardis, Adrianople, and Thessaloniki (and possibly that at Marcianopolis) may have remained in operation; but frequent Arab and Bulgar/Slav attacks on Caesarea, and Adrianople and Thessaloniki respectively, must have made production well-nigh impossible, for under such conditions, the transport of iron and other necessary ores to the factories, and the safe storage of what was actually produced, were constantly threatened or actually prevented. There was a large and important arms-storehouse at Constantinople during the sixth century and later; and towards the end of that century one (or possibly two) new armouries were constructed near the Magnaura.⁹⁶⁷ These warehouses were supervised by δέκανος τοῦ ἀρματεύτου who in 609/10 connived with others at the assassination of Phocas.⁹⁶⁸ Between this time and the reign of Constantine V nothing is known of arms-production or factories, except for a seventh-century seal of an arms-factory at Seleucia in Cilicia (on the river

Calycadnus), a factory which is otherwise unattested.⁹⁶⁹ In Constantine's reign, the church of St. Euphemia at Blachernae was converted into an armoury, probably for the storing of the equipment of the tagmatic forces, troops that had been introduced as the garrison of the City during the second half of his reign.⁹⁷⁰ Armouries or storehouses for weapons must certainly have existed at this time. Irene, for example, must have placed the confiscated arms of the disbanded tagmata in such a store. During the ninth century, the commander of the armoury appears in official lists. He is ὁ ἄρχων ἀπομένου, of spatharios rank, and has a bureau headed by a chartulary.⁹⁷¹ At the end of the ninth century, he appears in another list, and by the middle of the tenth century, he was of protospatharios rank.⁹⁷² The documents in the De Caerimoniis which refer to the archon suggest that he was closely connected with the eidikon, a point noted by Dölger, who equated him with one of the archontes τῶν ἐργοδοσίων in the bureau of the eidikon.⁹⁷³ A seal of Theognostos, hypatos and archon of the imperial armamenta, dating to the ninth century, suggests that he held an important and distinct position; and his title archon does suggest that he is to be included among the archontes τὸν ἐργοδοσίον referred to, rather than among the curatores of the vestiarion, for example.⁹⁷⁴

That the archon of the armamenta at Constantinople controlled both arms storehouses and an arms-producing workshop or workshops is clear from the section in the De Caerimoniis dealing with the expedition to Crete in 949. The armoury produced axe- and spear-blades in great quantities, amongst other items, from iron obtained from the eidikon. Charcoal was also used, and the mention of this makes it clear that there was here a workshop involved in smelting the iron and forging weapons.⁹⁷⁵ This was the same workshop, or fabrica, referred to at Constantinople for the sixth century, which had probably continued to function from that time, under the direction of its archon.⁹⁷⁶ In

addition to the chief armoury or armouries, there was also a naval armoury, τὸ κάτω ἀρματεύτρον, which supplied the soldiers and sailors of the imperial fleet with their weapons.⁹⁷⁷ But while the central armouries produced a considerable amount of weapons and armour, from material handed over from the eidikon,⁹⁷⁸ it could not equip all the imperial forces, especially during preparations for large-scale expeditions. Instead, it seems that provincial arms-production, based apparently on local workshops or corvées imposed upon smiths and other metal workers, supplied what was needed. The basic materials were supplied from the above-mentioned sources in the form of special impositions or as part of the regular tax-assessments; and the labour was provided through corvées placed upon provincial craftsmen with the requisite skills. This is clearly what happened during the eleventh century and after, for the documents already referred to contain not only references to the production of ore and charcoal, but also to that of completed weapons.⁹⁷⁹ These were produced only as and when they were required, however, for the regulations in the codex Iustinianus and the novels of Justinian prohibiting the private production or possession of weapons were retained.⁹⁸⁰ There is no reason to suppose that the system was any different during the ninth and tenth centuries and before. Indeed, such a system was the only feasible one after the breakdown of the factories of the fifth and sixth centuries; and the De Caerimoniis documents again show that this was in fact the case. That which deals with the expedition of 911/12 illustrates the process by which the state ordered the production of weapons and other equipment necessary to an expedition. The strategos or one of his officials was made responsible for the production of a certain quantity of material, a quantity which was presumably based on estimates of the capacity of a province carried out by both local and central officials; for the heads of provincial governments 'undertook' to produce the required material; and in one case,

where the quota was completed in advance, a further quantity was then demanded.⁹⁸¹ Some of this material, as the reference shows, was kept by the strategos and issued to the thematic forces. The rest was to be conveyed to Constantinople, and stored in the armamenton, for distribution to the expeditionary troops.⁹⁸²

The armamenton thus produced its own supplies of weapons in collaboration with the eidikon, and received stocks from the provinces, certainly during periods of preparation for specific campaigns, and probably, on a smaller scale, during peace-time. It was from the armamenton that the tagmatic forces received their weapons, and other warlike equipment, according to their requirements as noted and passed on by the military logothesion. Presumably checks on the men's equipment, frequently recommended in military treatises, took place each month when the salaries were paid out and the regimental muster reviewed.⁹⁸³

We may assume that clothing - at least, 'uniforms' and official dress - was supplied also by the state, probably from the vestiarion or eidikon, which, apart from the state workshops at their disposal, may also have contracted work out to members of the linen and silk manufacturing guild in Constantinople.⁹⁸⁴ The various groups of officers within the four tagmata and within each of the units appear to have had distinctive uniforms, for palatine and ceremonial duties at least. The De Caeremoniis refers to the skribones ($\phi\circ\circ\bar{\nu}\pi\tau\epsilon\zeta$) τὰς ἑαυτῶν στολάς, ὡς εἴθισται αὐτοῖς, and to special uniforms which were regarded as tagmatika, and were divided into four types, each of a different colour.⁹⁸⁵ These four colours appear to have been those of the original Hippodrome racing teams, blue, green, red and white, for in a description of a ceremony which took place in '946, the domestic of the noumera wears the blue chlanidion of the domestic of the scholai, while the count of the Walls wears the green chlanidion of the domestic of the excubitors.⁹⁸⁶ But the usual uniform for the tagmata appears to have been white, as it

had apparently been (at least for ceremonial occasions) during the sixth century. No doubt the continued existence, albeit in a non-military role, of the scholai and kandidatoi during the seventh and eighth centuries, contributed to this (and many other) example of the retention of much older customs.⁹⁸⁷ These uniforms, however, were for ceremonial occasions; whether similar colours were worn for military duties or campaigning is not clear, and it would be mistaken to impose modern attitudes towards military uniformity upon the Byzantine establishment.

Finally, horses were supplied by the imperial metata, and in cases where these were insufficient, by levies of horses from the provinces.⁹⁸⁸

Having been accepted for service, therefore, the tagmatic soldier received from the state all his requirements in food, clothing and equipment, and in addition, a substantial cash reward. While on service he was likely to receive irregular but often quite large gifts from the emperor, in cash or other produce; and membership of the tagmata brought with it the possibility of increased social status upon retiring, either through saving up to buy a dignity or post in vacante, or by buying land and establishing himself among the lower ranks of the provincial landlord class.

Part five: duties, discipline, length of service and retirement

The duties of the tagmatic forces were chiefly military. While in Constantinople, they did take part in ceremonies and state occasions; but the chief role at these times was taken by the special groups of ensign-bearers and standard-bearers in each unit, who were deputed to carry the imperial insignia and accompany the emperor in processions or official progresses.⁹⁸⁹ During the later eighth and ninth centuries, detachments of the scholai, excubitors and yigla mounted guard in the palace,

although as the ninth century progressed they were replaced to an ever greater extent by soldiers from one of the hetaireiai.⁹⁹⁰ The vigla had a special position from its introduction into the palace as a guards unit, although it was only during the second half of the ninth century that the drouggarios appears clearly as the emperor's representative and liaison officer between the palace and the tagmata. The duties and role of the tagmata in the later ninth and tenth centuries have already been examined, however, and need not be discussed in detail here.⁹⁹¹ But it is clear that the four chief tagmata, especially the scholai, and the excubitors, were field troops, seasoned regulars who formed the backbone of the imperial armies, and continued to do so whatever their ceremonial duties might have been. In contrast to the parade-ground scholai of the sixth and seventh centuries, the scholai of the later eighth and ninth centuries were regular fighting troops. There are numerous examples of their presence on campaigns during the later years of Constantine V and throughout the ninth and tenth centuries.⁹⁹² Like the regular troops, they were billeted upon civilian households while passing through a district of the empire, and were subject to the same discipline as the regular troops.⁹⁹³ Indeed, discipline in the palatine regiments, especially for those who were posted in the palace, was very strict. Theophilus upbraided the komes of the scholai Kallistos for his unkempt appearance while on guard duty, and had him shaved on the spot.⁹⁹⁴ Such treatment was not unusual in the military world, however; the maintenance of discipline and consequently of morale, was a leading concern of military writers, and the military codes lay great stress upon the internal discipline of military units and their respect for officers and civilians. That such discipline, together with the military training that tagmatic soldiers received upon enlisting, had the required result is evident from the steadiness and bravery of the tagmata in battle, a quality which soon marked them out for the admiration of contemporaries.

and as the most important segment of the imperial armies.⁹⁹⁵

The regulations for leave are recorded only in the legal texts, and in Leo's Tactica, and are repeated exactly from those already referred to in the codex Iustinianus and the Strategikon of Maurice. How far the same rules applied is impossible to say, since there is no evidence which casts any light on the subject. On the whole, however, it seems likely that a similar system for granting leave to the tagmatic troops was followed to that which was applied to the full-time regular forces of the sixth century, to whom the tagmata were very similar.

A passage from the Vita retractata of Peter of Atroa illustrates a scholarios on leave, presumably at his home in Kotyaion, who returns to Constantinople to take up his duties again. The fact that the scholarios in question leaves his horse with a friend - a priest - during his absence has led the editor of the text to conclude that the soldier's unit was based at Kotyaion (on the basis of the presence of parade-ground scholares there in the sixth century) and that the scholarios in question was merely being transferred to palace duties. Unless the presbyteros in the text was a regimental priest, however (see note 901 above), this is unlikely, since the soldier would surely have had no need to worry about his horse, which belonged to the state and would have been looked after by other soldiers during his absence. That the priest was not a regimental chaplain is clear from the context (in which he loses the horse); it seems far more likely, therefore, that the soldier had merely been on leave and that the horse was his own, private possession.⁹⁹⁶

The length of service in the tagmata, as I have previously noted, was probably at least eighteen to twenty years, for the rank-and-file at any rate. Those who wished could serve beyond this period, depending upon when they joined up, the maximum age for which was forty.⁹⁹⁷ Those who had served the empire and then retired after twenty years were free from the extraordinary corvées - munera sordida - which from time to time were imposed

upon all those not specifically exempted.⁹⁹⁸ The author of the Logos Nouthetetikos mentions that officers in the fleet need to be officially discharged, lest they stay on in their dotage and thus damage the efficiency of the imperial navy. The same is implied about the officers in the tagmata, and although the passage was written at a period when posts in these regiments could certainly be bought, regardless of the fitness of the purchaser to serve or not, it does suggest that there was no official limit on length of service or age of retirement.⁹⁹⁹ Some of the unemployed tagmatic soldiers to whom Nicephorus refers in the Apologeticus had been dismissed because they were παρεθηκότες τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἀφῆλικες, a task presumably carried out by their officers.¹⁰⁰⁰

Upon their retirement from service, tagmatic soldiers were expected to look after themselves. The passage in the Apologeticus already referred to makes it clear that no pensions were provided for those who had been dismissed or who had retired. Soldiers were expected to save up enough from their ample pay and other increments to provide for themselves and their families. A number appear to have bought land, for by the tenth century, the group of 'scholarioi' constituted a recognisable section of the small landowning class in the provinces, higher in grade than the ordinary στρατιῶται.¹⁰⁰¹ We hear of one who possessed a small estate with a water-mill and a garden, in the region of Thebes in the eleventh century. He had possibly been settled on clasmatic land by Basil II.¹⁰⁰² Others might be rewarded for good service or for valour by grants of land from the state, in this case lands abandoned by their legal owners, clasmatic lands;¹⁰⁰³ although such grants were not limited to the tagmatic soldiers alone. But such information does serve to confirm the higher status of the tagmatic soldiers. Little else can be said about them after their retirement, however, save that a number of soldiers chose the monastic life after their discharge. This appears frequently to

have been the resort of retired soldiers, and more frequently, of those who, for one reason or another, deserted. Ioannikios left, apparently, before being officially discharged, and established himself at a monastic community in Bithynia.¹⁰⁰⁴ Leo, the komes recruited into the excubitors at the age of twenty-five, abandoned this career soon after because of his religious convictions,¹⁰⁰⁵ changing his name to Peter; while Kyprianos, a scholarios at the time of Nicephorus I's campaign of 811, deserted as a result of a dream warning him of the fate of his fellows. A similar story was told of Nikolaos, also a soldier; and both became monks thereafter.¹⁰⁰⁶ Peter the Athonite was captured shortly after 838 and imprisoned by the Arabs. Upon his escape he travelled to Rome and eventually to Athos, but he never returned to the scholai, of which he was technically still a member.¹⁰⁰⁷ A note in the Synaxarion states that of the iconophile soldiers purged by Constantine V, a large number became monks,¹⁰⁰⁸ and indeed the desertion of soldiers to the monastic life seems to have been common, to judge from the number of holy men and saints who began their careers as soldiers.¹⁰⁰⁹ Except during times of persecution, however, it is likely that the majority of such soldiers were from the provincial forces, especially during periods of economic hardship; for while the tagmatic troops were well catered for by the imperial government, soldiers such as Mousoulios, whom Philaretos helped, had a much harder time. One of Mousoulios' resorts may have been to run away to a monastery, and thus escape his obligations. For the tagmata, however, conditions were better; when they did worsen, then desertion does appear to have taken place,¹⁰¹⁰ but on the whole, the evidence does not give the impression that it was a long term problem. Deserters were, of course, severely punished if they were apprehended, as the military codes make quite clear, and this may sometimes have acted as a deterrent when men felt inclined to abandon their duties.¹⁰¹¹

Apart from deserters, however, the monastic life does appear

to have been attractive to officers and men alike after their period of service ended. The reasons for this must be seen as chiefly ideological, for while the Church certainly did not frown upon military service,¹⁰¹² saints' biographers often state that holy orders were taken in order to wash away the sins of a violent and worldly youth through serving God in other ways. The domestic of the scholai Peter in the early ninth century appears to have retired to a monastery; while the emperor Nicephorus II is well-known for his ascetic way of life and his ambition of retiring to a monastery.¹⁰¹³ In addition to those courses of action described above, the taking of holy orders opened up another prospect through which the retired soldier could peaceably live out his last years.

Part six: promotion and social stratification

Within the tagmata, promotion was based upon two main considerations; merit, that is to say, military skills, bravery, long service, and social origins, generally realised in terms of educational attainments and membership of the administrative aristocracy which grew up during the seventh and eighth centuries. The evidence for the mass of the soldiery is rather limited, three or four examples surviving to cast some light upon the problem; whereas for the senior officers, both within and without the tagmata - domestics, strategoi, and, senior officers in the civil and military establishment generally - there is a good deal more material which can be employed.

To what extent dignities could be bought up within the tagmatic units is not clear. Certainly by the early tenth century, paid positions in the hetaireia (and also among the maglabitai) were expensive. But these were not intended for the ordinary soldier, of relatively low social and economic status. Such commissions were for the wealthy, entitling them to receive

the roga attached and to use the title. They belonged to the unit in question on paper only, of course - that they served also as active field troops, with the regular soldiers of the hetaireia, is most unlikely. Significantly, the four field units of tagmata and the other guards units are not mentioned in this context, nor do we find their titles used in this way, which suggests that the hetaireia, with the related corps of the Phargani and Chazars, was developing already into a show force, and eventually no longer served as a fighting part of the imperial guard. While there is no evidence that the original tagmata (with the exception of the candidati) were ever opened to the purchase of paper commissions, an effect also of their constant presence on campaign, it is certain that a fairly large proportion of the tagmatic officers obtained their posts through the medium of the network of patronage and personal contacts within the administrative and military hierarchy as a whole, especially within the military logothesion. The results of the survey with regard to civil posts during the eleventh century carried out by Weiss, although relating to a later period, undoubtedly reflect general tendencies within the whole administrative structure which were always present. The evidence cited below with regard to both the middling and senior officers supports this, although it must be stressed that this system applied on the whole to the officers alone.¹⁰¹⁴

As I have noted already, enrolment into the rank-and-file of the tagmata involved very few qualifications save those of physical fitness and strength; and, during the reigns of Constantine V and Leo IV, adherence to the policies of those emperors. The career of Ioannikios provides a good example of this type of soldier, who must have made up the greater part of the tagmatic soldiers. Strong, healthy, with little basic education, Ioannikios was enrolled into the excubitors when he was nineteen years of age. We hear nothing of his rank, but it appears that he remained a private soldier until he left the

corps. Promotion does not appear to have been gained easily, for even when he had displayed such bravery in a battle near the fortress of Markellon, his reward was in terms of insignia and decorations rather than promotion.¹⁰¹⁵ The promotion of a private soldier to the rank of kentarch in an ordinary regiment illustrates the importance to Constantine V of soldiers who supported his policies, and one of the avenues by which a soldier might rise from the ranks.¹⁰¹⁶ But such a case was exceptional, and a result of political rather than military motivation. On the whole, it is probable that soldiers like Ioannikios remained in the rank-and-file throughout their service, perhaps rising to positions such as that of dekarch and kentarch through seniority, or if they were fortunate, through gaining the favour of a senior officer.

Men such as Kallistos, in contrast, who came from relatively well-off homes, who were often educated at schools in Constantinople until they reached the age of eighteen, were in a much better position. They had a considerable advantage over the ill-educated and often illiterate rank-and-file of whom Nicephorus had such a low opinion.¹⁰¹⁷ Kallistos enrolled himself into the imperial forces - we are not told which corps - and was soon promoted to the rank of komes in the scholai. Later appointed to the corps of imperial spatharioi attendant upon the emperor, he was given a variety of commands, including that of the tagma of 'Ethiopians' raised by Theophilus, before he was finally appointed as a turmarch in the Anatolikon theme.¹⁰¹⁸ In his case, it was his social background - a relatively well-to-do petty land-owning family - and the education which such a background afforded which enabled him to advance his career.¹⁰¹⁹ The same seems to have been the case with Leo, son of a well-off provincial family from Galatia. At the age of twenty-five he was enrolled into the excubitors, and appears to have been made almost immediately a komes. Again, his social background and the education which this made possible were

responsible for his advance. In both cases, we may assume that a patron was also available to further the interests of the young men.¹⁰²⁰

In the provinces, similar factors combined to maintain the establishment of a recognisable middle group of officers and administrators. Thus Baanes, son of the provincial drungar Nikephoros, was brought up by his parents with the intention of his joining the military. His family was well-off, had connections with other military families in the district; and it was not long after joining the local forces that Baanes himself became a drungar.¹⁰²¹ The case of Eudokimos is very similar to that of Kallistos. Born of wealthy parents in Cappadocia, he was educated at Constantinople, where he eventually received the dignity of kandidatos and an appointment to a command, first in Cappadocia and later in Charsianon. At a slightly lower level, we have the example of the junior domestikos Benjamin in the early ninth century, whose roots seem to have been in Bithynia - at any rate, Peter of Atroa is said to have known him well - and whose son Constantine joined the scholai in his father's footsteps, at first as a simple scholarios, presumably aiming for promotion to a commissioned rank. This is an important example, for it seems to confirm two aspects of recruitment in the tagmata: first, as mentioned above, that standards were not relaxed through the admission of recruits to sinecure posts - Constantine obviously had to work his way up; second, there did exist a degree of 'career-continuity' within families whose members joined the army - Constantine's case illustrates this for the tagmata, Baanes and his father Nikephoros for the thematic forces.¹⁰²²

These few examples illustrate the workings of the administrative meritocracy which operated, a meritocracy that was limited by the social conditions in which it functioned, and which worked best at this middle level of the Byzantine bureaucratic machine;¹⁰²³ for at the higher level - although

such men as Kallistos and Eudokimos might attain high office - the administrative machinery was dominated much more directly by the wealthy families and their protégés, more clearly in the military sphere than in that of the civil departments. Whereas literacy was a sine qua non for any clerk or notary, or a member of any central government bureau, it was not so vital to a military officer, where familiarity with the land, and the structure of social relations, the enemy, and the soldiers were the essential qualifications. Naturally, the sons of the wealthy and powerful tended to have an education and to be literate, an added qualification. It was not this, however, which gave them and their clients a virtual monopoly of the leading provincial posts, but rather a long, carefully nurtured tradition of military service and a close-knit system of inter-family patronage and clientship. But at the next level down, especially in the tagmata, men such as Leo and Kallistos made up the bulk of the regimental officers; and below them in turn come the mass of soldiers, for the most part simple peasants of provincial origin, with little or no formal education apart from that passed on by the local church. Several of the most significant figures in Byzantine history at this time rose from the humblest position to the highest office, elevating through their own success the social position, wealth and status of their own families - Michael II, Leo V and Basil I to name the more obvious cases. On the other hand, by their very success, such figures naturally attracted, and often deliberately promoted, a great deal of attention. They were not typical, except insofar as they provided examples of what was always theoretically possible in a meritocratic, but fairly clearly stratified, society. It was only exceptional cases who by good luck or favour managed to break through the barriers of social and educational status. If the men reviled by Nicephorus, or exemplified by Ioannikios, typify the rank-and-file of the tagmata, men such as Kallistos and Leo typify their immediate superiors.

As far as concerns the senior military officers, they came for the most part from two sources: chiefly from among the wealthy provincial landowners, families which had gained power and wealth over several generations by virtue of the appointment of their members to local commands; and from among the less-wealthy group which provided men such as the officers already described. In the provinces, the former group was in the best position, for it had in addition to its landed resources the support also of the local population, the soldiers from which often placed greater faith in the local officers, men whose abilities and qualities were known, as well as their failings, than in strangers appointed centrally. The frequent provincial risings in support of locally-raised officers provides ample support for this. In addition, these provincial military leaders were also the product of generations of experience, and while representing the values of a group whose interests were in the long-term opposed to those of the central government, they were nevertheless the best-qualified to carry on the military policies of that central government.¹⁰²⁴ During the later ninth and tenth centuries, the leading commanders of the imperial tagmata - the domestics - were appointed from a small group of families, including those of Doukas, Skleros, Phokas and their relatives.¹⁰²⁵ But even before this, the senior officers of these regiments, while not necessarily coming from any of the later 'powerful' families, generally appear to have been 'career soldiers', men who started out with the advantages of both an education, a patron and military experience, and who rapidly attained the leading commands in the capital or the provinces. The family of the empress Theodora, wife of Theophilus, provides a typical example of the route by which a powerful provincial family extended its power and influence. The daughter of a drungar of the Paphlagonian theme, respected and wealthy, she obtained for her brothers Bardas and Petronas important military and administrative posts. The former later became logothete of

the Drome, while Petronas became drouggarios of the vigla, then strategos of the Thrakesion theme, and, finally domestic of the scholai, while Bardas had also held this last post for a while. The latter's son Antigonos later succeeded Petronas as domestic at the end of Michael III's reign.¹⁰²⁶ The earliest commanders of the tagmata appear likewise to have come from good military backgrounds, selected by Constantine V for their loyalty and their skill as officers. For the latter, Constantine must have looked to the provincial military establishment and the tried and trusted officers of the provinces who had supported him against Artavasdos. Unfortunately, the family names of most of the early tagmatic officers are not known, and so it is difficult to trace the connection between provincial families with a military background and the tagmata. Those whose names we do know support what has been said. Constantine Podopagouros, logothete of the Drome, for example, had a brother Strategios, who became domestic of the excubitors; along with others, both brothers were purged by Constantine V.¹⁰²⁷ The presence of both brothers in quite high posts, civil and military, is suggestive of their probably wealthy social background and the network of patronage already referred to. Alexios Mousele, the first drungar of the vigla, came from a military and aristocratic background, of Armenian origin; as did other commanders of the time: Bardanios, domestic of the scholai under Constantine VI; Niketas Triphyllios, domestic under Eirene and supporter of Nicephorus I, and so on. Peter, born probably shortly after 787, was the son of a wealthy family. His father was a patrikios and strategos, and Peter was apparently made domestic of the scholai sometime after Nicephorus' accession in 802. Nicephorus appointed him domestic of the hikanatoi in 811 for the disastrous campaign which followed. Peter's career - he was domestic already at the age of about 25 - is illustrative of the advantages which the wealthy, privileged 'military' families possessed through patronage and family influence.¹⁰²⁸

Many domestics of the tagmata appear to have begun their careers as provincial commanders, progressing from there to a court post, and thence to command of an elite regiment or a theme army. Manuel, who had been a protostrator under Michael II, and then strategos of the Anatolik theme, became domestic of the scholai under Theophilus;¹⁰²⁹ while Andreas, of Turkic stock, had been hypostrategos of the Opsikion before his promotion to the post of domestic.¹⁰³⁰

Much work has already been carried out on the development of a group of wealthy, landowning families monopolising military power during the tenth and eleventh centuries; and it would be superfluous to go into the problems of this development here. What can be emphasised, however, is that this powerful group gained control of leading military commands only during the tenth century, and that the emperors, by and large, in maintaining a source of authority and power which did not rest entirely on the provincial military, retained control until this time. The majority of domestics of the tagmata, while no doubt being drawn from the military, landowning provincial nobility, were on the whole imperial appointments, and their outlook reflected in general the outlook of the whole ruling class. Where the interests of individuals failed to coincide with imperial interests, it was for reasons of personal enmity or family animosity stimulated within such a structure of competitive family relations, but which were at this stage only partly identifiable with a distinct social/political group outlook. Again, the example of the family of Theodora illustrates both points - first because Theodora appointed her brothers to key positions; second, because the failure of Bardas and his family was a result of personal hostility, which came to a head in the person of Basil supported by a powerful section of the court.¹⁰³¹ The appointment of Basil I's relatives to high commands illustrates the same point, as does the appointment and dismissal without opposition of earlier domestics.¹⁰³² From

the time of Leo VI, however, the leading military commanders were able to assert their will to an increasing extent and to keep important posts 'in the family', a result both of the immense power of the leading military families by this time - whose support no emperor could afford to lose - and the complete dependence of the government on these men at a military level. The history of the Phokades during the tenth century provides the best-known example; but even a relatively unknown family could barter for posts, as did John Garidas and his relatives during the events leading up to the appointment of Romanos I as Basileopater.¹⁰³³

While it would be dangerous to over-simplify the structure of the membership of the tagmata, it is nevertheless possible to define the three chief groups from which officers and men were drawn: the uneducated and semi-literate mass of the soldiery, the majority of whom remained in the ranks, and a few of whom reached the lower echelons of the officer hierarchy: dekarch, pentekontarch and kentarch; a less easily-distinguished middle group, made up for the most part of sons of fairly well-off families in Constantinople or the provinces, who were able to afford an education for their children and to obtain commissions for them, either in the civil service or the military; and made up to a lesser degree of the educated sons of the aristocracy, who 'worked their way up'. Many of the wealthier 'military families' may have built up their clientele and their fortunes from this basis. Finally, the most easily-recognised group, of senior officers, men of varying educational abilities, but who belonged to a wealthy, landowning aristocracy, and whose families generally had a tradition of service in one sphere or another of the state administration.

Each of these three primary groups shades off into that above or below it, the most clearly discernible distinction being that between the lowest, or first group, and the other two; a distinction which applies not only to the tagmata, but also to

the thematic forces, although the requirements for service as an officer in the provincial armies probably had less need for literacy than those of service at the capital. It applied, in fact, to the whole administrative bureaucracy of the empire, the closest parallel being perhaps the administration of the Church, where a similar social division can be observed.

The organisation of the tagmata in the period c. 770-900 exemplifies their role as the centralised army of Constantinople, established as a counter-balance to the powerful thematic forces, and as a tool of imperial policy. Rigid central control of recruitment, training and pay kept them firmly on the side of the central government - although their loyalties to various factions within that government often changed - until, during the tenth century, new conditions began to affect this role. They made up an elite military force, effective both in the field and as a police force in Constantinople, whose loyalty was vital to the security of the City and the government. The predominant place occupied by their leaders during the later ninth and tenth centuries was the natural result of this position, and the real expression of their place in the imperial military establishment.

Chapter Six

Some conclusions: the wider perspective

The history of the elite corps of the Byzantine army is essentially the history of one aspect of the methods by which the central government maintained its political and ideological authority, and reflects the structural contradictions within the Byzantine social formation - the tension between the centralising forces promoted by the imperial ideal and put into effect by the central administrative apparatus at Constantinople, and the centrifugal tendencies which developed in the provinces and were aggravated as a result of the establishment of self-governing military districts during the seventh century.

It reflects at the same time, however, as an integral component thereof, the history of the structure of the Byzantine social formation itself, as tendencies within that structure, both in terms of shifts in social and economic relations and in terms of the accompanying institutional and administrative changes became apparent. The increasing centralisation of Byzantine society and institutions around Constantinople, as both practical and symbolic head of the Byzantine political and ideological body, is one of the most important factors, and must motivate to some extent explanations for the conflict between provinces and capital, between provincial society and Constantinopolitan bureaucracy, the nature and structure of the military-political interventions in the affairs of the central government; as well as the institutional and political changes which followed from the decline of the provincial city-based administration and which affected both provincial and Constantinopolitan military organisation.

The need to reply effectively to the Arab attacks of the later seventh century, to maintain recruitment and to maintain a workable defence, the social vacuum following upon the decline of

the provincial cities, combined with the breakdown of an efficient communications network linking capital and provinces - which must have been one result of the constant Arab raids into Anatolia - produced a distinct tendency to localisation, in which it fell to the highest military commanders to cater for their troops, to ensure supplies, weapons, recruits and so on, and to ensure that enough cash or produce was raised through taxation to maintain their forces.¹⁰³⁴ It was in this atmosphere that the 'thematic' organisation developed; and it was in such an atmosphere that the power of provincial military commanders was able to expand and become, as in the third century and before, a significant political factor.¹⁰³⁵ While the processes which produced the situation found in the later seventh and early eighth centuries have still properly to be understood, it was long ago recognised that one of the factors which contributed to the increased readiness of provincial commanders to rebel was their greatly increased power, and the size of the resources which they controlled.¹⁰³⁶ The establishment over a number of years of the provincial themes was undoubtedly one of the most significant structural reasons for the survival of the empire and its central administration. It was at the same time an aggravating factor in the opposition between central government and provinces.

As I have shown in chapters two and three, the Opsikion army under its comes, theoretically the emperor's field army, and providing also a good proportion of the guards in the capital, came to pose as grave a threat to imperial authority as more distant provinces. Indeed, the Opsikion lay in an ideal position to enforce changes in Constantinople or to pressure the emperors or the central authority into unwelcome or unplanned policies. More importantly, the Opsikion was just as much a part of the provinces as any other region. Its inhabitants lived in the same social and political world, and their opinions and beliefs reflected the conditions under which they lived, just as did

those of the inhabitants of any other province. Constantine V perceived this danger more clearly than did Leo III, and his policies aimed to reduce the dependency of the emperors and the central government on the often unreliable and sometimes openly hostile provinces. Whereas Leo's answer was to rely heavily upon a different thematic army or armies - in his case the Thrakesion and Anatolikon forces - and upon one or two trusted subordinates such as his son-in-law Artavasdos, it seems to have been clear to Constantine that the effectiveness and stability of such a system was dependent entirely on the personality and personal clientele of the emperor himself. Artavasdos' rebellion made that quite clear; and Constantine therefore resolved, not only to continue a policy (which Leo may have begun deliberately with this intention) of reducing the size of the themata, but also to establish a non-provincial force at Constantinople.

Such a move had also the effect of raising the capital above the level of purely interprovincial squabbles for priority, status and the advantages of imperial patronage. Kaegi has commented on this aspect of thematic rivalry, and shown how many of the civil wars which occurred during the middle Byzantine period were, if not begun by, then at least stimulated by rivalries between different armies.¹⁰³⁷ As long as the emperors relied on the Opsikion - a provincial force - then the central government was bound to find itself involved in the local politics of the provinces, which were by no means identical with those of the capital or which could be automatically identified with the continued authority of the central administration. The mutiny of 715 is perhaps the best example, in which the helpless position of the emperor, once his field army had turned against him, as well as the apparently purely localised immediate cause of the rebellion, are clearly demonstrated. Whatever grievances the soldiers of the Opsikion and their officers may have had, they were able very effectively to voice their protest and act to

adjust matters in their favour.¹⁰³⁸

The iconoclast controversy reflects in many ways the ideological aspect of this tension between traditional centralised government and the tendency for new social and economic relationships to assert themselves in the provinces;¹⁰³⁹ the establishment of the tagmata at Constantinople represents the political counter-move of the central government to the threat of provincial separatism economically and the possible loss of direct control over revenues and armies. The establishment of his own guards units, recruited from sources loyal to himself and his policies, was one of the most significant institutional steps taken by Constantine V. Initially, these units may have been filled by soldiers from the Anatolikon theme,¹⁰⁴⁰ whose armies had vigorously supported him against Artavasdos (a fact which demonstrates just how much an emperor depended upon the support of one thematic force and its commander in order to balance the power of the others), although it appears to begin with that many of these were ideologically suspect, for the domestic of the excubitors was purged shortly after the mob execution of Stephen the Younger, along with a number of others who had been in the habit of visiting Stephen for spiritual guidance, or who were similarly suspect.¹⁰⁴¹ The establishment of the tagmata meant that Constantine now had a loyal force which could defend him and his City against provincial risings; he also had a tool with which to implement his iconoclast policy in Constantinople, and to enforce his program of administrative reform. The appointment of provincial commanders who were likewise his trusted supporters and who implemented similar policies in the themes was an integral part of the overall strategy; although the measures by which he and his officers gained the support of the thematic forces are difficult to discern. For the most part ordinary soldiers were drawn to Constantine for his military abilities and successes,¹⁰⁴² while the civilian population was likewise won

over to a point of view which a good proportion of them may have held before any 'iconoclast policy' had become official, whether or not they fully understood the fundamentals upon which the differences between later iconophile and iconoclast dogma were based. It was often the wealthy and/or educated who were, after the monks,¹⁰⁴³ the strongest supporters of the icons.

The existence of the tagmata therefore reduced the emperor's dependence upon the provinces. He was both free from their direct influence, and had also created an elite fighting corps which could spearhead an aggressive military policy. At the same time, their establishment represents in fact a practical recognition of the dominant position of Constantinople in Byzantine politics and ideology and of the administrative apparatuses which were maintained in the capital and which, like the imperial authority, needed their physical protection and support; just as, paradoxically, during the sixth and seventh centuries, the functionally less relevant (in military terms) palatine units based at or near the City had come to epitomise, insofar as they offered attractive sinecure commissions to which a degree of social status and financial security was attached, the growing attraction of the capital and the declining social and administrative relevance of the provincial cities.

But while Constantine was part of this re-established balance of authority within the empire, which had been upset by the events of the second half of the seventh century; and while he had carried out a conscious reorganisation of the military to meet the Bulgar and Arab threats, he was not able to solve the problems posed by the internal contradictions of the Byzantine social formation - the continued development of provincial independence and the centrifugal tendencies which had been speeded up by the establishment of locally self-governing provinces. This does not mean that the themes or their generals wished to break away from the empire politically. On the contrary, it is clear that rebellious generals aimed without exception for the throne,

and if successful, would attempt to bring the rest of the empire under their authority as quickly as possible.¹⁰⁴⁴ The existence of a unifying ideology, of course, had little effect upon the growth of the economic power of the provincial ruling class and their increasing control of land and economic resources; and hence the gradual development of new relations of production in the countryside. But while the possibility of provincial rebellion remained, Constantine had created a force which made the deposition and defeat of an emperor at provincial hands a much less easily-accomplished task.

With the establishment of his new guard divisions, Constantine also sowed the seeds of later political tensions within the framework of the imperial administration. For the tagmata constituted in themselves a new power-base, which might, if disloyal to any emperor, threaten his security. In this way, commanders of the tagmata succeeded the provincial strategoi as sources of influence upon the government or upon an individual emperor; and it is interesting to note that, while nearly all successful rebellions before the reforms carried through by Constantine V were based upon forces outside the capital, although often with the support or even at the instigation of factions within Constantinople, all those which succeeded after this time, with the exception of that of Leo V,¹⁰⁴⁵ were internally organised and had the aspect of coups d'état rather than of serious military revolts in the provinces. The successes of both Irene and Constantine VI at various times, of Nicephorus I and Michael I, of Michael II and Basil I, were palace coups, not provincial defeats of the imperial establishment. The contrast between the two is clear, and underscores the difference between the centres of military power before and after Constantine's reforms. Constantine's action, in fact, set up what was the political equivalent of a Constantinopolitan thema.

While there was always the danger of a ruler losing the support of the tagmata, however, it is striking that they played

a more prominent political role in the first fifty years of their existence than later. From the time of Michael II they appear as the core of the imperial armies, as the emperor's guards, and played also, of course, an important role in the formal acceptance and ratification of any successor to the throne. But they appear much more as a constant background element than as a force which constantly involves itself and its members at the forefront of imperial and Constantinopolitan politics, an aspect of their activities which distinguishes their earlier years.¹⁰⁴⁶ Their 'political militancy' at this time (if it may be so called), is the result, I think, of two factors. First, they were originally created specifically to act on behalf of one ruler and his policies; and they were deliberately used by both Constantine V and Leo IV - but especially the former - to further the iconoclastic and anti-monastic policies of those rulers. As a carefully-selected, well-drilled military force, the tagmata provide a classic example of a group which, by virtue of its 'separateness' and the special role conferred upon it, was able to develop its own values and traditions of service. Organised military forces of any description tend to take the values and ideological 'givens' of the institutional and social establishment whose interests encouraged their creation in the first place, to their logical conclusion, and this is generally expressed in the form of reactionism and conservatism, if only to ward off any threat to their own continued existence;¹⁰⁴⁷ and the tagmata are no exception to this general rule. In their case in addition, they were strongly imbued by a very particular political ideology, and the resulting 'regimental tradition' which developed cannot be passed over in silence.

There thus developed a specific attitude among the tagmatic soldiers to their role in the City. They were not merely a crack military force. They were a political instrument, and the evidence for their activities under Irene and after suggests that the soldiers identified very strongly with this role. Any

attempt to effect changes in, or to abandon, the policies which brought them into existence and which had contributed to their privileged position was bound to meet with severe opposition from this source. Not only the inherent conservatism of the military referred to already, but also the fear of loss of privilege, disbandment and so on seem to have resulted in a group insecurity among the soldiers of the tagmata. A weakening of the firm definition of their institutional role thus encouraged action aimed at re-asserting the institutional framework which maintained them.¹⁰⁴⁸

The reaction of the tagmata - or some of their number - to the Council of 785 and the effects on the young Ioannikios after joining the corps, demonstrate both these points - reaction to change and anxiety when faced with uncertainty in their role; and the existence of a powerful group tradition which appears to have been passed on very effectively indeed to younger recruits and newcomers to the unit.¹⁰⁴⁹ In the atmosphere of Irene's reign and the period up to the reign of Leo V, the tagmatic soldiers found themselves in a position where their very *raison d'être* was called into question. And, it must be emphasised, it was this situation, rather than any conscious and continuous iconoclastic ideology, which lay at the root of tagmatic activity at this time.

There is, further, clear evidence that the soldiers of the Constantinopolitan guards units were genuinely discontented with the ineffective soldiering of the later eighth and early ninth centuries. Compare the mutterings of the two iconoclast officers during the reign of Constantine VI with the cries of the dismissed tagmatic soldiers during Michael I's reign.¹⁰⁵⁰ It is not surprising that soldiers indoctrinated by regimental traditions which looked back to former glories should have felt disgruntled by the ineffectiveness and failures of their own times. Under such conditions they were easily moved, either by spontaneous hostility to a particular ruler or her/his policies

or orders, or by their officers who may have concealed more subtle political objectives behind their actions.¹⁰⁵¹

The combination of these various factors during the reigns of Eirene, Nicephorus I, and Michael I produced a discourse of discontent and suppressed hostility within the tagmata to the emperors, and an atmosphere which encouraged participation in or provocation of the rash of attempted and successful coups in which the tagmata and their officers played a leading role. That they often supported one faction or another after Eirene's effective reintroduction of the icons for no other reason than individual profit - through bribes or other favours - is quite clear, an observation which reinforces the impression that they were, as a group, insecure, disgruntled and, of course, fully conscious of their power - any authority which hoped to rule effectively, especially in a state constantly at war, needed the full support of its armies.¹⁰⁵²

The danger from this new source of power was soon realised. Eirene overcame the problem temporarily by establishing a small corps loyal to herself, the vigla, and by purging or disbanding sections of the other tagmatic units. But the problem remained, and successive emperors tackled it in the only way they knew, by following Eirene in creating or introducing into the capital their own units and supporters. Thus Nicephorus I made use of the federates, and created the hikanatoi as an elite cadet regiment. Michael I appears to have returned the federates to their quarters in Asia Minor, and by so doing gained the support of the commanders of the other tagmata. Leo V in turn gained their support, and ensured that he retained it by appointing Michael of Amorion as domestic of the excubitors and Thomas the Slav as commander of the federates. Michael II created the tessarakontarioi, although here the military reasons outweighed the political. Nevertheless, they were commanded by Ooryphas, later drungar of the Watch, and a trusted officer. Later emperors recruited foreign soldiers and created special

corps which they knew to be more dependable than the native tagmata. Basil II's Varangians are perhaps the best example, although the background situation is different in that during the tenth century the provincial military aristocracy had come at last to dominate the tagmatic and provincial armies, and were now aware of their power as a homogeneous group. While the balance of power remains therefore substantially the same, the expression of that power is invested in an identifiable class of powerful, almost independent magnates. This group monopolised the military commands and tended to attract away from Constantinople the counter-weight of the imperial tagmata through their promotion of an offensive-military policy. The tagmata were thus kept generally in the provinces, under the direct influence of representatives of this class.¹⁰⁵³

The history of the Opsikion theme and of the tagmata demonstrates the ways in which the Byzantine state was able to respond to the tensions created by both external and internal changes; and demonstrates also the weakness of all medieval bureaucracies organised on a similar basis, and subjected to constant external pressure. The contradiction between the ideology and establishment of a centralised state, with its various needs, and the economic base of such a state, which, given the level of development of communications, and the limited resources available to fulfil a multiplicity of needs, inevitably stimulates tensions within the social formation as a whole, becomes clear. But these developments also throw into greater relief the reasons for the survival of the Byzantine state as such, an organised and administratively homogeneous society. For while it is clear that these tensions were at times very powerful, to the extent that, for example, personal imperial authority was often threatened, it is equally clear that the fabric of the state was held together by its bureaucratic administration, which preserved at a general level continuity of social and economic organisation and ideological transmission;

and by its fiscal machinery, which made the operation of a centrally-directed tax-gathering machine - the material foundation of any large, organised state - possible on a long-term basis. The Byzantine economy may well have been a 'static' economy; but it was directed by a central administration with the sole aim of maintaining central control, and in this respect was remarkably effective.¹⁰⁵⁴ While regional separatism was certainly possible in the short term, no single area could ever hope to maintain itself independently for long, for its resources were always less than those of the state, which could draw upon reserves from the whole empire through the operation of its administrative machinery. Whereas in the West, centrifugal tendencies resulted in a loss of permanent control by the monarchy, a result in some respects of the latter having no professional, mercenary administration,¹⁰⁵⁵ in the East the state always managed to maintain its identity and its integrity, even when whole districts were temporarily alienated from the imperial administration, either through rebellion or through the granting of exemptions and pronoia.

At the same time, the state always insisted upon the collection of a large proportion of its basic revenues in gold, and was thus able to monopolise, in practice as well as in theory, the resources which made the running of its administrative apparatuses possible; while in the provinces, local resources - for the supplying of the army, for example, or for the maintenance of roads and bridges - consisted for the most part of levies in kind, either through the contribution of foodstuffs or raw materials, or corvées in labour. The provincial administration, while being self-sufficient in terms of its immediate short-term requirements, always relied upon the central government for greater flexibility of resources, and for the cash payment of its soldiers and administrators.¹⁰⁵⁶

As a result, rebellions were aimed at the capture of the capital, Constantinople, not just for ideological reasons

(although these were certainly of primary importance too), but in order to gain control of the administration and the resources of the state; so that the balance of power between state and provinces resolved itself not into the question of the destruction of the state or its partition, but rather of attempts by the provincial officers in question to modify imperial policies by changing the ruler or by seizing power themselves. That the modifications desired reflected the interests of the class to which the officers in question belonged (from the tenth century at least) and hence speeded up a shift in the social relations of production, does not affect this fundamental statement. While recognising, therefore, that personal ambition, jealousy and similar individual motives, understood within the particular ideological context of the Byzantine state and social formation during the period in question, may often have acted as the trigger for revolt,¹⁰⁵⁷ such revolts invariably conformed to a pattern which reflected the social and economic structure of the state as a whole.

When we consider those aspects of the Byzantine military organisation which we have examined in detail, it becomes apparent that the development of the Opsikion as the imperial field army throws light on the origins of the earliest themes, and illustrates the complex process by which a group of units serving in one capacity in the sixth century took on both a new title and a new and, in the changed context of the seventh century, far more influential role. The history of their commanding officer demonstrates the same complexity, and constitutes a useful warning against attempts to oversimplify the development of theme armies directly from other military corps. It also points to the dangers inherent in dealing with sixth- and especially seventh-century official titles and terminology, which, as I have attempted to make clear, were constantly undergoing changes, both in use and in form, during the period when the Opsikion was formed.

The appearance of such a corps likewise illustrates the mechanisms through which the late Roman state was able to respond to the changed circumstances of the first half of the seventh century. But here it should be made clear that while the Asia Minor themata were quite clearly a response to the defeats and withdrawal in the East after the initial Arab campaigns of conquest, the Opsikion was a result of Heraclius' war with the Persians - indeed, in many ways a result of Maurice's wars against the Slavs and Avars in the 590s - and the increasingly central role of those institutions attached to the capital. The amalgamation of the praesental armies and the unifying command imposed upon them in the person of the leading general developed in the first place after the peace made with Chosroes II in 591; and in the second place as the pressing need for a regular force in Asia Minor under Heraclius after 622 became apparent. From this time on, the establishment of a large praesental force at Constantinople became normal practice; and the title of its commanding officer, komes tou Opsikiou, reflects his and his army's role.

While paid at theoretically regular intervals, however, the themata were less easily influenced by imperial policy and wishes, and indeed had the potential with which to oppose policies with which they or their representatives and leaders disagreed. The reforms introduced by Constantine V had the effect of re-creating an elite field army, and hence radically altering the political-military balance of power, but they did little to affect the basic character of the provincial armies. Instead, imperial policy took on an ameliorating approach, attempting to improve a system of defence which appears over an extended period to have functioned effectively; but which was capable of moving over to the offensive only under the influence of a vigorous and compelling central authority.¹⁰⁵⁸ The slow collapse of Arab power during the ninth and tenth centuries made the final consolidation of the thematic system possible; but it

also led to the development of a full-scale counter-offensive in the tenth century, a policy which resulted eventually in the near abandonment of the thematic forces for offensive purposes, and their replacement by forces raised and organised in the same way as the tagmata.¹⁰⁵⁹

In contrast to the provincial armies, the internal organisation of the tagmata exemplifies the deliberate and conscious centralising policies of Constantine V, for the new units were kept strictly under government control. Their officers were recruited carefully, their soldiers were vetted both for their fighting qualities and for their acceptance of imperial policies. The units were paid and administered from Constantinople, and were based in or near the capital at all times, at least during the later eighth and most of the ninth century. Compared with the dispersed, difficult to control and often factious provincial armies, with their local loyalties and connections, the tagmata formed the core of the imperial field army par excellence.

It would be wrong, however, to consider the tagmata as an effective field force by themselves. As I have already suggested in chapter five, their numbers seem not to have been large.¹⁰⁶⁰ Historians often accept rather uncritically the figures given in Byzantine and other sources for armies on campaign, despite occasional reminders that care should be taken.¹⁰⁶¹ Leo VI's remarks about not divulging the real figures of the theme forces suggest to me that the numbers were not particularly high; while even the figure of 1037 Thracian and Macedonian scholarici on the expedition to Crete in 902 cannot be considered small. Later expeditions scarcely attain more than 2000 tagmatic soldiers even when those from the pericatic and Constantinopolitan sections of the tagmata are included.¹⁰⁶² These figures hardly represent all the tagmatic soldiers, of course; but they are indicative. The figures for thematic armies have been more recently considered by Toynbee, whose arguments

are logical and well-reasoned.¹⁰⁶³ In relation to these, a total of 8000 tagmatic soldiers, including the Walls and the noumera, would seem to be quite reasonable, if not rather high, for the tagmata of the ninth and tenth centuries. Their numbers may have varied considerably, of course, according to the exigencies of the time - whether military or political - as the examples in the De Caerimoninis suggest; but as I have noted already, large numbers will have been the exception rather than the rule. In view of their strength numerically, it would seem most unlikely that they campaigned by themselves, save in emergencies. In the campaign of 782, for example, they appear to have operated along with the Thrakesion forces.¹⁰⁶⁴ On the whole, they formed the core of the field armies commanded by the emperors or their most trusted generals and commanders, as for example during the reigns of Nicephorus I, Leo V and especially of Theophilus. They were kept under close imperial supervision throughout the period under consideration here, that is, up to the end of the ninth century, and appear to have acted at all times as efficient and effective tools of the imperial government, in their military capacity at least; although, as pointed out already, their political loyalties were often swayed from one faction within the government establishment to another.¹⁰⁶⁵

The history of the elite forces of the empire from the sixth to the ninth century illustrates the development of the Byzantine state as a whole during that period. The seventh century witnessed the radical transformation of the old society and the administrative system which it supported, and which maintained its security. Older institutions, in attempting to maintain the established framework of the state, were themselves transformed by a new situation. Institutions which became ineffective were either abandoned or deliberately reformed. The administration of the central military organisation and the alterations and modifications which that organisation underwent over a period of

some three hundred years - the initial role of the Opsikion, the later establishment of the tagmata, and the contrast which developed between tagmata and themata - illustrates in detail in what ways changed circumstances and the gradual crystallisation of new relations of production affected the apparatuses of the state, and the means which the central government itself adopted to secure its survival and maintain its authority and control.

It must be said in conclusion that this study can by no means claim to be exhaustive. It has been primarily an attempt to clarify the developments and metamorphoses which particular institutions within the Byzantine state underwent over a considerable period of time. Some of the conclusions attained, while they may appear attractive, remain hypothetical. But while the minutiae of the process of historical change are often difficult to discern - a reflection to some extent of the nature and extent of the available sources - it is hoped that a fairly clear general framework has emerged, and one that will make possible further work on those aspects of the structure and nature of the Byzantine social formation and the Byzantine state not attempted here.

Appendix

Prosopographical list of tagmátic commanders for the later eighth and ninth centuries; and of counts of the Opsikion for the period circa 642-800 A.D.

This prosopography is not intended to be exhaustive, and is taken for the purposes of this study no later than the early ninth century for the Opsikion, and no later than the end of the ninth century for the tagmata proper. Guillard, in a series of prosopographical compilations, has already provided a good deal of material concerning some of the persons mentioned; and has drawn up fairly complete catalogues of the dōmestics of the scholai and the drungars of the vigla. The material presented here will not duplicate Guillard's work in this respect, but merely add a few details of persons not originally noted by the latter.¹⁰⁶⁶ As far as concerns the excubitors, hikanatoi, and the Opsikion army, no prosographies have yet appeared, and it is hoped that those presented here include all the known commanders of these units within the chronological limits mentioned above.

A) The scholai

- 1) Arsavir, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the scholai. For his seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.1734, dated to the ninth century.
- 2) Eirenaios, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the scholai. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.1863, dated to the ninth century.
- 3) Niketas, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the God-guarded scholai. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2252, dated to the later eighth century.¹⁰⁶⁷
- 4) Anon., patrikios, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the scholai. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2625, dated to

the ninth century.

- 5) Anon., protospatharios and domestic of the God-guarded scholai. For a seal, cf. Laurent, Orghidan, no.26, dated to the ninth century.
- 6) Anon., anthypatos, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the scholai. For a seal, cf. Laurent, Orghidan, no.27, dated to the later ninth or tenth centuries.
- 7) Anon., domestic of the scholai. For a seal, cf. Konstantopoulos, Molybdoboulla, JIAN 6, no.188, dated to the ninth or tenth century.
- 8) Marianos, anthypatos, patrikios, logothete ton agelon and domestic of the scholai, brother of Basil I. See Seibt, Bleisiegel, no.34; and Guilland, Recherches, i, 438.

B) The *arithmos/vigla*

- 1) Leo, imperial spatharios and drouggarios of the God-guarded imperial Vigla. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2144, dated to the later eighth century.
- 2) Leo, drouggarios of the Vigla. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.907, dated to the ninth century.¹⁰⁶⁸
- 3) Theodore, imperial spatharios and drouggarios of the Vigla. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2458, dated to the period c.750-850.
- 4) Petronas, imperial kandidatos and drouggarios of the A(arithmos). For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2314, dated to the ninth century.¹⁰⁶⁹

C) The excubidores

- 1) Strategios, spatharios and domestic of the exkoubiton (a. 765). He and his brother, Constantine Podopagouros, were arrested and executed in 765 for plotting against Constantine V.¹⁰⁷⁰
- 2) Constantine, ὁ τοῦ βικαρίου σωθάπιος and domestic of the excubitors (a. 783). Arrested with a number of other officers

for plotting to dethrone Irene. A seal of Constantine, imperial spatharios and domestic of the excubitors, probably belongs to this officer.¹⁰⁷¹

3) Niketas, imperial spatharios and domestic of the excubitors. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no:2268, dated c.750-850.

4) Michael, of Amorion, later Michael II. He began under Nicephorus I as komes tes kortes in the Anatolikon theme; under Leo V he became patrikios and domestic of the excubitors, from which post he succeeded to the throne in 820.¹⁰⁷³

5) Arsalir, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the excubitors. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.1738, dated c.750-850.

6) Paul, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the excubitors. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2294A, dated to the ninth century.

7) Theophilos, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the excubitors. For his seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2517A, dated to the ninth century.

8) Symbatios, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the excubitors. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2403, dated to the second half of the ninth century. Possibly to be identified with Symbatios, the brother-in-law of the Caesar Bardas, and logothete of the Drome, later strategos of the Thrakesion theme, to which post he was appointed at his own request on Bardas' death.¹⁰⁷⁴ Upon the promotion of Basil the Macedonian to co-emperor with Michael III, he rebelled, aided by the commander of the Opsikion theme, Peganes, but was finally captured and blinded, and then exiled.¹⁰⁷⁵

9) Sergios, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the excubitors. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.3174, dated to the ninth century.¹⁰⁷⁶

10) Constantine the Armenian, referred to by Genesios as domestic of the excubitors in 843, but otherwise always mentioned as drouggarios of the Vigla.¹⁰⁷⁷

- 11) Leo, domestic of the excubitors, present at the eighth ecumenical council in 869. ¹⁰⁷⁸
- 12) John Grapson, domestic of the excubitors in 917, when he was killed in a battle with the Bulgars. He was the son of Maroules, domestic of the hikanatoi. ¹⁰⁷⁹

D) The hikanatoi

- 1) The first domestic of the hikanatoi was Niketas, son of Michael Rhaggabe, who was appointed to the post at the age of ten years, in 809. He was castrated and exiled a few years later upon the accession of Leo V, and later changed his name to Ignatios, becoming patriarch in 847. ¹⁰⁸⁰
- 2) Theoktistos, imperial spatharios and domestic of the hikanatoi. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2499, dated to the ninth century. (Although Seibt, BS 36(1975)212 would read: Theoktistos, imp a'spath. + dom. Opt)
- 3) Bardas, imperial spatharios and domestic of the hikanatoi. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.1757, dated to the ninth century.
- 4) Nikephoros Tzyrakes, protospatharios and domestic of the hikanatoi, appears from his titles to have commanded the unit in the middle years of the ninth century. For a seal, see Laurent, Bulletin i, 608, no.2, and references.
- 5) Orestes, protospatharios and domestic of the hikanatoi, present at the eighth ecumenical council in 869. ¹⁰⁸¹
- 6) John, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the hikanatoi. For a seal, cf. Schlumberger, Sig., 351. ¹⁰⁸²
- 7) Maroules, other titles unknown, was the father of John Grapson, commander of the excubitors, and was domestic of the hikanatoi in 917. ¹⁰⁸³
- 8) Constantine, son of Βαπτιστής, was domestic of the hikanatoi in 919, when he deserted Leo Phocas for Romanus Lacapenus. ¹⁰⁸⁴

E) The noumera ¹⁰⁸⁵

- 1) Bardas, imperial spatharios and domestic of the noumera. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.1758, dated to the ninth century.
- 2) Constantine, imperial spatharios and domestic of the noumera. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.1830, dated to the ninth century.
- 3) Theodore, imperial spatharios and domestic of the noumera. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2456, dated to the ninth century.
- 4) Constantine, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the noumera. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.1825, dated to the ninth century.
- 5) Theophilitzes, count of the Walls and the noumera in 856 and before, a relative of Bardas the Caesar, and nicknamed ὁ μαῖδευόπενος.¹⁰⁸⁶
- 6) Leo, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the noumera. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2137. This is probably a seal of Leo Lalakon, who was placed in charge of the patriarch Ignatios at one stage in his imprisonment in 858.¹⁰⁸⁷
- 7) Nikolaos, protospatharios and Noumeros, Aemilianos. For this seal, cf. Schlumberger, Sig., 356.
- 8) Marianos, Noumerios, late ninth century.¹⁰⁸⁸

F) Counts of the Opsikion

- 1) Valentinos, the Arsacid, the patrician and ?comes of the Opsikion under Heraclius-Constantine, Martina and Heracleonas, and Constans II, was originally a confidant of Philagrios, the sakellarios. He intervened in 641/2 to ensure the position of Heraclius, later Constans II, and was then made comes excubitorum. After campaigning in Cilicia, he returned to the City, where he appears to have set himself up as co-emperor for a short time. He was eventually deposed and killed in popular riots against the presence of his soldiers in the City. He

probably held the post of commander of the Opsikion for four or five years.¹⁰⁸⁹

2) His successor was Theodore, another member of the Armenian nobility. He was appointed to succeed Valentinos, under whose supreme command he seems earlier to have held the post of commander of the eastern army, either as magister militum per Armeniam or magister militum per Orientem.¹⁰⁹⁰

3) Mizizios, or Mzez, probably a son or grandson of Mzez Gnouni, the governor of Byzantine Armenia in 637/8. Mizizios accompanied Constans to Sicily with a section of the Opsikion forces, whose komes he was, and upon the assassination of the emperor in 668, Mizizios was acclaimed by the troops. The rebellion was soon crushed; however, and Mizizios was executed. His son, Ioannis, likewise rebelled, in Armenia in 678, but he was also defeated and executed.¹⁰⁹¹

4) Theodore, count of the Opsikion, and hypostrategos of Thrace, referred to at the council of 680.¹⁰⁹²

5) Leontios, patrikios and komes of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion, for whom there exists an inscribed ring. Possibly he was the same as the Leontios, strategos of Hellas, who rebelled and became emperor in 698.¹⁰⁹³

6) Barasbakourios, confidant and friend of Justinian II. He was probably komes of the Opsikion from 705 until his death in 711 at the hands of the supporters of Philippikos Bardanes. He probably held the post for six years,¹⁰⁹⁴ initially combining it with that of strategos of Thrace.

7) George Bouraphos, count of the Opsikion from 711 until 713, in which year he helped in the deposition of Philippikos Bardanes. He was later blinded and exiled by Anastasios II along with Theodore Myakes, another confidant of Justinian II. He probably held the post for two years.¹⁰⁹⁵

8) Isoes, komes of the Opsikion from 713 or 715 until 718, when he was involved in a plot against Leo III. He was executed for his part. He probably held the post for about five years.

- 9) Artavasdos, strategos of the Armeniakon theme, and brother-in-law of Constantine V. He was made count of the Opsikion (probably in 718) and Curopalates by Leo III, whose close friend he appears to have been, but rebelled against Constantine V and was proclaimed emperor on Constantine's accession. His rebellion was eventually crushed, and he was blinded.¹⁰⁹⁶
- 10) Marinos exarchos, komes of the Opsikion during the first part of the eighth century. He may possibly have been the same as the patrician Marianos, father of the Eustathios, executed by the Arabs in 740 after his capture in a raid of 739. He might also be the same as the Marinos, imperialis spatarius, sent by Leo III to arrest Gregory II. This Marinos was Dux of the Roman duchy, and it was possibly from this function that he gained the name of exarchos. He was probably count of the Opsikion theme after Artavasdos' defeat in 743.¹⁰⁹⁷
- 11) David, the former spatharios of Beser, the confidant and adviser of Leo III and Constantine V who was killed at the beginning of the rebellion of Artavasdos, was spatarios and komes of the Opsikion in 765, when he was executed along with other officers for plotting against Constantine.¹⁰⁹⁸
- 12) Artavasdos, spatarios and count of the Opsikion (before 775). Possibly the same as the Armenian Artavasdos, strategos of the Armeniakon theme in 777/8.¹⁰⁹⁹
- 13) Gregory Mousoulakios, commander of the Opsikianoi according to Theophanes in 777/8. He appears to be the same as Gregory Mousoulakios the patrician who was involved with Nicephorus in the deposition of Irene in 802.¹¹⁰⁰
- 14) Niketas, count of the Opsikion in 782, defeated by ibn Barmak according to Tabari (although according to other sources it was Michael Lachanodrakon, strategos of Thrakesion, not Niketas, who was defeated).¹¹⁰¹
- 15) Petronas, komes of the God-guarded Opsikion, present at the seventh ecumenical council in 787, and for whom several seals

bear witness.¹¹⁰²

16) John, count of the Opsikion in 795; despatched by Constantine VI with Bardanios, domestic of the scholai, to arrest Plato of Sakkoudion.¹¹⁰³

17) Paul, patrician and count of the Opsikion, defeated in a battle with Arab raiders in 798.¹¹⁰⁴

Introduction: notes

1) The various aspects of Byzantine 'official' ideology have been examined in detail by a number of scholars. For a general summary of the make-up and significance of the imperial ideology, plus further bibliography, see N.H.Baynes, 'Eusebius and the Christian Empire', AIPHOS 2(1934) (= *Mélanges Bidez i*) 13-18; F.Dolger, 'Bulgarisches Cartum und byzantinisches Kaisertum', *Actes du IV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines* (Sofia 1934) (= *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 9(1935)57-68 [repr. in F.Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, 140ff.]; P.J.Alexander, 'The Strength of Empire and Capital as Seen Through Byzantine Eyes', *Speculum* 37(1962) 339-357; G.Dagron, *TM* 3(1968)85ff; F.Dvornik, *Polit. Philos.* II, 611ff; M.V.Anastos, 'Byzantine Political Theory: its Classical Precedents and Legal Embodiment', in: *The 'Past' in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. Sp.Vryonis, jr. (= *Bυγαντίνικα καὶ Μεταβυζαντίνικα 1* [Malibu 1978]), 13-53; P.E.Pieler, 'Verfassung und Rechtsgrundlagen des byzantinischen Staates', *JÖB* 31/1(1981) 213-231 (= *Akten des XVI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses 1/1*), esp. 224f., 228ff. Note also the opening discussion and accompanying bibliography in: Otto Kresten, 'Iustinianos I., der "Christusliebende" Kaiser. Zum Epitheton φιλόχριστος in den Intitulationes byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden', *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 21(1979)83-109. Treitinger, Kaiser- und Reichsidee, is still the best general survey. The concept of ideology and the use to which it may be put is more problematic, a theme which I will be taking up elsewhere. For some varied views within Byzantine historiography in general, see J.-L.Van Dieten, 'Politische Ideologie und Niedergang von Byzanz', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 6(1979)2, and note 2; G.Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* (München 1972), see 73f; H.-G.Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (München 1978), 82; H.Hunger, ed., *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild* (Darmstadt

1975), introduction. The definitions proposed in these examples are usually rather limited and purely descriptive, as is that espoused in the otherwise very useful synthesis of K.-P. Matschke, 'Sozialschichten und Geisteshaltungen', JÖB 31/1(1981) 189-212 (= Akten des XVI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses 1/1), see 195f., where 'Ideology' is limited to either the imperial ideology, or to Byzantine 'ideas' and 'mentalities' only; and is hence abstracted from social praxis in the widest sense. But since Mannheim on the one hand, and Gramsci, and later Althusser (whether one accepts their theoretical premises or not), on the other, the study of the concept of ideology has seen a number of important developments, which historians have yet adequately to take into account. See, for example, the essays in the collective *On Ideology* (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1977); in *Ideology and Cultural Production*, edd. M.Barrett, P.Corrigan, A.Kuhn, J.Wolff (London 1979), esp. the essay of R.Johnson, 'Histories of Culture/Theories of Ideology: notes on an Impasse', *ibid.*, 49-77; J.Bischoff, 'Marxistische Theorie des Ideologischen', *Das Argument* 122 (Juli/August 1980) 479-506. A dynamic theory of ideological consciousness which will take into account pre-industrial social formations has yet to be attempted - Marx's own writings dealt primarily with a nineteenth-century situation. For a good general survey of the origins of the term and the uses to which it has been put, together with an account of recent debates, see Jorge Larrain, *The Concept of Ideology* (London 1979).

2) One of the best descriptive syntheses of the course of Byzantine history in this respect, albeit often over-generalised in many ways (and certainly subject to a number of theoretical inadequacies), has been written by a non-Byzantinist. Cf. Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London 1974),

265ff., where the stalemate between a social formation which represented a deformed ancient mode of production on the one hand and the tendencies towards a feudal mode of production on the other are clearly set forth. It should be stressed in addition that the apparent decrease in a colonate form of land-tenure and exploitation during the seventh century and the accompanying increase in the number of free peasants subject directly to the state authority facilitated the survival of the state superstructure and thus promoted the retardation of 'feudal' tendencies - a point which this particular synthesis does not stress sufficiently (268-9). On this, see also Patlagean, *Economie*, esp. 1374ff; Haldon, *Considerations*. For a valuable discussion of some of the theoretical problems in this connection, see the review by P.Hirst, 'The Uniqueness of the West', *Economy and Society* 4/4(Nov. 1975)446-475.

3) For a comment on the close structural relationship between the wars waged by the state and its internal political order, see for example, J.S.Rasin, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* (German transl., Berlin 1959) xi f. Rasin's work, carried out and published during and after the second world war, is marred by an economic reductionism and a dogmatism which often makes it difficult reading. His introduction, however, is an important contribution to the study of warfare and military organisation from ancient times, and in this respect is certainly an advance on Delbrück's like-named study.'

4) See the various articles published by Kaegi, for example, and also Kućma, to be found in the bibliography of secondary works. Most recently, Kaegi's book on *Byzantine Military Unrest* has made a considerable contribution to this area, although the premises for his analysis often remain unclear. See my review, in *ByzSlav* 43(1982):

5) See Mills and Gerth, Character and Social Structure, 165f; Berger and Luckmann, Social Construction of Reality, 70f., 88, 102f. This will be discussed at greater length in chapter six. For a useful general introduction to theories of bureaucracy, see Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen 1922) iii, 650-678; and for a summary of Weber's and other views, N.P. Mouzelis, *Organisation and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories* (London 1975) 8-75.

6) Mills and Gerth, op.cit., 183f. Cf. A. Vagts, *Militarism*, 29-30; K. Lang, *Military Institutions*, 29f; 126-7.

7) For a definition of professionalism, see Talcott Parsons, 'The Professions and Social Structure', in: *Essays in Sociological Theory, Pure and Applied* (Glencoe 1949), esp. chapt. 8; M. Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, 6f; idem, *The Military*, 3f; and note also the comments on the 'garrison state' at 113. See also the survey of theories of bureaucracy by Mouzelis, *Organisation and Bureaucracy* op.cit., note 5 above.

8) Mills and Gerth, op.cit., 168. That the Byzantines themselves were aware of class differences in the modern sense (that is to say, that they were class-conscious) is, of course, out of the question. But they were certainly aware of differences of 'estate' and social rank, categories which were viewed as essentially non-economic but which were nevertheless based in objective social and economic relationships and antagonisms. To deny that classes existed, on the ground that ancient societies themselves were unable to recognise them, however, is to deny the existence of a social division of labour and the different relationships of various groups within the social formation in question to the means of production. Any analysis of the structure of an ancient or medieval society which does deny this is reduced to a mechanical portrayal limited

by the self-awareness of the social groups under examination. This can hardly be the basis for an adequate understanding of the structure and dynamic of a historical society. The net result would be a self-contained social analysis which fails objectively to connect the social reality of one society with those neighbouring it, both spatially and chronologically. It should not be necessary to add that the use of 'class' to describe ontologically real social relations does not exclude the recognition of social sub-groups, but on the contrary facilitates an understanding of their origins and formation. Neither is the problem of power-relations within and between social sub-groups, and the existence of groups and individuals attributed with social power and authority, but no immediate relationship to economic resources, denied by this usage. This is, of course, a complex question, and I can only outline here the assumptions made in what follows. For the most useful recent comments, see E.J.Hobsbawm, 'Class Consciousness in History', in: I.Meszaros, ed., *Aspects of History and Class Consciousness* (London 1971), 5-9; R.Scribner, 'Is There a Social History of the Reformation?', *Social History* 4(Jan. 1977)483-505, esp. 494f; and esp. G.A.Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History: a Defence* (Oxford 1978), 61-87, esp. 73ff. Note my remarks, *ByzSlav* 42(1981)203-211. Note also the comments of F.Favory, art.cit. (note 18 below)314f., 321 and note 30.

9) For the 'civil service' and the attitudes of the 'professional' bureaucrat, see esp. Weiss, *Beamte*, 38ff., 106-8; and Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, loc.cit; and for the split within the Byzantine ruling class in the tenth and eleventh century, see Vryonis, *Social Basis of Decline*, 159-65; idem, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 70ff; Weiss, *Beamte*, 92ff., and *ByzSlav* 36(1975)193-7 (review of Weiss, by Lyubarskij).

10) See, for example, CMH iv, 2, 37-40; Ostrogorsky, *State*,

222f; W. Ensslin, in: Baynes and Moss, *Byzantium*, 298ff; Bréhier, *Institutions*, 352f., 362f.

11) Th. Uspenskij, 'Voennoe ustroistvo Vizantiiskoj imperii', *IRAIK* 6(1900)154-207.

12) Gelzer, *Themenverfassung*, esp. 1-20.

13) See Buřý, 'Admin'. 47-67; 106-8; Th. Uspenskij, 'Vizantiiskaja tabel' o rangah', *IRAIK* 3(1898)98ff; see also Bury, *ERE*, 227-8.

14) Stein, *Studien*, 117-140; see also Diehl, *l'Originè*; Kulakovskij, Opsikion.

15) See Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 24-36; Guillard, *Recherches*, 426f., 563; idem, Nouméra, 401-418; Murs, 17-25; Jones, *LRE*; Stein, *Bas-Empire*; Mommsen, *Militärwesen*, 195-279; Grosse, *Militärgeschichte*; and finally Frank, Scholae Palatinae.

D. Hoffman, *Bewegungsheer*, 279ff. discusses briefly the origins of the scholae in the fourth century. For the most recent survey of opinion on the tagmata, see Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 329ff. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion*, 316ff., and 327ff., and Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, 284-7, also comment on the tagmata.

16) Cf. W. E. Kaegi, *Byz. Armies and Iconoclasm*, 49; idem, *Polit. Activity*, 13; Lemerle, *Esquisse*, ii, 53; Grégoire, in *Byz* 16(1942-3)553.

17) See my remarks in *Considerations*.

18) Other examples are not difficult to find. The difficulties surrounding the interpretation of isolated statements in medieval texts are well known. Much argument has been devoted to the

question of whether or not a statement in Theophanes, for example, which cannot be corroborated elsewhere, is to be accorded any validity. Historians are encouraged to await 'further evidence' before committing their opinions to writing, and thereby often ignore the fact that, even if such evidence is forthcoming, its interpretation (and indeed the determination of an historical artifact - whether a statement in a source or an object - as 'evidence' is in itself an act of interpretation) must depend upon the existence of a framework of analysis which, when explicit and internally coherent, has the effect of demoting 'evidence' from its paramount rank to that of one instance of interpretation among many. Of course, no understanding of past society is possible without 'evidence', but the determining of such evidence is in itself part of an epistemology within which the limits of further interpretational possibilities, are already inscribed. For a brilliant example of minute, text-based analysis and interrogation of 'evidence', see Speck's Konstantin VI; for a constructive analysis of some of the interpretational difficulties this can present, see Winkelmann's review, *Klio* 62(1980)625-631. And note, the comments of Matschke, *art.cit.* (note 1 above), esp. 193ff., and 211-2. For some recent comments on the lack of a general theoretical perspective in ancient, historical studies (although the argument applies even more strongly in Byzantine studies), see F.Favory, 'Validité des concepts marxistes pour une théorie des sociétés de l'Antiquité', *Klio* 63(1981)313-330. While I do not accept many of the assumptions of the author, his line of argument and many of his critical remarks are useful and to the point. Finally, note the, pointed remarks of B.C.Hurst, 'The Myth of Historical Evidence', *History and Theory* 20/3(1981)278-290.

Chapter one: notes

- 19) In general on the Late Roman army and the background to the sixth-century situation, see, apart from the works of Jones, Hoffman, Gabba, Müller, Mommsen, and Grosse: D.Van Berchem, *L'Armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne* (Paris 1952); W.Seston, 'Du comitatus de Dioclétian aux comitatenses de Constantin', *Historia* 4(1955)284-296.
- 20) Diehl, L'Origine, 280f; Sathas, MB ii, 35-8; Stein, Studien, 126f.
- 21) FHG iv, frg. 9 (59); Kulakovskij; Opsikion, 54f. On Olympiodorus, see Hunger, Literatur, 281-2.
- 22) Theoph., 385, ²⁷; 386⁵; Acta Davidi, Symeonis etc., 256.
- 23) Cf. Pertusi, De Them., 70, 130-3; K.Amantos, 'Γοτθογραικοί - Γοτθογραικία', *Ελληνικά* 5(1932)306; I.Chr.Tornarites, 'Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντίνου Δικαίου, i, 379-383, 386-7; see also Acta Martyr. Amqr., xv, i.3; De Them., iv, 12. Stein, Studien, 126; quite rightly rejects the connection between the optimates of Radagaisus and the later unit of Gothograeci, although at p.127 he considers that the GotheGRAECIA is equivalent to the Gothic Chersonese. But see Tornarites, op.cit., 386-7.
- 24) For the Goths in Phrygia, see Claudian, In Eutrop., ii, 153ff: Gruthungi. For the defeat of 386, see Jones, LRE, 158; and for the bishop Selenas and the Eunomian heretics, Socrates, HE, 648; Soz., HE, 1468. See also Anrich, *Hagiós Nikolaos*, 371-2, who proposes to identify these Phrygian Taifali with the later Gothograeci. As pointed out below, however, the later

settlement of Gothic soldiers from the Optimates regiment during the seventh century is more likely to have produced this name. For Selenas as bishop of the Goths on the Danube, see A.A.Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass. 1936), 37. For the geographical location of the Optimates/Gothograeci, cf. *Acta Davidi, Symeonis etc.*, loc.cit; *De Them.*, iv, 5sq. See also Alexiade, xv, i.4; Charanis, *Ethnic Comp.*, 141; *Ethnic Changes*, 28 and S.Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 46-7, also comment on the Phrygian and Bithynian Goths. The reference in the *De Thematibus* suggests a certain confusion on the part of the writer between the presence of the Goths (or people of Gothic origin) and the older region of Dagouta, near Bithynian Olympus, as the intrusion of the 'th' illustrates. See Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, 190, note 76; and note also Laurent, *Vie de S.Pierre d'Atroa*, note to 4,²⁴, a reference to an inscription from Broussa mentioning a χώρα τῶν Δαγούτηνῶν (Paul was himself living in the Phrygian mountains called τῆς Δαγούτης).

25) Stein, *Studien*, 126-7, objects to the theory of settlement under Stilicho on the grounds that the Goths were almost wiped out by the imperial general before being incorporated into his forces. Cf. Zos., v, 26.5; but compare Olympiodorus, loc. cit., who states that they numbered twelve thousand. That these troops were then transferred to Asia Minor, however, is extremely unlikely, in view of the serious manpower shortage in the west and the anti-Germanic feeling then prevalent, which Stein, 126, refers to. For the later role of the Optimates, see chapters two and three below.

26) Joh.Eph., 188, 207; Evagrius, *HE*, v, 14 (206, 28sq.); Joh. Epiph., frg. 5, 276; Th.Sim., iii, 12.4; Theoph., 251,²⁴; Joh.Biclar, s.a. 575, 214. See Haldon, *Recruitment*, 22; and note Gascou, *Bucellaires*, 156 and n.1.

- 27) Cf. Joh.Eph., 188, 408, 436; Evag., HE, v, 19 (214,²⁴), Stein, Studien, 135; and Stein, Bas-Empire, ii, 87. For the comes excubitorum and his role in recruiting and leading campaigns, see infra, p.51. Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam, i, 45, suggests that since Maurice was given responsibility by Tiberius for raising the troops, he may have been comes foederatorum at the same time as he held the other posts. For the office of count of the federates, attested firmly only once in the sixth century, see Jones, LRE, 665. It is probable that Maurice was appointed comes foederatorum in addition to his usual command, in view of his authority over the new corps of non-Byzantine mercenaries.
- 28) Cf. Joh.Eph., 350, 356, 408-9; Evag., HE, v, 19 (214,²⁴); Men.Prot., frg. 56 (HGM ii, 111, ¹⁰⁻¹¹); Joh.Biclar., s.a. 578, 215, for Maurice as Commander-in-Chief.
- 29) Strat., i, 3.14: καὶ ἀριάτος προσαγορεύεται· ὁ σύμμαχος τοῦ ὄντιμάτου ήτοι ὁ αὐτοῦ ὑπερασπιστής. Cf. iii, 5.4; 8 (esquires of optimates); iii, 7 (armatus). For optimates having an esquire each, Strat., vi, 3.14. On the so-called Strategikon, compiled during the last years of the sixth century, see now the summary and bibliography in Hunger, Profane Literatur ii, 329-330. While undoubtedly compiled within the classical, tradition-conscious framework of such handbooks, the Strategikon is exceptional in its attempt to reflect contemporary practice and usage, and, as archaeological comparison suggests, does reflect the actualities of the later sixth century. See Haldon, Military Technonogy, 24f. Note also H.Mihăescu's review of the most recent edition of the text (ed. G.T.Dennis, trans. E.Gamillscheg, Das Strategikon des Maurikios [CFHB XVII - Series Vindobonensis, Wien 1981], unfortunately not available to me in time to be incorporated here) in ByzSlav 43(1982)65-7.

30) Strat., i, 2.11. The buying or maintaining of orderlies was not uncommon among soldiers of the late Roman army: cf. Jones, LRE, 647.

31) A point not appreciated by Aussaresses, 15, nor by Stein, Studien, 124, 127. (followed by Pertusi, Ordinamenti, 666), who considers the Optimates inferior to the federates, a selection of 'the best' soldiers from the bucellarii and foederati. Only Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 272, appears to have correctly discerned this.

32) See above, note 25. They were for the most part Goths. See note 37.

33) On the germanic comitatus and the bond of dependency, see Bloch, Feudal Society, 154-6; Ganshof, Feudalism, 4f.; Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 283-5; A. Dopsch, Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der europäischen Kulturentwicklung (Vienna, 1920-3), ii, 42-8, 100-9, 300-6; also O. Seeck, 'Das deutsche Gefolgswesen auf römischem Boden', Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (1896) 98-105. In the fifth century and after in the west the term optimates was used of the nobility and, in Carolingian times, of the higher court officials. Cf. Ducange, Gloss. Lat., s.v. optimatus; note the Lombard soldiers recruited in 551 by Narses brought their 'esquires' with them, cf., Proc., BG iv, 16.5.17. See most recently H.-J. Diesner, Westgotische und langobardische Gefolgschaften und Untertanenverbände, in: SBS 120/2 (Berlin 1978).

34) Strat., i, 2.1.

35) Strat., i, 4.5.

36) Strat., iii, 7. For taxiarchos, taxisarchia, see for

example Th.Sim., i,7.3; ii,10.9; Evag., HE, v,9 (205,²⁵); vi,5 (225,¹⁸). The Strat. equates taxiarχ with moirarch, cf. 1, 4.2; 4. It is difficult to know whether to take the term in a purely technical sense - it usually bore a more general meaning and regained its' technical aspect only in the later tenth century, see Oikonomidès, Préséance, 335-6 and references.

37) For the Lombard invasion, see Ostrogorsky, State, 79; Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, 172f. For the Gothic Arian recruits and their church, see Joh.Eph., 188, 207. Cf. CJ i,5.12/17 (A.527) and see Rochow, in: Byzanz im 7.Jhd., 267 and references.

38) For the Goths and their tactics, see Oman, Art of War, 32f; Lot, l'Art militaire, 38-9; Pertusi, Ordinamenti, 643-50. It is possible that some of the references to ethnikoi - foreigners - apply to members of the optimates or the foederati. They are specified as having lances and shields rather than bows (Strat., i,2.3), and are referred to as part of the Roman forces (Strat., i,2.4: Μάντρας τοὺς νεωτέρους Ρωμαίους δίχα τῶν ἑθνικῶν) as distinct from the symmachoi or allies (cf. Strat., vii,4a; viii,2.15 ~ symmachoi - and ii,5:5; vii, 15a.1, an exception where ethnikoi = symmachoi).

39) The Strategikon counts the optimates together as a taxiarchieiā i.e. a mōira (see note 36 above); they numbered therefore 2-3000 men. Cf. Strat., i,4.2; 4; cf. also Aussareses, 16.

40) ii,5.4-5.

41) Joh.Eph., 189f.

42) Cf. J.Maspéro, 'φοιδεράτοι 'et στρατιώται dans l'armée

byzantine', BZ 21(1912)97f; Jones, LRE, 663-5; Mommsen, Militärwesen, 217f. Note also the remarks of Teall, Barbarians in Justinian's Armies, 296-7. The distinction between katalogoi and phoideratoi became increasingly blurred during the sixth century. See also RE VI, 2818-27.

43) Teall, Barbarians in Justinian's Armies, esp. 303f.

44) Proc., BG iii, 31.10; Jones, LRE, 665.

45) Joh.Epiph., frg.5, 276; Evag., HE, v,14 (209,^{28sq.})

46) On the origins and development of bucellarii, see Lécrivain, 'Les soldats privés au Bas-Empire', Mélanges de l'École de Rome 10(1890)268f; Maspéro, art. cit., 97f; R.Remondon, 'Soldats de Byzance d'après un papyrus trouvé à Edfou', Recherches de Papyrologie i (Paris 1961); Stein, Studien, 123; Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 283-90; Mommsen, Militärwesen, 233f; Jones, LRE, 666-7. See also E.R.Hardy, The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt (New York 1931), esp. 60f; RE III, 934-9 (Seeck); Gabba, Ordinamenti militari, and H.-J.Diesner, 'Das Bucellariertum von Stilicho und Sarus bis auf Aetius (454/5)', Klio 54(1972)321-350.

Note also Niceph.Patr. 6,^{27sq.}, where the bucellarii of the ex-general Priscus are referred to - they were clearly soldiers, but not registered ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τάγμασιν.

47) Cf. J.Gascou, 'L'Institution des Bucellaires', BIFA 76(1976)143-156, esp. 147ff., for the most recent discussion of the Egyptian evidence.

48) For a recent comment on private soldiers and their role in the sixth century, see H.-J.Diesner, 'Feudale Elemente im byzantinischen Italien', in: Studien zum 7.Jhd., 43-9, esp. 44,

although the writer overestimates, in my view, their long-term significance.

The references to the *iδικοί* (*άνθρωποι/στρατιώται*) in the *Strategikon*, e.g. i,9.7; ii,15.2; viii,2.84 confirm this. For other references to the older type of bucellarii cf. Th.Sim., ii,4.3; viii,8.11. The continued existence of privately hired and paid bodyguards during the seventh century and beyond is not in doubt, although their presence is more obvious in the retinues of the powerful magnates of the tenth and eleventh centuries than before this. See H.-G.Beck, 'Byzantinisches Gefolgschaftswesen', Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (1965), Heft 5; and N.Oikonomides, 'Οι αύθένται τῶν Κρητικῶν τὸ 1118', Πεπραγ. τοῦ Δ' Διεθ. Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, B' (Athens 1981) 308-317, see esp. 314.

49) Strat., i,9.7; i,2.1; i,2.3; Joh.Antioch., frg. 218f.(5) (FHG v/1, 37-8; Exc.de Insid., 150). The latter qualifies his bucellarii as στρατιώται, suggesting that they belong to the class of regular soldiers rather than to the private bucellarii, generally referred to as δορυφόροι or ὑπασπισταί. Cf. Jones, LRE, 667 and note 140. Aussareses, 14, followed by Pertusi, 665, considers that the βουκελλάριοι, ἐπιτίμιοι and σωθάριοι are all known collectively as the *iδικοί*. But the passage at i,9.7 does not support this, for the idikoi are clearly different from the boukellarioroi and spatharioi. At the most, the two groups of boukellarioroi were still closely related, and it is possible that recruitment or promotion took place from one group to the other. That the new group of boukellarioroi constituted units independent of individual loyalties is stressed by their appearance in Constantinople as a regular corps (Joh.Antioch., loc. cit.) and later as a distinct corps in the Opsikion army. For their state equipment allowance, cf. Strat., i,2.1. Had they been private soldiers, the writer of the Strategikon would hardly have taken such care over their turn-out and equipment; this

would be the affair of the officers in whose service they served. It seems likely that the bucellarii (doryphoroi, hypaspistai) of Priscus were drafted into the regular units of Bucellarii by Heraclius; the wording of Nicephorus, 6^{24sq.} "certainly suggests this: ἐξελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν τοῖς μετὰ Κρίστου (sic) στρατιώταις ἐπὶ λέξεως ὥδε εἰπεῖν "ὁ πάτας Κρίστος ὑπουργὸνς ὑμᾶς ἔως τοῦ νῦν εἶχεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ σύμερον οἰκειακοὺς τῆς βασιλείας ὑπηρέτας". προσθεῖναι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ ἐξ ἔθους σιτηρέσιον, πρώτους τε καλεῖσθαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τάγμασιν.

Teall, Corn Supply, 94 and note 16, considers that these soldiers were enrolled into the domestici - an unlikely hypothesis, when it is considered that they were active, fighting soldiers, whereas the domestici were a mere parade-corps, entrance into which was by purchase (and very expensive - see below). The phrase πρώτους... ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τάγμασιν suggests the bucellarii, or perhaps the excubidores. The customary sitereson need be no more than the regular annona and 'capitus,' although Teall, loc. cit., thinks it is to be identified with the bread-ration issued to the scholares and domestici. The evidence does not permit a definite conclusion, but I think the case argued above is the more acceptable, and that this sitereson is therefore the usual annona. We may have here an example of the ways in which the state regained control over the proliferation of private troops typical of the sixth and early seventh century. The passage may also support Gascou's suggestion that such private bucellarii were often raised by the state via private landowners; that they might receive state rations; and that they did come under the full authority of the regular military establishment under certain conditions. There is little reason to doubt that, should the oikos or individual originally responsible for raising them cease to fulfil their function, the state would merely incorporate these soldiers into its regular forces. But the reference to the customary sitereson suggests that they were not normally assumed to be eligible for such

rations.

50) For an account of the duties and organisation of these bucellarii, see Aussaresses, 14-15, with the reservations expressed in note 49 above. For the state 'regularising' the bucellarii, see the remarks of Patlagean, 'L'Impôt payé par les soldats au VI^e siècle', Armées et Fiscalité 308-9. For boukellarios coming to mean imperial soldier only at this time, i.e. c.590-600, see the reference at note 49 above.

51) For an organisational analysis of the forces described in the Strategikon, see Aussaresses, 20ff., and Pertusi, Ordinamenti, 662f.

52) Strat., i,2.1; 3; 6.

53) i,2.11; ii,5.3.

54) More than one bandon is referred to, and banda generally numbered from two to four hundred men. Cf. Strat., i,4.2; 6; Aussaresses, 14; Pertusi, Ordinamenti, 665; Stein, Studien, 123.

55) Strat., i,4.5; iii,6; iii,8.1; Aussaresses, 15-16. The latter (followed by Stein, Studien, 124; Pertusi, Ordinamenti, 665) considers that the term foederati refers also to the Illyrikianoi and Bixellationes arithmoi. I am not sure that the evidence of the Strategikon supports this. The regiments of the federates, however much they may have varied in size, seem clearly different from those of the arithmoi and Illyrikianoi (Strat., ii,5.4; ii,8.2). In Palestine in the 630s the Illyrikianoi formed a major contingent - reference is made to their fifteenth bandon. Cf. Acta Anast.Persae, 26. Stein, for no apparent reason, identifies the arithmoi with the Isaurians. They would seem rather to be older units of the comitatenses,

which would certainly militate against their being counted among the federates; while the Illyrikianoi are so called to distinguish them from the mass of the remaining regulars and from the federates proper. The distinction was significant, for they were recruited from within the empire (Illyricum and the territory within the Danube was, even as late as 602, regarded as still Roman. Cf. Th.Sim., viii, 6.2; 10. The land beyond the Danube was ἡ τῶν Βαρβάρων γῆ) on the same basis as other warlike groups such as the Isaurians or Armenians, attracted to military service by the offer of cash bounties and other rewards. See Haldon, *Recruitment*, 22-3.

56) Strat., i, 4.5; ii, 5.3. For their numbers, see Aussarresses, 16. For duties and role, see Aussarresses, loc. cit; Stein, *Studien*, 124; Pertusi, *Ordinamenti*, 666.

57) For numbers under Justinian, for example, see Maspéro, *Org. militaire*, 115-7; Müller, *Das Heer*, 104; Grosse, *Militär-geschichte*, 273-4; Pertusi, *Ordinamenti*, 634-5; Jones, LRE, 681f.

58) See John of Nikiu, 190.

59) CJ xii, 43.proem; xii, 33.2-4; Tib. *Const.*, nov.7 (572).

60) CJ xii, 43.proem; Strat., i, 2.4, suggesting that the minimum period of service was still eighteen to twenty years in the regular units.

61) CJ xii, 43.proem; xii, 35.17.

62) CTh. vii, 13.3. This was a reduction from the original requirement of five feet and ten inches. Cf. Veg., i, 5.

63) For clothing, cf. CJ xii, 39.4, showing that the soldiers

were given cash with which to buy their equipment. For Maurice's measures, see Th.Sim., vii,1.2; Theoph., 274,^{6sq.} See below' for pay and rations and the commutation of the annonae. For the adnoumion cf. Strat., i,2.11; Th.Sim., vi,6.4; vii,7.1; viii,12.12.

64) Jones, LRE, 668; cf. also 'Pertusi, Ordinamenti, 653f; Muller, Das Heer, 127; Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 301. For the system operated in the fourth and fifth centuries cf. Jones, LRE, 614ff; G.Gigli, 'Forme di reclutamento militare durante il Basso Impero', Atti dell' Acad. Naz. dei Lincei (Rendicōhti Cl.Sc. mor., stor. e filol.), 8/2 (1947) 268-89. See also Mommsen, Militärwesen, 245-53; Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 58ff., 72-3 etc. On comitatenses, see also RE IV, 619-22 (Seeck); and on limitanei, Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 60f; RE S XI, 876-888 (Neumann); S.Mazzarino, Aspetti Sociali del Quarto Secolo (Roma 1951), 271ff; and in general Gabba, Ordinamenti militari.

65) See Jones, LRE, 659-60; Muller, Das Heer, 107-9.

66) See Haldon, Recruitment, 20-28. Here I have discussed the various arguments proposed by Stein and Karayannopoulos against a system of voluntary enlistment. For recruitment campaigns, cf. Proc., BP ii,21.4; BG ii,5.1; iv,26.10; ii,12.6. Note also Evag., HE, v.14 (209) - Illyrians, Pannonians and Isaurians raised under Tiberius. There are many other examples. On the disappearance of the aurum tironicum see now R.Delmaire, 'La caisse des largesses sacrées et l'armée au bas-empire', Armées et Fiscalité, 311-329, see 318-319.

67) See Jones LRE, 669; Maspéro, Org. Mil., 49-53.

68) Cf. Jones, LRE, 617, 675; Mommsen, Militärwesen, 248f; Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 202f. See, for example, Maspéro, Org.

Militaire, for Egypt; and CJ ii,50.1; 3; 4; 6; 8; ii,52.1-7 (right of restitution of property to soldiers and their families which has been usurped or damaged while absent on service). See also xii, 30 and 36 on military peculium and the attendant rights. For a more recent comment, see E.Patlagean, 'L'Impôt payé par les soldats au VI^e siècle', in: Armées et Fiscalité, 303-9, with the comment of R.Delmaire, 310. See also RE XV, 1668-71; RE S X, 394-410 (Sander).

69) For the foederati in the CJ, see Just., Nov. 117,¹¹ (542); Nov. 116,¹; CJ iv,65,35^{18q}; Zepos, JGR I, 2 (= Imp. Iustini II, Nov. 1²).

For the status of bucellarci see Jones, LRE, 667 and references; and Gascou, Bucellaires. For their superior arms and equipment, Strat., i,2.7; i,2.3.

70) Strat., i,2.1.

71) Strat., ii,5.4; 5; 8 (esquires of optimates and 'boys' of federates); iii,7 (armatus); iii,6 ('boy' of federates). For the attendants permitted in ordinary units, see note 30 above.

72) Cf. CJ i,27.2/9; xiii,37.16/2; Just., Nov. 116 (a.542); see also RE IV, 718-22 (Rostovtzeff).

73) Strat., i,6.3; i,7.3. Jones, LRE, did not utilise the evidence of the Strategikon. Leave of up to four months was granted on at least one recorded occasion in the 630s. Cf. Acta Anast.Persae, 26. This tends to reinforce the suggestions made below that Maurice's regulations were eventually implemented: cf. chapt. 2, note 350; and the discussion below.

74) Strat., ii,5.4.

75) E.g. Strat., proem., 2; 3; xii, 8. proem.

76) On the reform, cf. Men.Prot., frg.58 (HGM ii, 113, ⁹⁻¹⁷); Suda, s.v. ἀπετάφευον, 276, ¹²⁻¹⁸ [no. 3080]); frg.59 (HGM ii, 113; Exc. de Sent., 24); and frg.55 (HGM ii, 111, ³⁻⁸; Exc. de Leg., i, 216, ⁸⁻¹²); Joh.Eph., 399-400 for lack of discipline; 438 for maladministration. See also Stein, Studien, 72; Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam, i, 73. For attempted reforms before Maurice's rise to power, see Th.Sim., iii, 12.7; and for the general interest in military matters at this time, perhaps inspired by Maurice, see Th.Sim., i, 14.1-4, on Philippicus' studies; and note Mazzucchi, Strategicon, 136ff.

77) Cf. Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 107-27, 275f; Müller, Das Heer, 103f; Maspéro, Org. Militaire, 104f; Jones, LRE, 674-5. See also R.Grosse, Rangordnung, 122-52, 158-61. For the usual numbers of those units, see Maspéro, Org. Militaire, 115-7; Müller, Das Heer, 104-5; Jones, LRE, 681f.

78) See note 94; and on the comes/tribunus see Jones, LRE, 640f; Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 145-50. On the primicerius, Jones, LRE, 634, 674; and stein, Bas-Empire, i, 58, n.189; Grosse, Rangordnung, 132-5; idem, Militärgeschichte, 120-4; RE S VIII, 614-24 (Ensslin).

79) For the administrative officials, see Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 144-5; 127-38; Rangordnung, 122-52; Jones, LRE, 626, 634.

80) Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 137f; Rangordnung, 146-7.

81) Jones, LRE, 674-5. On the difference between officialis and miles, see Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 49-50, 70-1; and RE XVII, 2045-56 (Boak).

82) On the organisation of the comitatenses and related troops, see Jones, LRE, 160, 649f; and Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 88f; 276f; Maspéro, φοιδεράτοι et στρατιώται. 97f. Cf. Pertusi, Ordinamenti, 662.

83) Strat. i,2.1; i,3.10; i,5.2. On the centenarius, see Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 117-8; Rangordnung, 129-30; RE III, 1924-5 (Kubitschek); S XI, 1116 (Diesner). For an analysis of tactical organisation, see Mazzucchi, Strategicon, 112ff.

84) Strat., vii,17a.12; ii,19.1 (commander of half the unit); xii,8.8/3 (ilarch = vicar/campiductor); i,5.2; i,3.9 (position in the unit and qualities); i,2.1; i,2.6 (equipment); for the vicarius, see Jones, LRE, 643, 675; and for the campiductor, 634, n.57; and Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 126-7; Rangordnung, 137; Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 58, n.189. Note also E.Stein, 'Ordinarii et campidoctores', Byz 8(1932)379-87, esp. 386. On ducenarii, senatores, see Jones, LRE, 634, 674; Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 118-20; Rangordnung, 130-132; Stein, Bas-Empire, loc. cit., RE V, 1751-4.

85) For their position in the unit, see Strat., i,2.1; i,3.10; 11; i,5.2; vii,17a.3; xii,8.9/4. For duties, i,3.10; i,6.2; 7; 10; xii,8.9/5; and for tent-groups, i,5.1; i,6.1; ii,6; vii,17a.2; ix,5.20; and in infantry units, xii,8.9/1-8. On the semissalis, Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 111; Jones, LRE, 634. On decanus/dekarchos see Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 110. Aussaresses, 20-32, examined the regimental organisation thoroughly.

86) i,2.11.

87) See below on pay and supplies. Optiones and their banda are mentioned in Palestine in the 630s, and it would seem that few

internal administrative changes took place. Cf. *Acta Anast.Persae*, 25-6.

88) See *Strat.*, i,4.2; 5; ii,19.2. For the dekarchiai, i,3.10; 11; i,5.2.

89) i,5.4; ii,19.1; vii,17a.12 (inf. - xii,8.7/1). For the importance of the standards, see chapt. five below, notes 829, 901.

90) i,5.4. For duties, iii,5.1 (inf. - xii, 8.7/1; 11/2).

91) iii,1 (inf. - xii,8.7/1; xii,8.11/1-2; xii,8.16/1-3).

92) See note 82 above; and xii,8.7/1. No campiductor is referred to for the mounted regiments.

93) Whether or not stratores and spatharii were a part of the regular establishment seconded to officers, or hired soldiers - bucellarii - is not known. Probably, they were composed from both sources, and might be included among the idikoi of the officer they served (see above, notes 48 and 49). See *Strat.*, xii,8.11/3; 17/9 (spatharioi and stratores); i,9.7 (spatharioi); cf. also Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 137-8. The titles appear to be used in their literal sense, and do not necessarily imply any connection with the palatine ordines of the same name. See chapter two below for spatharii; and on stratores, see Jones, LRE, 372-3, 590ff.

94) See *Veg.*, ii,13; 14; *Arrian*, v,6; vi.1; x.1; *Arrian*, Ektaxis, i; xxii; *Anon.*, Strategikon, xv,13; 16. For the dating of the Strategikon of Maurice, see Gy.Moravcsik, 'La Tactique de Léon le Sage comme source historique hongroise', AHASH 1(1952) 163f; A.Dain, 'Les stratégistes byzantins', TM 2(1967)344f;

H.Mihăescu, Strat., 8f. The latter reviews all previous discussions on the subject. See most recently Mazzucchi, Strategicon.

95) E.g. Veg., ii,8; 14; Hermeneia, 2; Arrian, v,5.

96) Strat., 1,3.9-11; xii,8.9/2; 4; 5. Cf. notes 100 and 101 below. For these officers and their duties, see Aussaresses, 28-32.

97) Hermeneia, 10; Anon., Strategikon, xv,13; Arrian, x,1.

98) Hermeneia, 4; the term also applies to a half or a whole lochos; Arrian, vi,2-3. For the use of the word lochos, see also Stein, Bas-Empire, ii, 814-5.

99) Anon., Strategikon, xv,16.

100) Hermeneia, 4; Arrian, vi,1.

101) E.g. Arrian, v,4; Hermeneia, 3.

102) Cf. for example, Anon., Strategikon, xxx,4: στρατοκήρυξ instead of μανδάτωρ; xxx,5: σημειοφόροι instead of βανδοφόροι/δρακονάριοι; xv,13; ταγματάρχης/πεντακοσιάρχης instead of κόμης/τριβοῦνος Cf. Arrian, x,3; 4. Note that taxiarchos refers to an officer commanding two tetrarchies (one hundred and twenty eight men), Anon., Strategikon, xv,13. Cf. Arrian, x,2.

103) Doukiniatores, i.e. ducenarii appear on the staff of the arithmos/vigla in the later eighth and ninth centuries. Since this unit was originally a unit of the provincial field troops, this may point to the survival of this rank among cavalry units descended from the older vexillations. See chapter five, notes

866 and 870.

Cf. Mirac. S.Demetrii, 181C (ed. Lemerle, i, 230,²⁰): kentarchs, pentekontarchs and dekarchs; Mirac. S.Therapontis, 16¹: dekarch; Vita S.Philareti, 127,¹⁻²: hekatontarch and pentekontarch; Vita Theod. Studitae, 21: hekatontarchs, pentekontarchs and dekarchs (although used in a non-military context); Leo, Tactica, iv,6; Actes de Xéropotamou (ed. Bompaire, Paris 1964), i, 39: kentarch (A.D. 956); Ibn Khurradadhbih, 84: comites, kontarchs and dekarchs; Kudāma, 196: comites, kontarchs and dekarchs. See also Aléxiade, iii,xi.4: dekarchs and pentekontarchs. An interesting pointer to the generalised adoption of these Greek titles from the sixth century on is the appearance in tenth-century Italy of decarcones, cf. LP, ii, 25, as militia officers. Writers of histories are less reliable, since the desire to imitate classical models involves also the use of their terminology. Theophylact Simocatta, for example, writes ταγματάρχαι καὶ λοχαγοί rather than κόμιτες and ἑκατοντάρχαι (i,15.2); comes/moirarch is lochagos (ii,10.9); the magister militum per Orientem becomes ὁ τῶν ἔφων ταγμάτων ἡγούμενος, and so on. Where Theophylact wishes to give the official title of an officer, he writes first his own atticising version followed by the contemporary usage, as e.g., i,4.7: σωματοφύλαξ followed by scribon; cf. i,7.4; iii,11.4; vii,3.8; vii, 14.8. The term chiliarchos, when it appears in later sources, e.g. Vita S.Philareti, loc. cit., seems to be an alternative for droungarios or taxisarchos, terms which were interchangeable in official documents. Cf. Strat., i,4.2; 4; Anon Vári, 1, 15-18. Archaic terms do, of course, appear, as in the Vita S.Stephani Iun., 1156c, where a man is promoted τῷ τοῦ κεντουρίων ἀξίᾳ by Constantine V. The names of the divisional or corps commanders alone appear anachronistic in the Strategikon. The words meros and moira are replaced during the seventh century by tourma and drouggos, words of Latin and Germanic origin respectively, which must have been more popular.

The Strategikon frequently uses drouggos to mean meros, e.g. i, 3.6; ii, 1.6; ii, 2.1; xii, 8.20/7-8, but tourmai are not mentioned. The first reference to a tourmarches occurs in Theophanes, 325,³ for the year 626/7.

104) On the increase in the use of Greek in the later sixth and seventh centuries, see G.Buckler, 'Byzantine Education', in: Baynes and Moss, Byzantium, 201-2; W.Ensslin, 'The Emperor and Imperial Administration', *ibid.*, 286; H.Zilliacus, Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im oströmischen Reich (Helsingfors, 1935), 126f; and for ranks and terms of Latin origin, 141-67; also L.Hahn, 'Zum Gebrauch der lateinischen Sprache in Konstantinopel', Festgabe für Martin von Schanz (Würzburg 1912) 173-183, esp. 178ff; H.Mihăescu, 'Les termes de commandement militaires latins dans le Stratégicon de Maurice', Revue de Linguistique 14/3(1969)261-272, esp. 262. See also H.Zilliacus, 'Das lateinische Lehnwort in der griechischen Hagiographie', BZ 37(1937)302-344. Zilliacus notes that the army was also a powerful instrument for latinisation in the east Mediterranean world. For a cautionary note on Zilliacus' conclusions, however, see F.Dölger, BZ 36(1936) 108-117, whose remarks suggest that Zilliacus in part underestimates the extent of Latin influence in the East. See now H.Mihăescu, 'Die Lage der zwei Weltsprachen (Griechisch und Latein) im byzantinischen Reich des 7. Jhdts. als Merkmal einer Zeitwende', in: Studien zum 7. Jhdts., 95-100; and for the Strategikon see note 29 above.

105) That a good deal of local recruitment went on is suggested by the presence of soldiers who spoke the Latin of Dacia and Illyricum in the forces of those areas. Cf. Th.Sim., ii, 15.9; and Mirac. S.Demetrii, 145,b; 146,d (Lemerle, 137, ^{16sq.})

106) On the vexillations, see Grosse. Militärgeschichte, 49-51; Mommsen, Militärwesen, 230-1. They were the elite regiments of

the field armies, although many had come to be based almost permanently as garrison units and hence had lost much of their 'field force' character. Cf. Jones, LRE, 57-9; 610-11; and RE VIII A, 442-6 (Neumann).

For a more recent survey of the structure of the late Roman field army up to the early sixth century see now Hoffman, *Bewegungsheer*; esp. 193ff; 243ff., on vexillationes. Hoffman concentrates on an analysis of the tactical and strategic distribution of the army, however, rather than a discussion of the internal structure of individual units, where Jones, Mommsen and Grosse are still the most detailed.

107) For the establishment of the newly recruited Armenian forces along these lines, see Sebeos, 34-5.

108) On the organisation of the limitanei during the fifth and sixth centuries, cf. Jones, LRE, 649-54; 669-72; 678-9; Maspéro, *Org. Militaire*, 71-2; 104f. The latter describes the continuation of the old system in Egypt, where regular units tended to become settled and locally involved. For the establishment of units in Italy after Justinian's reconquest, see Diehl, *l'Exarchat de Ravenne*, 197f; Ostrogorsky, *l'Exarchat de Ravenne*, 102.

109) On the army of the seventh century, see below. The mixed terminology evidenced by the Strategikon was widespread in the later sixth century. Units of the middle and late seventh century in the Exarchate of Ravenna included officers such as tribuni, vicarii, draconarii and bandofori. Cf. Diehl, *l'Exarchat de Ravenne*, 296; M. Fantuzzi, *Monumenti Ravennati de' Secoli di Mezzo*, i (Venezia, 1801), nos. 18, 25, 27, 54, 67, late seventh-century records of leases of Church lands to various citizens and soldiers of Rimini.

110) Jones, LRE, 672-4; cf. also 623-30. The yearly rates were as follows, according to CJ i,27.2/22-34: primicerius - five annonae and two capitus; numerarius (= senator) - four and two; ducenarius - three-and-a-half and one-and-a-half; centenarius - two-and-a-half and one; biarchus - two and one; circitor - two and one; semissalis - one-and-a-half and one; miles - one and one. Commutation of annonae was at the rate of four solidi per capitus and five solidi per annona; cf. CJ i,27.2/20f. Teall, Corn Supply, notes the change in emphasis during this period, cf. 93f. On annona, see Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 45, 61-2, 420; on capitus, see RE III, 1543-4 (Seck).

111) Cf. Strat., i,2.16; and Jones, LRE, 673. For the method of issuing rations, see CJ xii,37.1-3; 5-11; 14-19; xii,38.1-2; Just., Nov. 130, 1-8; see also Maspéro, Org. Militaire, 109-113.

112) Cf. Jones, LRE, 634; CJ i,27.2.

113) Jones, LRE, 624f., 670f.

114) For the issue of clothing to recruits, see CJ xii,39.4. For weapons, see Sebeos, 37, where Maurice arms and equips the new Armenian recruits. For the yearly allowance, see Strat., i,2.1; 11; 16; Th.Sim., vii,1.1-2 and note 123 below. See also Diehl, l'Exarchat de Ravenne, 197, n.12.

115) i,2.1. Those who are to be fully equipped includes all officers, bucellarii and foederati. The latter appear to rank with the regular dekarhai, pentarchai and tetrarchai rather than with the ordinary soldiery. Their equipment allowance was correspondingly higher: πάντας μὲν ἀναλόγως πρός τε τὴν ἐκάστου ποιότητα καὶ τὰς χορηγουμένας αὐτοῖς χρυσικὰς συνθείας.

116) i,2.11; i,6.10.

117) i,8.6.

118) On the arms factories and their operation, see Jones, LRE, 834-7; 671; Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 97f; O.Seeck, in RE VI/2, 1925f., 'fabricenses'; C.Jullian, in: Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, ii, 959f.

119) CJ xi,10.7.

120) Just., Nov. 85,1 (539); Strat., xii,8.6; 7.

121) Strat., i,2.1

122) For the accession gift, see Amm., xx,4.8; Joh.Eph., 358; De Cer., 429, 11-13. For the quinquennial donative, Zach.Mit., vii,8; Proc., HA, xxiv, 27-9. See RE V, 1542-5 (Fiebiger); Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 61.

123) Proc., HA, loc. cit., Jones, LRE, 670.

124) Cf. Jones, LRE, 677; also Evag., HE, vi,11 (229). Soldiers were also subjected to a large number of exactions on the part of their officers - the so-called 'twelfth' is a good example, taken out of their pay by the officers before its issue - originally unlawful, but legalised by the sixth century. Actuaries and officers in the commissariat were also in a good position to fraudulently issue rations and other allowances, as well as to extort cash in a variety of ways. See Jones, LRE, 676; and Patlagean, L'Impôt payé par les soldats, 303ff. The soldiers who mutinied in 588/9 received much of their clothing and equipment, and some cash also, from Gregory, patriarch of Antioch. Many of them were limitanei called into field service. See Haldon, Recruitment, 25, n.18. Their impoverished condition is easily understood when it is remembered that the pay of limitanei was

frequently allowed to fall greatly into arrears. Cf. Proc., HA, xxiv, 12-14. The units besieged in Sirmium in 568 claimed to have no valuables or cash other than their military equipment. See Men.Prot., frg.27 (HGM ii, 61; Exc. de Leg., 458,^{9sq.} For the situation in Italy, see Brown, Italy, 112-113.

125) Cf. Th.Sim., ii, 1.9; Evag., HE, vi, 4 (224); Th.Sim., viii, 6.2.

126) For payments made before campaigns, see Joh.Eph, 408-9; Th.Sim., vi, 6.4; Men. Prot., frg.55 (HGM ii, 111; Exc. de Leg., i, 216^{8sq.}); Strat., i, 2.1.

127) See, for example, CJ xii, 46.1: freedom from municipal and vectigal duties; 4: freedom from market-tax for those renting a stall; 6: freedom to buy and sell without impositions from the state; 7: no civil burdens to be imposed upon them, such as the compulsory subscription to building programs; v, 65.1; 2: all men retiring after twenty years good service are eligible for these benefits; Dig., xlix, 18.1-5: immunities from condemnation to the mines; equal rights with decuriones; CJ xii, 46.3: provincial rectores to supervise activities of veterans, and those who fail to take up an honourable occupation to be stripped of their privileges.

On munera and sordida munera in general, see now L.Neesen, 'Die Entwicklung der Leistungen und Ämter (Munera et Honores) im römischen Kaiserreich des zweiten bis vierten Jahrhunderts', Historia 30(1981)203-235.

128) On the exemptions and other benefits of veterans before the sixth century, see Jones, LRE, 635-6; Mommsen, Militärwesen, 248f. For the sixth century, Jones, LRE, 675, and for Justinian's discharging the sick or aged, Proc., HA, xxiv, 2-4; 8.

129) For Maurice's reforms, Th.Sim., vii, 1.2-7; Theoph., 274, 12f. See Haldon, Recruitment, 23-4.

130) On this corps, see below; and Jones, LRE, 636-40; 657-8. Note Lydus, De Mag., i, 47: ἀδωράτωρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἀπομάχους καλοῦσιν. For soldiers becoming monks, see for example Anast.Mon. 63, 1-2: Ἐλθόντες δὲ δύο ἑξουβίτορες ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀδελφοὶ δίδυμοι, ὅπετάξαντο ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ ὄρει... This forms part of a story relating to events of the last years of the sixth or early years of the seventh century. References in the Pratum Spirituale of John Moschos suggest the existence of a cenobitic community τῶν Σχολαρίων, perhaps established by ex-scholares upon retirement. Cf. 2869D, 3045B etc.

131) Strat., ii, 5.4; 5; Aussaresses, 13-16.

132) Strat., i, 9.7.

133) Cf. Joh.Antioch., frg.218f. (5) (FHG v/1, 37-8; Exc. de Insid., 150), and note 46 above. John of Nikiu heard that there were an unusual number of troops in the capital during the reign of Phocas, presumably those of the praesental forces (167).

134) Cf. CJ xii, 40.1-12; xii, 41; Just., Nov. 130 (545), 9; Strat., i, 6.9; i, 7.2; i, 9.9; vii, 1.3; cf. Th.Sim., vi 6.1. See also Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 268; RE VIII, 2493-8 (Leonhard) (for the West).

135) Strat., i, 2.2-17, especially 2.1 and 2.3. See Aussaresses, 48-53, and Pertusi, Ordinamenti, 667-71. For an analysis of the types of defensive and offensive equipment available at this period, see Haldon, Military Technology, 11-25.

136) For the special position of the optimates, see 98ff. above; and for the delivery of equipment and weapons, 114ff..

137) Cf. Proc., BV, i,12.6; Th.Sim., iii,1.13. Imperial estates in Cappadocia also raised horses. Cf. Just., Nov. 30,5.1; and Haldon/Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier, 101, note 75.

138) Cf. Strat., i,2.16. For the office of comes stabuli and his department, see Jones, LRE, 625.

139) Cf. CTh. xi,17.1 for the commutation at twenty three solidi. For a lower rate in Africa, see xi,17.2-3. For Maurice's regulations, Th.Sim., vii,1.2. See Proc., BG, iii,1.8 for Belisarius' generosity in replacing lost horses, evidence that by this time the state did not normally supply remounts. On this, see Haldon, Recruitment, 69, n.123.

140) Strat., i,2.16.

141) For the early history and organisation of the scholae, see Jones, LRE, 613-4; 657-8; Mommsen, Militärwesen, 221-5; Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 123; and most recently Hoffman, Bewegungsheer, 279ff. See also RE II A, 621-4 (Seeck).

142) For their decline as fighting troops, Proc., HA, xxiv, 15-23; Agath., v,15.

143) For the fifth century, Not.Dig., Occ. ix; Or. xi; for the sixth century, Theoph., 236, 16-20; De Cer., 391, 11-13; 497²¹. Scholares evidenced for Italy in the later sixth or seventh century appear to belong to scholae inherited from the Ostrogothic period which were re-incorporated into the forces of the Exarchate. Whether they served as the Exarch's bodyguard and were included in his obsequium (on which note chapt. two,

note 377) is uncertain. See Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, i, 327 and notes.

144) Cf. Proc., HA xxiv, 15; CJ iv,65.35. Dagron, *Naissance*, 113, notes a reference in Palladius to a schola of 400; but this is a small and probably temporary fluctuation. For the later disbandment Proc., HA, xxiv, 19-20. Lydus, De Mag., ii, 24, refers to the troops under the master of offices as numbering ten thousand. This figure is either an exaggeration, or it must include also the protectores domestici, excubitores and a number of other palatine and praesental units.

145) Proc., HA, xxiv, 15-23; Agath., v, 15.

146) See above, 103ff. For scholares as regular soldiers, see Agath., v, 15.2; CJ iv, 65.35/1. Justinian applied Zeno's regulations for enrolling soldiers into the comitatenses and limitanei to the scholae; and also Anastasius' regulation on the submission of the four-monthly lists to the central scrinia for checking. cf. CJ i, 31.5 (527).

147) Cf. CJ xii, 43.3. It is possible that scholares enrolled their sons at an early age, as was the case with protectores domestici, although there is no prohibition of this practice in the codes. Cf. CTh. iv, 24.2-3.

148) CJ iv, 65.35; Proc., HA, loc. cit. The price of places in the scholae was reserved at an especially pegged price of two thousand solidi each. The domestici had higher status than the scholae, but at this level the prices of places in one corps are not likely to have differed much from those in another. Cf. CJ ii, 7.25/3. In addition, the scale of fines applied to those who attempted to enlist in the scholae without the requisite probatoriae is so high that it can only have applied to those who

were fairly well off. See CJ i,31.5. The passage in which Menander the Protector describes his youth indicates the type of wealthy person who sought membership of the palatine corps. Cf. Men.Prot., frg.1 (HGM ii, 1-2; Suda, s.n. Μένανδρος, 361,^{20sq.} [no.591]); and Vita Theod.Syk., 159,38sq. for a wealthy scholarian who was a member of the city council.

149) See above, note 68.

150) Cf. CJ i,31.3: prohibition of flogging; xii,22.1: retiring comites; such officers held senatorial rights as spectabiles. See RE III A, 1552-68. On the comitivaes primi, secundi et tertii ordinis, see Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 111f., and RE IV, 622-79 (Seeck).

151) For primicerii see CJ xii,29.2; and for the privileges attached to senatorial rank CJ iv,40.30 (= CTh. vi,2.13-16; 17); xi,59.15 (= CTh. vi,2.18-24); xii,1.7 (= CTh. vi,2.12); xii,5.2 (= CTh. vi,2.25-6); xii,40.10/proem. They were under the overall authority of the magister officiorum, who was responsible for recruitment, promotion, discipline and so on.

152) CJ xii,33.5; xii,37.14 (retired troopers).

153) On the officers and ranks of the military establishment of these units, see above, notes 77-78; and Jones, LRE, 633-4 and n.57.

154) See above, notes 79-80.

155) See above, notes 122-123; and De Cer., 412,¹²⁻¹⁴ (accession of Leo); 425,⁵⁻⁷ (accession of Anastasius); 429,¹²⁻¹⁵; 430,¹⁵⁻¹⁷ (accession of Justin); 432,¹³⁻¹⁸ (accession of Leo I's nephew Leo as junior emperor). In all

these cases, donatives were issued to palace troops and to soldiers without distinction.

156) For the capitus of domestici, CTh. vi, 24.1; the ordinary domestici seem to have been equivalent to active primicerii of the scholae: the primicerii of the domestici had rights equivalent to those of the comites scholarum (cf. CTh. vi, 24.11 (= CJ xii, 17.2) and for comites scholarum see note 150 above); while the active decemprimi of the protectores and the domestici, and the primicerii of the protectores, had equivalent rights to retired primicerii of the scholae. Thus the active primicerii of the scholae had rights equivalent, or nearly so, to those held by domestici who had not yet attained the decemprimate. For the rights of decemprimi protectorum et domesticorum, cf. CTh. vi, 24.7-10. For primicerii scholarum, see above, note 151.

157) Cf. CJ i, 27.2/22-24. For the scholae quadruple annonae, see Devréesse, l'Hypomnesticum, 70, ^{25sq.} Note that soldiers of the Praetorian guard received some three times as much in pay and rations as ordinary legionaries, see Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 61 and refs.

The term tetransiton is not unproblematic, however. The 'n' suggests a Latin derivation, and tetrans is a fourth or quarter, rather than a multiple. So the term might refer to the four-monthly distribution of annonae - four months being a standard late Roman administrative unit of time, cf. note 146 and references above. If this is the meaning of tetransiton, while it removes a useful support for the argument outlined here with regard to the amount of remuneration of scholares, it does not substantially affect it, as I hope the figures presented demonstrate.

158) CJ xii, 43.3. Whether or not the comparative rates of officers and other grades in the scholae maintained exactly the

same proportion as in other units; and whether the grades in the scholae were exactly parallel to those in the comitatenses, is, of course, unknown. See note 153 above. Supernumerary scholars-ians appear not to have received annonae and capitus. Cf. De Cer., 392, 8-9; 389, 17-18 (silentarii). There was gener-ally a waiting-list for graded posts in the palace officia, cf. Jones, LRE, 571. Justin and Justinian, by creating an extra two thousand official places, brought into the paid establishment a large part of this list in order to gain the price of each place.

159) Cf. CTh. vi,13.1 (413); CJ xii,11.1.

160) Just., Edict. xiii,18. He also received a number of perquisites amounting to over one thousand solidi, some legal, others not. On the Dux, see Jones, LRE, 677 n.163; 644 n.84. Cf. Just., Nov.const. 142 (Z.v.Lingenthal) for perquisites.

161) Edict. xiii,3; Nov. 26,5.1. For officials of similar status, cf. Nov. 24 (praetor Pisidiae); Nov. 25 (pr. Lycaoniae); Nov. 27 (comes Isauriae); Nov. 29 (pr. Paphlagoniae).

162. On accession donatives, see above, note 155. For the higher rate of donative for officers, see Jones, LRE, 623 and n.31. An analysis of an unpublished papyrus giving figures for stipendia, donativa and other payments to units in Egypt in the years 299-300 A.D. shows that the praepositus or commanding officer of a unit received exactly twice as much as the ordinary soldiers in his regiment on imperial birthdays and accession days. See Jones' analysis of the figures at LRE, loc. cit.

On illegal leave, see CJ i,27.2/9; xii,35.15; xii,42.1; and also xii, 42.2-3 - palatine officials lose seniority in proportion to their length of absence. On 'dead men' see Proc., HA, xxiv,5-6, a practice turned to the advantage of the treasury by reclaiming the rations through government auditors. For the

stellatura, cf. CJ xii, 37.12.

163) The scholae were no doubt issued with arms and mounts on the same basis as other regular units.

164) See Devréesse, 1^oHypomnesticum, 70, 25-71, 4:

Θεόδωρος καὶ Εὐπρέπιος, γνήσιοι ὄντως ἄγιοι ἀδελφοί, οἵτοι ἐπάνω δὲ τῶν τοῦ δημοσίου μαγκίπων τῶν τὰς ἀνώνας πασῶν τῶν σχολῶν ἀπολυσόντων, δὲ πιλέγεται Τετράνσιτον). On the mancipes or contractors of the state bakeries, see Jones, LRE, 692, 699-701; and cf. Laurent, Corpus II, 644ff. on the state annonarii and the sitonikon of Constantinople.

165) On 'civic bread', see Jones, LRE, 696-7; Hoffmann, Bewegungsheer, i, 283, note 804; and CJ xi, 25.1.

166) See Chron.Pasch., 711, 11-15 for the withdrawal of the annonae civicae: ἀνηρτήθη τελείως ἡ χορηγία τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτικῶν ἄρτων. For the rioting scholares, cf. 715, 9-716, 8. This passage in the chronicle may have been misplaced in the text. See K.Ericsson, 'Revising a Date in the Chronicon Paschale', JÖBG 17(1968)17-28, where it is shown that parts of the entries for the years 615 and 626 have been transposed. This will be referred to in greater detail in the following chapter.

167) Chron.Pasch., 716, 3-8. Stein, Studien, 78, n.2, suggests that John was the last praefectus annonae, since the praetorian prefect took over the responsibility for 'the City grain supply. Possibly the post of manceps of the annonae scholarum was raised to the position of a separate office under the praetorian prefect at this time.

168) For the duties of the scholae during the sixth and early

seventh centuries, see De Cer., 416, ¹⁶⁻¹⁸; 391, ¹¹⁻¹³; 426-8; 497, ¹⁴⁻ 498, ¹³; 628, ¹⁵⁻¹⁶; Cor., In Laud. Just., iii, 158-9; iv, 204 etc; Evag., HE, v, 13 (208); Th.Sim., i, 1.2. Cf. Men.Prot., frg.1 (HGM ii, 1-2; Suda, s.n. Μένανδρος, 361, ^{20sq.} [no.591]).

169) See below, and De Cer., 391, ¹⁰⁻ 392, ¹⁷.

170) Jones, LRE, 657-8; Frank, Scholae Palatinae, 213-7.

171) Vita Eutychii, 2281; Proc., BG, ii, 5.1.

172) Theoph., 233, ¹⁶⁻¹⁸; Agath., v, 14, makes it clear that in his opinion the scholae were quite unfitted for any military role. Cameron, in his review of Frank's Scholae Palatinae (Classical Review, n.s.22(1972)136-138), thinks that these scholares might actually include the excubitors, who in his view were also referred to by the general title scholares. The evidence for this assertion is slim. The reference in the Vita Danielis Stylitae, 75, το: σχολάριοι οι τὰ ἐκοκούβιτα ποιοῦντες might simply refer to the real scholares on guard duty - ekskoubita/excubiae. One of their soldiers was a German, which might support their identification with the older scholae, since the excubitores were allegedly mostly Isaurians at this time. The fact that Agathias does not refer to the excubitores during the crisis of 559 (when the scholares and even members of the senate were sent out against the raiders) may mean simply that they were held back to defend the palace and the emperor. Certainly, the term schola did bear a general meaning, and could also refer to the (schola) domesticorum et protectorum, for example. Cameron's suggestion must remain a possibility, but seems on the whole unlikely.

173) Theoph., 236, ¹⁶⁻²⁴.

174) Theoph., 138,^{6sq.}

175) Theoph., 236,^{19.}

176) Zach.Mit., ix,14 (246); Chron.Pasch. 625-7; Malalas, 475,⁹; Proc., BP, i,24.39-51.

177) Just., Nov. 117,11 (542); cf. also Nov. 30,7.2 (536 - Cappadocia); Edict. viii,3 (548 - Pontica).

178) Theoph., 236,^{20sq;} Chron.Pasch., 715,^{9sq.}

179) Proc., HA, xxiv,21.

180) For their equipment, Cor., In Laud. Iust., iii,168; 239; 240-1; iv,242. There are many surviving seals of scholares. That of Kallinikos, Illoustrios and scholarios, illustrates the high position such men held. See Zacos and Veglery, no.890(a). See also ibid., nos. 355, 489, 544, 1071, 2887. Already in the late sixth century a post in the scholae could be held in plurality with a quite different function, although it is unlikely that any duties were attached to such a position. Cf. the seal of an anonymous sixth-century vestitor and scholarios, in Zacos and Veglery, no.582. See note 152 for the privilege granted to scholares and candidati to hold these grades in plurality.

181) De Cer., 497,^{14sq;} cf. also 391,¹²: τὸν κόμπτα τῆς ἔκτης ἡ ἐβδόμης σχολῆς. But even during the preceding period, when the scholares were still an active unit, it was normal for them to be garrisoned in cities around Constantinople. Cf. Hoffmann, Bewegungsheer, 1, 298.

182) Theoph., 236,^{16sq.}

183) Theoph., 233, ^{8-14.}

184) Agath., v,15.

185) For the transfer to Thrace, see Theoph., 236, ^{16sq.} For scholares in the district of Nikomedesia, see Vita Theod.Syk., 156,68; 159,9-11; 38: πατήρ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως γενόμενος.

186) On the origins of the candidati, see Jones, LRE, 613; Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 96; Mommsen, Militärwesen, 222, n.2; Frank, Scholae Palatinae, 127f; also Guillard, Candidat, 210-11; and R.McMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Roman Empire (Harvard 1963) 179-180. On uniforms see Ramsey McMullen, Some Pictures, 440 and note 23, and 446-7, notes 65-66, on white uniforms; and also E.Sander, 'Die Kleidung des oströmischen Soldaten', Historia 12(1963)153ff. See further P.Franchi de'Cavalieri, in: Note Agiografiche 9(1953)174f.

187) They are not referred to as a specific corps in the Notitia; and in the description of the events leading up to the election of Justin I they are described as 'the candidati and the other scholares' (De Cer., 426, ¹¹⁻²²). They could hold the grades of candidate and scholarian together (CJ xii,33.5/4).

188) Cf. De Cer., 391, ¹¹⁻¹³; 392, ¹²⁻¹⁴; and 392, ¹⁻² for the primicerius replacing the comes in the promotion ceremony for a candidate.

189) Chron.Pasch., 501, ¹³⁻¹⁷; 502, ¹⁴⁻¹⁹; also Veg., xi,7: candidati duplares, candidati simplares. Hi sunt milites principales qui privilegiis muniuntur.

190) De Cer., 392, ^{6-9.}

191) E.g. Asbados, who commanded a cavalry unit at Tzurullon (Proc., BG, iii, 38: ἐς τοὺς κανδιδάτους καλουμένους τελῶν ἔτυχε); compare the role of Justinian when a candidatus during the trouble preceding Justin's election as emperor (De Cer., 428, ^{3sq}). Cf. Chron.Pasch., 624, ²¹⁻²; 625, ⁴.

192) Cf. De Cer., 405, ¹; 406, ^{3sq}; 407, ²⁰; Cor., In Laud. Iust., iii, 161. Possibly they are to be identified with the soldiers who defended Justinian during the Nika riot. But since this force is described as ἡ τοῦ παλατίου ἐνοπλος βοήθεια (Chron.Pasch., 626, ²⁻³) they are more probably domestici protectores.

193) See Chron.Pasch., 696, ¹⁰⁻¹¹: Ιωάννης καὶ Τζίττας σπαθάριοι καὶ κανδιδάτοι; Schlumberger, Sig., 459, a seal of CARELLU(S) CANDIDATU(S) of the seventh century. For other sixth-century seals, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 397, 515, 551, 767, 2814; and for the candidati after the sixth century, see chapter two.

Note also Beševliev, Inschriften, 2, no.3, an inscription from Serdica dated to 580 which notes the restoration of an aqueduct 'per virum magnificum Iulianum candidatum', a combination of titles which nicely illustrates the social status of many candidati at this time.

194) See Jones, LRE, 636-40; 657-8 and notes; G.Gigli, in Atti dell'Acad. Naz. dei Lincei (1949) 383f; Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 123 and notes 145-6; RE S XI, 1113-23 (Diesner).

195) Magister militum - CTh. vi, 24.5; 6; xii, 1.38. Primicerius - CTh. vi, 24.9.

196) For promotion, see Jones, LRE, 638-9 and note 71; non-military nature - LRE, 639-40. Cf. Proc., HA xxiv, 24; CTh. vi, 24.9 (primicerii and decemprimi given senatorial rights

without attendant expenses).

197) ex-protectoribus - CTh. vi,24.3; viii,7.4; 8; 9; 16; vi,24.4; x,22.3; Not.Dig., Or., xxxix,37; xl,38; xli,41; xlvi,45: principem de eodem officio qui completa militia adorat protector.

198) Cf. Lydus, De Mag., i,47; Jones, LRE, 658 and note 116 for other references. An adorator numeri Theodosiacorum witnessed a donation in Rome in the early seventh century, for example. Cf. Hoffmann, Bewegungsheer, i,242.

199) adoratio - De Cer., 390, ^{17sq}; CTh. vi,24.3; viii,7.4; 8; 9; 16; x,22.3. For the probatoriae see De Cer., loc. cit.

200) See Jones, LRE, 658, note 116. The ordo and its decemprimi and primicerius are not mentioned in the CJ, although that of the domestici is.

201) See Stein, Bas-Empire, i,57f. and notes 186-193; also 123, 240 and notes; C.Babut, 'Recherches sur la garde impériale', RH 114(1913)225-260; 116(1914)225-293.

202) See Jones' review of Frank, Scholae Palatinae, in JRS 60(1970)229; for non-commissioned officers, see above.

203) See the examples quoted by Jones, LRE, 636-7 and notes 67-8. On the earlier change from centurio to centenarius, see RE S XI, 1116 (Diesner).

204) Babut, art. cit., RH 114, 237f.

205) Stein, Bas-Empire i, 240, note 106; Studien, 86, note 15; and idem, 'Ordinarii et campidoctores', Byz 8(1932)381; followed also by Dagron, Naissance, 115; Frank, Scholae Palatinae,

178-185, basing his argument on Lydus, *De Mag.* i, 46: πριμοσκούταριοι, ὑπερασπισταί, οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι προτίκτορες. Jones has pointed out that Lydus is mainly showing off his Latin (*Review*, 228). As Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, i, 292f. has shown, the term scutarii was frequently used generically, applied to all the scholares. Possibly primoskoutarioi here is used by Lydus in a similar fashion.

206) Pace Stein, loc. cit; cf. Lydus, *De Mag.*, i, 47; Jones, *Review*, 228-9. Seeck, RE IIA, 621f., and Diesner, RE S XI, 1121, agree with Stein, but cite no supporting evidence for this transfer. The whole argument is based on acceptance of Babut's argument that in the sixth century scholares and protectores were equivalent terms. But this is by no means the case, as Jones, for example, has shown (see above). In addition, the term scholae/-arum which appears in several texts from CTh. (e.g. vi, 24.10) cited by Babut in support of his hypothesis, has been interpreted as referring to the scholae (palatinae) when in fact it is almost certainly used in the more general sense.

207) For Zeno's regulations, see CJ xii, 35.17. For the consular diptych, see R. Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (*Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte*, Bd. 2, Berlin 1929) 198; and for the κόμιτες προτηκτόρων καὶ δουεστίκων, see De Cer., 422, 4-6. For the comes domesticorum and his two scholae, see CJ xii, 17.4 and 5; also 11, 7.25/3 (a comes equ. and a comes ped.) While the Justinianic legislation seems to reflect an official establishment of two comites, one for the scholae equ. and one for the scholae ped., inscriptions suggest that there was only one comes in actual command: cf. Beševliev, *Inschriften*, 159, no. 227; and see note 224 below and chapt. 2, note 254 for further inscriptions. Note also that CJ xii, 17.4 and 5, dealing under separate headings with both equites and pedites, is addressed to a single comes domesticorum.

For domestici and protectores after the publication of the CJ, in 534, see Just., Edict. viii, 3; Proc., HA, xxiv, 24; De Cer., 397, (a ceremony of Justinian's time). See also 700,⁴⁻⁵, an undated sixth-century ceremony, possibly of Justinian's time.

For protectores, see De Cer., 390,^{17sq} (a promotion ceremony for protectores and protectores domestici recorded after 548); Theoph., 233,¹⁶⁻¹⁸ (scholae, protectores, arithmi and the senate set to defend the walls of Constantinople in 559); Vita Theod.Syk., 25, 6; 42, 2sq; Cor., In Laud.Iust., iii, 162; iv, 241 (Jones suggested that Corippus used protector here to meet the exigencies of hexameter verse. This seems reasonable once, but twice would suggest that the term had some meaning for the audience, even if domestici and protectores were by this time almost completely assimilated. Cf. Jones, Review, 229). U.J.Stache, Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris: Ein Kommentar (Berlin 1976) 414-5, accepts Jones' explanation, as does Cameron (Cor., In Laud. Iust.) 187, note to line 162.

208) De Cer., 422,⁴¹⁶; Cor., In Laud. Iust., iii, 162.

209) De Cer., 390,^{17sq}. Theodora died in 548, and her death is referred to in the passage immediately beforehand. Both passages were clearly compiled at the same time. Cf. 390,⁸⁻⁹.

210) Cf. CJ i, 31.5 for probatoriae of scholares. See Jones, LRE, 378 and note 29.

211) De Cer., 391,⁶⁻⁸: πάντων δὲ τῶν ἀγοραζόντων τόπους καὶ συμβόλαια ἔξωθεν παρὰ τῶν πιπρασκόντων γίνεται πρὸς τούτοις καὶ σύμβολα γίνεται. The ceremony cannot refer to men appointed protectores for good service, or to those retiring ex-protectoribus, as Jones has suggested (Review, 229), since the latter received testimoniales, or letter of reference. A

probatoria was specifically an enlistment document, involving the recipient at least theoretically in a fixed term of service and specific duties. See note 210 above.

212) The primicerii of the domestici had, since 432, had the same privileges as the comites scholarum. Cf. CTh. vi,24.11 (= CJ xii,17.2). For the equivalent privileges of both groups of decemprimi (and primicerii in the protectores), cf. CTh. vi,24.7-10.

Note a late sixth- or early seventh-century tomb inscription from Prusa: ἐνθάδε κατάκιτε ὁ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Τιράνης κόμης ἀπὸ πριμικιπίων (cf. F.J.Dörner, 'Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien', Denkschriften der Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 75/1 (1952) 27, no.41). Tiranes may have been awarded the rank and privileges of comes upon his retirement from the domestici.

213) HA, xxiv,24. Seals provide further evidence. Zacos and Veglery list two sixth-century seals of protictores (nos. 930 and 2780) and a third dating from the mid-sixth to mid-seventh centuries (no.568). The men whose seals these are were probably members of the corps, since according to Lydus adorator was the more usual title for those honoured ex-protectoribus. The process of assimilation which affected the protectores was undoubtedly paralleled by that which affected the officium admissionum, absorbed during the sixth century into the schola silentiariorum; and the schola notariorum absorbed into the sacred scrinium. Cf. Stein, Untersuchungen über das Officium der Prätorianerpräfekten (1922) 47f; G.Ostrogorsky, E.Stein, Krönungsordnungen, 207-220. See also Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 112-3 (for the notarii).

214) Cf. Klet.Phil., 111,¹³; 171,²⁶. See also De Cer., 203,²⁴, where προτικτόροις are matched with κεντράχισσαι.

See chapter five.

215) De Cer., 131, ¹³sq. The protectores of the scholae are appointed by the emperor with the assistance of the domestic. There is no adoratio, but they still receive probatoriae (chartia).

That the protectores survived in each bandon of the later scholae argues against their being identified with the whole of the first schola. See note 205 above.

216) See Jones, LRE, 636, and notes; Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 123 and notes; RE S XI, 1113ff.

217) Cass., Variae, i,10; Proc., HA, xxvi,28-30.

218) Cf. CJ xii,17.2; 4; 5.

219) For the high price, CJ ii,7.25/3; Proc., HA, xxiv,24. For the ceremony of admission, De Cer., 390, ¹⁷sq.

220) Cf. CTh. vi,24.1.. For the normal rate, CJ i,27.2/22f; Proc., HA, xxiv,24.

221) Senatorial rank - CTh. vi,24.7; 8; 10. For the primicerius, CTh. vi,24. 11 (= CJ xii,17.2).

222) Comites - Jones, LRE, 143 and note 15; 528. For the eagerness of men to enlist, Agath., v,15.2.

223). Duties as guards - Cass., Variae, i,10; Agath., loc. cit; Proc., HA, xxiv,24; and in ceremonies - Cor., In Laud. Iust., iii,162; iv,241; De Cer., 422, ⁶; 497, ¹⁴sq; 700 ²sq. For the emergency of 559, cf. Theoph., 233, ¹⁶⁻¹⁸, and for their fear of being sent to the front, Proc., HA, xxiv,26.

Note that the various comites domesticorum attested for the sixth century all hold other offices in addition to their military command, suggesting that the latter cannot have taken up much of their time or that it was held in vacante. See note 224 below; and chapt. two note 254. Grégoire has drawn attention to the fact that the titles of comes domesticorum and magister militum were, in addition, awarded as honorific titles, to ex-decuriones of the palace - according to their choice - during Justinian's reign. Cf. Grégoire, Recueil, 32 and no.100, citing Seeck, RE vii, 650. For the difference between titles awarded in vacante and those awarded purely as honorific ranks, see Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 220 and notes; and for the title of comes domesticorum vacans, see ii, 761, note 3.

224) Proc., HA, xxiv,25; Just., Edict. viii,3; Nov. 30,7,2; Vita Theod.Syk., 75,6; 45,2f. Festugière, ii, 201, considers that protectores here means simply leading citizens. It seems unlikely that a writer who was the contemporary of the events he describes would use a technical term when he uses more usual Greek phrases such as *οἱ πρῶτοι* or *οἱ οἰκοδεσπόται* (*ibid.*, 115,8f; 116,38; 141,16 etc.) But in this case, Festugière may well be correct. There are a number of seals dating from the sixth century and later, some of which may belong to protectores domestici. One might have expected the full title, in order to distinguish them from ordinary domestici, i.e. adjutants of civil and military officials. But the term domesticus by itself, even in semi-official inscriptions, does occur. See Beşevliev, Inschriften, 159, no.227, a memorial stone of Σολομῶν ὁ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μνήμης γενάμενος κόμης τῶν καθοσιωμένων δομεστικῶν καὶ βικάριος Θράκης -'-. See also H.Grégoire, 'Mièttes d'Histoire Byzantine', in: Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay (Manchester 1923) 158ff., (= IGLS no.528) for a late sixth-century inscription from Babiska in Syria: Χωρίον διαφέρει (or διαφέρου) τῷ θείῳ οἴκῳ τῶν ὄρμίσδου

προνοουμένων ὑπὸ Μάγνου τοῦ πανευφήμου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων κόμητος τῶν καθοσιωμένων δομεστίκων (καὶ γενικοῦ?) κουράτορος. See Grégoire, Recueil, no.308 bis, and commentary. For the seals, cf. Zacos and Veglery, nos. 414 (of Leontios, domestikos); 501 (of Stephanos, domestikos); 543 (Theodosios, domestikos); 779 (Konstantinos, domestikos); 2934 (Theopistos, domestikos). All these are dated to the sixth century and early seventh century.

225) For a summary of the origins of the excubitores and their duties in the sixth century, see Jones, LRE, 658-9. See also Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 270-1; Mommsen, Militärwesen, 225; see Frank, Scholae Palatinae for their origins and the role played by the Isaurian Zeno (204-7); also E.W.Brooks, 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians', EHR 8(1893)209-238, esp. 212f. Frank suggests that the comes domesticorum was originally in charge of the excubitores, (208), since the first comes excubitorum we hear of is Justin, later emperor, whereas Zeno was comes domesticorum in 466. No later connection between the count of the domestics and the excubitors seem to exist, although there is one between the count and the scholae, existing as early as the fourth century (see chapter two). I do not think Frank's criticism of Boak, The Master, 96-7 is justified (Scholae Palatinae 209 and note 22). His assertion that the magister also had charge of the excubitores may be correct; but all the evidence points to the comes excubitorum being completely independent of other palatine officers, at least from Justin's time.

226) See, for example, the appointment of Justin as count of the excubitors (Malalas, 410; De Cer., 426,⁸); of Tiberius under Justin II (Theoph., 247,^{1;28}); of Maurice under Tiberius (Joh.Eph., 408); of Philippicus under Maurice (Theoph., 272,¹⁹; Chron.Pasch., 695, 13-14; Joh.Eph., 355); of Priscus under Phocas (Chron.Pasch., 703,¹⁰⁻¹²; Theoph., 292,¹; 294,¹¹⁻¹²); Nicetas under Heraclius (Vita.Theod.Syk., 154,28;

Chron.Pasch., 703,¹⁰⁻¹²; and of Valentinus by Martina and Heracleonas (Niceph.Patr., 21,^{17sq}).

227) For the necessity of establishing a loyal guard to counter' the German influence at Leo's court, see Brooks, art. cit., 212f; and for Zeno's reliance on an Isaurian guard, see ibid., 219f. Cf. Frank, Scholae Palatinae, 204; but note the critical comments of Cameron, in Classical Review, n.s. 22(1972)136-138, who points out that the excubitors did desert Justinian during the Nika riots.

228) Cf. Jones, LRE, 658-9; and Vita Theod.Syk., 153,11; 154,6; 28; Theoph., 294,¹¹⁻¹²; Chron.Pasch., 695,³⁻⁴; 703,¹⁰⁻¹²; De Cex., 427,^{14sq}.

229) Cf. Malalias, 495,²⁻⁵; Joh.Eph., 355, 408, 409; Theoph., 247,¹; Niceph.Patr., 5,^{16sq}.

230) See Jones, LRE, 658; and Theoph., 247,¹; 279,^{18sq}; Joh.Eph., 355, 408-9, 436; Niceph.Patr., 5,^{16sq}; Vita Theod.Syk., 153,11f; Th.Sim., iii,1.1; vi,2.4f. See also Joh.Antioch., frg.218, f(5) (FHG v,' 38; Exc. de Insid., 150), where Priscus and the excubitors are ordered by Phocas to defend the area of the Hippodrome.

231) For general privileges of ordinary soldiers and veterans, see notes 68f. and 127f. above.

232) See Candidus Isaurus, 135; Brooks, art. cit., 213f; Jones, LRE, 658, note 117; and for Sagaleva see Mansi, x,855; and the Gepid, Th.Sim., vi,2.4

233) For their appearance in 545 and their dñties, see Jones, LRE, 659; Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 299-300; Bury, Admin., 59.

The mention of a 'Valentius, scribo' in a letter of St. Nilus is an anachronism. Cf. Stein, Bas-Empire, ii, 446 and note 1. See also Th.Sim., viii, 9.10: Bonosus, scribo, made comes Orientis by Phocas. Cf. also Theoph., 296,²²; and Vita Theod.Syk., 125,1-5. For seals of scribones of the sixth and seventh centuries, cf. Schlumberger, Sig., 361 (= Panchenko, Katalog, 493); Ebersolt, nos. 491, 493; Laurent, Vatican, no.22; idem, Orghidan, nos. 35, 36; Zacos and Veglery, nos. 308, 336-8, 344, 389-91, 786 etc. See chapter two.

234) Cf. Bury, Admin., 59; Jones, LRE, loc. cit., Stein, Bas-Empire, ii, 445-6; for a scribon leading excubitores in 654 during the arrest of Pope Martin, see Mansi, x,855; Passio S.Martini Papae, 112-3; 119; also De Cer., 67,²¹; 81,²⁰; 130,²¹-131,¹; 493, 20sq; 524, 19; 599¹⁴⁻¹⁶; Klet.Phil., 113,¹; 173,¹⁴; 207,¹¹.

235) For the issue of pay, see Greg., Reg., v,30. See also Michael Syr., bk. 10 (361-2).

236) For the hierarchy in normal field units, see above. For draconarii and senatores, see Klet.Phil., 113,³; 173,¹⁴⁻¹⁵; 181,²⁹; and chapter five. For a topoteretes, see Mansi, xi,209 (A.D. 680). He was a patrician and endoxotatos apo hypaton.

237) For maces, see Th.Sim., viii, 4.13, for the year 602.

238) See P.A.Yannopoulos, 'Η Αὐτοκρατορικὴ αὐλὴ τοῦ Βυζαντίου κατὰ τὸν Ζ' αἰώνα', ΕΕΒΣ 37(1969-70)95-133, esp. 126-9. Yannopoulos makes assertions on an unselective basis, interpreting a host of terms used of soldiers and officers generally in the service of the emperor as 'excubitor'. From the phrase κανδιδάτος τῆς βασιλικῆς φρουρᾶς, e.g., he concludes that

the candidati were officers-elect to the excubitores, having arbitrarily decided that the phrase ἡ βασιλικὴ φρουρά applies to the excubitores alone!

For the use of the term spatharius, see Chron.Pasch., 625,²⁰ 626,³ 627,1 - the spatharii of Belisarius, along with some guards, help to crush the Nika rioters. For the plotters against Phocas see Chron.Pasch., 696,¹⁰⁻¹¹. For the spatharii of field officers on duty, see Strat., i,9.7; xii,8.11/3; xii,8.17/9; and also LP,i, 337 - the exarch Olympius was attended by his spatharius in 653.

That such spatharii were drawn from the regular soldiery is quite clear, cf. Hoffmann, Bewegungsheer, i, 242, note 348, referring to a series of transactions witnessed in about the year 600 by a certain 'Iohannes spatarius quondam Georgii magistri militum et nunc primicerius numeri felicum Theodosiacus (sic)'. For the orthography, see Hoffmann, loc. cit.

Narses was a great spatharius and of illustrious rank according to John of Ephesus, 443. For spatharii in Zeno's reign, see Theoph., 127,²⁹; and in Justinian's reign, ibid., 185; although Theophanes must not be relied upon too much for the sixth century or earlier. On spatharii in general, see Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 137-8; Rangordnung, 146; cf. Ducange, Gloss.Gr.. s.v. spatharius. For the spatharii in the seventh and eighth centuries, see chapter two.

239) This has been well-documented, for example, by Patlagean, L'impôt payé par les soldats.

240) Complete exemption, which had been an aspect of military service in the fourth and early fifth centuries, appears to have been abandoned as recruitment itself became voluntary and the principle of both conscription and hereditary enlistment in the comitatenses broke down, and as the fiscal needs of the state changed. See Patlagean, L'impôt payé par les soldats, 304-6.

See above, notes 68, 127.

241) For Priscus, see note 49 above; see also the comments of Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique*, 314-5.

242) See Haldon, Considerations.

Chapter two: notes

243) See Mommsen, *Militärwesen*, 224; Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 285 and notes.

244) See Boak, *The Master*, 24-58; Bury, *Admin.*, 29-31; Jones, LRE, 103, 368-9, 575-84, 586f; Stein, *Bas-Empire*, i, 113f. etc; and more recently, Clauss, *Magister*, 40-45.

245) Cf. Lydus, *De Mag.*, ii, 11; 24; *Cor.*, *In Laud. Iust.*, iii, 157-62; *Men. Prot.*, frg. 11 (HGM ii, 10, 16; *Exc. de Leg.*, i, 171, 19-20; 176, 25); frg. 15 (HGM ii, 36; *Exc. de Leg.*, i, 188, 25-6); *Proc.*, *HA*, xxiv, 15.

246) Cf. CJ i, 31.3; 5; also CTh. vii, 1.14; Cass., *Variae*, vi, 6.

247) Promotion - CJ xii, 29.1; 2; discipline - CJ xii, 29.1; i, 31.3; xii, 33.5.

248) For his legal jurisdiction over scholares, see chapter one, p. 120 and note 151. Cf. CJ xii, 29.2; 3. On the attempt to reduce the abuses of praescriptio fori, abuses which had enabled members of certain officia - including all those under the magister - to refuse to appear in any court save that of the magister on either civil or military charges, see CJ xii, 53; iii, 23.2; 25.1.

249) Although Frank, Scholae Palatinae, 88f., did point to the growing de facto importance of the comes over the scholae in the fifth century. The comes was himself independent of, and only slightly inferior in status and position to, the master of offices. See Jones, LRE, 333, 528, 636; Stein, *Bas-Empire*, i, 220 and note. But see also the comments of Clauss, *Magister*, 41.

250) Amm., xx, 4.21.

251) Sozomenos, HE, 9, 8.

252) Sid.App., Panegyr. v, 305-8.

253) Theoph., 236, 20-24.

254) Bury, Admin., 50, note 2; Boak, The Master, 63. Only Haussig, Anfänge, 88, note 32, has suggested that τῷ κόμιτι might be correct, but he did not attempt to identify the officer concerned. For the inscription, see Beševliev, Inschriften, 159, 227. For the vicars and praetors of Thrace, see chapt. four, 272ff. A further inscription, dated to Justinian's reign, may refer to the same officer. See Hondius, Supplementum, no.310: Φλ(αύιος) Σο(λομῶν?) ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος) κόμ(ης) τῶν καθ(οσιωμένων) δο[μεστίκων κ(αὶ)] διακούσσωρ... In the first inscription, Solomon appears as a vir magnificus, and since active officials of senatorial rank were gloriosi after 537 (see Koch, Beamtentitel, 68-73; Hornickel, Prädikate, 8-10), the lower rank of magnificus suggests that the post was held in vacante. See Stein, Bas-Empire, ii, 761, note 3. The connection between the two posts - vicar of Thrace and count of the domestici - may thus be a titular rather than a functional one, although this does not affect the argument outlined above.

255) Ch.Diehl, review of Gelzer, Themenverfassung, BZ 9(1900)677. Cf. Stein, Studien, 131; Karayannopoulos, Entstehung, 31; for the mutiny, Chron.Pasch., 715, ^{9sq.} See below, p.174 and note 354.

256) CTh. vii,1.17: (milites) divino obsequio Nostrae Clementiae deputati (i.e. scholae and protectores and protectores domestici); Just., Nov. 78,2: ὁ βσέκουιον. For opiskion as the following of civilians, see Vita Joh.Eleemosyn., 11,^{11;} 25,^{5;} 76,³ etc. and below, note 356.

257) Chapter one, 119f.

258) Cf. Theoph., 442. See Bury, Admin., 50; Boak, The Master, 105; Guillard, Recherches, i, 428. See also Oikonomidès, Préséance, 329.

259) On domestici, see Seeck, RE, V, 1296f; Reiske, De Cer., ii, 27; Jones, LRE, 603 and note 95; Guillard, Recherches, i, 427 and note 31. Cf. Th.Sim., viii, 13.2 for the domestic of Peter, Maurice's brother. There survive a number of seals of the sixth and seventh centuries which may have belonged either to such officers or, as I have suggested above, to members of the corps of domestici. See the seals listed in chapter one, note 224.

260) Cf. Amm., xxx, 2, 10-11; De Cer., 394,⁴. Bury, Admin., 50, considers that the terms adiutor and βοηθός = domesticus. Cf. Not.Dig., Or., xi, 41. Guillard disagrees and proposes that while adiutor is equivalent to βοηθός, these terms are not quite the same as domesticus. The evidence is not sufficient to make either case conclusive. The term βοηθός literally means adiutor, but it is clear that a domesticus could be responsible for similar duties. For the difference, see now Clauss, Magister, 56ff.

261) G.Pisid., Bell.Av., 314; Theoph., 303,^{3sq}; Niceph.Patr., 15, ¹³sq; Chron.Pasch., 714,⁵⁻⁷: καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος μετὰ Μαρτίνης τῆς βασιλίσσης ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη, συνόντος αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀνιανοῦ δουμεστίκου τοῦ μαγίστρου. See Karayannopoulos and Pertusi, who both object that Bonus is magister militum (praesentalis). See below, note 361; and for the relationship between Pisides and Theophanes, note 334.

262) Niceph.Patr., 24,⁶: 'Ανιανὸν τὸν πάγιοντον. Bekker read
'Αντωνιανόν, 27,¹³.

263) E.g., Cor., In Laud.Iust., iii, 233-6; Men.Prot., frg.11,
frg.15 (cited note 245 above). See Boak, *The Master*, 35-6.

264) De Cer., 394,^{4sq}. Anianus is mentioned by Nicephorus as
dealing with the Avars in 635: 24,⁶.

265) Our sources make no mention of any internal reforms of
military units during Heraclius' reign, simply a re-grouping.
Cf. G.Pisid., De Exp. Pers., ii, 66sq; Theoph., 303,^{10sq}.

266) See chapter one, 128.

267) Vita Theod.Syk. 153,1sq; 153,11; 154,28; 166; 172; Sebeos,
65. On Sebeos, see G.Abgarian, 'Remarques sur l'histoire de
Sébéos', REA n.s. 1(1964)203-215.

268) Theoph., 442,²⁴⁻⁸; see also 456,^{15sq}.

269) Mansi, xi, 737 (letter); 209 (council).

270) Hendy, Admin. Basis, 148f. For a fuller discussion on the
origins of the themes, see Haldon, Some Remarks; and chapter
three below, note 484; see also Lille, "Thrakien" und
"Thrakesion", 13f., and most recently on the subject of the
military reforms ascribed to Heraclius, Haldon, Recruitment,
28-40. For further comments on fiscal administrative
reorganisation, see Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 225-231; and
Zacos and Veglery, commentary to tables 17-34. See also
J.W.Nesbitt, 'Double Names on Early Byzantine Lead Seals', DOP
31(1977)115f.

271) Cf. Boak, *The Master*, 49-58; Bury, *Admin.*, 29f.

272) Boak, *The Master*, 54; Theoph., 400, ^{29;} Niceph. *Patr.*,
55, ¹⁹sq. (718/9); Theoph., 415, ³sq. (Artavasdos);
442, ²⁴⁻⁸ (magister associated with reform of the scholae);
456, ¹⁵sq. (embassy to Arabs).

273) Bury, *Admin.*, 29-31; Boak, *The Master*, 52-3; Laurent,
Corpus II, no.1195, an eighth-century seal of Michael, patrikios,
imperial protospatharios and master of the imperial offices.

274) Chapter one, 132ff.

275) See Klet. *Phil.*, 111, ¹¹; 13. See, for example, *De Cer.*,
3-10; 599, ⁴⁻⁵; Klet. *Phil.*, 171, ²³sq. A number of
ceremonies collected by Constantine VII for the *De Caerimonis*
can be shown to be of eighth- or early ninth-century origin.
See Ch. Diehl, 'Sur la date de quelques passages du livre des
cérémonies', REG 16(1903)28-41 (also in *Études Byzantines*,
293-306); J.B. Bury, 'The Ceremonial Book of Constantine
Porphyrogenitus', EHR 22(1907)209-227, 417-439, esp. 429ff.
Chapt. 38a describes very probably the coronation of Leo V (*De
Cer.*, 191-3. Cf. F. Dölger, in BZ 36(1936)150); 43a describes the
coronation of Christophoros and Nikephoros, sons of Constantine
V, in April 769 (*De Cer.*, 217-222; cf. Diehl, art. cit., 31-4;
and note Ostrogorsky and Stein, *Krönungsordnungen*, 186, note 4.
Cf. also BNGJ 7(1930)20); 43b dates certainly after 809, and may
be of ninth- or tenth-century date (*De Cer.*, 222-5. Cf.
Ostrogorsky and Stein, *Krönungsordnungen*, 224f., and the comments
of Dölger, in BZ 36(1936)155f.), while 44a dates also to the year
769 (*De Cer.*, 225-7; Diehl, loc. cit.). The dating of chaps. 39
and 41 by Ostrogorsky and Stein, *Krönungsordnungen*, 200-210, to
the years 933-4; and of 40a and 40b to 896, has been disputed

by Dölger, BZ 36(1936)149-57; the ceremonies in question, however, do belong to the later ninth or tenth century. Dölger's comments in his review of Ostrogorsky and Stein are especially important for the study of these ceremonies. Note that references to the arithmos may date a passage to Eirene's reign or later - but note also Dölger's comment, 148 note 2. See also chapter five below, note 839. For a discussion of the De Caerimoniiis and the secondary literature, see now Hunger, Profane Literatur, 364-7. On the composition of the book, see Bury, Ceremonial Book; Vogt, Cérémonies, i, introduction, xviff; and Constantine's prologue, De Cer., 3-5. For the language, see the refs. in Hunger, loc. cit. The Leipzig ms. has generally been ascribed to the twelfth century (see I.Rochow, 'Bemerkungen zu der Leipziger Handschrift des Zerimonienbuches des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos und zu der Ausgabe von J.J.Reiske', Klio 58(1976)193-7, see 193-4); although Dr. Otto Kresten has suggested to me in a written communication that both the Leipzig ms. and the Vatopedi palimpsest are of later tenth-century date.

276) See Frank, Scholae Palatinae, 57-8, note 38; Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 123 and note.

277) CTh. vi,24.1: *scias senum capitum domesticis per singulas quasque scholas, quinquagenis iussis in praesenti esse, iuxta morem debere praestare.* Cf. Jones, Review, 228.

278) Scholae Palatinae, 57; Jones, Review, 229. For the question of domestici and primicerii scholarum, see chapter one, p.120 and note 151.

279) Proc., HA, xxiv,25; Just., Edict. viii,3; Nov. 30,7.2.

280) CJ xii,29.1: *domesticos eorum (sc. comitum) non senatores vel ducenarios centenariosve fieri decernimus.*

281) CTh. vi,24.11 (= CJ xii,17.2).

282) CJ xii,11.1; 29.2. The process is exactly paralleled by that which affected the admissionales and silentiarii of the sixth century. Upon retirement, the comes admissionum received the honour of illustris inter agentes; decuriones silentiariorum received the same title, and the first of these advanced normally to the position of comes admissionum. Cf. De Cer., 386f; CJ xii,16.1/3.3. See the arguments of Ostrogorsky and Stein, Krönungsordnungen , 207-210.

283) Cf. De Cer., 599,⁴⁻⁵; for their rank, Klet.Phil., 111,¹¹; 171,²⁵. They numbered among the μεγάλοι ἄρχοντες τῶν σχολῶν, Cf. De Cer., 524,²⁰⁻¹. See also Anon. Vári, 6,^{21sq}. For further discussion of their position and duties, see chapter five.

284) See, for example, De Cer., 236,⁷⁻¹⁰; 237; 247,³⁻¹¹; 258,²²; 599,²⁻⁵ (ceremonial duties); Anon. Vári, 6-7 (military duties).

285) Cf. De Cer., 386-9, for the appointment of a comes admissionum, comes scholarum and europalates, paralleled at 131 (comes schol.), and 229-31 (europalates). No contemporary ceremony for a comes admissionum is described, but the original ceremony may still have been observed. The comes still existed in the tenth century, and served under ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως and the praepositus. Cf. De Cer., 23,⁸; 520,⁵ etc., and Ostrogorsky and Stein, Krönungsordnungen, 207-210. See also De Cer., 388, the appointment of a pro-consul in the sixth century, paralleled at 255-7 for the ninth and tenth centuries; and 389 for a variety of officials such as silentiaries (compare with 527f.). For the reception of embassies, see 393f. for the sixth

century, and compare with 191-225 for the ninth and tenth centuries. See the remarks of Bury, Ceremonial Book, 221-2.

286) See De Cer., 390-1 and compare 131,^{3-19.}

287) The domestici of the scholae are stratores, whereas the protectores are simply tagmatikoi. Cf. Klet.Phil., 155,^{29;} 159,^{1.}

288) Cf. CTh. vi, 2.9; CJ xii, 29.2. See chapter one, 120f. and notes on the privileges and status of scholares.

289) The fact that these ranks were distributed throughout the scholae also clearly militates against the protectores ever having been assimilated to one schola - see chapter one, notes 214-215 above.

For the duties and position of both domestikoi and protiktores in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, see chapter five below.

290) Zacos and Veglery, nos. 2809 (Leontios); 890(a) (Kallinikos); and 582 (vestitor). See chapter one, note 180.

291) Zacos and Veglery , no.832.

292) See Zacos and Veglery, nos. 670 (of Pardos, scholarios), 723 (of Zadon, scholarios); Schlumberger, Mélanges, 260, no.113 (of Paul, scholarios), all of the seventh century. See also Konstantopoulos, Molybdoboulla, JIAN 6, nos. 221 (seventh-century seal of Plotinos, scholarios), 222 (seventh-century seal of an anon. scholarios). The occasional commemorative inscription mentioning scholares - dating from the fourth to the seventh century - adds little to the evidence, but is worth recording. See, e.g., MAMA viii, no.225; CIG iv, pars xl, sect. 1, no.8869; and note also no.9227. Note finally the reference to a

scholarios in the later seventh century: Mirac. S.Therapontis,
20,^{17.}

293) See chapter one, p.139, note 238. For spatharii, see
Oikonomidès, Préséance, 297-8; 328; and below.

294) Chron.Pasch., 626; Joh.Eph., 443.

295) Seals of ordinary candidati, like those of scholares, exist in considerable numbers for the sixth and seventh century. See Zacos and Veglery, nos. 397, 515, 551, 724, 767, 844(a), 2814, all dated to the period 550-650. Cf. also Laurent, Orghidan, 29, no.30; 280, no.594 (seventh century). In addition, the rank of candidatus combined with that of apo hypaton or hyparchos appears twice (Zacos and Veglery, nos. 700, 701) in the later seventh or early eighth century. This proves only that the candidati concerned held a privileged position and served, or had served, in what was probably a civilian rather than a military capacity. In other words, such candidati were probably, but not certainly, honorific appointments. See also Zacos and Veglery, no.1069A, a seal of Theophylact, kandidatos and imperial strator, dated c.650-750.

296) See Chron.Pasch., 696; for spatarocandidati, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 2935 (c.650-750) and 2921 (eighth century); also Greg.II Papae, Epist. xii,511; 518. On Gregory's letters, see below, note 405. See also Oikonomidès, Préséance, 293.

297) Cf. Zacos and Veglery, nos. 403 (balnitor and kandidatos, eighth century); 221 (seal of an anonymous and John, kandidatos, genikoi kommerkiarioi of the Apotheke of Lazica, dated c.717-720); and nos. 910, 975, 1001, 2860, 2877, 2896 (seventh-century candidati and imperial spatharii, probably of the second half of the century). The usual rule-of-thumb,

re-affirmed recently by Seibt, Bleisiegel, 189, that the insertion of a kai between titles signifies that those following the conjunction are offices i.e. functions, is usually applicable, but may not always be entirely reliable, certainly in the seventh century. See also Oikonomidès, Préséance, 284-5. The titles balnitor and candidatus should denote a praesental candidatus bearing the dignity of balnitor. But since the members of the praesental ordo seem by this time to have been imperial candidati - basilikoi kandidatoi - it would appear that this is an example of two dignities. Balnitor is anyway a non-military dignity and will hardly have been awarded to a purely military official. Likewise the post of genikos kommerkiarios cannot have been occupied by a genuine, serving candidatus. As for the candidati and imperial spatharii, the latter title denotes at first a function (see below) - membership of the praesental ordo in attendance on the emperor - and candidatus is therefore simply a dignity. Imperial spatharius may also be a dignity only, of course, but probably denotes membership of the praesental ordo, given the date of the seals and the rule-of-thumb referred to above.

For notes on the development of the system of selling ranks and titles during late Roman times, see G.Kolias, Ämter- und Würdenverkauf, 43ff; and Lemerle, Roga, 77ff; more recently, see D.Liebs, 'Ämterkauf und Ämterpatronage in der Spätantike', Sav. Zeitschrift, röm. Abt. 95(1978)158-186. On the 'devaluation' of titles, see P.Koch, Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel (Diss., Jena 1903). It should be borne in mind that the seventh and the eighth centuries mark above all a change in the system of precedence of the sixth century and before, a change which produced the system familiar from the Kleterologion of Philotheos. Note the remarks of Oikonomidès, Préséance, 286-9; and for the earlier system, see Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 220; Guiland, Recherches, i, 24f.

298) For simple imperial candidati see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 1485, 1532 (dated to the later seventh century); 1893, 2281 (dated to the eighth century). I have listed here only the earliest examples. See also Panchenko, Katalog, no. 78 (seventh century). For the 'supernumeraries' see chapter one. For the imperial candidati who were also administrative officials, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 1710 (ninth-century seal of Gregory, imperial candidatus and turmarch of the Kibyrrhaiot theme); 1788 (ninth-century seal of Christopher, imperial candidatus and epeiketes of Konchyle); 1801 (ninth-century seal of Constantine, imperial candidatus and proto-notarius of the Kibyrrhaiot theme); 1915 (ninth-century seal of George, imperial candidatus and dioiketes of Rhaifestos); 1990 (ninth-century seal of Isakios, imperial candidatus and curator of the imperial workshops); etc. A number of seals of simple candidati dating to the later seventh and eighth centuries exist. Cf. Zacos and Veglery, nos. 370, 1445; Laurent, Orghidan, 29, no. 30. See also Max. Conf. Relatio, 112, where Θεόδωρον τὸν νιὸν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κανδιδάτου λεγομένου, τὸν ἐπίκληνον Χιλᾶ, τὸν νῦν γαμβρὸν τοῦ κύρου Πλάτωνος τοῦ πατρικίου is mentioned. These candidati were almost certainly the bearers of dignities rather than functions at this time - c. 650-660.

299) For a summary of the history of the candidati, see Guilland, Candidat, 212 and refs. Guilland deals chiefly with the later period, the ninth and tenth centuries. See also idem, 'Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine; les quartiers militaires', BS 17 (1956) 58ff. For the sale and purchase of offices, see the references in note 297 above; cf. the passages of Procopius, HA xxiv, 15sq., on the sale of places in the scholae; of Petrus patricius on the appointment of protectores and domestici who have bought their commissions (De Cer., 391, ⁶sq.); and of Constantine VII on the sale of titles under Leo VI (De Cer., 692, ⁷sq.). Oikonomidès, Préséance, 298,

328, implies that the candidati under ὁ τῶν βασιλικῶν were descended without a break from those of the sixth century. But the evidence suggests that while the title imperial candidatus continued to be awarded to or purchased by members of the sixth and seventh scholae before the reforms of Constantine V, these had no active role except as parade-troops. They were reorganised, along with the scholae, by Constantine. The references cited by Oikonomidès, locc. cit., concern the sixth and the ninth centuries, and deal for the most part with the spatharii rather than the candidati. It must also be stressed that the spatharii, candidati and mandatores listed under the protospatharius of the imperials (Klet.Phil., 117,²²⁻⁴) are not simply dignities (*pace* Oikonomidès, Préséance, 282). They, along with other holders of such 'dignities' were in fact functionaries occupying these posts - praesental positions - which had also given their name to a middle-Byzantine dignity - a point which Oikonomides makes himself (286-7). Thus the contradiction which the latter notes - that certain active functionaries appear with holders of dignities in their officium - is no contradiction at all.

300) Takt.Usp., 61, 29; 63, ^{8.} De Cer., 237, ^{10-12:}
βῆλον δ', τοὺς κόμητας τῶν σεκόρων· βῆλον ε', τοὺς κανδιδάτους
τῶν σεκόρων· βῆλον στ', τοὺς δομεστίκους τῶν σεκόρων. Vogt,
Cérémonies, comm. ii, 57-8, suggested that this was a scribal
error for τῶν σχολῶν, a suggestion supported by Guillard,
Candidat, 212. The candidati and the scholae certainly were
clearly connected. Further proof is offered by two other
passages, where candidati are bracketed between comites and
domestici, both officers of the scholae. Cf. De Cer.,
193, ^{14-15:} ἔβδομον (βῆλον), κόμιτες τῶν σχολῶν· η'· καν-
διδάτοι καβαλλαρικοῦ δ', σκρίβωνες καὶ δομέστικοι; 247,³⁻¹⁰
where the praepositus brings before the emperor in order τοὺς
κόμητας τῶν σχολῶν, κανδιδάτους and δομέστικους. The

first ceremony dates to the earlier part of the ninth century, the second to the eighth century (see note 275 above). For the kandidatoi basilikoi attached to the court, see Klet.Phil., 117,²³; and the references listed by Guillard, Candidat, 212f. Ostrogorsky and Stein, Krönungsordnungen, 218, note 6, reject Vogt's explanation, preferring to see in τῶν σεκόπων the word securis, axe. These were then officers equipped with axes. But while agreeing that this does not have to be a copyist's or palaeographical error, I find no evidence that officers of the scholae or any other palace unit were so equipped. The word occurs in only two passages, closely related (De Cer., 235,³ [= i,46] and 237,¹⁰⁻¹² [= i,47]); throughout the remainder of De Cer. no mention is made of such officers. Whatever the cause of the error, these officers clearly belonged to the scholae.

301) For the seals, cf. Laurent, Orghidan, 28, no.28. For the duties of candidati in the tenth century, see Guillard, Candidat, 212-4.

302) See note 299 above.

303) For the candidati in the sixth century, see chapter one. For the scholae being based first at Constantinople, and later outside, see chapter five, where the difference between the mounted and foot candidati is discussed. Laurent, Orghidan, 28, postulated a whole schola - the fifth - of candidati, since he was unable to reconcile the existence of a candidatus of the fifth schola with much earlier evidence, according to which candidati were limited to the sixth and seventh scholae alone. But as I have suggested, the reforms of the later eighth century altered the older establishment, and the number of scholae was increased. Laurent's attempt to reconcile 'conflicting' evidence is not necessary. For the protospatharius and the eighth-century reform, see below; and on the difference between active and

honorific candidati see above, and Antoniadis-Bibicou, Pensions, 66-7. Note that the ceremonies connecting the candidati and the scholae date to the later eighth or earlier ninth century. For the purchase of commissions, see note 299 above.

304) For such developments, see Oikonomidès, Préséance, 296-8, and the references cited there; and Guillard, Recherches, i, 73f.

305) For seals of ordinary scholares, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 359, 489, 544 (c.550-650); 582 (sixth century - vestitor (?) and scholarios); 606 (sixth century); 670, 723 (seventh century); 832 (scholarios and excubitor, seventh century); 890(a) and (b) (sixth century, scholarios and archiatros); 2887 (c.550-650); Konstantopoulos, Molybdoboulla, JIAN 6, nos. 221-2 (seventh-eighth centuries). For the seal of Nikolaos, imperial scholarius, see ibid., no.223; and see note 295 above.

306) See chapter one, p.139.

307) Cf. Vita Theod.Syk., 153, 11; Mansi, x, 855.

308) Mansi, xi, 209f; 737f.

309) Zacos and Veglery, no.1087 (seventh-century seal of Valentinus, patrikios and comes of the imperial Exkoubiton); no.497 (seventh-century seal of Stephen, comes of the divine Exkoubiton).

310) Zacos, and Veglery, nos. 822, 832 (second half of the seventh century). For other excubidores, see nos. 642, 1041, 1630, 1630A; Schlumberger, Sig., 346; Ebersolt, no.391, all dated to the seventh century. Cf. also MAMA. viii, no.323, a commemorative stele from the Ikonion district: μνήμη Ἀλέκτορος Δουνίνου ἐκσκουβίτορος, of sixth- or seventh-century date. Note

also the interesting reference to the young excubitor Theodoros in the City in the late seventh or early eighth century, Mirac. S.Therapontis, 19,^{5-8.}

311) E.g. Zacos and Veglery, nos. 308, 336-8, 344, 389, 390, 431, 502, 534, 535, 545, 563, 570, 675, 678, 705, 786, 787, 1049, 1069, 1072, 1079, 1385, 1458; Ebersolt, nos. 491, 493. Cf. also Schlumberger, Inédits, no.268; note also the reference to the scribon Marinos, note 312 below.

312) Zacos and Veglery, nos. 168, 169 (dated to 690/1); 173 (dated to 691/2). For a list of seals and his promotion to the rank of apo hypaton, see Zacos and Veglery, i, 1, 152f., table 8. Most of these seals have been published before - Zacos and Veglery give full references. On the commerciarii, see Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 157f. A seventh-century seal of Marinos, scribon and imperial spatharius, suggests again that the title was awarded in an honorific capacity. See Zacos and Veglery, no.2091. Cf. LP, 331-2, a mention of a scribon Marinus who aided the magister militum Donus in 642/3 against the mutinous chartularius Maurice in Italy.

313) Seal of George - Zacos and Veglery, no.3109 bis; and Ebersolt, no.495, both of eighth century date; seal of John - Zacos and Veglery, no.2803, of the seventh century.

314) Seal of Gregory - Zacos and Veglery, no.2843, dated to c.650-750. Once more, the appearance of the epithet 'imperial' would suggest an attempt to emphasise the membership of those who held the title in the palatine ordo.

315) The reorganisation of the palatine units will be discussed in chapter five.

316) The emendation, first suggested by H.Gelzer, Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani (Leipzig 1890), xlivi and argued by H.Antoniadis-Bibicou, Hist. Maritime, 65f., that Cabarisanus is to be corrected not to Carabisianus, as suggested by Diehl, L'Origine, 385, and note 2, but to Calarisianus, i.e. the army and fleet based at Sardinia, is attractive. Cf. Ibn Khurradadhbih, 80-1, who refers in a (possibly) late seventh-century list to the patricius of Sardinia as one of the six leading military officers of the empire. See Oikonomidès, Une liste arabe, 121-130. But the appearance of an army of carabisiani or marines in the later seventh century would suggest that in fact they are to be identified with a regular fleet established by Constans II or Constantine IV. Cf. Ahrweiler, Mer, 22ff. Ibn Khurradadhbih's patricius of Sardinia is the Dux of the same isle. Cf. Jones, LRE, 273-4. See also P.Charanis, 'On the Origins of the Theme of the Carabisiani', Silloge Byzantina in onore di S.G.Mercati (Roma 1957), 72-5; and Pertusi's comments, Formation, 39, note 178. Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 227 and note 6; and Guillou, Régionalisme, 159 note 67, accept Gelzer's argument and emendation. On Ibn Khurradadhbih's list, see Lilie, "Thrakien" und "Thrakesion", 18ff; Haldon, Garrison, 79; Winkelmann, Probleme, 20ff.

317) Diehl first noted that the military forces as described in the letter are older, re-deployed forces of the magistri militum. Cf. L'Origine, 290f., and Pertusi, Formation, esp. 31-32; also Ostrogorsky, L'Exarchat de Ravenne, 99-110. Diehl suggested that the corps of carabisiani was the successor to the quaestura exercitus of the sixth century. Ahrweiler shows that this is improbable - cf. Mer, 12, note 2.

318) Diehl, L'Origine, 290-1.

319) Diehl, L'Origine, loc. cit. See chapter one, pp.128, 135. For a similar view, see L.Bréhier, 'La transformation de l'empire byzantin sous les Héraclides', JS 15(1917)401-415, 445-453, 498-506, a review of J.Kulakovskij, *Istoria Vizantii*, iii (602-717) (Kiev 1915), esp. 505; and see also Pertusi, De Them., 127; idem, Giorgio di Pisidia, 150, who, while not explicitly including the scholae and domestici among the later Opsikion, regards Bithynia as the area where the imperial reserve troops were based, and therefore the area in which Heraclius reorganised his forces in 621/2. As I have shown, the scholae can hardly be regarded as 'reserves', except in the very widest sense. Pertusi, Formation, 27, and Karayannopoulos, Entstehung, 30, make the same assumption as Diehl - see below. These ill-founded assumptions have been repeated most recently by Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 229, 254.

320) Chapter one, 132ff; and as Stein also stressed, Studien, 133 (followed by Karayannopoulos, Entstehung 48-9 - although the latter finds no difficulty in ascribing the scholae to the authority of the magister militum praesentalis, cf. ibid., 30 note 3).

321) For the magister, see 142f. above. For Diehl's view, see, for example, Karayannopoulos, Contribution, 469; Entstehung, 29-30; and for Haussig's modifications, see 'Anfänge', 88, note 32. For the comes of 561/2, see Theoph., 236,²¹; Haussig also refers to a comes for Anastasius' reign, cf. Theoph., 138,⁶⁻¹¹. This is merely a reference to ordinary comites of the scholae, however, and has no relevance here. Haussig does not specify who the comes of 561/2 might be.

322) Pertusi, Formation, 38; Karayannopoulos, Contribution, 469; Entstehung, 29-30; Ostrogorsky, State, 86-90; idem, 'Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire', in: CEHE, i, 194-223, see

196; idem, La date, 48. Stein proposed a somewhat different solution: that the elite regiments of Maurice's day were settled in the later Opsikion region, deliberately in order to raise morale, by Heraclius, and placed under a newly-created count of the Obsequium, as part of that emperor's military reforms. Stein also connects the origins of the stratiotika ktemata with this development. Cf. Stein, Studien, 131-4. Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion, 309, considers, along with Karayannopoulos, Entstehung, 48, that the Opsikion was formed from, among others, the scholae and domestici, a proposal which Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 229, has accepted. The latter is also prepared to connect the military lands with a Heraclian reform, op. cit., 135-8. All these views, as I will show, need to be very considerably revised.

323) For the transfer in 591, see Th.Sim., v, 16.1 and Theoph., 267,^{31sq;} Sebeos, 34-5.

324) Troops in Constantinople - John of Nikiu, 167; cf. also Joh.Antioch., frg.218(f) 5 (Exc. de Insid., 149-50). Transfer of troops from the West - Theoph., 292,¹¹⁻¹³. For an account of the events during the reign of Phocas, see Ostrogorsky, State, 76-8.

325) Th.Sim., viii, 15.3.

326) On the revolt of Narses and the subsequent events; and the appointment of Domentziolus as commander-in-chief - probably magister militum - see Theoph., 291,²⁷-293,⁵; Vita Theod.Syk., 120, 1-5; Sebeos, 56f.

327) The attacks of 605 and 606/7 - Theoph., 292,^{27-8;} 293,^{23-6;} Michael Syr., bk. 11, chapt. 1, 400f. (and see note 345 below). For the Persian attacks up to the year 609/10, cf.

Stratos, *Seventh Century*, i, 61-6. See also Lemerle, *Données historiques*, 197-201, for a note on the events of the time; and Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio*, 10ff., 18ff.

328) The attack of 607 - Theoph., 295, ^{14-16;} of 608 - Theoph., 296, ^{6-10;} of 610/11 - Theoph., 299, ^{14-18.} For the revolt in Antioch, see Theoph., 296, ^{17sq.} For Bonosus, cf. also *Vita Theod.Syk.*, 142, 1f; *Chron.Pasch.*, 700, ^{4sq;} Sebeos, 56. Bonosus returned to the capital and was later executed by Heraclius. See *Chron.Pasch.*, 699-701; *Joh.Antioch.*, frg.218(f) 6 (FGH v, 38; *Exc. de insid.*, 149-50); *Niceph.Patr.*, 5. For Byzantine defeats in Armenia, see Sebeos, 58, 59-60 (between 607 and 608); 62 (609); 63 (610-11).

329) Kaegi, *New Evidence*, 308-330. For events after Heraclius' accession, see Ostrogorsky, *State*, 83-6, 90-3.

330) Kaegi, art. cit., 312.

331) On the murder of Comentiolus and the appointment of Priscus; and on the importance of this army to Heraclius, see Kaegi, *New Evidence*, 313-5; 324f; Sebeos, 65.

332) On the rapid Persian advance and their successes after 612, see Theoph., 299, ^{32-3;} 300, ^{1-6;} 20-1 (for 614); 300, ^{9sq.} (for 615); 301, ^{9sq.} (616-7); etc. For an account of these wars, see Stratos, *Seventh Century*, i, 104-115; and Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio*, 58ff. Three main Byzantine forces appear to have been operating in the East at this time: that originally under Comentiolus, then Priscus, and finally Philippicus, operating chiefly in Armenia and Cappadocia; that which had arrived in Egypt under Nicetas, who had been appointed *comes excubitorum*; and that with which Heraclius marched into N.Syria (with either his brother Theodore or his cousin Nicetas -

see Kaegi's remarks, *New Evidence*, 328-9) in 613. See Sebeos, 66-8. This in fact seems later to have been based in Cilicia and Isauria: see note 341 below.

333) Transfer of remaining troops to the East - Theoph., 27-30.
302,

334) G.Pisid., *De Exp.Pers.*, ii,66f. for the soldiers joining his standard. Cf. Theoph., 303, ¹⁰sq; G.Pisid., loc. cit., 44f., 120f. for the training and reorganisation of the army. For this re-grouping, see Haldon, *Recruitment*, 29ff; and for a discussion of the sources, notably the relationship between Pisides and Theophanes, see Speck, *Bellum Avaricum*; and Avenarius, *Die Awaren*, esp. 85ff; on Theophanes and Nicephorus (Patr.), see Čičurov, *Feofan*, esp. 14-22, 145-150. Note also I.Čičurov, 'Feofan Ispovednik - Kompilyator Prokopija', VV 37(1976)62-73; and Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, i, 344-7 for a survey of the literature on Nicephorus. The literature on Theophanes is substantial. For the most recent general survey, see Hunger, *Profane Literatur* i, 334-9; for more specific discussion, see I.Rochow, 'Die monenergetischen und monotheletischen Streitigkeiten in der Sicht des Chronisten Theophanes', *Klio* 63(1981)669-681; Speck, Konstantin VI, 389ff; A.S.Proudfoot, 'The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty', *Byz* 44(1974)367-439; G.Ostrogorsky, 'Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jhd.', *BNJ* 7(1930)1-56; C.Mango, 'Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?', *ZRVI* 18(1978)9-17; and the response to this of I.S.Čičurov, 'Feofan Ispovednik. - Publikator, Redaktor, Aftor?', VV 42(1981)78-87.

335) There were some troops at Constantinople, but they appear to have been limited in number. Cf. *Chron.Pasch.*, 717, ⁵sq. For Heraclius dividing his forces into three, see Theoph., 315, ¹¹sq; Theod.Synkell., 302, ⁸sq; and G.Pisid.,

Bell.Av., 280, sending one corps off against Šahin under his brother Theodore, and one corps to the capital. He himself retained command of the remainder. According to the Chron. Pasch., 718,¹⁸⁻²² there were twelve thousand cavalrymen in 626 at Constantinople, some of whom were Armenians, *ibid.*, 724,¹¹. Cf. G.Pisid., Bell.Av., 280f. I believe that a good part of this twelve thousand constituted the corps sent by Heraclius. There is no report of their arrival, but they are described as elite troops (Chron.Pasch., loc. cit.), which suggests that they were part of the field army; while Heraclius' brother Theodore arrived just as the siege was raised (see below) - perhaps contributing to this move on the part of the Avar Khagan - having encountered and defeated the army of Šahin in the East (cf. Theoph., 315,¹⁷⁻²²). The reinforcements despatched by Heraclius to the City had presumably arrived long before this time. Barišić, *Le siège*, 378, dates their arrival to the time between the despatch of Athanasius as envoy to the Khagan at the end of June or early July, and the arrival of the main Avar army at the end of July, which fits in well with the events that followed. Pertusi, *Formation*, 25, considers that these were part of the praesental troops left by Heraclius. This seems unlikely, since he needed all the troops he could obtain in the East, while he apparently hoped that he had made a truce with the Avars. See Theoph., 302,²⁷⁻³⁰. The very fact that Heraclius felt obliged to send a considerable force back to the capital militates against Pertusi's view. Neither do these twelve thousand seem to have formed the corps supposedly stationed along the Long Walls of Anastasius, *pace* Speck, *Bellum Avaricum*, 44-5 and note 215; as will be shown below (chapter four, part four), there is no evidence that such a force ever existed, certainly not one as large as this.

Barišić's estimate of the troops in Constantinople during the siege at 'quelques douzaines de milliers', however, seems to me exaggerated, *Le siège*, 391, note 3. For Theodore's arrival, see

Chron.Pasch., 726,^{4-10.} Stratos comments briefly on his arrival, cf. A.Stratos, 'The Avars' Attack on Byzantium in the Year 626', BF 2(1967)370-376, cf. 375-6. There remains one problem which has generally been overlooked. According to the Chron.Pasch., 726,⁷⁻¹⁰ Theodore arrived in the region opposite the City, and Bonus was able to point to the army and threaten the Khagan. Yet at the same time Šahrbaraz and his army were supposedly still at Chalcedon, cf. Theoph., 316,^{25-7;} also Theod.Synkell., 313,¹⁴⁻²⁷ esp.^{22sq.} No conflict is recorded, and it is more likely that Theodore and his troops sailed from a point east of Šahrbaraz direct to Constantinople, or remained in the vicinity until the Persians had withdrawn. Speck has noted this difficulty (*Bellum Avaricum*, loc. cit.), but has conflated the relief army of (?) twelve thousand referred to already, despatched by Heraclius, with that under Theodore's command. While it is true that neither Synkellos nor Pisides mention the arrival of the original relief army, both refer to its despatch - see above; but if it arrived before the main siege set in (and this was presumably Heraclius' intention in sending it in the first place) - as Baraćić assumes - then the omission is perhaps not so striking, for both writers may have taken its arrival and entry into the City for granted.

336) G.Pisid., *De Exp.Pers.*, ii,44f., 55f; Theoph., 303,^{24sq.} For the gathering and reforming of the troops, see also *De Exp.Pers.*, ii,66f., and for Heraclius' written messages, ii,38; 54.

337) Sebeos, 81; *De Exp.Pers.*, ii,8-11; Theoph., 303,^{8-10.} For the lands τῶν θεμάτων, 303,^{10-11;} and N.Oikonomidès, Les premiers mentions, 1-8, who shows that the first reference by Theophanes to the themata, usually dated to the year 612, applies in fact to the year 626/7. On Pylai, cf. Pertusi, *De Them.*, 129.

338) Theoph., 300,^{4-6.} Ostrogorsky, La date, 48f., 64;
State, 90, note 4.

339) For Ostrogorsky's arguments, see La date, 48f. 54-5, 64-6; for Baynes' suggestions, see 'The Emperor Heraclius and the Military Theme System', EHR 67(1952)380-1; and cf. W. Ensslin, 'Der Kaiser Herakleios und die Themenverfassung', BZ 46(1953)364; also Dölger, Ableitung, 189, note 1. Summaries of the discussion on the origins of the themes are to be found in Karayannopoulos, Contribution, 462ff; Pertusi, Formation, 1-15, 25f; Antoniadis-Bibicou, Hist. Maritime, 50-1, accepts the Ostrogorsky thesis. I have argued against Oikonomidès, Les premiers mentions, in Haldon, Recruitment, 31-5. See also Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion, 287ff. Given the problems encountered in dealing with both Theophanes' and Nicephorus' texts - their compilation, sources, dating, and so forth - which must necessarily precede any worthwhile re-assessment of Theophanes' passage on the 'lands of the themes', for example, it does not seem useful to pursue this particular question any further at this juncture. See note 334 above; and also Speck, Artabasdos, 20ff. R.-J. Lilie, 'Die zweihundertjährige Reform: zu den Anfängen der Themenorganisation im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert', ByzSlav (forthcoming - I am grateful to the author for showing this valuable study to me prior to its publication), makes the same point.

340) Cf. Ostrogorsky, L'Exarchat de Ravenne, 104; idem, 'Die Entstehung der Themenverfassung. Korreferat zu A. Pertusi, La formation des thèmes byzantins', Akten des XI Intern. Byz.-Kongresses (München 1958) 1-8, esp. 4f; Karayannopoulos, Contribution, 469-70; Pertusi, Giorgio di Pisidia, 149 and map 2; idem, Formation, 22.

341) Sebeos, 81; De Exp. Pers., ii, 66f; Heraclias, ii, 153f;
Theoph., 303,^{10-12.} Cappadocia was a popular recruiting-

ground for Byzantine soldiers, see Joh.Eph., 436 (referring to Maurice in 589). It had the advantage of being a centre of communications, linking both N.Syria and Armenia with the capital. As such, it was well-situated as a rallying-point for disorganised forces, as well as a starting-point for campaigns to both East and South. For the importance of Cappadocia during the ninth century and later, see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 43f; and more recently Hild, *Strassensystem*, and Kappadokien, 74ff; for its history and development in medieval times, see E.Kirsten, in: RAC, ii, 867-889; and Hild, *Kappadokien*, 62ff., 70-105.

It has been shown that Asia Minor was not occupied by the Persians at this time, at least, not in the usual sense of the word; and that the raids in force carried out by Šahin and later by Šahrbaraz involved no permanent occupation of cities in this area. Pertusi, Giorgio di Pisidia, 149f., considers that Sebeos refers to the second campaign (begun in 624) when he mentions Caesarea, but it is clear from Theophanes, 306,⁷⁻⁸, that the emperor left his troops in Armenia, not Cappadocia, after the first campaign, and that it was from Armenia that the campaign was recommenced in 624. Note, incidentally, that the Parastaseis (Syntomoi Chronikai), cap. 42, records, in a possibly garbled form, the establishment of a recruiting base in the Pontos, in the form of a skoulkatameion, or 'fisc for the skoulkaton' there. Skoulkaton is normally used of look-outs or scouts, but may here be a rendering of excubiae = excubitores and scribones: the latter were, apparently, often responsible for special recruiting operations (see chapter one, part six); the unit was certainly active during the Persian wars (Vita Theod.Syk., 125, 1-5); or we may have here an echo of the measures taken by Heraclius at the beginning of the second campaign in 624 towards the recruitment of allied troops, from the Chazars, for example, who would provide, among other things, scouts - skoulkatores - for the imperial armies. See, for example, Maur., Strat., ix, 5.1ff.

Be that as it may, Sebeos, 81f., like Niceph.Patr., 15,¹⁷ has conflated the first two campaigns of Heraclius. On the chronology of the first campaign, see Oikonomidès' careful analysis, *A Chronological Note*. The importance of Caesarea is made clear from earlier campaigns: as soon as the Persians occupied it in 610/11, for example, it was blockaded by Priscus and re-occupied, although the Persian forces were allowed to escape. See Kaegi, *New Evidence*, 322-333. It appears that it was taken again briefly in 623 - see De Exp.Pers., ii, 217 and Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia*, 138; but Stratos has pointed out that although there were a number of Persian raids into Asia Minor after this date, none of them resulted in a long-term occupation. On these, see Stratos, *Seventh Century*, i, 360-1. See, for example, Theophanes' account of the Persian attack of 608 (296,^{6sq.}) and compare with the accounts of the arrival of Šahrbaraz at Chalcedon in 626. Theophanes states explicitly that Šahrbaraz did not go away, but wintered there, raiding and pillaging (316,²⁵⁻⁷). Note that Šahin, who arrived at Chalcedon probably in 615/6 and stayed only a short time, left after his meeting with Heraclius and the reception of the ambassadors to Chosroes (*Chron.Pasch.*, 706,^{9sq}; *Niceph.Patr.*, 11,^{11sq.}) It is interesting to note that, according to Nicephorus, the Byzantine envoys were treated with respect while in Byzantine territory, but that once in Persian districts they were handled as prisoners (and for Persian treachery in negotiations, see P.Peeters, 'Ste. Golindouche, martyre perse (+ 13 Juillet 591)', AB 62(1944)106-9). Surely an army that effectively controlled or occupied enemy territory would scarcely need to dissemble in this way. The Byzantine forces apparently still exercised local control over much of central Anatolia, and the presence of a Byzantine force under Philippicus in eastern Asia Minor is very probably at this time. Cf. *Vita Anast.Persae*, 36,³¹-37,¹ and *Acta Anast.Persae*, 3. See the comments of Oikonomidès, *A Chronological Note*, 8. Ananias of Shirak

appears "to have been able to travel freely from his home in Armenia to Armenia IV and Theodosiopolis, and thence to Trebizond, in the early 620s. Cf. Ananias of Shirak, 191. There seems to have been a large force also in Cilicia and Isauria, as the presence of both a temporary mint (established at Seleucia on the Calycadnus in 615/7, moved to Isaura in 617/8: see Grierson, DOC II, i, 327f.) and an arms factory, otherwise unattested (Zacos and Veglery, no.1136) strongly suggest. Probably the troops Heraclius commanded in 612/3 were left to cover this region.

It seems in fact that the Persians were much more interested in the rich provinces of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, which they did occupy, and which Theophanes' account stresses. In this context, the raids during the reign of Phocas were but preparatory to a full-scale conquest and annexation. Cf. Theoph., 292,⁷ (605); 293, ^{23sq.} (606); 295, ¹⁴⁻¹⁶ (607) for the preliminary attacks. For the beginnings of the occupation, see the references in note 326 above; and Stratos, Seventh Century, i, 103-14. The attacks into Asia Minor can thus be seen as raids in depth, or, in the case of the Persian arrival at Chalcedon in 616 and 626, attempts to obtain the surrender of the City.

Pertusi, Giorgio di Pisidia, 150, argued that Bithynia was the rallying point, since it was the traditional base for the imperial reserves, such as the scholae. There are two objections: first, the scholae were hardly of military value (see above); second, Ankyra was held by the Persians in 619/20, which thus constituted a very considerable threat to any operations planned from Bithynia, cf. Theoph., 302,²². Caesarea was no longer in Persian hands (cf. Vita Theod.Syk., 154, 54-6; and see especially Kaegi, New Evidence, 324 and note 48); although there was a danger of Persian attack, it will have been less in Cappadocia than in Bithynia, the object of repeated Persian raids and a corridor for thrusts against the City itself. George of

Pisidia notes the danger of the Persian forces splitting Heraclius' troops in two - possibly an oblique reference to the Persian presence at Ankyra. Cf. *De Exp.Pers.*, ii, 55sq.

342) E.g. Stratos, *Seventh Century*, i, 128-30. Stein also argues for a wide-ranging reform, although he musters only the arguments later repeated by Ostrogorsky and Stratos. Cf. *Studien* 132, 140. Note that some of the soldiers defending the City in 626 were accompanied by their servants or esquires, similar to those described in the Strategikon. Cf. *Chron.Pasch.*, 717 (which would also support the contention of note 335 above, that these troops were part of the field army).

343) For Maurice's reforms, see chapter one; and Haldon, Recruitment, 31-2.

344) Cf. Theoph., 302, ³⁴₃-303, ³; Niceph.Patr., 15, ²-4, and see also the interesting account preserved in the Parastaseis (Syntomoi Chronikai), cap. 42, of the melting-down of a bronze ox - a slightly problematic text, since soldiers, like all state officials, were normally paid in gold. Perhaps the intention was to pay allied mercenaries in this coin, rather than gold, although this would also be an unusual procedure. See note 341 above. The allies of the second campaign were Lazi, Abasgi and Iberians from the Caucasus. Cf. Theoph., 309, ¹³-15. For the Chazars, see also Theoph., 315-6; Niceph.Patr., 15, ²⁰sq.

345) For the European troops, see Theoph., 302, ²⁸-30. For the army of Philippicus, see Sebeos, 66 (for 613); Vita Anast.Persae, 36, ³¹sq; Stratos, *Seventh Century*, i, 116. For Heraclius' troops in 613 and a drawn battle near Antioch, see Sebeos, 67-8, and Vita Theod.Syk., 166, 1sq. See Kaegi's comments, *New Evidence*, 328. Heraclius withdrew and eventually abandoned Cilicia, although how far his army remained intact is

not known. The reference in Theophanes to a Persian occupation of Ankyra may relate in fact to its capture in 624 by Šahrbaraz. Cf. Michael Syr., bk. 11, 408, although it was more probably abandoned after its capture in 619/20 (Theoph., 302,²²) in order to follow Heraclius' manoeuvres in Cappadocia, and then re-occupied in 624. Michael the Syrian, however, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (1126-1199) must be treated with caution. His sources seem often to have been inaccurate and garbled, and not particularly well-informed. See the relevant section of A.Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922) 298-30; and S.Brock, 'Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History', BMGS 2(1976)17-36, see 21-2.

346) For the banda of Illyrikianoi, see *Acta Anast.Persae*, 26. Kaegi, ('Notes on Hagiographical Sources for some Institutional Changes and Continuities in the Early Seventh Century', *Buçavričá* 7(1975)59-70) attempts to link these Illyrians with units of Illyriciani mentioned in the Notitia Dignitatum. See also Wiita, *Ethnika*, 22. The corps of Illyrikianoi which appears at Maur., Strat., ii,5.4; iii,8.2 may have been formed around an older nucleus, but the banda which occur in the 630s more probably belong to the corps of the Strategikon - the connection is there, but it is certainly somewhat attenuated. Kaegi also notes references to a βάνδον Εκυθῶν and a βάνδον βουλουνταρίων, art. cit., 67, dating from the same period. For the two tenth-century units, see De Cer., 663,²⁻³.

347) Manuel the Augoustalios (praefectus Agustalis) - Theoph.,
338, ^{19sq;} the Dux Arcadiae - BGU, iii, 750 (for 642).

348) As Karayannopoulos has clearly shown, *Entstehung*, 49f.

349) Magister militum per Thracias - Niceph.Patr., 24,^{19,}
cf. G.Ostrogorsky, 'The Byzantine Empire in the World of the

Seventh Century'; DOP 13(1959)51, note 9, who considers that this officer - ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκιῶν ἐκστρατευμάτων ἡγεμὼν - is the earliest strategos of Thrace, even though the events described occur in Asia Minor. For a magister militum per Orientem - Niceph.Patr., 23,¹³; Theoph., 337,^{3sq.} This officer may have been either a magister or a comes Orientis. For a magister militum per Africam - Theoph., 343,¹⁵ (under Constans). The various officials appointed under Heraclius to deal with the Arabs in Syria and Egypt may have been magistri militum per Orientem, with the exception of Marinos, referred to above as mag. mil. per Thracias.

350) For a dux on the isle of Gaudomeletes, see Niceph.Patr., 25,¹² where Theodore the magister (officiorum) is imprisoned for plotting against Heraclius. The story of the vicarius and his troops - Theoph., 335,^{12sq.}; and for the payment of the limitanei - Theoph., 335,^{25sq.} (references which demonstrate that Procopius' assertion (HA xxiv) to the effect that Justinian abolished the limitanei, partly accepted by Bury, LRE, ii, 358; Kulakovskij, Istoria, 310; and Mommsen, Militärwesen, 199, is not to be taken too literally; but see also Kennedy, Syria). Optiones of units appear in the 630s - see Acta Anast.Persae 21, 25-6. The general picture which emerges from the accounts of the miracles of Anastasius is one of an organisation which was re-established virtually unchanged from Maurice's time. Note that the leave granted to soldiers in peace-time was of approximately the same length in the 630s as it had been in Maurice's time. See chapter one, note 73. Note finally the large number of seals of stratelatai which occur at this time. While the title is later purely honorific, there is no reason to doubt that some, at least, of these seals belonged to active magistri militum, and that they therefore provide some evidence for institutional continuity in title and function up to the middle of the seventh century and a little beyond. Cf. Seibt,

Bleisiegel, nos. 197-203, and 334. On the other hand, the title was awarded from Justinian I's reign as an honorific to certain reserved officials upon retirement - ex-decurions of the palace, for example. See Grégoire, Recueils, 32; Seeck, RE VII, 650; J.Durliat, in BZ 72(1979)314ff. By 689/90 it was being awarded on a much more general basis, cf. Zacos and Veglery, i, 141, and must have lost its functional significance.

351) Compare the evidence for civil administrative continuity cited above, and Sebeos, 91. Ostrogorsky's suggestion that Heraclius was unable to apply his administrative reforms to the provinces recaptured from the Persians because he had no time before the Arab invasions is not very convincing (State, 88). For more recent comments on the continuity of the older establishment see Haldon, Some Remarks, 166f; and Lille, "Thrakien" und "Thrakesion" 13f.

352) Niceph.Patr., 28,^{24sq.}

353) See note 255 above; and Chron.Pasch., 715,²⁰.

354) K.Ericsson, 'Revising a Date in the Chronicon Paschale', JÖBG 17(1968)17-28. The substance of the argument can be summarised as follows: the chronicle states that the mutiny of the scholae took place on Wednesday, 14th May, 626, the feast of Media Pentecoste. But there are several objections to this date, among them the fact that bread tickets had been abolished in 619 after the loss of Egypt, while the cost of bread had already been raised to three solidi at this time. Cf. Chron.Pasch., 715,⁹ -716,⁸. The proposed increase of 626 was from three to eight folles. Ericsson proposes that the opening lines of the entry, which refers to the fourth induction, contradicting the entry heading which names the third induction, show that it has been misplaced in the text, and that this particular section fits in

with the year and events of 615, in which year Media Pentecoste also falls on the 14th May. A passage of similar length in the entry for 615, referring to the composition of a hymn of triumph by the Patriarch Sergius, can hardly refer to this year, when there was no reason for such a composition; whereas in 626 the Avaro-Slav attack had been successfully beaten off. A number of other points are also important. First, the 626 reference mentions that John Seismos wished to deprive the scholae of their rations 'in the name of the soldiers', suggesting that their share was needed to maintain what was left of the imperial forces in the City at that time. Second, neither the praetorian prefect Alexander, nor the komes opsariou (opsikiou) Leontios recur in the Chron. Pasch. or any other source which recounts the siege of 626; and it would be surprising if two such important figures - one of them a high-ranking military officer - played no part in these events. Instead, only the Patriarch and the patrician Bonus appear. Third, it is equally clear from the entry that the scholares who rioted were accompanied by a mob sufficiently large to seriously worry the City leaders, and it seems unlikely that such a riot would receive much popular support during or shortly after a major siege. The accidental transposition of the two passages in question explains these anomalies. Cf. Van Dieten, *Patriarchengeschichte*, 7.

355) Cf. CTh. vii, 1.17: (milites) qui praesentes divino obsequio Nostrae Clementiae deputati sunt et qui in hac esse urbe praesente comitatu concessi sunt...; cf. also Just., Nov. 78, 2; and Kulakovskij, Opsikion, 52; see also Diehl, L'Origine, 279, note 4

356) E.g. Vita S. Martini Papae, 256,² - the troops with Calliopas, exarch of Ravenna, are referred to as his opsikion. See also S. Martini Papae, Ep. xv, 200, in which the term obsequium is used of the same force. Cf. also Vita Joh. Eleemosyn., 11,¹¹: μηδένα τοῦ τροφήτου ὄψικίου πλησιάσαι

συγχωρῶν; and 25,⁵, where the partician Nicetas goes to see John, μηδένα εἰς ἕδιον ὄψικιον συμπαραλαβῶν; on another occasion, a man insults John, and τὸν δὲ τοῦ ὄψικίου ζητούντων δῆραι τὸν ὑβρίσαντα he forbids them to do so (76,³). Cf. also Ducange, Gloss.Gr., s.v. ὄψικιον; and Pertusi, De Them., 110.

357) Spatharius was used at this period to refer to high-ranking officers, or the bodyguards of various military and civil officials; it also applied, of course, to members of the corps of spatharii - see chapter one, note 238; and below, 182ff. The doubts expressed by Pertusi, De Them., 110, ignore this additional title.

358) The last reference to a comes domesticorum of which I am aware is from the year 582, occurring on a memorial stone to Solomon, comes domesticorum and vicar of Thrace; although the title may have been held by this officer in vacante. See Beševliev, Inschriften, 159, no.227, and see note 254 above. Another inscription from Babiska in Syria has been published by Grégoire, dating to about the same time. See chapter one, note 224. During the sixth century, the title was also granted in vacante, although this does not, of course, mean that it lost its immediate connection with the corps of domestici. The title of master of offices was also bestowed in the same way. Cf. Seeck, RE, vii, 650; Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 219-220; ii, 796-7.

359) Cf. Niceph.Patr., 15,¹³⁻¹⁷; Theoph., 303,³⁻⁶; G.Pisid., In Bonum Patricium, 10f; Bell.Av., 314; Theod.Synkell., 302,²⁸⁻³⁰.

360) Theod.Synkell., 302,²⁸⁻³⁰; 305,¹⁶⁻¹⁸.

361) On the whole, scholars have accepted the view of Pertusi and Karayannopoulos that Bonus was not magister officiorum, but

rather magister militum in praesenti. See Karayannopoulos, Entstehung, 50; Bertusi, Formation, 26-7; idem, In Bonum Patricium, comm., 171; and recently Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 229, note 6. This is contrary to the views of Stein, Studien, 131, and Bury, Admin., 29f; although the evidence suggests to me that the views of the latter are to be preferred. According to Stein, Comentiolus was the last recorded magister militum in praesenti; but Pertusi and Karayannopoulos think that it was in fact Bonus, since the phrase used of him - μάγιστρος τῶν ἐνόπλων ταγμάτων (Bell.Av., 314) is similar to that used of Comentiolus at Th.Sim., i, 7.4 - τοῦ πραισέντου τὴν παρὰ Ρωμαίοις λεγομένην ἔνοπλον ἡγεμονίας τιμὴν ὄποφέρεται. But similar phrases are also used of the magister officiorum. Cf. Lydus, De Mag., ii, 11 - τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τάξεις ὑπὸ τῷ πρωτεύοντι τῶν δυνάμεων τῆς αὐλῆς ii, 24 - τὸ γὰρ μάγιστρος ὄφφικίων ὄνομα οὐδὲν ἔττον ἡγούμενον τῶν αὐλικῶν καταλόγων σημαίνει, ...; Men.Prot., frg.11 (HGM ii, 10; Exc. de Leg., i, 171, 19-20) - τούτου ἔνεκα Ιουστινιανὸς στέλλει Πέτρον, δις τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐλὴν ταγμάτων ἡγείτο; frg.15 (HGM ii, 36; Exc. de Leg., i, 188, 25-6) - ὁ τῶν περὶ βασιλέα καταλόγων ἡγεμών. It is noticeable that Bonus is more frequently referred to simply as 'the master'. Cf. Chron.Pasch., 718, 10; 720, 8-9; 726, 5, 17. The phrase is often used of the master of offices, see Boak, The Master, 49f. Cf. Eustath.Epiph., frg.5 (141) - καὶ πρῶτα μὲν Λογγῖνον Σήνωνος ἀδελφόν, τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν διέποντα, διν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεων οἱ πρόσθεν ἐκάλουν...; Cor., In Laud.Iust., iii, 162; 233; Men.Prot., frg.11 (HGM ii, 16; Exc. de Leg., i, 176, 25); Theoph., 292,¹ (of Domentziolus, brother of Phocas); whereas strategos or stratelates is used for magister militum; while those in praesenti are generally described as generals of the units in the City, not those in the palace. See, e.g. Stein., Bas-Empire, ii, 431, note 4; and on these titles in the sixth century and the use of stratelates, see now J.Durliat, in BZ 72(1979)314ff. Finally, Bonus is entrusted, along with

Sergius, with the command of the City during the emperor's absence, and is given both military and civil powers - not unusual for a master of offices. He treated on a high level, as the emperor's topoteres, with the Avars, a task within the scope of his normal competence. Cf. G.Pisid., In Bonum Patricium, and Boak, The Master. Like later masters, he was left behind to deal with affairs of state in the emperor's absence. See, for example, Theoph., 415, ²; and Boak, The Master, 52-3. Note especially the references to him in Theod.Synkell., 39-40: ὁ μὲν φύλαξ τῶν Βασιλέως πραγμάτων, and 304, ⁴: τὸν ἔμυτοῦ (sc. τοῦ βασιλέως) πιστότατον φύλακα. Cf. also 302, 28-30. All these descriptions sum up exactly the role of a magister officiorum. Theodore's rhetorical use of the term strategos to describe Bonus (307, ³⁹ and 312, ^{39f.}) hardly contradicts this. I can see no reason to doubt that Bonus held the post of master of offices. Indeed, if he did not, what happened to this official in 624 and after? He certainly existed, since Heraclius took Anianus, the domestic of the master, with him on campaign, which implies that the master himself remained at Constantinople. Cf. Chron.Pasch., 714, ⁶⁻⁷. Neither is there any need to follow Stein's argument through - he assumes that, because Comentiolius was the last magister militum praesentalis recorded, he was also the last such officer altogether, and that therefore a new organisation replaced the older one. This argumentum ex silentio hardly accords with what we know of Heraclius' re-establishment of the older system. For a possible seal of Bonus, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.295, of Bonos magistros, dated to the later sixth or seventh century. If this is the same Bonus, then the use of the title magistros, as opposed to stratelates, would tend to confirm the interpretation offered above.

362) For the 'domesticité royale', see Sebeos, 90: thagavorakan spassavoruthiambn; Theoph., 328, ¹⁷⁻¹⁸. For the general of

the campaign forces of 622 and after, see G.Pisid., *De Exp.Pers.*, iii, 336-7: ὅθεν τυπώσας σώφρονι τρόπῳ

καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ τὸν στρατὸν συναρμόσας...

cf. Theoph., 306, ^{7:} ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν στρατὸν σὺν τῷ στρατηγῷ καταλιπὼν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν παραχειμάσαι...

363) There were normally two magistri militum praesentales, one in Thrace and one in Bithynia. Cf. Jones, LRE, 609, 655-6. The occurrence of three magistri militum in praesenti as signatories of Justinian's novel 22 does not imply three praesental armies, as Pertusi, *De Them.*, 106 (followed by Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 226), implies. One of these officers may well have held the position in vacante; or may have been appointed for temporary reasons to share the command of one of the forces for campaign purposes. See Stein, *Bas-Empire*, ii, 431, note 4, who discusses this, and notes also that as early as the second half of the fifth century the equilibrium between the two praesental forces was disturbed, with the result that the sources refer to both an ordinary praesentalis and to a great praesentalis, in contrast. For the nature of the army described in the Strategikon, see also Wiita, *Ethnika*, 22-4.

364) For example, Comentiolus was made magister militum in praesenti in 585 (Th.Sim., i,7.4), although he clearly held command of all the Thracian and Balkan forces. He was replaced in this post by John Mystakon in about 588 when he was transferred to the East. Priscus was later made commander of the forces in Europe (Theoph., 269,¹⁵⁻¹⁶; 270,²¹⁻²), but was replaced by Peter, the emperor's brother (Th.Sim., vii,1.1; Theoph., 273,¹; 274,^{6sq.}). The accounts of Theophylact Simocatta and Theophanes make it clear that there was always only one 'general of Europe', who was magister militum in praesenti, exercising authority over the other senior officers. That the forces in Europe were under one command and grouped into a single

army is made clear from the events of 602, when the leaders of the mutiny, Phocas and Alexander, were able to march unmolested to Constantinople, where Maurice had only the demes and guilds and the excubitores to defend the City. Cf. Th.Sim., viii, 7f; Theoph., 287,^{4sq.} Only Pertusi, Formation, 26, note 132, appears to have noted this development. For Byzantine campaigns in the Balkans at this time, see Avenarius, Die Awaren, 85-116; note also the still valuable article of J.B.Bury, 'The Chronology of Theophylaktos Simikatta', EHR 3(1888)310-315.

365) See notes 328-331 above.

366) See note 345 and text above.

367) Theoph., 315,^{11sq.}

368) Niceph.Patr., 28,^{24sq.}

369) Niceph.Patr., 31,^{17sq;} for the Thracian force, see John of Nikiu, 191, 196; and Niceph.Patr., 29,^{32.}

370) See note 269 and text above.

371) De Them., iv, 1-5.

372) See the oft-quoted passage from the iussio of Justinian II to the Pope in 687 (Mansi, xi, 737; on which see F.Gorres, 'Justinian II. und das römische Papsttum', BZ 17(1908)438ff.): et deinceps militantes incolas sancti palatii, nec non et ex 'collegiis popularibus et ab excubitoribus, insuper etiam quosdam de Christo dilectis exercitibus, tam ab a Deo conservando imperiali obsequio, quamque ... (my. emphases). The passage makes it quite evident that the scholae and domestici - identified here with the palace - have nothing to do with the Obsequium, pace

Karayannopoulos, Entstehung, 30. Haussig (*Anfänge*, 88, note 32; 92, note 41) considers that the scholae transferred in 561/2 by Justinian to Thrace (Theoph., 236,¹⁶⁻²⁰) are to be identified with the troops transferred from Thrace to Anatolia by Heraclius in 621/2 (Theoph., 302,²⁸⁻³⁰), and formed the core of the Opsikion army, along with other elite units, a view which (although widely accepted, see notes 319-20 above) the evidence compels us to reject. It is, in addition, clear that the scholae (or at least, some of them) had already been transferred back to Asia Minor by 612/3. See *Vita Theod.Syk.*, 156, 68; 159, 9-11, 38.

The existence of an imperial manceps, who supervised the annonae of the scholae around the middle of the seventh century also argues in favour of this corps retaining its identity outside the Opsikion - which, as a regular army, came under the authority of the military logothetes. The latter was an independent official, whereas the manceps came under the authority of the praetorian prefects. See chapter one, note 164.

373) Sebeos, 103-4; Niceph.Patr., 29,^{19sq.} For Valentinus' appointment, see Sebeos, 103. For general narrative analyses of the events described or referred to below, see Stratos, *Seventh Century*; and Winkelmann, in: *Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert*.

374) John of Nikiu, 196-7, refers to the army of Cappadocia under a certain Theodore, who seems to be identifiable with the Theodore of Armenian origin whom Constans made commander of the army after Valentinus. Cf. Sebeos, 106. John's account is somewhat garbled, and he makes Theodore take over the command of the army before Valentinus' death. Theodore probably held the post of magister militum per Orientem, under the supreme authority of Valentinus. See Stratos, *Seventh Century*, iii, 13; and see chapt. three, notes 436-437.

375) John of Nikiu, 199; Sebeos, 103-4; Niceph.Patr., 31,^{20sq.} On the progress of the Arab campaigns in Syria and Egypt during the last years of Heraclius and the reigns of Heraclius Constantine, Heracleonas and Constans, see Ostrogorsky, State, 99f; Brdoks, 'The Successors of Heraclius', CMH, ii, 392ff; Stratos, Seventh Century, ii, 404ff; iii, 17ff; and Theoph., 340,^{20sq;} 341,^{21sq;} and for Cappadocia as a strategically important starting-point for campaigns to East and South, see note 341 above. Also Theoph., 344,^{28-9;} 371,^{9sq;} 345,^{20sq;} Michael Syr., bk. 11, 441, for Arab attacks against Cappadocia. For the komes Opsikiou and hypostrategos of Thrace, see Mansi, xi, 209.

376) Niceph.Patr., 29,^{19sq;} Sebeos, 103. Valentinus' importance is emphasised by the fact that the officers in charge of the forces then assembling in Rhodes to aid Egypt were prepared to join with him against Martina and Heracleonas. See John of Nikiu, 192. For the death of Valentinus, see Theoph., 343,^{3-5;} Sebeos, 105-6. See chapter three, note 437 and text.

377) Constans' force in 662 is described as τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φιλοξέντου στρατοῦ (Mirac. S.Demetrii, 175A: Lemerle, 220, 14-15), and as the exercitus orientalis in the Liber Pontificalis, i, 232. For Mizizios as comes Obsequii, cf. Greg. II Papae, Ep. xii, 520 (ed. Gouillard, 295,²⁵¹); and on the letters of Gregory II to Leo, see note 405 below. Pertusi, Formation, 38, considers that Mzez was a commander of the Anatolikon forces, after LP, i, 346,^{5:} Mezezius, qui erat in Sicilia cum exercitu orientale. From an Italian standpoint, however, any Byzantine force could be described as 'the eastern army', pace Guillou, Régionalisme, 158, note 66; and in view of the remarks in chapter three below, this view seems unjustified. Other detachments were also present, of course - the presence of

troops from the Thrakesion army is suggested by the fact that Pope Conon's father was from the Thrakesion district, while Conon himself was born in Sicily. Cf. LP, i, 368; and Karayannopoulos, Entstehung, 31; Stratos, Seventh Century, iv, 8-9.

The reference in the forged letter of Gregory II to Leo, which dates to the early ninth century, to a comes Obsequii, suggests at least a tradition that Mzez held this post. Cf. J.Gouillard, TM 3, 294, note 266, who prefers to translate Μεγάλιος γὰρ ὁ τότε κόμης τοῦ ὀψικίου αὐτοῦ (i.e. τοῦ Κώνσταντος) as 'comte de sa suite' rather than simply as count of the Opsikion. From the time of the Persian wars of Heraclius the Opsikion was the imperial army, however; while Mzez, a member of the Armenian nobility, is hardly likely to have been a mere chamberlain. See Appendix, F3. The title comes Obsequii/Komes (tou) Opsikiou applied only to the commander of the imperial field army. In this context, compare the superscriptio preserved in the opening section of the Liber Diurnus, 181 (and cf. 77): ad comitem imperiali obsequii et ad exarcum. Brown, Italy, 115, note 67, assumes that this refers to the comes of the exarch's obsequium; but the presence of the epithet 'imperial' must, in my view, make this very unlikely. The comes of the imperial obsequium was the count of the Opsikion, the emperor's field troops. Cf. Mansi, xi, 737; 209. But why should the papal chancery need a super-scriptio for this official at all? - and why is it bracketed with the exarch? The answer would seem to lie in the fact that Constans, during his stay in Sicily, was accompanied by the Opsikion and its komes. During his march through Italy military action was undoubtedly undertaken against the Lombards, which will clearly have involved troops of the exarchate too. Cf. Paul.Diac., v, 6-10 for Constans in Italy. Also R.Maisano, 'La spedizione dell' imperatore Costante II', Siculorum Gymnasium N.S. 28(1975)140-168; A.Simonini, Autocefalia ed Esarcato in Italia (Ravenna 1969) 63ff; and in general, O.Bertolini, 'Riflessi politici dell' controversie religiose con Bisanzio

nelle vicende del sec. VII in Italia', in: Caraterri del secolo VII in Occidente (Spoleto 1958) 733-789 (= Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo V, 1957). Possibly the count of the imperial Opsikion undertook further joint action in the following years, and it is not difficult to imagine the sort of situation which would thus have produced a papal correspondance with both the count and the exarch. Note also the order of precedence of the titles - the comes is addressed first, which surely precludes his being merely the comes of the exarch's troops. I can find no other situation which would have given rise to such a correspondance, or the possibility of it; and the Liber Diurnus reference may thus confirm the presence of the count of the Opsikion with the emperor in Italy between 662 and 668. For the problem of the date and function of the Liber Diurnus, see Förster, ibid., 21-36; see also L.Duchesne, 'Le "Liber Diurnus" et les élections pontificales au VII^e siècle', Bibl. Éc. des Chartes 52(1891)5-30. For the comes Theodore in 680, see Mansi, xi, 209.

378) Theoph., 364.

379) Niceph.Patr., 36,^{20.}

380) See Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion, 61f. See also Kaegi, 'The First Arab Expedition Against Amorium', BMGS 3(1977)19-22, esp. 21. It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that the later Opsikion district (see chapt. three) seems to overlap to some extent with the areas in which the scholae and domestici had their stations - however un-military these may have been - in the sixth and early seventh century. See chapter one, notes 181 and 224. The limits of the settlement of these palatine units may themselves have been determined by the districts in which the forces of the magister militum praesentalis II were traditionally based; and it seems a reasonable supposition that the districts

occupied by the Opsikion forces in the 640s and later corresponded more or less with those in which the troops of the mag. mil. praeſ. II had been billeted. The same argument may also apply to the transfer of scholae to Thrace (to Herakleia and neighbouring cities), corresponding perhaps to the area in which the troops of the mag. mil. praeſ. I were based; and to the area of Thrace later under the count of the Opsikion? See Theoph., 236,
16-20.

381) Pertusi, Formation, 15, 31f; De Them., 105f;
Karayannopoulos, Contribution, 501-2; Entstehung, 24-36, 55-8,
98-9; Die vermeintliche reformtätigkeit, 58f. See more recently
Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion, 287ff; Haldon, Some Remarks, 166ff.

382) Pertusi, Formation, 11-12, 28-9.

383) See above, note 270; Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 208f;
225f; Hist. maritime, 52.

384) First mention of the Armeniak theme, Theoph., 29,
for the year 667; and of the Anatolik theme, Theoph.,
352,^{14-23'} for 669. For the seal, see Zacos and Veglery,
nos. 186, a seal of George, apo hypaton, (for) the Slav prisoners
of the eparchia of Bithynia (dated 694/5); 187, seal of George,
apo hypaton, of the Apotheke of the Slav prisoners in Phrygia
Salutaria (dated 694/5); 243, seal of the imperial kommerkia of
Bithynia, Salutaria and Pakatiene (dated 731/2); 248, seal of the
imperial kommerkia of Bithynia, Salutaria, Pakatiene and Lydia
(dated 733/4); Schlumberger, Sig., 302, published a seventh-
century seal of a kommerkiarios of the Apotheke of Galatia.
Cf. also Zacos and Veglery, nos. 1642(a) and (b), seals of
Theodosius, dioiketes of Bithynia (c.650-750); and 2799, seal of
Isidoros, chartoularios of Bithynia (c.650-750). See Haldon,
Some Remarks, 168 and note 26. There is also, of course, the

important evidence of the continued use of the older ecclesiastical provincial titles, as Gelzer, *Genesis*, 64-71 pointed out. See also Pertusi, *Formation*, 28; Karayannopoulos, *Entstehung*, 55f; and most recently Lilie, "Thrakien" und "Thrakesion", 14-16; Laurènt, *Corpus II*, 654ff.

385) On these questions, see the work already referred to by Pertusi and Karayannopoulos, who supply ample documentation. See also Lemerle, *Esquisse*, i, 70-4, 254f., and the bibliography therein. See most recently Haldon, *Recruitment*, esp. 66ff.

386) Cf. Pertusi, *De Them.*, 128-9, 131-2; Diehl, *L'Origine*, 279-80; Gelzer, *Themenverfassung*, 22-3, 79, 91f.

387) See Theoph. cont., 9-11; Genesius, 10 etc. See chapter four.

388) Cf. RE IIIA, 1545-6 (San Nicolò); Jones, LRE, 567-8; Bury, Admin., 112-3; Stein, *Bas-Empire*, i, 297; ii, 357, 450, 454, 524-5; idem, *Untersuchungen*, 48; Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 297-8, 301; for cubiculari, cf. Jones, LRE, loc. cit; Bury, Admin., 120; E.Honigmann, 'Le cubiculaire Urbicius', REB 7(1949)47-50; 212-3; Guillard, *Recherches*, i, 269-82; 290-6. Cf. RE, IV, 1734-7 (Rostovtzeff).

389) On the title spatharocubicularius, see Guillard, *Recherches*, i, 282-5; Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 300-1. In addition to these spatharii, Justinian may have had two units of his own creation at his disposal, the noumera and the Walls regiments, to replace the excubitores. See chapter four.

390) See chapter one, note 238.

391) For seals of ordinary spatharii, see Zacos and Veglery,

nos. 564, 580 (c.550-600); 629, 647 (c.650-750); Laurent, Vatican, no.71, a seal of Marinos, spatharios (seventh-eighth cent.); idem, Orghidan, 79-82; Schlumberger, Sig., 589-93.

For seals of imperial spatharii, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 2804 (c.550-650); 659, 1009, 2901, 2976 (c.600-700); 620, 658, 882, 928, 952, 953, 970, 1000, 1051, 1544 (c.650-750); also Panchenko, Katalog, no.43, a seal of Constantine, imperial spatharios (seventh century); no.104, seal of John, imperial spatharios (eighth century); and nos. 198, 446 (seventh-eighth cent.); Laurent, Orghidan, 28, no.29 (eighth century, see Schlumberger, Sig., 458-9); see also Seibt, Bleisiegel, nos. 177-181, seals of imperial spatharii of the later seventh and eighth centuries. A seal dated by Panchenko, Katalog, no.45, to the seventh century belonging to a hypatos and imperial spatharios belonged to an officer who was probably a member of the palatine spatharii and who held the dignity of hypatos. Cf. also Zacos and Veglery, nos. 598, 658, 783, 827, 917a-c, 1443, seals of hypatoi and imperial spatharioi (c.700-750); and Seibt, Bleisiegel, no.208, seal of Romanos, hypatos and imperial spatharios (c.730-760). The title hypatos was already in the sixth century a purely honorific grade - cf. Oikonomidès, Préséance, 296. In general, seals of imperial spatharii begin to appear before those of imperial candidati (cf. notes 296 and 298 above), suggesting the devaluation of the title spatharius at an earlier date - in the later sixth and early seventh century; or possibly that the praesental spatharii were more important to the imperial court than were the candidati.

392) See above, and notes 295-299. Those imperial spatharii who were also candidati (listed in note 297 above) seem to belong to the palatine ordo of imperial spatharii and hold also the honorific rank of candidatus. They may be compared to those who held the dignity of hypatos and imperial spatharius. See note 391 above. It is possible that they were members of the

praesental ordo of candidati, too, and hence received the roga attached thereto; although one might expect the title imperial candidatus in this case. The seventh-century seal of Stephen, cubicularius and imperial spatharius (Zacos and Veglery, no.1009) may represent a similar situation.

393) See note 391 above; and cf. Zacos and Veglery, nos. 885 (seal of Jordanes, hypatos, imperial spatharios and dioiketes, dated to the eighth century); 918, 919 (seals of Lykastos, hypatos, imperial spatharios and strategos of Kephallenia, dated to the eighth century); 957 (seal of Niketas, hypatos, imperial spatharios and eparch of Thessaloniki, dated to the eighth century); 1530A (seal of Kyritzios, imperial spatharios and komes tes kortes of Macedonia, dated to the later eighth century); 1744 (seal of Artavasdos, imperial spatharios and strategos of Thrace, dated to the eighth century). Cf. also Panchenko, Katalog, no.65, a seal of Nikolaos, imperial spatharios and chartulary (eighth century); no.422, of Theodosios, imperial spatharios and turmarch (eighth or ninth century); Schlumberger, Mélanges, 264, no.120, of Basil, imperial spatharios and logothete ton agelon (eighth or ninth century). See also Barnea/Ştefaneşcu, Bizantini, 16, no.4; 18, no.4, an eighth-century seal of Anatolios, imperial spatharios and turmarch. Seals of simple imperial spatharii attributed to the ninth century probably belonged to dignitaries rather than serving officers. See, for example, Seibt, Bleisiegel, nos. 182-5. Such officers may have received their title by purchase, or have retained their titular membership of the corps of imperial spatharii, active guardsmen, upon being promoted or transferred to a different post. Others may have received the title automatically upon their appointment to an active function to which it was attached.

394) Theoph., 243,³³-244,¹. An earlier, more doubtful

example, is that of Eutropius, protospatharius and quaestor, cited by Guillard, *Recherches*, ii, 99, and dating to the later fifth century. The case of Smbat, made 'premier spathar entre tous les spathars et candidats', in 645 (Sebeos, 106), is similar to that of Narses. For further examples, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 222 (717/8); 191 (695/6); 219 (713/-5); 245 (732/3); 263 (745/6). The arguments against the title appearing before the middle of the seventh century at the earliest (the possible case of Smbat) are strong. The only references for an earlier appearance are those cited by Guillard, all extremely doubtful. Guillard follows Stein, *Studien*, 85, note 15; 116, note 10 (and note also *Bas-Empire*, i, 297). For the counter-argument, see, for example, Grosse, *Rangordnung*, n.2; and more recently, I.Ševčenko, 'The Inscription of Justinian II's Time on the Mevlévhane (Rhesion) Gate at Istanbul', *ZRVI* 12(1970)1-8, esp. 4-6. For the case of Narses see Cor., In *Laud.Iust.* (Cameron), 189, note to bk. III, line 220.

395) Cf. LP, i, 373-4.

396) Guillard, *Recherches*, ii, 99f; we must now add a considerable number of new protospatharii to the list, provided from the corpora published by Zacos and Veglery, and by Laurent, *Corpus II*.

397) See Ps.-Codinus, Περὶ Ὀφικίων, 182,¹¹⁻¹³, where the protospatharius is described as ὁ πρῶτος τῶν σπαθαρίων παραμονῶν. See note 411 below.

398) Mansi, xi, 209.

399) Zacos and Veglery, nos. 727, seal of an anon. imperial protospatharios (c.700-750); 1728, seal of Apelates, imperial protospatharios (eighth century); cf. also MAMA viii, no.324,

an inscription of possibly late seventh- or early eighth-century date, mentioning Μιχαὴλ πρώτιστος ἐν σωμαθαρίοις. He may have held the title as a dignity, of course.

That the title protospatharius is not accompanied by that of another active post suggests that at this early stage, the title referred to an active function. The difference between the imperial protospatharii and simple protospatharii at this time (later seventh and early eighth century) marks the difference between the honorific protospatharii and the active head of the corps of spatharii. For the title denoting an honorific grade, see Zaicos and Veglery, nos. 785, seal of Constantine, protospatharios and genikos logothetes (eighth century); 3109, seal of George, protospatharios and strategos ton Armeniakon (c.700-750).

400) Theoph., 391,^{10sq}; De Martyr. CP, 435B; Theoph. cont., 737, 7-12; S.Ioannis damasc., Epist. ad Theophil.Imp., 337 (on which see Bibliography (2), s.n. S.Ioannes Damasc.). On Leo's early career, see M.Canard, 'L'Aventure caucasienne du spathaire Léon le futur empereur Léon III', REA (n.s.) 8(1971)353-7. For possible seals of Leo, under his original name of Conon, see Seibt, Bleisiegel, no.135, 267-8.

401) Niceph.Patr., 44,²⁴; Theoph., 377,^{21sq}. It was probably the spatharii of Justinian who arrested the Patriarch Kallinikos in 705; they are described as his doryphoroi, cf. Vita Callinici, 918.

402) Theoph., 380,¹²; Niceph.Patr., 47,²⁴ - John is described as τὸν βασιλικὸν δορυφόρον.

403) Theoph., 381,⁴; Niceph.Patr., 47,²². A number of lives of saints and ecclesiastics contain general references to the 'guards' of the later seventh and eighth centuries. Some of

these may refer to the spatharii. Cf. for example, Vita Germani CP, 12: the hypaspistai of Anastasius defend the walls of the City against Theodosius III; 20: the Patriarch Germanus exhorts the clergy of Hagia Sophia to oppose Leo and his hypaspistai, although in this case Leo's counsellors as much as his soldiers may be meant.

404) Theoph., 405, ^{3sq;} De Martyr.CP, 441C. On the tradition behind this text, see Chr.Loparev, 'Vizantiiskiya Žitiya Svyatyh viii-ix vekov', VV 17(1910)47-55. The text dates from the ninth century, and is based on both Theophanes and the Life of Stephen. See Beck, Kirche, 561-2; Ševčenko, Hagiography, 114.

405) De Martyr.CP, loc. cit; Greg.II Papae, Ep. xii, 518-9 (Gouillard, 293, ²¹⁸). Cf. also Vita Steph.Iun., 1085C. While there are some interpolations in the letters of Gregory, some scholars have accepted them as genuine. Cf. the arguments of Ostrogorsky, 'Les débuts de la querelle des images', Mélanges Ch.Diehl, i, (1930) 244f; and his bibliography in State, 134, note 1. Against this, see Gouillard, TM 3, 243-307, who considers them to be later forgeries. See also Mango, Brazen House, 114-5; Caspar, 'Papst Gregor II. und der Bilderstreit', ZK 52(1933)81-2. The title spatharocandidatus is almost certainly either an interpolation (if the letters are genuine), or provides further support for Gouillard's dating of the forged letters to the first half of the ninth century - when this title became current. See Gouillard, art. cit., 275. For spatharocandidati, see below, note 417. For the most recent comment on the letters of Gregory II, see Stein, Bilderstreit, 428-137, esp. 130.

406) Theoph., loc. cit; De Martyr.CP, loc. cit; S.Greg. II Papae, Ep. xii, 519. The $\kappa\mu\xi\omega\nu\tau\bar{\alpha}\tau\bar{\iota}\chi\bar{\iota}\nu$ first appears in 718/9. Cf. Theoph., 401,¹; Niceph.Patr., 56,⁵. For a discussion of this regiment and its commander, see chapter four.

407) Theoph., 398,^{15.}

408) Ειφήρεις σατράπων - Vita Steph.Iun., 1085B.

409) LP, i, 403-4. For another graphic example, see H.Grégoire, 'Note sur une inscription gréco-araméene trouvée à Faraša', Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1908)434f., an eighth-century inscription:

K(υριε) βωήθ[ε]ι βασιλ[ε]ῦ[σι]
[Επὶ Λέο]ντος κ[αὶ] Κοσταντίνου
[μεγ]άλων βασιλέου
ἀπελύθη Συμέδν βασιληκὸς σπαθάριος
ἡ[ς] σύστασην κάστρου Ροδανδοῦ. Ἐκαθά[ρισ]εν
τὴν πέτραν.

It is unclear whether the emperors concerned are Leo III and Constantine (V), or Leo IV and Constantine (VI).

410) Andreas - Theoph., 416,^{9;} Nicephorus - Theoph.,
450,^{23sq.}

411) The protospatharios τῶν βασιλικῶν of Klet.Phil., 117,¹⁹ is the same as the (protospatharios) τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου of T.Usp., 51,²⁹. Cf. Oikonomidès, Préséance, 50, note 28; 328 and notes; also Bury, Admin., 111-3; Guillard, Recherches, ii, 113; and also 99. Of the groups which came definitely under his authority - spatharii, candidati and mandatores - the candidati, as I have shown, were reorganised and re-established as an active military group by Constantine V. The two remaining groups were brought together by the same emperor. For Theophanes' reference, see 450,^{23sq.} For the various groups under the protospatharius, see Klet.Phil., 117,¹⁹⁻²⁴; and T.Usp., 57,²⁷ (οἱ σπαθάριοι τοῦ σπαθαρικίου); 61,²⁹ (οἱ κανδιδᾶτοι); 63,⁷⁻⁸ (οἱ βασιλικοὶ μανδάτορες, οἱ κανδιδᾶτοι)

πεζῶν). For the unattached σωθάριοι οἰκειακοί see Oikonomidès, Préseánce, 298-9 and notes. See also note 299 above.

412) Theoph., 454, ^{29.}

413) Theoph., 482, ^{30sq.} (Bardanius); Acta Martyr. Amor., 25, ^{24sq;} LP, ii, 154 (Arsavir); Mansi, xv, 187; Jaffé, Regesta, 2111, 2124 (Michael); Mansi, xvi, 121; LP, ii, 178, Jaffé, Regesta, 2206, 2209 (Euthymius and Basil); cf. Vita Ignatii, 544C.

414) LP, ii, 180, 184. For the oikeiakoi, see note 411.

415) The importance of those in attendance upon the emperor, whatever their official post, is clearly attested by the sources. Thus we find cubicularii, silentiarii, sacellarii, chartularii and many others entrusted with a variety of missions: gaining military support in the provinces; embassies to neighbouring states; arresting the emperor's enemies; leading military and naval expeditions; and so forth. Cf. Diehl, L'Exarchat de Ravenne, 188. Cubicularii were frequently appointed as exarchs in Italy or sent as ambassadors to carry out special missions. Cf. LP, i, 317, 337-8, 383, 392; Theoph., 344, ^{1sq}; 349, ^{3sq}; 453, ^{10sq}; and cf. Guillard, Recherches, i, 277-9, for a more detailed prosopography; and for seals of exarchs who were also cubicularii, cf. Laurent, Vatican, nos. 101, 103, 114; and the prosopographical list in Diehl, L'Exarchat de Ravenne, 173, note 2. For a seal of an imperial spatharius and cubicularius, see Zacos and Veglery, no. 1009 (seventh century). Sacellarii also figure, especially during the later eighth and ninth centuries: cf. Theoph., 455, ²⁻⁵; 455, ¹⁹⁻²⁰; 464, ^{2sq}; while silentarii and a secretis also take part in diplomatic missions. Cf. LP, i, 350, 442, 452. The lists of citations are by no means exhaustive. Cf. now the

corroborating material in Laurent, Corpus II.

416) Guillard, Recherches, i, 283ff; Oikonomidès, Préséance, 300-1.

417) For spatharocandidati, see Oikonomidès, Préséance, 297 and references. As I have already suggested, the titles of candidatus and imperial candidatus were at first distinct, the latter being applied to those who served in the (forty) praesental candidati. Later, when the title imperial candidatus was also awarded on an honorific basis, the difference became blurred, although an active group continued to exist. In the early ninth century, the spatharocandidati appear in the Greek sources, officers a grade higher than the ordinary spatharii and candidati, although two seals of Staurakios, imperial spatharocandidatus, which can be dated to the latter part of the eighth century, and of Thomas, spatharocandidatus, dated to the seventh or eighth century, suggest that the title may have been employed on occasion earlier. Cf. Zacos and Veglery, nos. 2921 and 2935; and see note 297 above. Note also that the forged letters of Gregory II (dateable to the first half of the ninth century - see note 405 above) refer twice to spatharocandidati - the first time to the messenger who delivered Leo's letter; the second time to the Jovinus who was killed in the attempt to remove the icon from the Chalke gate. Cf. S.Greg.II Papae, Ep. xii, 511; 518 (Gouillard, 277, ⁴; 293, ¹⁸). The title does not become frequent until the ninth century, when its appearance can be linked to the re-emergence of the candidati as an active force recruited from the tagma of the scholae. P.Yannopoulos, La Société Profane de l'Empire Byzantin des VII^e, VIII^e et IX^e Siecles (Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 6^e sér., fasc. 6, Louvain 1975) 50ff. has discussed these titles - spatharius, candidatus, protospatharius etc. He does little more than add a few seals

from Zacos and Veglery to the discussion, and confines himself to attempts to refute Stein, Bury and Guillard in various points. He avoids coming to any conclusions, so far as I can see; but since he fails to take into account the historical development and context of the titles in question, this is hardly surprising. See the review by Každan and Čičurov, 'O strukture vizantiiskogo obščestva VII-IX vv', Viz. Očerki (Moscow 1977) 136ff. The general argument regarding the development of and relationship between these titles is fully borne out by the material now available in Laurent, Corpus II.

418) Theoph., 461, 24-6.

419) Compare the duties of the spatharii referred to above, to the duties of scribones and excubitores referred to in chapter one. Add to the list compiled by Jones, LRE, 659, note 118: LP, i, 331-2; Vita Theod.Syk., 125,1-5 (the period 602-10).

420) See 186f. above.

421) Cf. Oikonomidès, Préséance, 298-9, 328; and note 299 above. See also note 411 above. They were divided into a number of groups depending upon their usual post in the palace.

422) On the workings of the system of precedence and the hierarchy of the later Roman period, see Jones, LRE, 378ff., 534-5; Guillard, Recherches, i, 154-160; CMH, iv, 2, 18-23; Baynes and Moss, Byzantium, 286; Oikonomidès, Préséance, 21-4, 281-290.

423) Acta Martyr.Amor., 25, 24-35. The case of Kallistos illustrates the complexity of the system of titles and ranks. He was enrolled originally into the tagmata; through his own efforts he was promoted into the spatharii; from which he was later

promoted, although retaining his title, and given command of another tagmatic unit. In this respect, the spatharii can be viewed in some degree as an officer-school. No doubt many officers who bore the title spatharius, candidatus and so on at this time (after Constantine's reforms) gained their promotion in the same way. On the order of titles and the regulations governing their tenure and the privileges attached, see Oikonomidès, Préséance, 284; and note also Bas., vi, 1.20 (= CJ xii, 1.3): Η μείζων ἀξία οὐδενὶ ὥφειλε πρόκριμα ποιεῖν περὶ τὰ τῆς ἡπτονος ἀξίας ήτοι στρατείας προνόμια· τυχὸν τὸ γενέσθαι τινὰ στρατηλάτην οὐκ ἀποστερεῖ αὐτὸν τῶν προνομίων, ἀπερ εἴχεν, ήνίκα ἢν κόμης δουμεστίκων. See also chapter five below, notes 1016, 1018.

424) The origins of the maglabitai are obscure. They made up a small palatine group, in attendance upon the emperor, and equipped with staves - maglabia - or swords. They appear not to have been a military unit originally; from the later eighth to the eleventh century they fulfilled security and police functions, and had the authority to inflict summary punishment where necessary. Cf. du Cange, Gloss.Gr., 846-8; Stein, Untersuchungen, 49 note 2; DAI, ii, 200; Ahrweiler, Recherches, 28, note 9; also Bury, Admin., 108; ERE, 53, note 1; Guilland, Recherches, i, 305; Oikonomidès, Préséance, 328 and notes. Their emergence during the last years of the eighth century is perhaps connected with the establishment by Irene of her own corps. The vigla will be discussed below; possibly the maglabitai were likewise established by her.

Officials known as maglabitai also acted as doormen at Hagia Sophia. Cf. V.Laurent, Corpus V, i, 113; and see also Vogt, Cérémonies, comm., i, 32. I do not think that Toynbee's suggestion - that maglabitai means 'men from the Maghrib, which is the Arabic word for "the West"' (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 285, note 9) can be considered a serious alternative. See most recently Seibt, Bleisiegel, 206-8.

Chapter 3: notes

425) De Them., iv, 1-3.

426) See chapter two for the decline of the scholae and the excubitores. For the general history and narrative of the events referred to in what follows, see Stratos, Seventh Century, i-v; and Winkelmann, in: Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert, 191-219.

427) Niceph.Patr., 28,^{11sq.} John of Nikiu, 192. His title, according to Nicephorus, was ὁ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταύτας. The last positive mention of a comes sacrarum largitionum is for the year 605 (Chron.Pasch., 696); and since the sacellarius appears to have replaced him at about this time, Philagrius probably occupied that post. Cf. Bury, Admin., 84-6; Dölger, Finanzverwaltung, 16-19; and see now Laurent, Corpus II, no.740: a seventh-century seal of Philagrios, koubikouarios and sakellarios, very probably our Philagrios. See Stratos, Seventh Century, ii, 179ff.

428) He was appointed to the command of this force on the accession of Heraclius Constantine. See Sebeos, 103; Stratos, Seventh Century, ii, 180-1.

429) Niceph.Patr., 29,²³; John of Nikiu, 191. Gallatin, Imperial Defence, 141-144, suggests that Valentinus actually commanded the troops in Thrace - there were a number of Armenian contingents and officers in this region in the 640s and 650s. This is unlikely, however, if we consider that it was precisely 'Thracian' units upon whom Martina relied previously. The fact that Valentinus was clearly based in 'the West' (see the references cited by Gallatin) may suggest that he was temporarily in Thrace with detachments of the Opsikion or praesental troops at this time. See also Stratos, ii, 189-192.

430) Niceph.Patr., 29,^{23-30,}^{11.} In spite of the protestations of Heracleonas, it seems that the army was not convinced, and staunchly supported Valentinus.

431) John of Nikiu, 192.

432) Niceph.Patr., 31,^{17-25;} John of Nikiu, 198-199, a garbled account; Sebeos, 104. See also the account of Denys of Tell-Mahré, 6 (s.a. 955 = 643/4 A.D.). On the source tradition behind Theophanes' account, cf. A.S.Proudfoot, 'The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty', *Byz* 44(1974)367-439; for Denys (Dionysios) of Tell-Mahré (Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, d. 845) see A.Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922); Denys' Chronicle must be treated with caution. He is also the chief (and often unreliable) source for much of the chronicle of Michael the Syrian. See Baumstark, op. cit., 274f; and S.P.Brock, 'Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History', *BMGS* 2(1976)17-36, see 20, 25.

433) Cash to troops - Niceph.Patr., 31,^{23;} Cedrenus, i,
18-20; Niketas' appointment - Chron.Pasch., 703,^{10-12.} He shortly afterwards returned to Egypt (cf. Sebeos, 66-8), although he did exercise real command up to 613. For the exact date of his appointment, see Kaegi, *New Evidence*, 325-8. For Valentinus, Stratos, *Seventh Century*, ii, 199f.

434) See chapter two, 162ff. For a seal of Valentinus, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.1087 - Βαλεντῖνος πατρίκιος καὶ κόμης τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἔξουσίτου.

435) Cf. Sebeos, 105; John of Nikiu, 198-9. For a discussion of the possible dates, see Stratos, *Seventh Century*, iii, 11-13. The role of the senate at this time must not be forgotten, and it seems likely that the attempt of Valentinus to establish himself

in the City, and his subsequent fall from power through the action of the senate, reflect the first stages of a power struggle which was to develop between the older senatorial aristocracy, whose political and economic power was on the wane, and the powerful military officers of this period, in whom can be detected the beginnings of the later provincial military aristocracy. See Haldon, *Some Remarks*, 174-5, 177f; and Winkelmann, *Byzanz im 7. Jhd.*, 187.

436) See John of Nikiu, 196-9; Sebeos, 103-5; Theoph., 341,^{24sq.} and for a discussion of these events, Stratos, *Seventh Century*, ii, 200-205; iii, 266. See also Eutychius, *Chron.*, 1111. On the latter, see S.Griffith, 'Eutychius of Alexandria on the Emperor Theophilus and Iconoclasm in Byzantium: a tenth-century Moment in Christian Apologetics in Arabic', *Byz* 52(1982)154-190, see 154-163 and bibliography.

437) Theoph., 343,³⁻⁵; Sebeos, 105-6; John of Nikiu, 197-9. After Valentinus' departure for the East, events are somewhat confused. The troops under Valentinus suffered a defeat, apparently in an attempt to join up with the forces under David, another Armenian officer (Denys of Tell-Mahré, 6; Michael Syr., bk. 11, 443; Anon. *Chron. ad 1234* (ed. Chabot), 201-202 (on which see Brock, art. cit., 22; and Baumstark, op. cit. (see note 432 above) 302). David would appear to be David Zacharouni, a prince of Byzantine Armenia, and the events date to the years 642/3. See Stratos, *Seventh Century*, iii, 33, 268. Gallatin, *Imperial Defence*, 144ff., dates these events to the years 639/40, however, before the rise of Valentinus. See in general H.Manandean, 'Les invasions arabes en Arménie (notes chronologiques)', *Byz* 18 (1946-8)163-195, esp. 181ff. David and his second-in-command Titus penetrated as far as Edessa, but were defeated and killed. Another account, however, speaks of a David, logothete, to whom Martina sent a letter, suggesting that he depose Valentinus and

marry her. This supposedly caused a mutiny of the troops, and Vitalius, son of Constantine, named Theodore, executed David, marched on Constantinople, and deposed and exiled Martina and her sons (John of Nikiu, 197). The two accounts, although confused, may in fact refer to the same events; for in the account of Michael the Syrian, 'Titus' refuses to help David in battle, with the result that David is killed (444); while in the account of John of Nikiu, the result of Theodore's march to the City appears to be (1) the crowning of Constans as emperor, and (2) the assumption by Valentinus of the imperial purple, as Caesar, perhaps. Following these events, Valentinus, as commander-in-chief, marches once more against the Arabs (John of Nikiu, 198-9). Thus Theodore's march on Constantinople may have been inspired by Valentinus, aimed at removing Martina. Valentinus' death at a later date appears to be the result of his unpopularity after his return from the field to the City and his use of troops there (Sebeos, 105-6). Note that both John of Nikiu (198-9) and Pope Martin (Mansi, x, 856 - *cum praecepto imperatoris indutus est purpura et consedit ei*) refer to Valentinus' adoption of the purple. That the rebellion occurred in the East seems unlikely, pace Gallatin, Imperial Defence, 153-5. I suggest that Theodore, described as commander of the troops in Cappadocia, held a command équivalent to that of magister militum per Orientem or per Armeniam (John of Nikiu, 197-8), before he was appointed to succeed Valentinus. On some of these questions, see Brooks, in CMH, ii, 391ff; idem, 'The Brothers of the Emperor Constantine IV', EHR 30(1915)42-5; H.Grégoire, 'Notules épigraphiques', Byz 13(1938)170f; Brooks, Sicilian Exped., 455-9; and also Stratos, Seventh Century, ii, 180f., 200f., 219-220; iii, 11ff., 266.

Although Stratos has made a brave attempt to sort out the confused, contradictory and incomplete accounts in 'the sources', our knowledge of what happened is still rather vague. It is at least clear, for our purposes, that there were two main armies in

operation, one, under Theodore, being the army of the East or Armenia; the other, under Valentinus, comprising either the Opsikion alone, or the Opsikion and the eastern troops (although Stratos insists on referring to Valentinus as commander of the 'eastern' army. In fact, the sources are too imprecise to determine exactly which army was under his command. But it is clear that his 'army' (or armies) was based both in Thrace and the peratic regions, as well as in the eastern provinces; and I suggest that this can only mean a general command of the sort held by later counts of the Opsikion. In this respect, the sources are not contradictory or mutually exclusive). See appendix F, 1 and 2. See also Van Dieten, Patriarchengeschichte, 70ff., and most recently Gallatin, Imperial Defence, 148-155. In general, Stratos, in *Bučavrič 7(1975)177ff*; and Kulakovskij, *Istorija III*, 177-188.

438) Sebeos, 106.

439) As mentioned above, the title komes Opsikiou was a popular but unofficial title, an alternative for comes domesticorum. The official use of the title, and its application to the praesental forces now commanded by the comes, no doubt lagged behind everyday usage. Both Valentinus, and Theodore, and their predecessors, were probably referred to as komites Opsikiou, even though they may officially have been titled comites domesticorum or magistri militum praesentales (or 'both'). The fact that there are no known seals of counts of the Opsikion for this period is to be explained by this, rather than by the possibility that the post did not yet exist.

440) The geographical position of the later themata which originally constituted the Opsikion district confirms this basic assumption. See De Them., iv, 5sq. (Opsikion); v, 12sq. (Optimation); vi, 8sq. (Boukellarion).

441) Mansi, xi, 209.

442) The troops who mutinied in 652 were commanded by Smbat Bagratuni, who was, according to Sebeos, 'chef des troupes des chefs de Thrace' (131); he also held the title of protospatharios and kandidatos (*ibid.*, 108). See Stratos, iii, 190f. The reference to the Thracianus exercitus in the letter of 687 from Justinian to the Pope seems to refer to the Thrakesion theme, as Lilie has shown, "Thrakien" und "Thrakesion", 20-26. For the older view, and a discussion of the sources, see Pertusi, *De Them.*, 124-5 (on the Thrakesion district) and 156-7 (on Thrace). There was certainly an army based in Thrace, however (*pace* Lilie, art. cit., 27), for its general, his topoteres and their officers are referred to for the middle of the seventh century, based at Bizye and Perbere in 655-6 (cf. Max. Conf. *Acta*, 168-9). The area was probably an independent district for civil administration. The evidence of the second list of Ibn Khurradadhbih (80-81) would suggest that Thrace was recognisably a separate province with its own patrikios, but probably in times of trouble an overall commander would be appointed. See Oikonomides, *Une liste arabe*, 122-5 (but note Lilie, art. cit., 19). The title hypostategos may denote that the count of the Opsikion maintained a 'presence' in Thrace, co-operating with the patrikios of the area during the period when the new theme was established (from 680), or that he represented - perhaps temporarily - the imperial authority in the region, as Lilie has suggested (art. cit., 33ff.). The absence of any Thracian military intervention in imperial politics, however, and the presence of Opsikion troops in the area in 713 and 715; and the fact that Barasbakourios was strategos of Thrace, suggests that the Thracian army was usually quite small, and may often have come under the general command of Opsikion officers. Given the degree of institutional continuity from the later Roman to the Byzantine establishment - especially the military establishment -

it seems not unlikely that the count of the Opsikion replaced the two magistri militum praesentales in both Thrace and Asia Minor. See note 363 above. Note that in 742, on the occasion of Artavasdos' revolt, the army of Thrace and its officers declared for the rebel. Their commander is στρατηγοῦντα τῆς Θράκης (Theoph., 415,¹²) or κατὰ τὴν Θράκην τότε στρατηγοῦντα (Niceph.Patr., 60,¹⁸), and it seems clear that at this date the Thracian forces constituted a provincial army in their own right.

443) The soldiers who overthrew Philippikos Bardanes in 713 were Opsikion troops based in Thrace to guard against Bulgar attacks. See Niceph.Patr., 48, ^{15sq}; 49, 5-9; Mansi, xii, 193B (account of Agathon); Theoph., 383, ¹⁰⁻¹⁴: ἐξάπινα διὰ τῆς Χρυσῆς πόρτης εἰσῆλθε Ρούφος, ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ τοῦ Ὀψικίου, ὑπὸ Βουλὴν Γεωργίου, πατρικίου καὶ κόμητος τοῦ Ὀψικίου, τὸ ἐπίκλην Βουράφου, καὶ θεοδώρου πατρικίου τοῦ Μιακίου, μετὰ τῶν ταξάτων, ὃν εἶχεν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θέματος. Thema refers here to the army of the Opsikion, of which Rousphos commanded a detachment. For the seal of Barasbakourios, see Zacos and Veglery, no.3081: Βαρασβακούριος πατρίκ. καὶ κόμης τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου βασ. ὄψικίου καὶ στρατηγὸς' (?Θράκης) The name of the province is illegible, but can hardly be other than Thrace. For other seals of Barasbakourios, see Zacos and Veglery, no.3080A; Schlumberger, Sig., 249. See P.Yannopoulos, 'Σπουδαὶ Βυζαντινῶν Προσωπικοτήτων. Βαρασβακούριος, κόμης τοῦ Ὀψικίου (δεύτερον ἥμισυ τοῦ 2' αἰώνος - 711)', *Βυζαντινά* 4(1972)289-297.

444) On the Armenian campaign and its results, see now Stratos, Seventh Century, iii, 28ff. For Nikephoros the patrikios, Theoph., 350, ^{18sq}., 667 A.D. For Mizizios, see chapter two, note 377, and Stratos, Seventh Century, iv, 8ff.

445) Theoph., 352,^{4sq.}(for 668). In fact, it is doubtful that Constantine went to Sicily at all; for the rebellion was crushed by troops from the Exarchate. Cf. E.W.Brooks, Sicilian Exped., 455-9; and for an attempt to support Theophanes' account, cf. H.Grégoire, *Notules épigraphiques*, 170. See more recently Stratos, Seventh Century, iv, 8ff., who, however, argues in favour of Constantine's expedition to Sicily. For a general analysis of the sources for Constans' expedition and the rebellion of Mizizios, see Pasquale Corsi, 'Le spedizione in Italia di Costante II: fonti e problemi', Nicolaus: *Rivista di Teologia Ecumenico-Patristica* 3/1(1975)169-197; 3/2(1975)343-390. It is highly likely that the rebellion was inspired to some degree by a more generalised hostility on the part of the Armenian nobility towards Constans II. See Winkelmann, *Byzanz im 7. Jhd.*, 204.

446) For Constans' expedition, see note 445 above; and chapter two. For the Opsikion in 711, see Theoph., 380,^{29-30;} Niceph.Patr., 47,^{6sq.} On the background to Justinian's fall, see Van Dieten, *Patriarchengeschichte*, 159-160 and esp. 162f. On Philippikos, see D.de F.Abrahamse, 'The Emperor Philippikos in History and Legend in East and West', in: *Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* 3(1977)56f; for the literary portrait of him, see Tinnefeld, *Kaiserkritik*, 59f.

447) Theoph., 358,^{16sq}; Niceph.Patr., 34,^{20sq.} (for 679/80); Theoph., 364,^{8sq}; Niceph.Patr., 36,^{17sq}; De Them., loc. cit.

448) Theoph., 356,¹⁵; 364,^{3sq.}

449) Theoph., 365,^{30sq}; Niceph.Patr., 36,^{18sq}; Michael Syr., Bk. 11, 470. The latter records only seven thousand Slavs as deserting, settled by the Caliphate in Syria. See M.Gregoriou-

Ioannidou, "Η ἐκστρατεία τοῦ Ιουστινιανοῦ Β' κατὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων καὶ Σλάβων (688)", *Βυζαντιακά* 2(1982)111-124, see .118 and note 27.

450) Theoph., 366,²⁵ for the desertion of Armenia. Note the comment of Nicephorus on the Byzantine defeat (37,⁸): ἐξ οὐ πλείον προσκτησάμενοι (the Saracens and the Slavs) θάρσος πλειόνως τὴν Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐλυμαίνοντο.

451) On this see Charanis, Ethnic Changes, 42-3; "Transfer, 143. A series of seals at this time demonstrates that Slav prisoners were settled not only in the Opsikion region. See the comments of Lille, "Thrakien" und "Thrakesion", 16 and note 42. In general, see idem, Die byz. Reaktion, 237ff., and also H.Ditten, 'Slawen im byzantinischen Heer von Justinian I. bis Justinian II.', in: Studien zum 7. Jhd., 77-91; M.Grabner, 'The Slavs in Byzantine Population Transfers of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', *Études Balkaniques* II(1975)42ff.

452) For example, Theoph., 364,⁸ and 366,⁵. Cf. Niceph. Patr., 35,²: τὰ ιππικά. They were not, however, to be counted among the ἔξω καβαλλαρικὰ θέματα of Theoph., 371,^{9sq.} (for 697/8) made up of the troops of the Armeniakon and Anatolikon divisions.

453) See note 452 above.

454) For Ankyra as the headquarters of the Opsikion, see Ibn Khurradahdbih, 80 (for his second list, see note 458 below). For the list of 680, see Mansi, xi, 209. Ankyra was later (after the administrative reorganisation under Constantine V) headquarters of the Boukellarion theme. See Ibn Khurradahdbih's list, 80; Ibn al-Faqih, 76; Mas^Cüdi, 244 - that the capital of the original Opsikion was Nikomedesia (see T.C.Loungis, 'Οι

"Νέοι προσανατολισμοί" τῶν Ἰσαύρων', Βυζαντιακά 2(1982)61-73) on the grounds that Justinian II met the Pope there (see LP i, 224) seems therefore unlikely. It was certainly an important town, and was later HQ of the theme of Optimaton (see, e.g., Ibn Khurradadhbih, 77), of course, but the evidence does not point to its being the Opsikion headquarters. For an approximation of the extent of the original Opsikion, see Ostrogorsky, Geschichte, map at 80.

455) Theoph., 400,^{18sq}; Niceph.Patr., 55,^{19sq}.

456) Niceph.Patr., 55,²⁶-56,7: γράφει δὲ (sc. Ἀρτέμιος) καὶ πρὸς Νικήταν τὸν μάγιστρον τὸ ἐπίκλην Συλινίτην, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ὑπάρχοντα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Τσώνην πατρίκιον καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου βασιλικοῦ ὄψικίου ἡγεμόνα, καὶ Θεόκτιστον τὸν πρώτιστον τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων καθ' οὓς ἐβασίλευε χρόνους γενόμενον, καὶ Νικήταν ἐπίκλην Ἀνθρακα ἄρχοντα τειχῶν, παλαιᾶς φιλίας ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι, καὶ ἐτοίμους εἶναι συντρέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοιγνῦναι καὶ ὡς βασιλέα ὑποδέχεσθαι.

457) Niceph.Patr., 56,^{2sq}; Theoph., 400,^{22sq}.

458) The second list of provinces given by Ibn Khurradadhbih (80-81), which may date to the period c.680-750, places the count of the Opsikion - the patrikios of Ankyra - in his provincial seat. Oikonomidès, Une liste arabe, 121-130, suggests a date for this list which is probably too precise (before 695), and the passage may equally be of the eighth century. See Haldon, Garrison, 79.

459) Note also that George Bouraphos, komes Opsikiou in 713, was based in the City or in Thrace. See note 443 above, and Theoph., 383,^{10sq}. For the role of the count of the Opsikion at this time, see also Lille's remarks on Theodoros, count of the

Opsikion and hypostrategos of Thrace in 680, in: "Thrakien" und "Thrakesion", 28-35, esp. 34. Barasbakourios' unusual position as commander of two theme forces - Thrace and the Opsikion - is explained by his position as one of Justinian's closest supporters and advisers, and by the war with the Bulgars which broke out shortly after Justinian's restoration in 705. Cf. Lylie, art. cit., 29.

460) Cf. Theoph., 371, ^{1sq;} Niceph.Patr., 40, ^{9sq.} For the term used of thematic troops, see Theoph., 420, ²⁵ where Constantine V allows the exotikoi archontes to pillage the City in 743. Note that it was also with the support of Opsikion troops - who had been in Thrace - that Anastasios was proclaimed in 713. See note 443 above, and Mansi, xii, 192: Ψῆφῳ τινὶ καὶ δοκιμασίᾳ τῆς τε ἵερᾶς συγκλήτου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ καταλόγου, τῶν τε ἐπιδημούντων φιλοχρίστων ἐκστρατευμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ δῆμου παντὸς ἀναγορευθείς.

The context of Agathon's account makes it clear that the Opsikion troops who had previously marched in with Roushos, the protostrator of the Opsikion, are meant.

Finally, the conciliar procession in Constantinople in 680 was accompanied by the imperial obsequium, a phrase which may have a wider general meaning, but which might well point to the presence and participation of Opsikion units in ceremonial duties. See LP, i, 351.

461) Brooks, Arabic Lists, 67ff; Miquel, Géographie humaine, i, xxviii; Kudāma, 196-7, 198. Following Brooks, it has been generally accepted that Kudāma's list, along with those of Ibn al-Fakīh and Ibn Khurradadhbih, were based on an earlier list or lists, one of which was that of al-Djarmi, (Brooks, Arabic Lists, 70). But Winkelmann, Probleme, 20-27 has shown, I think clearly, that only Ibn Khurradadhbih had his material directly from al-Djarmi; the other two used al-Djarmi, but apparently only

indirectly, via other, now lost, versions. Only Kudāma included the details of the garrison of Constantinople, although Ibn Khurraqadhbīh refers to it in two places. See Haldon, Garrison, 79-80. But since, in Kudāma's list, the optimatoi appear where the teichistai should appear (if the list were supposed to reflect the conditions of Kudāma's day) it is clear that his information is somewhat confused. The source for his material might range from as early as the eighth century to the early tenth century. On the one hand, the juxtaposition of the noumera and the optimatoi might suggest an early eighth-century date; on the other hand, even if Kudāma is using more recent material, the fact remains that the optimatoi, while organised on the same lines as a tagma in the ninth century and after, did not rank as such, and were not regarded as a fighting unit. Kudāma may have confused their presence as a district in Bithynia with their occasional presence in the City, where they served the needs of the four main tagmata, hence listing them twice. Whichever argument is accepted (and in view of the omission of the teichistai; and the appearance of the federates in the first part of his list, which is suggestive of the out-of-date material and the general method he employed, the former seems more likely), it is clear that Kudāma's list is not particularly reliable, especially with regard to the numbers he cites. For the federates, and the numbers of the tagmata, see chapters four and five below. For the early eighth-century dating, see Haldon, Garrison, 84f; for the role of the Optimatoi in the late eighth century and after, see below and notes 559-560. For the varied sources of Kudāma's list, see Winkelmann, Probleme, 27-29.

462) Haldon, Garrison, 82.

463) See, for example, Ibn Khurraqadhbīh, 76, 81; and chapter five, 276ff.

464) See Chron.Pasch., 718,¹⁸⁻²². Cf. F:Barišić, 'Le siège de Constantinople par les Avares en 626', Byz 24(1954)371-95.

465) Niceph.Patr., 50,^{15sq}; Theoph., 385,^{5sq}.

466) Niceph.Patr., 51,^{2sq}; Theoph., 385,^{18sq}. That the action of the Opsikion was not entirely arbitrary has been proposed by G.V.Sumner, 'Philippicus, Anastasius II and Theodosius III', GRBS 17(1976)291ff., who plausibly suggests, on the basis of references in Theophanes, Nicephorus, the Chronicon Altinate et Gradense and the forged letters of Gregory II to Leo III, that Theodosius (later bishop of Ephesus) was in fact the son of Tiberius III Apsimar. Given the circumstances of Apsimar's elevation in 698 (above, note 460), there may well have existed a longer-term connection between Apsimar and his son and the Opsikion. The problem deserves a more detailed treatment than can be afforded it here.

467) Niceph.Patr., 50,¹⁶⁻¹⁷; Theoph., 385,²⁷⁻⁹.

468) Niceph.Patr., 51,²²⁻⁵; Theoph., 386,⁴⁻⁷.

469) Theoph., 385,²⁴⁻⁷, made up of his spatharioi and other officers.

470) Kulakovskij, Opsikion, 54f; and the review of this by Krumbacher, 'Zur Frage über die Themen des byzantinischen Reiches', BZ 13(1904)641f. See Olympiodorus, frg. 9 (59). Also Sathas, MB, ii, 35-8. But Kulakovskij and Sathas consider that the optimates are descended from the troops of the same name, Goths settled in the empire during Stilicho's period of office as magister militum after the defeat of Radagaisus, who were thus by Maurice's time already Gothogtaeci. Diehl, L'Origine, 280, accepts this view. As I have shown, these Optimates have nothing

in common with their counterparts except the name and the fact that they were Goths. See chapter one, 96ff. Stein, *Studien, 126f.*, rejects the identity of the Gothograeci with the area of the Optimation district, preferring to identify it instead with the Crimean Gotthia.

471) Pertusi, *De Them.*, 130-1 and the evidence presented here.

472) I have discussed the evidence for this in chapter one, 98-100.

473) Aléxiade, xv, i.4: οἱ δὲ μηχανικάτοι Τοῦρκοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοὺς προπόδας τῶν Λεντιανῶν καὶ τῆς οὕτω καλουμένης Κοτοτραικίας διακειμένην πεδιάδα ληξόμενοι...; *De Them.*, iv, 12-15: ἔως τῆς μεσογαίου τοῦ Μυσίου ὄλυμπου προσαγορευομένου καὶ τῆς χώρας τῶν καλουμένων Δαγητθηνῶν...

474) Theoph., 385, ²⁸⁻⁹: ὅλον τὸ θέμα τοῦ Ὀψικίου καὶ τοὺς Γοτθογραίκους; 386, ⁵⁻⁶: οἱ δὲ παράνομοι λαοὶ τοῦ Ὀψικίου ἄμα τῶν Γοτθογραϊκῶν.

475) Joh. Eph., 188, 207.

476) Kudama, loc. cit.

477) Arethas of Caesarea, *Comm. in Apocal.*, xx, 7-10: Γότθων μοῖράν τινα κατὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας στρατιωτικὴν σύστασιν οὔτω καλεῖσθαι καὶ Θαιφάλους καὶ Γοτθογραίκους ἄπερ κοινῷ λόγῳ καλοῦμεν Ούννικα, πάσης δὲ ἐπιγείου βασιλείας εἶναι δυνατώτερα καὶ πολεμικώτερα.

By the eighth and ninth centuries, of course, those of Gothic descent may well have played very little part in the military capacity of the Optimation corps; while the 'Gothic' element may well have been diluted to the extent that only the name had any

connection by this period. The reference to Taifali may, of course, suggest that Arethas is simply copying an older source, hence depriving this passage of any value for our purposes. But it may bear witness to a confused tradition, both regional and literary, relating to the Goths of both the fourth-fifth and the sixth-seventh centuries.

478) For the establishment of the reorganised Optimates, see below; and for their originally being a cavalry division, see Strat., i, 2.6; ii, 5.3 etc.

479) Cf. Theoph., 385, ¹⁹sq. Nicaea may well have been within the district of the Optimates - Gothograeci at this point. Cf. De Them., iv, 12sq., and p.201 above. Possibly Artemios went there expecting greater support from this corps. For Leo, see Theoph., 395, ¹⁴sq; Niceph.Patr., 52, ¹⁵⁻²²; and for Artavasdus, Theoph., 395, ⁸⁻¹².

480) Niceph.Patr., 52, ²⁻⁶.

481) For the great siege and its defeat, see Theoph., 395, ¹³
-398, ⁴; 399, ⁵⁻⁹; Niceph.Patr., 52, ²⁷ -⁵⁴ ¹⁹. For a good account of the effect of these raids, see Ahrweiler, L'Asie mineure, 13-19, 30f.

482) For penetrating and damaging raids into Anatolia, see Theoph., 403, ²⁷⁻⁸ (for 724/5); 404, ¹³⁻¹⁷; 405, ²⁵sq. (for 726/7); 407, ¹⁻² (for 727); 409, ²⁴⁻⁵ (for 730); 410, ³sq. (732); 411, ²sq. (for 737); 411, ¹⁰⁻¹² (738/9); 411, ¹⁴sq. (739/40). The last raid divided into two forces, one attacking Tyana and its environs in Cappadocia, the other under Melik and Baṭal attacking as far as Akroinon, where it was trapped and heavily defeated by Leo and Constantine. The first force escaped unharmed.

483) Paphlagonia - Theoph., 410,^{3sq}; Nicaea - Theoph.,
405, ^{25sq}; Niceph.Patr., 58, ^{11sq}. For the Opsikion
garrison, Theoph., 406,⁵; note A.Koerte, 'Kleinasiatische
Studien v', Mitteilungen des königl. deutsch. archäologischen
Instituts 24(Athen 1899)398-450, see 406, no.8, an inscription
from Nicaea commemorating the defeat of the city's enemies by Leo
and Constantine, and the restoration of the defences by
Artavasdos, πανεύφημος πατρικίος καὶ κουροπαλάτης. Koerte's
transcription was discussed and improved by A.M.Schneider,
W.Karnapp, Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea) (Istanbuler
Forschungen 9, Berlin 1938), 49, no.29. The inscription probably
relates to the siege of the city in 727. For Artavasdos as
commander of the Opsikion at this time, see Appendix F, no.9 and
note.

484) See Haldon, Some Remarks, 171f., and idem, Recruitment,
66ff. For a general survey of Arab raids, see Lilie, Die byz.
Reaktion, esp. 57-142, an account and analysis of the nature,
aims and effects of muslim attacks in Anatolia to 720 A.D. For
the themes, and a bibliography, see ibid., 287ff.

485) Vita Philareti, 125, ^{34sq}.

486) Cf. Justinian's campaigns against the Slavs in 687/8,
Theoph., 364, ^{5sq}. and compare Theoph., 397, 15-19, where
troops who had taken to the hills and mountain strongholds were
able to ambush and destroy an Arab force on its way to aid the
besieging armies at Constantinople in 717/8. For the nature of
the confrontation along the frontier, see Haldon/Kennedy, The
Arab-Byzantine Frontier.

487) Theoph., 411, ^{14sq}.

488) Artavasdos as europalates - Theoph., 395, ⁸⁻¹², and

Speck, Artabasdos, 49ff. and notes; and for the revolt, Theoph., 414,^{16sq}; Niceph.Patr., 59,^{17sq}. For seals of Artavasdos, see Appendix, note 1096. Zacos and Veglery make Artavasdos' rise occur in three stages - his original appointment as strategos of the Armeniakon (seal no.1743); his appointment to the office of europalates (seal nos. 1423, 1742); and finally his appointment as count of the Opsikion (seal no.3078A). Stein, Bilderstreit, 161-2, and note 6, has shown that this may not be quite as regular as Zacos and Veglery think. If the highest title is always mentioned, as the latter argue, then seal 1741, of Artavasdos as patrikios and komes of the Opsikion, suggests that he was made komes before he was made europalates. In fact, this does not seem always to be the most reliable rule - Artavasdos was probably appointed komes and europalates at the same time. For the latter dignity, see Guilland, Cuperolate; and for Artavasdos' career, Speck, Artabasdos, 153-4.

489) Theoph., 20-31; Niceph.Patr., 59,^{22-60, 8;} cf. Ostrogorsky, State, 147. The latter states that Constantine's army was attacked by Artavasdos, but in fact the emperor had only a very small force with him, probably a detachment of the Opsikion on duty in the capital. See Niceph.Patr., 59,^{26-7.} On the causes of the rebellion, and the course it followed until 746, see Stein, Bilderstreit, 161ff; and see now Speck, Artabasdos, for a detailed analysis of the rebellion and Artavasdos' role; together with a careful analysis of the two chief sources, the Patriarch Nicephorus' Breviarium and Theophanes' Chronographia.

490) For the establishment of the Thrakesion theme, see note 442 above. Also Ostrogorsky, State, 139-40; cf. Theoph., 414,^{31-3;} Niceph.Patr., 60,^{11-14.}

491) Theoph., 415,^{2-15;} 417,^{23-5;}

Niceph.Patr., 60, ¹⁴⁻²⁰, 61, ¹⁻³.

492) Theoph., 415, ¹⁵⁻²²; Niceph.Patr., 60, ²²⁻⁸.

493) Theoph., 417, ²⁶-418, ⁷; 419, ⁷-420, ¹⁸;
Niceph.Patr., 61, ³-62, ²⁰; see Ostrogorsky, State, 147-8;
Speck, Artabasdos, 43ff.

494) On the noumera and the teichistai, see chapter four.

495) Niceph.Patr., 59, ²⁶⁻⁷.

496) Cf. Theoph., 414, ²⁸⁻³⁰. Possibly Constantine had
already replaced the less trustworthy Opsikion forces before this
- with detachments from the Anatolikon, for example. The
composition of the City garrison must, for lack of evidence,
remain uncertain.

497) Theoph., 415, ¹⁵⁻¹⁶; Niceph.Patr., 60, ¹⁸⁻²⁰. The
biglai to whom Theophanes refers may be members of this corps.

498) Theoph., 383, ¹⁰⁻²¹; Niceph.Patr., 49, ⁴⁻²⁴.

499) Theoph., 385, ^{15sq}; Niceph.Patr., 50, ^{26sq}.

500) Theoph., 400, ^{18sq}; Niceph.Patr., 55, ^{19sq}.

501) For the general political background to these developments,
and particularly the rash of insurrections and coups which took
place at the turn of the eighth century, see Haldon, Some
Remarks, 174-5, 176-8.

502) For the scholarioi and tagmata, see Theoph., 437, ¹⁻³;
for the boukellarioi, Theoph., 440, ²⁸ and for the optimatoi,

Theoph., 447,^{20-21.} Scholars have generally accepted that it was Constantine V who was responsible for the creation of the Boukellarion and Optimaton themes, on the grounds that the original Opsikion was too dangerous. No-one has examined the question in detail, however, nor seen the connection between the decline of the Opsikion and the establishment of the tagmata. See Gelzer, Themenverfassung, 79, 91; Diehl, L'Origine, 279; Ostrogorsky, State, 140; Pertusi, De Them., 134. Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion, 323ff., has commented most recently on the Opsikion, and provides a good summary of the military role played by this force in the general defensive strategy of the empire during the later seventh and eighth century.

503) Lilie has discussed this development, see Die byz. Reaktion, 324; "Thrakien" und "Thrakesion", 22 and 25.

504) See chapter two, 181f.

505) See chapter one, 111f.

506) Theoph., 378,^{24.}

507) The evidence is summarised by Pertusi, De Them., 108-111, 114-5, 117-8, 127-8; for Thrakesion, see note 442 above.

508) Theoph., 325,^{3;} Chron.Pasch., 731,^{5;} Sebeos, 108. For the seals, see for example Schlumberger, Sig., 336, seal of Eugenios, apo eparchon and drouggarios (probably early seventh century); of Michael, hypatos and drouggarios (c.650-750); 337, of Michael, hypatos, imperial spatharios and drouggarios (c.650-750); of Stephen, drouggarios (seventh century); of Tatas, stratelates, Kandidatos and drouggarios (seventh century); of Gregory, drouggarios (seventh century); and Zacos and Veglery, nos. 808, 1551, 1581 (drouggarici, seventh century); nos. 1356,

1610, 1873, 1918A, 2011, 2106, 2115 etc. (drouggarioi, eighth century); nos. 1055 (tourmarches, seventh century), 1509 (c.650-750), 1411, 1513, 1787A, 2661 etc. (tourmarchai, eighth century). Cf. also Laurent, *Inédits*, ii, 354, no.14. On the title drungarius, see J.Kulakovskij, 'Drung i drungarii', VV 9(1902)16-38. There are, in addition, a number of memorial stones dedicated to drungarii, dating to the seventh and eighth centuries. See, for example, Cumont, *Inscriptions*, nos. 104, 429.

509) Cf. Leo, *Tact.*, iv, 2; 3; 6; Ibn Khurradadhbih, 84; Kudāma, 196; Ibn Hawkal, i, 191. Compare with Maurice, *Strat.*, i, 3.4f. On the ninth-century military organisation of the themes, see Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 2ff; and see Haldon, *Recruitment*, 31-2.

510) On the introduction of the new terminology, see Haldon, *Recruitment*, 31f., and chapter one above. For Heraclius' reorganisation, see *ibid.*, 28-40, esp. 35ff.

511) Chapter two, p.171.

512) Chapter one, p.112.

513) Theoph., 440, ²⁸ (Boukellarion); 447, ²⁰⁻¹,
¹⁵⁻¹⁶ (Optimation); 451, (boukellarioi and opsikianoi).
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514) Apart from the references to, and seals of, Barasbakourios and Artavasdos already mentioned, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 403: Kosmas, patrikios and count of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion; 1741: Artavasdos, ditto; 2039: John, ditto; all dated to the first half of the eighth century. See also nos. 2315(a) and (b), Petronas, patrikios and count of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion (although this seems to be the Petronas who attended the seventh council - see Appendix, n.36);. 2603: anon., ditto; 3194: Theodore, ditto. The one exception is a seal of

Marinos exarchos, count of the Opsikion, dated by Zacos and Veglery (no.2159) to the first half of the eighth century. See also Mansi, xi, 209; Theoph., 380,²⁹⁻³⁰; 383,¹¹⁻¹²; 400,³⁰; Niceph.Patr., 49,⁵⁻⁷; 56,¹⁻².

515) See Theoph., 473,²⁹⁻³⁰; Zacos and Veglery, nos. 1733(a) and (b), seals of Arsavir, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and count of the Opsikion (ninth century); 1792(a) and (b), of Christopher, ditto (ninth century); 1961, of Gregory, patrikios and count of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion (late eighth/early ninth century); 1962, of Gregory, (anthypatos), patrikios and count etc. (early ninth century); 1963, of Gregory, patrikios, protospatharios and count etc. (late eighth/early ninth century); 3113A, of Gregory, anthypatos, patrikios and count etc. (late eighth/early ninth century). Probably this Gregory is the same as the Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ Μουσουλακίου τῶν Ὀψικιανῶν referred to by Theoph., 451,¹¹ (for 777/8) and the Γρηγόριος πατρίκιος ὁ τοῦ Μουσουλακίου of Theoph., 476,¹⁰ who was involved with other high-ranking officials in a plot against Irene in 802. For the occurrence of the rank of anthypatos at this time, see Zacos and Veglery, 1746; 2474(a), of Theodosios, imperial protospatharios and count of the Opsikion (ninth century); 2517, of Theophilos, ditto (ninth century); 2574A, of ?Petronas, anthypatos, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and count of the Opsikion (mid-ninth century); 2606, of anon., patrikios, imperial protospatharios and count of the Opsikion (late eighth century); 2607, of anon., imperial protospatharios and count of the Opsikion (second half of the ninth century); 3615, of Petronas, anthypatos, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and count of the Opsikion (mid-ninth century); and see also Konstantopoulos, Molybdoboulla, JIAN 9, 69, no.122b, seal of an imperial protospatharios and count of the Opsikion (ninth/tenth century); Ebersolt, no.535, seal of a protospatharios and strategos of the Opsikion (ninth/tenth century). Cf. Theoph., 473,²⁹ for

Paul, patrikios and count of the Opsikion (for 798).

516) Zacos and Veglery, no.3079 (dated to the period c.750-850). I propose that this seal be placed in the 750s or 760s rather than later, for the reasons stated above. The Marinos exarchos, count of the Opsikion, might also have belonged to this period. See the appendix. At a later date, the title spatharios was generally held by officers subordinate to the count. Cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2381, a ninth-century seal of Staurakios, imperial spatharios and komes tes kortes of the Opsikion; no.2550, a ninth-century seal of Theophylaktos, imperial spatharios and tourmarches of the Opsikion; 2220(a) and (b), seals of the second half of the ninth century of Nikolaos, imperial spatharios and chartularios of the Opsikion.

517) See for the seals, Zacos and Veglery, nos. 1762, of Bardas, imperial spatharios and topoteretes of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion, dated c.750-850; 2660, of anon., spatharios and topoteretes of the Opsikion, dated to the second half of the eighth century; 3176(a) and (b), seals of Sergios, imperial spatharios and topoteretes of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion, dated to the second half of the eighth century; Laurent, Orghidan, 118, no.219, seal of ?Theodore, spatharios and topoteretes of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion. For topoteretai, see Oikonomidès, Préséance, 110, note 69. Possibly these topoteretai were based in the Opsikion province while the komes was kept in the City under the watchful eye of the emperor - as the presence of David, the spatharios and count arrested in 765 might suggest.

518) Theoph., 383,¹¹; cf. Niceph.Patr., 49,⁹⁻¹¹.

519) Theoph., 388,^{2*}.

520) Oikonomidès, Préséance, 337-8, 298.

521) For ordinary stratores accompanying higher military officers in the sixth century, see Strat., xii, 8.11/3; 17/9; and Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 137-8. See also Theoph., 406,⁵ for a strator of Artavasdos in 726/7. For some seals of stratores see Zacos and Veglery, and Seibt, Bleisiegel, for example (nos. 204-5).

522) On the functions of a domestic of a theme, see Bury, Admin., 43, Ahrweiler, Recherches, 37. See also Leo, Tact., iv, 32; De Cer., 482, 17sq.

523) Zacos and Veglery, nos. 1727, seal of Apelates, hypatos and protonotarios of the Opsikion (ninth century); 2324(a) and (b), seals of Philomelos, hypatos and protonotarios of the Opsikion (second half of the ninth century); 2220(a) and (b), seals of Nikolaos, imperial spatharios and chartularios of the Opsikion (second half of the ninth century); 2095, seal of Leon, imperial balnitor and anagrapheus of the Opsikion (750-850); 2381, seal of Staurakios, imperial spatharios and komes tes kortes of the Opsikion (second half of the ninth century); Laurent, Orghidan, 118, no. 218, seal of Niketas, kouboukleisios and strategos of the Opsikion (late ninth century). See also Schlumberger, Sig., 250, a seal of an anonymous epi tou Opsikiou (ninth or tenth century). On protonotarioi see chapt. five below, note 953.

524) Zacos and Veglery, no. 2550, seal of Theophylaktos, imperial spatharios and tourmarches of the Opsikion (ninth century); Konstantopoulos, Molybdoboulla, JIAN 6, 50, no. 192, seal of an anonymous drouggarios of the Opsikion (late eighth/early ninth century). For the drouggarios at Malagina, see Vita Retractata, cap. 109, 1sq. On the various theme officials and their administrative functions, see inter al. Ahrweiler, Recherches,

43f; and Haldon/Kennedy, *Arab-Byzantine Frontier*, 101-5. For the later history, see Oikonomidès, *L'Organisation administrative*.

525) See note 508 above; and Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 36-7, 43f. On the internal administrative structure of the early themes, see Haldon, *Some Remarks*, 167ff. and the bibliography therein; also note 953, chapter five, below; Lille, "Thrakien" und "Thrakesion", 8ff; and idem, *Die zweihundertjährige Reform, ByzSlav*, (forthcoming).

526) For changes which took place in the ninth century, see Ostrogorsky, *State*, 219.

527) See 196ff. above.

528) Cf. Pertusi, *De Them.*, 128-9. For the geography of the Opsikion, see Gelzer, *Themenverfassung*, 23; Pertusi, *De Them.*, 128; and for the tenth-century description of the three districts, see *ibid.*, 68-71. For the reduction of the optimates by Constantine V, see below, 212ff; and for the extent of the provinces involved, see Jones, *LRE*, maps II, IV. Treadgold, *Numbers and Organisation*, 286-7, has pointed out that Bury's attribution to the Boukellarion theme of Paphlagonia (followed, for example, by Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte*, map at 80) is incorrect. Paphlagonia was part of the district of Armeniakon.

529) Conditions in Italy, while more stable than those in Anatolia for the period which we are considering, were nevertheless remarkably similar, both in terms of the requirements of the exarchate and the ways in which these requirements were met, and in terms of the warlike relationship with the Lombards. See Brown, *Italy*; the comparison is not as forced as Lille, *ByzSlav* 41(1980)243, suggests. See Haldon, *Recruitment*, 74f.

530) There is no reason to believe that imperial acceptance of the situation in the 720s and after necessarily meant imperial support or approval from the beginning. To assume this would be to impose an unjustifiably a prioristic interpretation upon the evidence and the problems it poses.

531) Although I no longer think that this can be proved from the reference of Theophanes, 303, ^{10sq.}, as argued in Recruitment, 35ff. (see Lilie's apposite remarks in *ByzSlav* 41(1980)242f.), a date during Heraclius' reign is as likely as one during the following one hundred and fifty years. But the question needs further research.

532) On all these developments see now Haldon, Recruitment, esp. 41ff. For the passage in the *Ecloga* - xvi, 2 - see 67ff. For a more recent discussion and review of the problem, see R.J.Lilie, 'Die zweihundertjährige Reform', *ByzSlav* (forthcoming).

533) See Lilie, art. cit., 245, who has, I think, missed the meaning attached to the term 'garrison' in this context. See in general Haldon, Recruitment, 67-76, esp. 67 and 75-6. See Vita Philareti, 125, ^{34sq.} For the most recent discussion of the text, see Speck, Konstantin VI, 204f. All thematic soldiers were paid, of course - this much is clear from the accounts of Ibn Khurradadhbih on the one hand (see chapt. five, note 944) and the De Caerimonii on the other, where the themata are reported to have been paid at four-yearly intervals (in the 'past' i.e. the ninth century?) cf. De Cer., 493, ^{20sq.}, and Haldon, Recruitment, 75 and note 136. Note Ahrweiler, Recherches, 7 and notes. Ibn Khurradadhbih's list, interestingly, seems to fall into two parts, which may refer to the regular soldiery on the permanent establishment (see note 546 below; Haldon/Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier, 105; and Bury, ERE, 226f.) (receiving, according to their rank, up to eighteen nomismata a year) and the

(theoretically regular) 'militia' troops, who had to supply themselves for a limited period at least, but who received a roga of from 1 to 12 nomismata according to the number of years they had served. See Haldon, Recruitment, 45 and notes; 78-9, note 145.

534) See also Theoph., 364,¹⁴⁻¹⁵; 365, 30sq; Niceph. Patr., 36,^{18sq}. for the Slavs transferred by Justinian II to the Opsikion, who may have been deliberately settled on abandoned or uncultivated lands, and from whom military service may also have been required. See Haldon, Recruitment, 77.

535) A striking example of press-ganging (or so it would seem) occurred in the early tenth century, when the Patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos complained that certain local military authorities had conscripted monks as soldiers, and had reduced the poor of the Church to serfs. See Letters, nos. 150 and 164 (referring to the Nicaea district). Possibly the latter reference, to serfs, is meant to imply the imposition of a strateia for the support of these new conscripts on Church lands. See Haldon, Recruitment, . 80, note 146; and 55f.

536) Theoph., 417,²⁶⁻⁸; Niceph.Patr., 61,²⁻⁵.

537) Niceph.Patr., 62,⁸⁻¹¹. Speck, Artabasdos, 32f. and note 67; and 97 and notes, considers that these troops must have been the ordinary theme troops; and that those previously employed by both Artavasdos and Constantine belonged to the standing force of the theme(s) in question. That there were standing forces is not in question (see notes 533 above, 546 and references below). But they were not, before the tenth century at least, very numerous; see Haldon, Recruitment 65, note 115; and it seems unlikely that neither Artavasdos nor Constantine had called out the ordinary theme troops before this time - Speck's

own discussion, 97ff., makes it clear that Artavasdos at least attempted to muster as many troops as possible. Certainly, not all the ordinary, widely-dispersed theme soldiers may have been called up; as I have tried to show elsewhere, it was up to the local strategos to decide how many soldiers to call up - see below, and Haldon, Recruitment, notes 87 (p.51) and 100. There may thus still have been local troops to call up. But the real point is that there were more than two sources of 'recruits': not only did Artavasdos have the full-time, permanent units and the ordinary, 'part-time' theme soldiers at his disposal; he could also impose a conscription through press-ganging, or attract recruits through the offer of bounties (a standard procedure at all times - see sixth-century practice as described by Jones, LRE, 659ff; and compare with the raising of the tessarakontarioi under Theophilus, chapt. four, note 682, below). Either of these may be meant by Nicephorus. There seem to me no good grounds for the suggestion that Artavasdos or Constantine relied only on the small, standing contingents of the themes for their most important campaigns.

Speck's further inference, that the formula 'such-and-such a theme joined such-and-such a person', refers therefore to the standing contingents only (Artabasdus, 97) appears to be demanding too much exactitude and too much consistency in a technical matter from a non-technical source or sources - the phrase could surely mean either, or both, types of thematic unit, depending upon the context. In this case, it must remain uncertain.

538) Theoph., 449,^{16-17.} This probably refers to the standing contingents of the themata, see below.

539) For Michael, see Theoph., 500,^{12-13;} for Nicephorus, see Haldon, Recruitment, 50ff. and note 87.

540) De Cer., 657,²²-658,⁴, for the Cretan expedition.

See on calling-up policy Haldon, Recruitment, notes 87 and 100; and see below, chapt. five, note 906 for late ninth- and tenth-century references to officers selecting the fittest soldiers for campaign service - that not all the men 'enlisted' were necessarily called out is a necessary assumption for the sense of the texts. Note likewise the important reference, in a harangue ascribed to Constantine VII, to officers making a careful selection of the fittest and more able soldiers in the thematic contingents. Again, this is predicated on the availability of enlisted men, from among whom a proportion - the fittest or best-suited for a particular type of campaign - were called up; the rest presumably stayed in their quarters, or garrisoned strong-points, etc. See H.Ahrweiler, 'Un discours inédit de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète', TM 2 (1967)393-404, see 395; cf. R.Vari, 'Zum historischen Exzerptenwerke des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos', BZ 17 (1908)78-84.

541) Theoph., 391,^{10sq}; Theoph.cont., 737,⁷⁻¹²; De Martyr.CP., 435B; S.Ioannis Damasc., Epist. ad Theophil. Imp., 337.

542) Theoph.cont., 6,¹⁴⁻²⁰.

543) De S.Maria Iun., 694E, 703F.

544) De Cer., 666,¹⁶⁻²⁰.

545) See, for example, such expressions as ἐπισωρεύσας τοὺς ταξάτους τῶν θεμάτων (Theoph., 447,¹⁹⁻²⁰); and ἐπισυνάξας δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα (Theoph., 490,^{40sq.}). The soldier Mousoulios belonged to this group. Cf. V. Philareti, 127,^{2sq}. See esp. Haldon, Recruitment, 50 and note 87.

546) Theoph., 452,¹⁰ and V. Philareti, 125,^{34sq.} The chief officers of the local forces - pentekontarchs, counts and drungars, as well as those such as kentarchs, for example (see the dedication of a kentarch, along with his wife and children, in eighth-century Isauria, in: N.Thierry, 'Les enseignements historiques de l'archéologie capadocienne', TM 8(1981)501-519, see 509 and note 39) - would appear to belong to the regulars, in fact, the standing force as opposed to the rest of the troops, who were full-time in name only. Probably the 1000 men from the 'kastron' of Armeniakon who rebelled against Eirene mentioned by Theophanes (469,^{11sq.}) belonged to this group. But care should be exercised when dealing with such figures; and it must also be pointed out that there is no way of knowing whether these 1000 soldiers were in the kastron, or associated with it, regularly; or whether they were in fact there for a specific military (or even political) purpose, and were composed for the most part of the militia soldiery called up on this particular occasion; and finally, whether kastron is to be taken literally - as the fortress-headquarters of the theme - or metaphorically, as the 'garrison' of the theme (and therefore not necessarily physically in one place). On the regular core of the thémes, see Haldon, Some Remarks, 171; idem, Recruitment, 80, note 145.

547) Cf. Theoph. cont., 177,^{20sq.}, and for Leo IV, see above; see also Speck, Konstantin VI, 72. This practice was much more widely adopted in the eleventh century, of course; see Ahrweiler, Recherches, 34-5; Mer, 150; Oikonomidès, L'Organisation administrative, 143-5, 150: See now also the remarks of Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion, 314-5, 319-20; and idem, in ByzSlav 41(1980)245. In spite of Lilie's remarks, the sources give no indication that the 'full-time' contingents numbered more than a small portion of the total; nor that it was only these 'full-time' soldiers who campaigned for 'whole seasons away from home.'

548) Cf. Lemerle, *Esquisse*, ii, 67ff. for his summary of the 'military lands' and other aspects of recruitment in the tenth century. For recent bibliographies of the problem, see Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 134ff., 224ff., and Lilie, *Die byz. Reaktion*, 287ff. See now Haldon, *Recruitment*, 41ff. for a discussion of the evidence and the development of the system familiar from the tenth century.

549) Cf. Dölger, *Finanzverwaltung*, 21, 61; and Svoronos, *Cadastre*, 58.

550) Cf. MM, vi, 48, 1; 58, 3.13; *Actes de Lavra*, no.33, 198; no.36, 210; no.38, 219 etc. for reference to the visits or duties of the strateutai.

551) See 220f. and notes above. For the tagmata, see chapter five.

552) The strategos was still theoretically responsible for recruitment (as opposed to calling up those already registered) in his province in the ninth century; although that group of soldiers which served by virtue of their obligations can hardly have come within this category. The general tone of Leo's advice harks back to an earlier period. Cf. Leo, *Tact.*, iv, 1.

553) For a late ninth-century seal of Niketas, kouboukleisios and strateptes of the Opsikion, see Laurent, *Orghidan*, 118, no.218. While the post and title may well have existed earlier, as the civilian officer who liaised with the military over recruitment - responsible for informing the bureau in charge of the collection of taxes of the enlistment of certain tax-payers and their release from certain fiscal obligations - the later strateutes had a quite definite function related to the military holdings, and was responsible for assessing the obligations, in

cash or service, attached thereto. On Nicephorus, see Haldon, Recruitment, 50f. and note 87; and see above.

554) Theoph., 470, 29-30.

555) Theoph., 473, 28-31.

556) Theoph., 440, ^{28;} 445, ¹⁹ (for 771).

557) Theoph., 438, ^{12-13;} 437, ^{1-2.}

558) See Pertusi, De Them., 133-6; also Gelzer, Themen-verfassung, 79, 81f; Diehl, L'Origine, 279. Zacos and Veglery, 953 (note to no.1656, a seal of Theophilos, domestikos of the boukellarioi) suggest that this seal belongs to the first half of the eighth century, and must therefore refer to a domestic similar to the later domestic of the scholae; in other words, that the boukellarioi formed a tagma before the creation of the theme of the same name. This contradicts what is known from other sources; and it appears to me that the seal might equally belong to the later part of the eighth century, since it is of the cruciform invocative monogram type, of which similar examples dated by the editors to the later part of the eighth century also exist. In the latter case, Theophilos is an ordinary theme domestic attached to the strategos, cf. Leo, Tact., iv, 30; Klet.Phil., 109, ²². Alternatively, if the attribution is correct, then Theophilos is simply the domestic of the tourmarches of the Boukellarion, which will have formed a tourma of the Opsikion before that theme was subdivided. A seal dated by Laurent to the eighth century, of an anon. tourmarches (alternative reading: archon) of the boukellarioi, may support the argument. See Laurent, Bulletin, i, 639. That the boukellarioi retained their identity as a military unit is clear from the fact of their later emergence as a theme with their

original title. There is no need to postulate a tagma of the boukellarioi.

559) De Them., v, 1-12. Note Ibn al-Fakih 74: And the men of this province are devoted to the King's service, and are not men of war. Cf. Kudāma, 197-8.

560) Theoph., 447,¹⁹⁻²¹; cf. also 473,³⁰. That they were not simply a corps of waggoners, however, but may have been soldiers as well, is implied by their appearance in the theme list of Ibn Khurradhbīh (77). On the other hand, Theodore of Stoudios refers in the period 815-820 to the 'five' themes of Asia (presumably the Anatolikon, Boukellarion, Opsikion, Armeniakon, Thrakesion, as Treadgold, Numbers and Organization, 286, surmises), implying the odd position occupied by the Optimaton, and reinforcing the suggestion that it was already a support unit, rather than a front-line corps, by this time. See PG 99, 1284A-B.

561) Pertusi, De Them., 132; Oikonomidès, Préséance, 339. The existence of a domestic as commander of the corps leads Ahrweiler to postulate an original tagma of optimates (Recherches, 25, note 2), and in turn to connect this with the scholares based in the region during the sixth century. As we have seen, the optimates have no connection with the scholae; while domestic is a title specifically connected with the organisational reforms of Constantine V. See chapter four.

562) See Schlumberger, Sig., 244, seal of an anon., imperial strator and domestic of the Optimaton (late eighth century); Zacos and Veglery, nos. 2669a, ditto; 2457, seal of an imperial spatharios and domestic of the Optimaton (ninth century); 2447, ditto; 1898, seal of Eustathios, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the Optimaton (late ninth/tenth century); Ebersolt,

nos. 527, seal of anon., spatharios and strategos of the Optimator; and 526, seal of Gregory, --- and strategos of the Optimator (both ninth century): these readings may be corrected to strator, as Oikonomidès, Préséance, 339, note 304 suggests; 373, seal of Theophanes, imperial protospatherios and domestic of the Optimator (ninth century); Schlumberger, Sig., 244, a seal of Gregory Choirosphaktes, chrysotrikliniarios and strategos of the Optimator (late ninth/tenth century). Zacos and Veglery no.2624, a seal of an imperial protospatherios and domestic of the Optimator, is dated to the later eighth century. If the dating is correct, this title at such an early stage is exceptional. Cf. Takt.Usp., 53,⁸: ὁ (α' σπαθ.) δομέστικος τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων (for 842/3); Klet.Phil., 145,²¹: ὁ πρωτοσπάθαριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων (for 899). Note also Zacos and Veglery, no.2499, read by Seibt, ByzSlav 36(1975)212 as of Theoktistos, imp. protospath. and domestic of the Optimator (see Appendix, D2).

563) Cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.2463, seal of Theodore, imperial spatharios and topoteretes of the Optimator (ninth century). Cf. Takt.Usp., 57,¹⁷; Klet.Phil., 119,²³; 151,¹⁰: ὁ σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ τοποτρόπης τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων.

564) Klet.Phil., 119,²⁷. Compare with Klet.Phil., 111,⁶⁻⁷ (the officium of the domestic of the scholae) and 111,³, the kagkellarios of the Anatolikon thema. For the lowly position of the domestic, see above.

565) De Cer., 474, ^{15-17.}

566) De Cer., 476, ^{4sq.} On the count of the stable, see now Oikonomidès, Préséance, 338-9.

567) De Cer., 447,⁹-478,⁵. For bibliography on the dating of such passages, see chapter two above, note 275.

568) See also Ibn al-Fakīh, 74; Kudāma, 197-8.

569) De Cer., 475,¹⁹-476,⁴.

570) Theoph., 473,²⁸⁻³¹.

571) Kudāma, 198; Ibn al-Fakīh, 74.

572) Cf. De Them., v, 12-18; also Masūdi, 243; Ibn Khurradadhbih, 77; Kudāma, 197-8.

573) De Cer., 474,¹⁵⁻¹⁷; 475,^{19sq.} The chartoularios was responsible for maintaining the military lists or codices. See Leo, Tact., iv, 33, where the duties of the theme chartulary are described as τὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ καταγραφὴν καὶ ἀναζήτησιν. Compare De Cer., 475,^{19sq.} where the names and places of origin of each optimate are noted down ἐν καταγραφῇ. Cf. Klet.Phil., 119,²⁴.

574) See above, 201f. for the Gothograeci; and 200f. for the mutiny of 715.

575) Arethas of Caesarea, Comm. in Apocal., xx, 7-10.

576) De Them., iv, 9-13.

577) Along with other ethnic minorities, notably a Slav group who retained their identity until at least the tenth century, cf. De Cer., 666, 15-16; 669, 10sq.

Chapter four: notes

578) Cf. Theoph., 437,^{1sq;} 442,^{24-27.} Cf. also
Niceph.Patr., Apologeticus, 556D.

579) Theoph., 437,^{9-11;} 438,^{2-17.} For the domestic of
the excubitors, see lines 10-11.

580) The organisation and administration of the new regiments
will be discussed more fully in chapter five.

581) See chapter two, 142-161.

582) Theoph., 442,^{25-6:} Ἀντώνιος πατρίκιος καὶ δουμέστικος
τῶν σχολῶν.

583) Chapter two, 146f. Max.Conf.Acta, 169 (for the year 654 or
shortly after): τις τῶν δουμέστικων τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (of the forces
in Thrace).

584) Mansi, xi, 209.

585) Theoph., 388,^{21.} The domestic of Artavasdos (also
called Artavasdos) referred to by Theoph., 419,^{13sq.} may well
have been a similar official. Cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.1740, a
seal of Artavasdos, hypatos and domestic, of the eighth century.
On the other hand, the title may be used in Theophanes' text in
the older sense, simply as aide: cf. Seibt, Bleisiegel, no.137
and comments.

586) Theoph., 383,^{11.}

587) See also two seals of domestici of the table, in Zacos and
Veglery, nos. 2332, a seal of Plato, domestic of the divine

trapeza (dated to the first half of the eighth century); and 2484, a seal of Theodosios, hypatos and domestic of the divine trapeza (of the eighth century).

588) De Cer., 525,^{16sq.}

589) This is not to exclude the possibility that it was still a subordinate of the magister whom Constantine appointed to this new position. As Guillard notes, and as I have already pointed out, some connection between the magister and the scholae does appear in the last years of the eighth century. Cf. Guillard, Recherches, i, 428, and chapter two, p.150.

590) Cf. Theoph., 437,¹⁻³: ὃν λαβόντες οἱ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας αὐτὸν μετέχοντες (έχθροι) καὶ ὁμόφρονες αὐτῷ γεγονότες σχολάριοι τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταγμάτων... and 442,²⁴⁻⁷: καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλει δι' ἑαυτοῦ ταῦτα ἔδρα καὶ τῶν ὁμοφρόνων αὐτοῦ, Ἀντωνίου, φημί, πατρικίου καὶ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν καὶ Πέτρου μαγίστρου καὶ τοῦ ἐκπαιδευθέντος ὥπ' αὐτοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ταγμάτων. Cf. also 462,^{8sq.} where they are referred to as: τὸν δισεβῆ λαόν, ὃν ὁ ἀλάστωρ Κωνσταντῖνος ἐστράτευσε τε καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν. See also Konst.Tios, 10(97): οὐδεὶς μέντοι ἐν ταῖς ημέραις αὐτῶν δοξάειν ἡξιοῦτο παρησίᾳ τὸν κύριον, ἀλλὰ φόβος καὶ ἕκστασις ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς δρθοδόξους ἦν, ἐπικειμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀσεβοῦς τῶν πρών σχολαρίων ὅμηρύρεως Ἡν ὁ μιαρὸς ἐκεῖνος Κωνσταντῖνος φυτεύσας φυτείαν πονηρὰν φέρουσαν βότρυν πικρίας πονηρῶς ἐξεπαίδευσεν καὶ ἐκμανῶς κατὰ τῶν εὐλαβούντων ἐκθρέψας ἐξώπλισεν'... This account is borne out by an interesting reference, in the Synaxarion notice regarding St. Anthousa of Mantineon, to a soldier who came to see the saint secretly, and in disguise, at some point during the reign of Constantine V. See Synax.CP, 848-52 and C.Mango, 'St. Anthusa of Mantineon and the Family of Constantine V', AB 100 (1982)401-409, see 402; and cf. note 597 below for the fate of soldiers who failed to conform to the policies of Constantine V.

591) Vita Steph.Iun., 1169C: ὁ δὲ τύραννος... προσκαλεσάμενος
ἔνα ξιφηρῆ ἄνδρα, τῇ τοῦ Προκίου ἀξίᾳ καταλεγόμενον, ... For the
date, tradition and historical value of the hagiographies cited
in the following, see Beck, Kirche; Ševčenko, Hagiography;
Patlagean, Sainteté. On Stephen, see in particular J.Gill, 'The
Life of St. Stephen the Younger by Stephen the Deacon', OCP
6(1940)114-139; G.Huxley, 'On the Vita of Stephen the Younger',
GRBS 18(1977)97-108; and now M.-F.Rouan, 'Une lecture
"iconoclaste" de la vie d'Etienne le jeune', TM 8(1981)415-436.

592) Theoph., 470,^{29sq}; Vita Theod.Stud., 16: the domestic
Bardanios was accompanied by John, count of the Opsikion. On the
relationship of this (the oldest) Vita to later versions, see
J.Leroy, 'La réforme Studite', OCP 153(1958)181-214, see 187 note
45.

593) Niceph.Patr., Apologeticus, 556A.

594) Georg.Mon.Chron., 762,¹⁷⁻¹⁹: οἱ γὰρ τῆς μανίας αὐτοῦ
καὶ δυσσεβείας ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ δορυφόροι δῖνας μὲν ὡς πλεῖστας
ἀνθρώπων ὄσιων ἀποτέμνοντες...

595) Theoph., 438,^{1sq}; Niceph.Patr., 74,^{8sq}.

596) Theoph., 437,⁹⁻¹²; Niceph.Patr., 72,²⁶-73,⁶.

597) Cf. De Stephano et al., 263: πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν τότε
ὅρθιοδόξων ὄντων ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ βίῳ γεγόνασι μοναχοί. Τοὺς
τοιούτους δὲ ὁ παράνομος βασιλεὺς τιμωρησάμενος, ἐφόνευσε. Καὶ
γὰρ τὸν ἔνα, Βασίλειον καλούμενον, ἐκτυφλώσας... Ἀλλος
ἔγκλειστος ἐν τῷ σωσθενίῳ δινοκοπηθείς, ἐν Χερσῶνι ἐξορίσθη, καὶ
μέλλων φονευθῆναι, ἔφυγεν εἰς Χαζαρίαν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος
ἐγένετο, καὶ θοτερον ἐτελειώθη. Ἀλλος δὲ Στέφανος ὄνοματι εἰς
Σουγδίαν ἐξορισθείς, καὶ πολλοὺς ὀφελήσας, τέλος ἔσχε τοῦ βίου.

δημοίως καὶ Γρηγόριοι δύο οὖν πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξορισθέντες, ἀπέθανον κτλ. The Ιωάννης ὁ ἀπὸ λεγαταρίων εἰς Δαφνουσίαν ἔξορισθείς (*ibid.*, 264) may have been an officer in the excubitores. See chapter five. On Stephen of Sogdia, see Ševčenko, *Hagiography*, 115 note 8 (and V. Vasil'evskij, *Russko-Vizantiiskaja Isledovaniya II* (St. Petersburg 1893), ccix). The Vita is not entirely reliable, being compiled some time after the events it purports to describe.

598) Cf. Theoph., 440,²⁴⁻⁸ (appointment of Michael Lachanodrakon to the command of the Thrakesion theme; of Michael Melissenos in the Anatolikon theme; and Manes in the Boukellarion).

599) Theoph., 461,^{19sq}; Vita Tarasii, 403,^{36sq}. (for the Vita, see Costa-Louillet, *Saints*, 217f., and Ševčenko, *Hagiography*, 123); Mansi, xii, 990. 'Iconoclast feeling' was not the only motivation, of course. See note 601 below.

600) Cf. Niceph.Patr., *Apologeticus*, 556B: there remained in the City καὶ μέρος οὐκ εὑαρίθμητον τῶν ἐν στρατιωτικοῖς τάγμασι ποτέ, ὃν οἱ μὲν ἄτε παρεβηκότες τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἀφῆλικες, οἱ δὲ ἐπ' αιτίας τισὶ πεφωραμένοι καὶ αἰσχρότησι, τῆς μοίρας τῆς ἐνοπλίου ἀπελήλανται, ὃν οἱ πλείους τῆς παλαιᾶς ἑκείνης καὶ δυσσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας τυγχάνουσιν, ἐκ πολλῆς ὅγαν κτηνωδίας καὶ ἀλογίας, ὅθεν ἡδονὴ καὶ συνελέγησαν, ταύτης τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον μεταποιούμενοι· οἱ ἐπειδὴ τῶν βασιλικῶν σιτηρεσίων στερούμενοι, ἐξ ὃν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς τῶν σπλαν παρασκευῆς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπορίζετο, εἰς ἄκρον πενίας καὶ ἀπορίας τῶν αναγκαίων ἵκοντο· ὥστε, εἰς προῦπτον καὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν παρατυγχανόντων, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐρανῶν συλλογῆς τὰ πρὸς ζωὴν ἐπαρκούμενοι, περιαθροῦντες ὅπου πότοι καὶ ὀθροίσματα γίνονται, ἐφ' οἵς ὡς ὑπόπτεροι περιθέουσιν, ὡς ἂν τὸ ἐνδεές καὶ πιέζον ἐντεῦθεν παραμυθήσωνται οὗτοι δέ, ὡς ἴσμεν, ἄπαντες, ἐθάδες τῶν χειρόνων ὑπάρχοντες,

τοῖς μὲν καθεστῶσιν ὅει δυσχεράίνουσι, ταῖς δὲ καινοτομίαις
χαίρουσι, καὶ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἐφίενται, ὡς δὴ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων
αὐτοῖς θορύβων καὶ ἀταξίων, τὰ χρειάδη καὶ ἀναγκαῖα περιγίγνοντο
See also Theoph., 496,^{8sq.} Whether these soldiers were those
disbanded by Eirene, or soldiers disbanded by Nicephorus I or
Michael I, remains unclear. That these soldiers were tagmatic
soldiers, however, and not poor conscripts disbanded by Michael,
as P.J.Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus I of Constantinople*
(Oxford 1958) 112ff. argues, there is no doubt. Alexander's
argument contains several contradictions. To begin with, if
these same soldiers are to be identified with the poor conscripts
of the 'second vexation' of Nicephorus I (Theoph., 486,^{23sq.}),
who are also possibly those described later as πένητάς τε πολλοὺς
ἰδίοις ὄψινοις σφενδόναις καὶ ῥαβδοῖς ὀπλισμένους (Theoph.,
490,⁵) they cannot then be identified with the men to whom
Nicephorus refers, who are τῶν βασιλικῶν σιτηρεσίων στερούμενοι,
ἐξ ὧν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς τῶν ὄπλων παρασκευῆς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
ἐπορίζετο, ... - clearly we have to do here with two quite
distinct categories of soldier. Alexander's argument is based
partly on the mistaken assumption that 'it is quite unthinkable
that any government at any time did not take care of discharged
professional soldiers' (117, 121). There is plenty of evidence
to show that this occurred quite often... in the sixth century,
for example (see chapter one); while the hypothesis that at this
time all soldiers had lands to retire to has been shown to need
serious reconsideration. Nicephorus also makes it clear in
Antirrheticus iii, 492B, that these soldiers had been supported
by the administration: they were ἀτορίᾳ πολλῇ πιέζονται, μάλιστα
τῶν βασιλικῶν σιτηρεσίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιλελοιπότων, ἀφ' ὧν τὰ πρὸς τὸ
ζῆν μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων αὐτοῖς περιεγίνετο.

The problem which Alexander (120) appears to find when
attempting to identify who the 'garrison' troops at
Constantinople were in 813 (cf. Theoph., 501,^{4sq.}),
since the tagmata were with Michael at Versinicia (cf. Theoph.

since the tagmata were with Michael at Versinicia (cf. Theoph. cont., 15, ^{18sq.}), is no problem at all. First, there were always the noumera and teichistai in the City; secondly, Theophanes does not state anywhere that the men who opened the gates of Constantine's tomb were actually serving soldiers at the time of the incident. He observes merely that Constantine had thus 'educated' his soldiers. That they were ex-soldiers at the least is clear. And if they were serving soldiers, then they belonged to the noumera or Walls unit.

601) Theoph., 501, ^{4sq.} Cf. also Niceph.Patr., Antirrheticus iii, 504. The typical attitude of officers and men is summarised in an anecdote in the Vita Cosmae et Ioannis, 294, where the saint challenges two iconoclast vicarii who have been whispering: ποῦ νῦν ἔστιν ὁ κράτιστος ἐκεῖνος Κωνσταντῖνος - τὸν Κομρώνυμον παραδηλοῦντες - ὁ περίδοξος, ὁ περίβλεπτος ἐν βασιλεῦσιν; to one another. As Speck, Konstantin VI, 561 (n.369), 564 (n.380), etc., notes, tagmatic action should not be seen only in this light. See the discussion in chapter six, below. The Life of Cosmas and John is, of course, much later than the period in which the events described occurred. See Beck, Kirche, 504-5 (eleventh, probably twelfth century). But the details suggest the existence of an earlier exemplar which may have served as a model and source for the later hagiographer.

602) Theoph., 443, ¹⁻⁵; also Niceph.Patr., Refutatio, 247; Niceph.Patr., frg., 135, ²²⁻⁴; Georg.Mon.Chron., 764, ¹²⁻¹⁴. For the situation of this famous monastery, see Janin, CP Byz, 333-4 and map i, B7. On Constantine's alleged profaning of monasteries, see Speck, Konstantin VI, 429 (n.27), 455 (n.184) and references cited there.

603) Theoph., 447, ¹⁹⁻²¹.

604) Theoph., 449, ^{16-17.} See the comments of Speck, Konstantin VI, 72-3 - although that this measure had to do with the recruitment of the poor seems unlikely. See Haldon, Recruitment, 51, note 87.

605) Theoph., 456, ^{10-11,} although it seems more likely that they had other soldiers with them. See Speck, Konstantin VI, 123.

606) Vita Ioannicii, 344A, 337. See Beck, Kirche, 558; Ševčenko, Hagiography.

607) Cf. Ahrweiler, Recherches, 55f; Guillard, Recherches, i, 428-30; Ostrogorsky, State, 222f. For tagmata based outside Constantinople see, for example, De Cer., 666, ^{8sq.} and Theoph. cont., 142, ^{6sq.} Note that I am dealing here with the scholae and excubitores; the history of the vigla and later the hetaireia are somewhat different.

608) On the role of the domestic of the scholae, see Ahrweiler, Recherches, 56-7; Guillard, Recherches, i, 428-9.

609) See Speck, Konstantin VI, 73.

610) Theoph., 461, ^{19sq.} for the breaking up of the Synod. Also Vita Tarasii, 403, ^{36sq.} Mansi, xii, 990; Vita Platonis Stud., 50, ²⁴ (on whom see Ševčenko, Hagiography, 115f., and Speck, Konstantin VI, 425ff.); and for the posting of the scholae, Theoph., 462, ^{5-17;} Mansi, xii, 991; Konst.Tios, 11 (98). See also Anon., Excerpta, 366, ^{10-16;} and Georg.Mon.Chron., 769, ^{2sq.} vita Nicetae Conf., xxviii, ^{30.} (Cf. Ševčenko, Hagiography, 118 note 43). See most recently Speck's discussion, Konstantin VI, 160 and note 439; and for Theophanes' sometimes suspect account, ibid., esp. 389-97.

Speck's account of the anti-iconoclast bias in Theophanes' work is particularly important. Note Tinnefeld, *Kaiserkritik*, 60-78, for the portrayal of iconoclasts in the literary sources.

611) This is clear from Konst.Tios., loc. cit., - καὶ ἔτερους ἀντ' αὐτῶν (sc. the banished scholarioi) εὑσεβεῖς στρατολογίσασα καὶ τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς τάγμασιν ἀναπληρώσασα.

612) Theoph., 466, ^{4-5.}

613) For example, Theoph., 466, ^{5;} 471, 25-6; Theoph. cont., 136, ^{3-6;} 150, 9-12; 303, 1-3; 361, ⁷ etc: ἡ βίγλα; Gen., 61, 14-15; 106, ^{19-20:} ἡ βασιλικὴ βίγλα; cf. especially 81, ^{19-21:} δρουγγάριος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἥτοι τῆς βασιλικῆς βίγλης. See also T.Usp., 51, ^{4:} ὁ δρ. τῶν ἀριθμῶν; 57, ^{7:} ὁ τοπ. τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ; 63, ^{21:} ὁ χαρτ., οἱ κόμητες τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ; Klet.Phil., 103, ^{1:} ὁ δρ. τῆς βίγλας; 105, ^{29:} ὁ δρ. τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ; 115, ^{21:} ὁ δρ. τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ; DAI, 51, ^{28:} ὁ δρ. τῆς βίγλας; 51, ^{40:} τὸ τάγμα τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ; De Cer., 494, ^{19-20:} ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλας εἰς τοὺς κόμητας τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ (sc. τὴν αὐτὴν παραγγελίαν ποιεῖν) etc.

614) Bury, Admin., 60.

615) Theoph., 233, ^{17-18.}

616) Theoph., 219, ^{14-16.}

617) Malalas, 349, ^{5;} Not.Dig., Or. viii, 25.

618) Bury, Admin., 61.

619) Cf. Schlumberger, Sig., 336; Theoph., 235, ^{1-2.} For Theodosius, cf. Chron.Pasch., 730. This hypothesis was repeated

by Guilland, *Recherches*, i, 563-4.

620) Stein, *Bas-Empire*, ii, 538, note. Stein's identity of the arithmoi as the 'deme militia' is to be modified. See part four below.

621) Agath., v, 15; cf. Th.Sim., viii, 7-8.

622) Theoph., 233, ^{20-4.}

623) Bury, *Admin.*, 61; cf. Not.Dig., Or.viii, 26; 27.

624) See chapter two, 173f.

625) Maur., *Strat.*, ii, 5.3; iii, 8.1.

626) Not.Dig., Or.v, vi, viii.

627) See chapter two; and Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 15ff; and his remarks on transfers and the value of the Notitia Dignitatum.

628) De Cer., 663, ^{1sq.}

629) Not.Dig., Or.viii, 27. The equites Theodosiaci seniores were in the army of the mag.mil.praes. II - cf. Not.Dig., Or.vi, 33. There were several units of Theodosiaci, however. See Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 242. Possibly the emperor Maurice established one, named after his son: cf. Greg. I, *Reg.*, ii, 45 and the editor's note; Hoffmann, loc. cit., note 352; and Tjäder, *P.Ital.*, 451, note 12.

630) Not.Dig., Or.v, 63.

631) Niceph.Patr., 24, ^{19-21.}

632) Jones, LRE, 640f.

633) This organisation has been discussed in chapters one and two.

634) Theoph., 462,^{5sq}: τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀποστείλασα ἡ βασίλισσα Σταυράκιον τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ λογοθέτην ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ --- πρὸς τὰ περατικὰ θέματα ἐκεῖσε τηνικαῦτα ὅντα, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς συνεργῆσαι αὐτῇ καὶ ἐξεώσαι τῆς πόλεως τὸν δυσσεβῆ λαόν --- καὶ εἰσελθόντες οἱ τῶν ἔξω θεμάτων ἐκράτησαν τὴν πόλιν.

Cf. Mansi, xii, 991B-C for the account in the Acta of the Nicaean council of 787, on which Theophanes based his version. See notes 610 and 611 above.

635) Theoph., 462,¹⁷⁻¹⁸: καὶ ποιήσασα στρατὸν ἴδιον καὶ ἄρχοντας πειθηνίους αὐτῇ, ...

636) The term vigla was applied generally to the scouting parties or advanced guard sent out by campaigning forces, derived from the Latin vigilia = (on palace duty) excubia. Cf. Theoph., 387,²³: ἡ δὲ βίγλα (of Leo III) γνοῦσα, ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι; also 307,²⁶; 471,²⁵; cf. Niceph., De Vel.Bell., 187,^{8sq}.

Theophanes sometimes distinguishes these from ἡ βασιλικὴ βίγλα, cf. 491,¹². In general, the term might mean any watch or guard, civil or military. Cf. Devréesse, L'Hypomnesticum, 72,²⁴, where the master of the watch is referred to as ο βιγλομάγιστωρ. See below, note 769.

637) For confusion between singular and plural, cf. T.Usp., 51,⁴: ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ δρουγγάριος τ(ῶν) ἀριθμ(ῶν); 51,³²: ὁ δρουγγάριος τῶν ἀριθμῶν; all other references - to the topoteretes (57,⁷) and the komites and chartulary (63,²¹⁻²) put the regiment in the singular, although 57,⁶⁻⁹ (topoteretai of the exkoubiton, arithmos, hikanatoi and noumera)

put the title topoteretes in the plural. This seems to be a genuine copyist's or clerical error. Cf. also Klet.Phil., 157,¹² which has τὸν ἀριθμὸν, but at 157,²⁸ it has τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. There is frequent confusion between singular and plural for the topoteretai of other units. Cf., for example, Klet.Phil., 111²⁶, 27; 119,³, 23, 30 etc. For the seal, cf. Laurent, Orghidan, no.32. On topoteretai, 'see chapter five.

638) Klet.Phil., 115,^{26-8.}

639) De Cer., 230, 22-3; 236, 7-10; 252, 1; 481, 17sq:
τὰ σκουτάρια τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. The first three references are of late eighth century date. See note 275, chapter two. It is significant that in many of the these early ceremonies (excluding those dating from before Eirene's reign), the arithmos/vigla takes part, as 'do the scholae; but not the exkoubitoi. This may well point to the prominent place that unit had for a while as Eirene's own guards unit, at least in the ceremonial sphere. See, for example, De Cer., 230,²¹⁻⁴; 236, 7-10; 239,¹⁷⁻¹⁹; 252;¹ etc.

640) Recherches, i, 567, presumably after De Cer., 578,⁹⁻¹⁰: τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ μανδάτωρες μετὰ σπαθίων καὶ σκουταρίων. But the Vigla was a fighting unit, and there is no reason why its rank-and-file, whatever their duties, should not have been thus armed.

641) Cf. Strat., ii, 3; iii, 5.14-16; Leo, Tact., iv, 20, 21, 58, 59; Syll.Tact., 35, 15 etc. Note De Cer., 230,²¹⁻³: καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν οἱ δὲ ἀξιωματικοὶ καὶ κόμητες τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τὰ σκουτάρια τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ κούρσωρες καὶ οἱ διαιτάριοι τῶν ὅλων διαιτῶν. Oikonomidès, Préséance, may be correct in considering

these koursores as the equivalent to the diatrechontes of the unit.

642) Thrakesion is by no means certain, although the fierce iconoclast persecution undertaken by Michael Lachanodrakon, as strategos of the theme, may have promoted more hostility to the iconoclasts than elsewhere, and thus encouraged Eirene to select a unit from this area where, as I have pointed out, other older units certainly survived, which would be more reliable in her attempts to restore the icons. Cf. Theoph., 445, 3sq., 28sq; Vita Steph.Iun., 1165; and Speck, Konstantin VI, 160ff.

643) For its chief duty, cf. Kudāma, 197. For its role on campaign. see De Cer., 452, 16sq., an account of the later eighth century. Kudāma, or a later copyist, garbles the name, which appears as arfos. For the emendation, see Haldon, Garrison, 81-82. Cf. the seals of Leo, imperial spatharios and drouggarios of the God-guarded vigla (Zacos and Veglery, no.2144; Schlumberger, Sig., 341, a seal of the later eighth century); of Theodore, imperial spatharios and drouggarios of the vigla (Zacos and Veglery, no.2458, of the later eighth century); and for protospatharioi, cf. the seal and ring of Aetios, protospatharios and drouggarios of the vigla (Schlumberger, Sig., 340; idem, Collections, 181, no.609, of the mid-ninth century). Cf. also T.Usp., 51, 4, 33, where the drouggarios is of protospatharios or higher grade. That the vigla was from the first associated with special guard duties in the palace is suggested by some of its duties mentioned in later sources - notably its position in the hippodrome and the special duties of the drouggarios himself. Cf. Guillard, Recherches, i, 564-5; and for the later period also Laurent, Corpus II, 465ff.

644) Theoph., 492, ^{5sq}: Στέφανος δέ, πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν, συνπαρόντος καὶ θεοκτίστου μαγίστρου, ἀνηγδρευσε Σταυράκιον αὐτοκράτορα, ...

645) Theoph., 476, ^{1sq.}

646) Theoph., 462, 17-18; and 466, ^{3sq.} for Alexios' desertion in 790. Eirene eventually gained her revenge by persuading her son to have Alexios blinded during the rebellion of 792, cf. Theoph., 468, ¹³⁻¹⁶: Ἀλέξιον, τὸν προλεχθέντα πατρίκιον, ἐξετύφλωσε, πεισθεὶς ταῖς μητρικαῖς εἰσηγήσεσι.

647) Theoph., 468, ^{7sq}: τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων ἐπισυναχθέντων ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἔβουλεύσαντο ἑξαγαγεῖν Νικηφόρον, τὸν ἀπὸ καισάρων, καὶ στῆσαι εἰς βασιλέα. On the role and activities of the tagmata in the internal politics of the reigns of Constantine VI and Eirene, see now Speck, Konstantin VI. There had also been an attempt to place Nicephorus, the brother of Leo IV, on the throne, in place of Eirene and Constantine, during their first year, led by, among others, the domestic of the excubitors Constantine. Cf. Theoph., 454, ^{12sq.}

648) Theoph., 470, ^{24sq}; Vita Theod. Stud., 16. See Speck, Konstantin VI, 287ff., and notes.

649) Theoph., 471, ²⁵⁻⁶ refers to the plotters under Staurakios bribing τοὺς τῆς βίγλας to inform Constantine VI that the Arab forces had retreated, thus encouraging him to return to Constantinople without accomplishing anything. This seems to be a reference to the vigla in the general sense, that is to say, the scouts or advanced guard of the imperial army. The vigla proper remained probably with Eirene. Cf. Theoph., 307, ²⁶: τῇ τοῦ Χοσρόου βίγλᾳ, and note 636 above.

650) Theoph., 471, ¹³-472, ²²: εὑροῦσα δὲ διωρίαν ἢ τούτου (sc. Κωνσταντίνου) μάτηρ προσελάλησε καὶ ὑπέσυρε δωρεαῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεις τοὺς τῶν ταγμάτων ἄρχοντας πρὸς τὸ καθελεῖν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, καὶ μονοκρατορῆσαι αὐτήν, τοὺς μὲν δι' ἔαυτῆς θωπεύσασα, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτῆς, καὶ εἴλκυσε πάντας πρὸς ἔαυτήν καὶ ἐξεδέχετο ήμέραν εὑρεῖν ἐπιτήδειον.

651) Theoph., 474, 13-15, 22sq: Σταυράκιος δὲ προρρηθεὶς τυραννίδα καὶ στάσιν κατὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν συνεσκεύαζε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ σχολαρίους καὶ ἐκσκούβιτορας καὶ τοῖς ἄρχοντιν αὐτῶν δεξιούμενος χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς.

652) For the coup of 802, see Theoph., 476, ³sq; and notes 740, 741 below. For Kaegi's remarks, see Polit. Activity, 7; and for the description of Nicephorus, see the references cited in note 600 above. For Eirene's coup in 797, see Theoph., 471-2; and on the events of this period see now Speck, Konstantin VI, who examines the local context of tagmatic political activity in detail.

653) See Ostrogorsky, State, 166ff.; and on Nicephorus' policy, see, inter al., A.Christophilopoulou, "Ἡ οἰκονομικὴ καὶ δημοσιονομικὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Νικηφόρου Α", Εἰς Μνήμην ΚΑΘΑΡΙΝΟΥ (Athens 1960) 413-31.

654) Cf. T.Usp., 53, ²; 57, ⁸; 63, ²⁴; and esp. Klet.Phil., 119, ¹sq. The organisation and administration of this tagma, like that of the others, will be dealt with in chapter five.

655) Cf. Script.Incert., (D), 210, ³sq: ἄρας μεθ' ἔαυτοῦ (sc. Nicephorus) ... ὅλα τὰ τάγματα, καὶ τῶν ἄρχοντων τὰ τέκνα, ἀπὸ δεκαπέντε τυγχάνοντα ἔτῶν καὶ ἐπάνω· οὓς καὶ ἐποίησεν ἔταιρείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐπονομάσας αὐτοὺς ἰκανάτους. Cf. also

Theoph. cont., 20,^{4-7.} For a thorough discussion of the text of the Scriptor incertus, the tradition behind it, and previous editions, cf. Dujčev, *ibid.*, 206ff.

656) Vita Ignatii, 492B: Νικήταν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν δεκαετῆ τυγχάνοντα, τῶν λεγομένων ἵκανάτων παρὰ Νικηφόρου φασὶ· τοῦ πάππου προβεβλήσθαι, δι' ὃν ἐκεῖνο τὸ πρᾶγμα πρῶτον καταστῆναι. See R.H.Jenkins, 'A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the Vita Ignatii', DOP 19(1965)241-7; Beck, Kirche, 565-6.

657) The cadets were massacred in the defeat of 811. Cf. Script.Incert., (D), 214,⁷⁰⁻⁷¹ where the dead included τὰ δὲ τέκνα τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀρχαίων τε καὶ νέων, εἰς πλῆθος ὄντα. For the hikanatoi in the later period, cf. Ostrogorsky, State, 222. Cf. also Bury, Admin., 63-4; Oikonomidēs, Préséance, 332.

658) Theoph. cont., 9,^{9sq}; Gen., 10,¹⁰⁻¹³. We can accept Stein's argument that the federates were originally posted to Lykaonia during the seventh century, but as part of the withdrawal of imperial forces into Asia Minor, and not as a part of the process whereby Heraclius established the first themes. See Studien, 140.

659) Theoph. cont., 11,^{3sq}. Cf. also Theoph., 489,¹⁷⁻²², where Leo is described as strategos of the Armeniakon theme; Euchaita was in the Armeniakon theme; and I think the reference to this city cited by Ahrweiler, Recherches, 29, does not refer to Leo as turmarch of the federates, but as newly-appointed strategos of the Armeniak theme.

660) Certainly in the eleventh century, cf. Cedrenus, 546,¹³⁻¹⁵; and as I will show, in the ninth century also.

661) Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 30, note 2; and see Haldon/Kennedy, *The Arab-Byzantine Frontier*, 103ff. The district may well have had a certain independence, possibly a result of its original status in the sixth century, when it was made by Justinian into a special military zone, commanded by an officer with wide powers in civil and military affairs, in order to combat banditry in the area. Cf. Jones, LRE, 609; Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 343. It appears to have retained this status until the ninth century at least. For the turmarch, cf. Theoph. cont., 24,¹⁻²; T.Usp., 55,⁷; Klet.Phil., 149,²³. Local officers in such positions, as representatives of the emperor, could also issue legally valid edicts relevant to their office and jurisdiction. See Simon, 'Provinzialrecht und Volksrecht', FM I, 102-116, see 106f; and see in general J. Ferluga, 'Niže vojno-administrativne jedinice tematskog uredenja', ZRVI 2(1953)61ff.

662) Cf. Stein, *Studien*, 135-40; Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 29-30; Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 343.

663) Cf. T.Usp., 63,³⁰; Klet.Phil., 10,²⁴ etc; Cedrenus, 546,¹³⁻¹⁵. Note that Klet.Phil., 209,²⁰⁻¹: οἱ εθνικοὶ τῆς ἑταίρειας, οἶοι Τούρκοι, Χαζάρεις καὶ λοιποί.... conflicts with the Cedrenus reference, where the federates are Lykaonians and Pisidians; the two units cannot be one and the same. Cf. Stein, *Studien*, 135-6; Bury, Admin., 64, 106-7.. It is, of course, possible that the ethnic composition of this unit had changed between the early ninth century and the middle of the eleventh century. But I suggest that the references to Lykaonians under Nicephorus I provide an adequate demonstration of continuity in both recruitment and localisation of the unit throughout this time. On Cedrenus, see Hunger, *Profane Literatur i*, 393-4.

664) Stein, Studien, 138-9; Klet.Phil., 149,^{24.}

665) T.Usp., 55,^{8.}

666) See Theoph., 480,¹⁶⁻¹⁷: Νικηφόρος Λυκάονας τινας, ἦ λυκανθρώπους, δύμογνώμονας καὶ δύμφρονας ἀποστείλας εἰς τὴν Πρώτην... to blind Bardanios Tourkos; 480,^{21sq}: Nicephorus extracts an oath from τοὺς ἐν τέλει Λυκάονας. Cf. also 488,^{22sq}: τῶν δὲ Μανιχαίων, τῶν νῦν Παυλικιάνων καλουμένων, καὶ Ἀθιγγάνων τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίαν καὶ Λυκαονίαν, ἀγχήειτόνων αὐτοῦ, φίλος ἦν διάπυρος, χρησμοῖς καὶ τελεταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιχαίρων; Theoph.cont., 10,^{4sq} relating to those sent to blind Bardanios - τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λυκαονίας.

667) Studien, 138; although it is quite possible that Lykaonia and Pamphylia did have a unified administration in the tenth century. Cf. De Them., i, 13f; and Diehl, L'Origine 278; see also Treadgold, Numbers and Organisation, 281-2.

668) See Brooks, Arabic Lists, 74, for the three turmarchs; and Winkelmann, Probleme, 22-23 for the geographers' references to Anatolikon.

669) Cf. Just., Nov. 25, 1 (A.D. 535, Περὶ τοῦ Πραίτωρος Λυκαονίας): ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἔστιν ἴσχυρῶν ἡ' χώρα, καὶ Ισαυρίας οὐδενὶ διέστηκε μέσψ, οἷα δὲ μεσόγειος τε οὖσα καὶ ἀνειμένη καὶ ἵπποβότας πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους ἐκτρέφει, κώμῶν τε ἔστιν αὐτῇ πλῆθος μεγάλων, καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἵππεύειν τε καὶ τοξέεσθαι καὶ ὁσίως πρὸς τραχυτέρας ἀνίστασθαι γνώμας καὶ σπλανχνίτεσθαι προχείρως, ... and Script.Incert. (CSHB) 336,^{16sq}: Μιχαὴλ... συνῆγας πάντα τὰ θέματα, ... καὶ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὰς κλεισούρας τῆς Συρίας συναθροίσας, Λυκάονας καὶ Κιλίκας καὶ Ισαύρους καὶ Καππαδόκας καὶ Γαλάτας... (for 813). For early ninth-century seals of a turmarch, see Zacos and Veglery,

no.3148(a) and (b), of (?)al-Nasir, imperial spatharios and tourmarches of the Phoideratoi.

670) Stein, Studien, 135-6, 139. He also considers the references to federates in Constantinople in the sixth century to refer to the same unit; but see chapter one, notes 25, 26.

671) Note ,666 above; and note 495,^{18q} when Theophanes makes it clear where Nicephorus' support had lain: κινηθεὶς δὲ οὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς κατὰ Μανιχαίων, τῶν νῦν Παυλικιάνων, καὶ ἀθιγγάνων τῶν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Λυκαονίᾳ, κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν ἀποφηνάμενος. Cf. Theoph., 482,^{25sq}: Nicephorus was forced to call off a campaign against the Bulgars as a result of tagmatic opposition.

672) Theoph.cont., 9,^{9sq}. On these houses, see Janin, CP Byz, 137, 331-2.

673) BGA, vi, 196-7: *Cus. I. 196* Gelzer, Themenverfassung, 19 and de Goeje, loc. cit. They omit the accents, and the text should read *فِيلَ الْأَطْبَىنِ* fidārātiyyin. The word, even in its corrupt form, is so close to this as to make any other reading very improbable. See Haldon, Garrison, 82-4. Treadgold's somewhat offhand re-writing of the word to fit the hikanatoi (Numbers and Organisation, 273) is not very convincing. See further Winkelmann, Probleme, 28-9 for the varied (unknown) sources lying behind Kudāma's jumbled list of tagmata.

674) The federates were in the City only a short time, for by 813/4 they were back in the Anatolikon theme. Cf. Gen., 12,^{13sq}. Significantly, one of the two known seals of turmarchs of the federates (see note 669) was found in Istanbul.

675) Stein, Studien, 135; Theoph.cont., 33,^{21.}

676) Theoph.cont., 52, ^{10-11;} Gen., 19, ^{10sq;}
Georg.Mon.Chron., 788, ^{9sq;} cf. also Gen., 12, ^{13-16:}
ἀναρρησίς δὲ δημοσίᾳ λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς θωμᾶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἡλικιώτην
τουρμάρχην εἰς φοιδεράτους ἐπέστησεν, καὶ Μιχαήλ, οὗ τὸν παῖδα
πνευματικῆς ἐκ κολυμβήθρας υἱοποιήσατο, τῇ πατρικίου καὶ
ἐκσκουβίτου τιμῇ διεσέμυνυνεν. See also Vita Nicolai Stud., 889;
Vita Ignatii, 493. On the former, note Th.Nissen, in BNJ
14(1938)331-9; and for the confused traditions incorporated into
Theoph.cont., see note 894 below.

677) Theoph., 489, ^{17sq}: ὑπαντηθέντες οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ εἰς
Εὐχάϊταν λέοντι, στρατηγῷ τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων, σὺν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ
Θεμάτος ταύτην ἀφείλαντο σὺν πολλῷ πλήθει λαοῦ. Cf. Theoph.
cont., 11, ^{3sq}: καὶ ποτε στρατιωτικῶν χρημάτων διανομὴν παρὰ
τοῦ τὰ σκῆπτρα διέποντος Νικηφόρου ἐγχειρισθείς, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν
ἔμελεν αὐτῷ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐντολῶν, οὐδ' ἔξεπέραινέ τι, ἀλλ' ἐν
πολίχνῳ Εὐχάϊτων τὸν καιρὸν ραστώντῳ καὶ αμελείᾳ κατατρίβων
ἀνεβάλλετο τὰ νενομισμένα τῷ στρατῷ παρασχεῖν... etc. The
latter version precedes this account with a brief recognition
of Leo's abilities as a soldier, preceded in turn by a reference
to his rise from humble origins to the position of commander
of the federates. There is no need to assume that he was
commander of the federates at the time of his mission to the
Armeniakon troops, when he visited Euchaita, which is in the
Armeniak theme anyway, as pointed out above, note 659.
Theophanes was almost contemporary with the events he describes,
and is in this case to be preferred. Genesios later makes Leo
hypostrategos of the Anatolik theme (10), which Bury (ERE, 25,
note 4) takes as evidence that he was turmarch of the
Anatolikon theme when he was disgraced. But again, the evidence
of Theophanes, and the non-committal account of the continuator
of Theophanes, argues in favour of his promotion to the

position of strategos of the Armeniak theme immediately before his disgrace and exile. It was only after this that he became strategos of the Anatolikon theme. Cf. Theoph. cont., 11, 5sq.

678) Theoph., 495, ¹sq. For the Athiganoi, see Rochow, in: Byzanz im 7. Jhd., 286; and Joshua Starr, 'An Eastern Christian Sect: the Athinganoi', Harvard Theological Review 29/2(1936)93-106.

679) Leo's appointment as strategos of the Anatolikon theme - Theoph. cont., 12, 7-10; Niceph. Patr., Apologeticus, 556B; Antirrheticus iii, 492B. For the possible desertion of the tagmata in 813, see Theoph. cont., 15, ¹⁸-20. For the appointment of Michael and Thomas, see note 676 above; and for Michael's imprisonment, see G. Mon. cont., 777, ¹⁸sq. Note also 777, ⁴-6. For the tonsuring and banishment of Niketas, Theoph. cont., 20, ⁴-7.

680) Cf. Theoph. cont., 111, ¹⁰-112, ²¹; 124, ¹⁴sq. The Persian units were eventually split up into separate tourmai, distributed among the themes. Cf. Theoph. cont., 125, ⁴sq; also G. Mon. cont., 793, ¹sq; Sym. Mag., 625, ²²sq; Gen., 55-9. See Bury, ERE, 252f. and notes 2 and 3; also Grégoire, 'Manuel et Théophobe', Byz 9(1934)204; 5(1929-30)327-46; 6(1931)490f; 8(1933)515-50; note also W. T. Treadgold, 'The Chronological Accuracy of the "Chronicle" of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 813-845', DOP 33(1979)183.

681) Acta Martyr. Amor., 27, ⁹⁻¹¹. The origin of these 'Ethiopians' is obscure. The term Ethiopian was used by Latin and Greek writers of all black- or dark-skinned people from Africa, a tradition continued into the sixth century and beyond. See Frank M. Snowdon, jr., Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians

in the Greco-Roman Experience (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) vii; in Minorsky, *Hudūd al-Ālām*, 437; V.Christides, 'Sudanese at the Time of the Arab Conquest of Egypt', *BZ* 75(1982)6ff; idem, 'The Image of the Sudanese in Byzantine Sources', *ByzSlav* 43(1982)8-17, esp. 11f. Arab writers often carried this confusion further. In this particular instance, they are probably Christian slaves who had escaped from or been captured from the Caliphate. Harūn b. Yahya refers to 'black Christians' as forming a section of the palace guard in the later ninth century. Cf. A.Vasiliev, 'Harun ibn Yahya's Description of Constantinople', *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5(1932)149-163; and idem, in: *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii/2, 435 (note to Canard's French translation of Harun's text, *ibid.*, 385). There is no reason to suggest, as Canard does, that they were Slavs, and that Harūn's text is therefore corrupt - the description is quite precise, and the reference to a regiment of such soldiers in the Acta of the martyrs of Amorion makes it clear that the employment of such troops was not a rarity. A ninth-century seal of Niketas, patrikios and domestikos τοῦ φιλοβασιλείου τάγματος may belong to a commander of this unit or a similar one. See Laurent, *Bulletin*, i, 609, no.3 and reference. On the later ninth-century Acta of the martyrs of Amorion, see Beck, *Kirche*, 511. An alternative, of course, might be to see these 'Ethiopians' of the Acta as the Khurramite corps which 'deserted' to the Byzantines during the first years of Theophilus, and was disbanded, apparently, shortly after the sack of Amorion in 838. Rather than two or even three units, we may therefore be speaking of only one. A difficulty, however, arises in the fact that (a) the Khurramite units seem to have been commanded by their own officers and (b) the term 'Ethiopian' is not used of them in any other source. See the references in note 680 above.

682) Theoph.cont., 81,^{6sq.} See Bury, *ERE*, 143, note 7.

683) Cf. Bury, Admin., 106-8. While not agreeing with Bury regarding the origins of the hetaireia, whom he considers to be the federates in a new guise, their establishment in the reign of Theophilus seems fairly certain. Cf. also Oikonomidès, Préséance, 327; Ahrweiler, Recherches, 27. The reference in Cedrenus to τὰς ἑταίρειας are late and dubious; possibly they refer to the hikanatoi, who are mentioned in the Script.Incert. (D), 210, ^{3sq.} as the hetaireia of Staurakios (for 809-11); although the first reference - ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔν τινι ὑπερδεξίῳ τόπῳ ἐστῶς μετὰ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταίρειας κατεσκόπει τὰ δράμενα - referring to the defeat of Leo V at the hands of the Bulgars shortly after his accession (Cedrenus, ii, 53, ¹²⁻¹³) clearly refers simply to the emperor's immediate following. A later reference to the reign of Michael II might bear a more technical meaning: τὰς φυλαττούσας ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ σχολάς ... καὶ τὰς ἑταίρειας (Cedr., ii, 87, ¹³⁻¹⁴), although again this might equally refer to the vigla or some other group of units. I do not intend to discuss the origins and organisation of the hetaireia, or of its successor the Varangians, since such a subject falls outside the scope of the present analysis. See P.Karlin-Hayter, 'L'Hétériarque: l'evolution de son rôle du De Ceremoniis au Traité des Offices', JÖB 23(1974)101-143.

684) Cf. Theoph.cont., 135, ^{1sq;} cf. Ostrogorsky, State, 185 and note 3; Bury, ERE, 273.

685) For tagmatic support for Nicephorus in 802, cf. Theoph., 476, ^{6sq;} for later opposition, 482, ^{26sq.} Staurakios appears to have been popular with the leading officers. During the campaign with Nicephorus' in 811, disgruntled officers, who seem to have been supported by Staurakios, began to plot against the emperor. See Script.Incert. (D), 212, ³⁸⁻⁴⁰. For tagmatic activities during Michael I's reign, see Theoph., 492ff. The political role of the units in question will be

analysed at greater length in chapter six.

686) Gelzer, Themenverfassung, 13-17; Bury, ERE, 227.; Ostrogorsky, State, 222. These historians discuss the tagmata in relation to the military organisation of the ninth century and later; although Bury, Admin., 47f; ERE, loc. cit., implies that the scholae and excubitores remained fighting units from the sixth century without a break. For a similar view, see Kaegi, Byz. Armies and Iconoclasm, 57; idem, Polit. Activity, 13-14.

687) Chapter three, p.217.

688) Cf. the campaigns of Constantine V, for example, in 774, when detachments from all the thematic forces were left in garrisons along the Bulgarian frontier. Cf. Theoph., 446,^{23sq.} There are many other examples, before, during and after the reign of Constantine, of similar long-term campaigns, involving troops far from home. See the reference to troops from Armenian units and/or the Armeniakon theme based in or near Constantinople, in Thrace, during the later seventh and eighth century:

Mirac.S.Therapontis, 19,¹ⁱ Vita Step.Iun., 1156. The peratic themata were in Thrace in September 786/7, cf. Theoph., 462,^{5sq.} For the account of Therapon's miracles by Andreas of Crete, see Beck, Kirche, 466. The account is almost contemporary.

689) For example, the raid to recapture Amorion mounted by Constantine IV in 667/8, which took place during heavy snows. Cf. Theoph., 351,^{5sq.} and see Psellus, Chron, i, 22:

'Ἐποιεῖτο δὲ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους στρατείας οὐκ ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ πλείους τῶν βασιλέων ποιεῖν, μεσοῦντος ἐξιόντες ἔφορος καὶ τελευτῶντος θέρους ἐπαναζευγγύντες, of Basil II. For Arab campaigning seasons, see Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion, 312, note 56; and more recently Haldon/Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier, 113.

690) In ninth-century battles, it was often only the tagmata who stood firm after other units had retreated or fled. Cf. Theoph. cont., 128, ^{4sq;} 178, ^{11-13.} On the other hand, the defeat and flight of the tagmatic soldiers seems to have caused panic or demoralisation among provincial troops. Cf. Script. Incert. (D), 214, ⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰: καὶ μικρὸν ἀντισταθέντων καὶ μηδὲν ἰσχυράτων (sc. τῶν ταγμάτων), ἀλλὰ σφόδρα κατασφαξούντων, ἵδοντες οἱ λοιποὶ (sc. οἱ θεματικοὶ) ἔδωκαν ἔαυτοὺς εἰς τροπήν. While the account does not name the tagmata specifically on this occasion (the defeat of Nicephorus in 811), it seems clear that they were the soldiers who 'fought back for a short time', since Krum's attack, was directed quite deliberately at the imperial camp - see 214, ⁴⁷⁻⁹: καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡσαν μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διασκηνωμένα τὰ θέματα, εὐθέως οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸ συμβάν· μόνον γὰρ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν φοσσάτον ἐπέπεσον (sc. οἱ Βούλγαροι)... See Dujčev's comments, 239.

691) For the sixth century, see Proc., BP, i, 8.2: τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ταγμάτων ἀρχηγός; Agath., v, 29.8: Μαυρίκιος... ἄρχειν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἕω ταγμάτων προστεταγμένος...; cf. also v, 15.2; Evag., HE, vi, 6 (223): πέπουμφε μὲν οὖν ὁ Μαυρίκιος στρατηγὸν τῶν ἕών ταγμάτων πρῶτα μὲν Ἰωάννην Θράκα...; Mēn. Prot., frg. 11 (HMG ii, 10; Exc. de Leg., i, 171, ¹⁹⁻²⁰): ὃς τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐλὴν ταγμάτων ἥγειτο; for the seventh century, see Chron. Pasch., 552, ²² (referring to a much earlier period); G. Pisid., De Exp. Pers., ii, 58: τὰ διαιρεθέντα τοῦ στρατοῦ σου τάγματα; ii, 136; ii, 218: τὸ Σαρακηνῶν τάγμα τῶν πολυτρίχων; iii, 35; 71; 181 etc; Bell. Av., 314: τῷ μαγίστρῳ τῶν ἐνόπλων ταγμάτων; Heraclias, 87: ἐνοπλα τάγματα; Theoph., 363, ¹⁵: τὸ τῶν Μαρδαιτῶν τάγμα. Examples could be multiplied.

692) E.g. Theoph. cont., 67, ²⁻⁴: ὁ καὶ συνεὶς ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἀξιόλογον συστῆσας στρατόν, αὐτόν τε Ὁλβιανὸν καὶ Κατάκυλαν ἔχων μετὰ τῶν ἔαυτοῦ ἀκμῆτας ταγμάτων καὶ ἀκεραίους, ...; Cedrenus,

ii, 45, ⁷⁻⁸: Λέων ὁ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν στρατηγὸς τῆς Βασιλείας ἐρῶν καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτὸν διαφθείρας τάγματα...; cf. for the non-military sense of the word, *ibid.*, 58,¹⁹: τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ψαλλόντων. Cf. also Leo, *Tact.*, iv, 2; 37; 43 etc; Speck, Konstantin VI, 442, note 96; and note S.Ioannis Damasc., *Epist. ad Theophil. Imp.*, 361B for the tagma of monks and the katalogos of nuns.

693) Admin., 24, note 5; and note the clear separation of themata from tagmata in a military harangue of the tenth century attributed to Constantine VII: H.Ahrweiler, 'Un discours inédit de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète', *TM* 2(1967)393-404, see 399, ⁸⁵⁻⁹¹.

694) See chapter five for this question.

695) For example, Theoph., 447,¹⁹: καὶ επισωρεύσας τοὺς ταξάτους τῶν θεμάτων καὶ τοὺς θρακησιανοὺς καὶ ἐνώσας τοῖς τάγμασι τοὺς ὀπτιμάτους ...; 449,²⁶: στρατεύματά τε ἐποίσεις κατὰ θέμα πολλὰ καὶ τὰ τάγματα ἐπηνέξεν; 449,²⁷: οἱ τε τῶν θεμάτων... καὶ τῶν ἔσω ταγμάτων... and so on. Cf. also Theoph. cont., 128, ^{2sq}; 181, 11-20; G.Mon. cont., 802, ⁹⁻¹¹; Leo Gram., 198, ⁸⁻¹⁰.

696) Cf. Theoph., 447, ^{19sq}; 456, ¹⁰⁻¹¹; 468, ^{7sq}; 482, ^{26sq}; *Vita Ioannicii*, 337; *Vita Nicolai Stud.*, 893.

697) Theoph., 449, ¹⁶⁻¹⁷. For their establishment as an elite, see note 690 above.

698) Cf. Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 25f. These points will be dealt with in detail in chapter five.

699) Note that I use the term tagmata here to refer to the elite

regiments established by Constantine V or his successors. That other units in the capital were referred to as tagmata, and that they also were manned by soldiers of whose religious views Constantine could be sure, is clear. Cf. Theoph., 461,^{19sq}: ὁ δὲ λαὸς τῶν σχολαρίων τε καὶ ἐκσκουβιτόρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταγμάτων...

700) Theoph., 482,^{25sq}; 491,^{10sq}; and see also 500,^{14sq}.

701) Ibn Hawkal, i, 190 (tr. M.Canard, in: Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, ii/2, 412): J'entendais raconter que l'empereur avait quatre prisons, non compris le Dar al-Balat, dans lequel sont enfermés les prisonniers de l'empereur, dans certains de leurs districts. L'une est appellée al-Tarqisis, l'autre al-Ubsiq, l'autre al-Bulgallar; et l'autre al-Numarah. Celles des Thracétiens et de l'Opsikion sont les plus douces, car les prisonniers n'y ont pas de chaînes; celles des Bucéllaires et Nouméra sont rigoureuses. Celui qui est emprisonné dans le Dar al-Balat commence par être enfermé dans les Nouméra, d'où il est ensuite transféré, et qui est une prison rigoureuse, pénible et obscure... Cf. also Ibn Rusteh, in: Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, ii/2, 385. On the prison of the Boukellarion district, see De Ioan.Heg.Cath., 631,^{41sq}: Ο δέ εἰς τὸ Κριόταυρον κάστρον τῶν Βουκελλαρίων ἐν δυοῖς χρόνοις στενοτάτῃ τίνι καὶ τοφηρῷ ὄπῃ κατακλείσας.

702) Janin, CP Byz, 169-70; Mango, Brazen House, 39-42, 28 note 27.

703) Guillard, Noumera, 402-12; Mansi, x, 855: et auferentes eum de lembo, posuerunt eum in gestatorio duxeruntque in custodiam Excubitorii, quae cognominantur Prandearia et fecit eum inclusum sub multa custodia, praecipiens Excubiti custodibus ut nulla

penitus sciret quia est in eodem excubitum. Cf. also Devréesse,
L'Hypomnesticum, 73, ^{13sq}: Ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐν· μὲν ταῖς δυοὶ¹
φρουραῖς, τῷ τε ἔξκουβίτου καὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἑπάρχου, ...

704) Klet.Phil., 119, ^{12sq}. Tribounoi, bikarioi and
portarioi are included.

705) Bury, Admin., 65-6; De Cer., 426. See also Oikoñomides,
Préséance, 337. But these officers had nothing to do with the
excubitores, for Justin also commanded ordinary field units.
Cf. De Cer., 426, ^{13sq}: δ... Ιουστῖνος τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ
τριβούνοις καὶ βικαρίοις ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν
ἔξκουβιτόρων - there is a distinction between the two groups of
officers; De Cer., 429, ⁴: Γωδίλα τοῦ καμπιδούκτορος τῶν
λαγκιαρίων was also there. Thus there were probably two units
besides the excubitores present.

706) For the later establishment of the Noumera as a prison,
see Patria, 218, ¹⁴⁻¹⁷: καὶ τὰ μὲν Νούμερα ὄμοίως καὶ τὴν
Χαλκὴν ἔκτισε ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὰ
ἀργὰ ἐποίησαν αὐτὰ φυλακὰς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡράκλειον καὶ τοὺς
καθεξῆς.

707) Cf. Theoph.cont., 175, ^{16sq}; Kudāma, 197. Cf. note 461
above.

708) T.Usp., 57, ⁹; 53, ⁷ etc. Also Vita Ignatii, 513;
Sym Mag., 655, ¹⁰; 668, ¹²; and De Cer., 293f; 460, ^{7sq}.

709) Theoph., 437, ^{1sq}; 461, ^{19sq}; Vita Cosmae et Ioannis,
293, ²¹⁻³.

710) Theoph., 401, ¹: Νικῆταν τὸν Ἀνθεᾶκα καὶ ἄρχοντα τοῦ
τειχίου; significantly, Anast.Bibl., 259, ²⁴⁻⁵ has 'et comitem

Titichei' which strengthens the identity of this officer as commander of the later Walls unit. Cf. Niceph.Patr., 56,⁵; Gen., 5,^{12sq}; the officer is variously called komes (T.Usp., 53,⁹; Klet.Phil., 103,⁹; 141,³; 145,²²; 183,⁸; De Cer., 524,²¹; Sym.Mag., 655,¹¹) or domestikos (Klet.Phil., 107,²; 209,¹⁶⁻¹⁷; T.Usp., 55,¹²) and sometimes the teichiotes (De Cer., 295,²¹; 460,¹⁴; Theoph.cont., 175,¹⁷; 398,¹⁵). It has generally been argued that Niketas Anthrax was commander of the Theodosian walls since his role in the plot of 719 must have been to open the gates of the City to the rebels. See Croke, art. cit. (note 755 below) 78. But he might equally have opened the gates of the palace. The komes of the Opsikion was also implicated, and his troops within the City could have fulfilled the same role. See Theoph., loc. cit.

711) 119, 12-20, 28sq.

712) Cf. Guilland, Noumera, 414-5; Murs, 19-20; Factions, 2. See especially De Cer., 294, 10sq; 295, 21sq; where the Noumeros and Teichioites are associated with the demarchs of Blues and Greens respectively and with the tribounoi, bikarici as well as with the demotai of the factions ($\tauῶν μερῶν$).

713) On the region later called Pera, (only from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however) see Janin, CP Byz, 56-7, 464. The district was called before this period Sykai.

714) A.Cameron, 'Heresies and Factions', Byz 44(1974)92-120; idem, Circus Factions, esp. 105ff; see also Dagron, Naissance, 354ff; F.Winkelmann, 'Zur politischen Rolle der Bevölkerung Konstantinopels von der nachjustinianischen Zeit bis zum Beginn des Bilderstreits', in: Köpstein/Winkelmann, Studien zum 7. Jhd., 101-119.

715) Cf. Manojlovic, 625-34; Guillard, *Factions*, 3-11;
G.I.Bratianu, 'Empire et "démocratie" à Byzance', in: *idem*,
Etudes Byzantines d'Histoire Economique et Sociale (Paris 1938)
117. Cameron has pointed out that demos, where related by
context to the Blues and the Greens, refers to nothing more than
the fan-club or guild/collegium of the relevant racing team.
Cf. A.Cameron, 'Demes and Factions', BZ 67(1974)86-91. On the
other hand, the official membership of these clubs do appear to
have been liable to serve in the City militia, even if they
comprised only a small part of it. See Cameron, *Circus Factions*,
107ff., 120-2; and pace Winkelmann, art. cit. (note 714 above)
111-4. See S.Vryonis, *Factions*, 52-3, on the role of the young
men of the factions as part of the militia in Antioch in 540.

716) Guillard, *Factions*, 8-9 and the references he cites. More
recently Dagron, *Naissance*, 356ff., who cites, e.g., Maurice,
Strat., x, 3.9: εἰ δὲ δῆμος ἔστι ἐν τῇ πόλει, δέον κακείνους
συμμίξαι ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τείχους πεδατούραις τοῖς στρατιώταις, a
reference to the defence of towns in general. These civilians -
perhaps including also members of the circus factions, where they
were present in a city - reinforced the regulars, they did not
constitute a regular force. Cf. Cameron, *Circus Factions*,
122ff. Theophanes notes that Maurice issued 'arms to the factions
on one occasion in 601, cf. 287,^{21sq}: τούτους δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς
καθοπλίσας... In real emergencies, non-fighting personnel might
even be asked to leave a city as large as Constantinople, the
remaining civilians conscripted into a garrison force.

Cf. the actions of Artavasdos in 743 (Speck, *Artabasdos*, 102
and note 359).

717) Bury, admin., 65-7 also noted their probable antiquity,
although I cannot accept his conclusions.

718) Cf. Stein, *Bas-Empire*, ii, 538 and note 3.

719) Theoph., 233,^{20-22;} Agath., v, 15; and Manojlović, 625-6. I do not agree with the latter that Belisarius had with him 'outre la cavalerie impériale et la cavalerie volontaire, la cavalerie de l'hippodrome' (626), not because Belisarius did not have these corps, but because the term 'cavalerie' implies some organised force. They were not: rather, they were a hotch-potch of civilians and hippodrome riders, and imperial stable attendants, with horses from the imperial estates and stables. There was no regular 'cavalerie impériale' in the City. See in addition Cameron, Circus Factions, 106. He is likewise inclined to accept Stein's theory, 114-5.

720) Agath., v, 16.2.

721) Theoph., 233,^{16-18.}

722) Theoph., 233,^{12-14:} ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδημότευσε πόλλους καὶ ἐπεμψεν εἰς τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος. The meaning of the term ἐδημότευε here is uncertain - either to mobilise the militia or to levy the militia. Cf. Guilland, Factions, 9; Manojlović, 628; Stein, Bas-Empire, loc. cit. Cameron has suggested that it does not mean to enrol into the 'deme militia', since there was no such thing in an independant form, but simply to mobilise the City militia, only a part of which may have been drawn from the fan-club members. Cf. Circus Factions, 120-1; and Dagron, Renaissance, 357-8. For the verbs στρατεύεσθαι - πολιτεύεσθαι, see CJ i, 5.12 (= Bas. i, 1.26); also Proch.Nom. xi, 19; Epan. ix, 13; 14; xxi, 7.

723) Th.Sim., viii, 7-8 for A.D. 602; Joh.Antioch., frg.218(f) (FHG v, 38; Exc.de Insid., 150) for A.D. 610. Note especially the reference at Th.Sim., vii, 3.2sq. where the citizen militia of the town of Asemone in the 590s is referred to as τὸ ὄπλιτικόν. Cf. Manojlović, 628-32; and Vryonis, Factions, 52f. for the

military role of deme-members in eastern cities of the empire during the sixth century. For Simocatta's *rō ὐμλιτικόν* see vii 13.8 and vii, 15.7. How old the official organisation of the factions under their demarchs is remains uncertain, although Cameron, Circus Factions, 259-61, suggests it dates from the later sixth century. See A.P.D'Iakonov, 'Vizantiiskie dimy i faktssii (τὰ μέρη) v V-VII vv.', *Vizantiiskii Sbornik* (Moscow/Leningrad 1945)144-227; esp., 160ff., 185f. More recently, see Averil Cameron, 'The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: a City Finds its Symbol', JThS 29(1978)79-108, esp. 100f; and eadem, 'Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium', PP 84(August 1979)3-35, esp. 13ff.

724) Stein considers the 'militia' called out in 559 to have been made up entirely of faction-members, however, which Cameron has clearly refuted; and in addition, that there was unbroken administrative and organisational continuity between these arithmoi and the later noumera (which Cameron accepts). As I will show, there is no evidence to justify such a view. Stein goes on to suggest that the mounted forces of the Hippodrome developed into the later arithmos/vigla. As I have already demonstrated, this explanation is no longer satisfactory. See also H.-G. Beck, 'Konstantinopel: zur Sozialgeschichte einer früh-mittelalterlichen Hauptstadt', BZ 58(1965)11-45, esp. 37, note 75, who discusses the evidence for a deme-militia soberly, and concludes that 'only in the later years of the sixth century do the factions appear to constitute their own, distinct section of a militia (citing the cases of 602 and 610, for example), organised into two groups - οὐντάσεις. For the use of the term tagma' of sections of the populace, see, for example, Sozomenos, HE, vii, 9.3.

725) Cf. Chron. Pasch., 720,⁴: Byzantine troops attacked Avar forces, aided by οἱ πολῖται. Cf. also G. Pisid., Bell. Av., 251-97.

726) Schlumberger, Sig., 144. According to Schlumberger, the seal is of the seventh century. Dr. J.Nesbitt has suggested to me in a written communication that this is in fact most unlikely. It appears to be of much later date.

727) As I have shown in chapter two, the excubitors gradually lost their effectiveness as a military force during the seventh century, being replaced in their function as a bodyguard by the spatharii, on the one hand, and as I will suggest below, by the new regiments of noumera created by Justinian II.

728) Theoph., 367, ^{12sq.} (A.M., 6186/A.D. 694): καὶ ἔκτισε τοῦ Ιουστίνιανοῦ τρίκλινον λεγόμενον καὶ τὰ τοῦ παλατίου περιτειχίσματα; also Cedrenus, i, 773, ^{14sq.}

729) Theoph., 367, ³⁰⁻³²: ταῦτα πάντα ἐπηνέξει τὸ μῆσος τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα (note that laos may in fact mean specifically the army); note also 367, ²¹⁻²: ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄπαν τὸ πολιτικὸν πλῆθος πολλὰ κακὰ ἐνδειξάμενος μισητὸν τὸν βασιλέα πεποίκεν. For the soldiers whom Leontios freed during his coup the next year, cf. 369, ⁹⁻¹².

730) Theoph., 368, ¹⁻⁴: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπῆται Καλλίνικον τὸν πατριάρχην ποιῆσαι εὐχήν, ὡνα καταληση τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς ἀγίας Θεοτόκου τῶν μητροπολίτου τὴν οὖσαν πλησίον τοῦ παλατίου, θέλων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ στῆσαι φιάλην καὶ βάθρα κτίσαι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Βενέτων, ὅπως ἑκεῖ δέχωνται τὸν βασιλέα. On the identity of this structure, cf. Guiland, Topographie, i, 310, note 130; Janin, CP Byz., 391. On the same side of the palace, to the North West, was a similar phiale for the Greens. See Guiland, loc. cit., and on the events themselves, see Van Dieten, Patriarchengeschichte, 158f; Cameron, Circus Factions, 251ff; and the comments of C.Mango, JÖB 31/1(1981)348-9.

731) It is worth noting that the prefect of the City, who was responsible for the public prison of Constantinople, the Praitorion (see Sanders, RE XXII, 2533ff; and Devréesse, L'Hypomnesticum, 72,²⁴; 73,^{13sq}: τοῦ πραιτορίου τοῦ ἐπάρχου; Vita Steph.Jun., 1160: τὴν τοῦ Βυζαντίου δημοσίαν φυλακήν, ... ἐνθα ἐπιλέγεται τὸ ιερὸν πραιτώριον; Acta S.Macarii, 157,^{31sq}; 159,^{8sq}; Vita Theod.Grapti, 673A, 676C; 677A, C; Theoph.cont., 175,^{16sq}. etc.) was also one of the chief supporters of the emperor at this time (Theoph., ldc. cit.); and that he may have exercised authority over other prisons in the City also, as well as his normal supervisory authority over the official chariot-racing fan-clubs (and other guilds). See Oikonomidēs, Préséance, 319-20 and note 749 below. In general on the prefect, see Laurent, Corpus II, 546ff. and bibliography. It is possible that the original association of the two noumera in question with these fan-clubs is reflected in the association of the prefect and his staff with the commanders and officers of the noumera and Walls in certain tenth-century ceremonial feasts. See note 750 below. For Cameron's comments, see Circus Factions, 122, 295. For the Acta S.Macarii, a late and often unreliable source, see Ševčenko, Hagiography, 117; and the brothers Grapti, ibid., 116-7.

732) For the factions as a danger to the security of the City, see the comments of Cameron, Circus Factions, 118-20. For Theophilites in the ninth century, ὁ τῶν νομιμέρων τότε καὶ τοῦ τείχους κόμης, see Sym.Mag., 655,¹¹.

733) See Kudāma, 197 and Haldon, Garrison, 84f. That the Zeuxippus was still in use as a bath in 713 is clear from Theophanes' account of the deposition of Philippikos in that year. See Theoph., 383,⁷⁻⁹. It was a large complex, however, and there is nothing to preclude part of its buildings being employed as a barracks or prison at the same time. See

Janin, CP Byz., 222-4; and Laurent, Corpus II, 325.

734) In view of the decline of the excubitors during the late seventh century, it appears possible that the two new noumera were intended to replace the older regiment, or at least to supplement it regarding its duties in and around the palace. For the establishment of the new units, see Klet.Phil., 119-20; De Cer., 753, ¹⁻³; 772, ^{10sq}; and Oikonomidès, Préséance, 336f. The seal of Nikephoros, imperial kandidatos and droungarios of (the) noumeron, dated by Schlumberger, Sig., 355, to the seventh or eighth centuries, may possibly have belonged to an officer placed in command of these units; but more probably belonged to a provincial commander of a regular regiment -- noumeron.

For the lists or matrikes of the demes, see notes 722-3 above, and 752; for Theophanes' ἀναρίθμητος πλῆθος, see Theoph., 357, ¹⁶; and Cameron's remarks, Circus Factions, 119.

735) Theoph., 437, ¹⁻³; 461, ^{19sq}; also Mansi, xii, 990D; and note De Cer., 225, ¹⁹⁻²⁰: τὰ ἀξιώματα τῶν σχολῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταγμάτων, in a ceremony dated precisely to the year 768. See chapter two, note 275.

736) Vita Cosmae et Ioannis, 293, ^{21sq}.

737) Theoph. cont., 175, ^{16sq}. On the position of the Chalke of the palace, see Guillard, Noumera, 403-4; Mango, Brazen House, esp. 97-8.

738) Sym.Mag., 655, ^{10sq}.

739) Cf. De Martyr.CP., 441; also Theoph., 405, ^{3sq}; and see chapter two, p.185. The leader of the soldiers, or of those who took down the icon, was a spatharios.

740) Theoph.,^{1-22.} 476,

741) On the defensive walls of the palace, see Guillard, Topographie, ii, 522-7. They were defended by troops stationed within the palace precincts. Cf. Vita Bas.Iun., 278, with reference to the attempt of Constantine Ducas to seize power in 912: ἀφίκετο ἄμα σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὃς εἴρηται, εἰς τὴν χαλκήν πύλην, καὶ ἀπῆρατο εἰσιέναι· οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τάχει πολλῷ συναθροίσαντες τοὺς τοξότας, ἀπὸ τῶν τοιχῶν τοξεύμασιν ἔβαλλον. Note that the vigla was responsible for the western area of the palace, on the Hippodrome side, rather than the area of the Chalke. Cf. Guillard, Topographie, ii, 523; Recherches, i, 565. Guillard's assertion that the emperors were defended by their numerous and faithful garrison to defend the palace needs to be qualified (Topographie, 523). Although detachments of tagmatic troops may have been stationed in the area of the scholae or the excubitum in the palace, they were apparently not very numerous (see chapter five). It was the Walls regiment and the noumera, aided later by the hetaireia and the vigla, which patrolled the palace area. The bulk of the troops which made up the tagmatic units was garrisoned either in the City (see note 602 above) or between the City walls and the Long Walls (see below). So much is made clear in the description of an imperial procession from the Sigma in the palace to the Hagia Sophia, when the domestic of the noumera and the count of the Walls are ordered to prepare their units ἵνα ἔκστην τάξις καὶ ἔκστον σέκρετον κατὰ τὴν ἴδιαν τάξιν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον τοῦ σεκρέτου τύπον τὰ αὐτοῖς ἀρμόζοντα προεντρέπονται. Since the procession passed through the palace, out through the Chalke gate and thence to the Hagia Sophia alongside the palace walls and the Noumera, and since the two units in question were posted somewhere along the route, they can hardly have been based elsewhere than in the palace or directly next to it, where they had their officially-designated posts listed in this description. Cf. De Cer., 6.^{6sq.} and see the

plan included in Guillard, *Topographie*. See also Mango, *Brazen House*, 73f.

742) See Dagron, *Naissance*, 112-3, 356; and see below.

743) *De Cer.*, 204, ⁴⁻⁵: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ λασοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τῶν νουμέρων; 524, ²²-525, ²: (ὅ
ἀκόλουθος) προσκαλεῖται τοὺς δ' ταγμάτων τοποτηρητάς, κτλ., ...
καὶ τῶν νουμέρων καὶ τειχέων. χρῆ δὲ εἰδέναι, ὅτι, τῶν δ'
ταγμάτων ἐν τῇ πόλει μὴ ὄντων, προσκαλεῖται τοὺς τοποτηρητὰς τῶν
νουμέρων καὶ τειχέων; 604, ^{7sq.} etc. The term tagma, when
used generally, can refer to all the Constantinople units, as in
the references of Theophanes cited above, and as at *De Cer.*,
604, ⁷: οἱ τῶν ταγμάτων ὄρχοντες· τῶν σχολῶν, τοῦ ὀριθμοῦ, τῶν
νουμέρων ἐν μίᾳ τάξει· οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔξουσιών, οἱ ἰκανάτοι καὶ οἱ
τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλοίου ἐν ἑτέρᾳ τάξει. But on occasions, the De
Caerimoniis appears to distinguish between the four imperial
tagmata on the one hand, and the noumera and teichistai on the
other. Cf. also Theoph. cont., 181, ^{11sq.}; μετὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν
τεσσάρων ταγμάτων.

744) E.g. *De Cer.*, 524, ^{22sq.}; 588, ^{18sq.}; and the above
references. Cf. Guillard, Noumera, 414; Murs, 19f. Hence also
the references to them as (part of) ὁ τῆς πόλεως στρατός, *De
Cer.*, 450, ¹⁹.

745) Cf. Guillard, Noumera, 415-6.

746) The title komes of the Walls was more popular, and was
retained alongside that of domestikos. The term noumeron, it may
be argued, is too archaic to have been applied as late as the
last part of the seventh century to 'new' units. But the word
was used of the City militia long before this, as the term
arithmoi in Theophanes suggests. It appears in later sources,

too, as an equivalent for bandon/tagma/arithmos - cf. Vita Theod. Stud., 54: τῆς Πωυδίκης ἔξουσίας νούμερον στρατοῦ referring to a provincial unit in the early ninth century; and compare the seal of a seventh- or eighth-century drouggarios of a noumeron noted above, note 734. Guillou's suggestion, incidentally, Régionalisme, 157 and note 60, that the numerus Iuniorum in eighth-century Ravenna is to be seen as a regiment of young men (*veavíαι*) or faction-members, officially admitted into the regular garrison of the city, has been shown by Brown, Italy, 118, note 98, to be unjustified. On numerus, see RE XVII, 1327-41, esp. 1340-1 (Rowell); and 2537.

747) Guilland, Noumera, 414-5; Murs, 19-20, gives a complete list of the ceremonies in which these connections are made clear. Cf. also *idem*, Factions, 1f.

748) Factions, 1-5.

749) For reference to the later guilds coming under the authority of the City prefect in the tenth century, see Cameron, Circus Factions, 113 (after S.Vryonis, DOP 17(1963)295, note 19a; and M.Siužiumov, VV 4(1951)40). See Bas. vi, 4.13 (= CJ i, 28.4); and Sanders, RE XXII, 2534.

750) For the first reception, see Klet.Phil., 209,^{12sq}. For the officium of the prefect, see Klet.Phil., 113,^{8sq}. For the second 'ballet', see De Cer., 293,¹⁰-296,⁴. For the authority of the prefect, see the references cited by Oikonomides, Préséance, 119, note 188; and for the officium of the demarchs, including γειτονιάρχαι - cf. Klet.Phil., 125,².

751) De Cer., 105,^{14sq}; 588,^{18sq}; cf. also 301,^{8sq}; etc. The connection was clearly established by the time of Theophilus. Compare the description of a ceremony of the

mid-ninth century where the two domestics of scholai and exkoubitores are related to the two factions. See Theoph. cont., 142,^{6sq.} That the noumera and Walls unit came normally under the authority of the domestics of the scholai and exkoubiton during the ninth and probably the later part of the eighth century is made clear from the arrangements discussed at De Cer., 449-50, made by the emperor for the defence of the City during his absence with the tagmata. The forces at the disposal of the ek prosopou include those ὑπὸ τὰ τάγματα and those ὑπὸ τὸν ἔπαρχον, and it seems that the former group can only be the noumera and Walls unit. For the date of the passage in question, see Cameron, Circus Factions, 112 and note 3. The latter suggests that Constantine I, who is referred to in this passage, actually conceals Constantine V. Since the vigla and its drouggarios appear only after his reign, however, the account would seem either to have been revised, or to date perhaps to the time of Constantine VI and Irene, after the establishment of this unit.

752) Note that the authority of the City prefects and that of military commanders established in the City were quite clearly separated. Cf. Bas. vi, 4.14 (= CJ i, 29.1): μήτε οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κόμητες καὶ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπαρχεωτῶν μήτε ἡ ἐπαρχότης κατὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχετωσαν. Cf. also De Cer., 449-50 cited in the previous note

For the passage in question here, see De Cer., 807,^{11sq.} It describes the change from the older custom as the result of χαυνότης τοίνυν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πραιτοσίτων, and orders the restoration of the original procedure. On the structure of the passage, see Bury, Ceremonial Book, 219ff. Part of the passage may be taken from an imperial rescript dating from the time of Constantine VII or possibly earlier.

753) I have deliberately avoided entering the debate around the origins and organisation of this civic militia, since the subject requires an analysis to itself, and has anyway been recently reviewed by Cameron, Circus Factions. The evidence for the militia activities of part of the official membership of each of the supporters' clubs is sufficient, however, to justify my assertion that they did take part during the sixth and early seventh centuries in that militia, even if very irregularly and somewhat ineffectively. The noumera had, of course, little to do with the City militia after their establishment. How far the references used by Guillard (Factions, 7) to support the continued existence of this militia into the eleventh century are valid may be questioned; but there seems no doubt that a civic guard of sorts - even if only ceremonial - was provided until the tenth century at least by the demotai of the chariot-racing factions and other guilds within the City. See Cameron, Circus Factions, 119.

754) Agath., v, 15; Theoph., 233, ^{12sq.} See also note 723; and note 734 for the events of 705.

755) Pace Bury, Admin., 67-8; Stein, Bas-Empire, ii, 538, note 3; Guillard, Murs, 17-20; Cameron, Circus Factions, 114; Lilie, "Thrakien" und "Thrakesion", 37 and note 136; cf. Oikonomidès, Préséance, 337 and note 289, who also dismisses the views of Bury and Guillard. Cameron, Circus Factions, 114-5, accepts Bury's view that the count of the Walls was in fact count of the Long Walls, and descended from the older vicar of Thrace. Oikonomidès' view, that John Hexaboulios was not count of the Walls, but simply in charge of the repairs to the Theodosian walls of the City, is to be accepted. See Theoph. cont., 17, ⁶⁻⁷. Part of the problem has lain in the desire of some historians to determine whether $\tau\alpha\tau\acute{e}i\chi\eta$ or $\tau\circ\tau\acute{e}i\chi\circ\zeta$ is the official title of the walls in question. In fact, both terms

were used indiscriminately by Byzantine writers, and cannot be used to show which wall or walls the term applied to, where this is not already clear from the context. See, for example, Bury, Admin., 68.¹ For examples of this haphazard use of both singular and plural, see Chron. Pasch., 717,⁶: τὸ μακρὸν τείχος; and 717,⁹, 14: τὸ νέον Θεοδοσιακὸν τείχος / τὸ τείχος of the City wall; cf. also 718,¹⁶; 719,¹; and so on; Theoph., 298,³⁰: τὰ μακρὰ τείχη; 429,²⁷: ἔως τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους; 455,¹²⁻¹³: τὰ μακρὰ τείχη; and so on. On the Long Wall across the Thracian Chersonese and the Anastasian Long Wall, see now B. Croke, 'The Date of the "Anastasian Long Wall" in Thrace', GRBS 23(1982)59-78 for the possible confusion between the two. Croke's analysis suggests strongly that it was Anastasius who was responsible for the construction of the Long Walls before Constantinople

756) For seals of the sixth century belonging to vicarii of Thrace, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 2798(a) and (b), of Hadrian, vicar of Thrace; and 2802(a) and (b), of John, notarius and vicar of Thrace. To what extent the Justinianic praetor replaced the older vicarii of the Long Wall established by Anastasius (see Stein, Bas-Empire, ii, 90, 466f.) remains unclear. A memorial stone to Solomon, comes domesticorum and vicar of Thrace, dates from 582, long after the vicarii were abolished; and it seems that the Praetor was himself replaced by a single vicar of Thrace under the praetorian prefect of the East during Justinian's reign. See Stein, Bas-Empire, ii, 747 and note 2. Cf. Beševliev, Inschriften, 159, no. 227. Note also ibid., 133-4, no. 198, a memorial stone to Armatus, vicar of Thrace, dated to 575/6.

757) Cf. Bas. vi, 4.4 (= Dig., i, 2.3). Outside Constantinople his powers were limited to police and judicial functions. See Bury, Admin., 68; Guillard, Murs, 17-20; Oikonomides, Préséance,

319-20; Dagron, *Naissance*, 277-82, 286ff; Sanders, RE XXII, 2502ff., esp. 2533ff.

758) Gelzer, *Themenverfassung*, 87, considers the Astike to be a suburban district. But see Proc., BG. iii, 40: καὶ χώραν τὴν Ἀστικὴν καλουμένην ἐληίζοντο κατ' ἔξουσίαν, ἀδήπτων ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσαν, καὶ απ' αὐτοῦ λείαν αὐτοὺς πολλήν τινα ἐνταῦθα ἔυρεῖν ξυνηνέχθη· οὕτω δὲ χώραν πολλὴν ληιζόμενοι ἄχρι ἐς τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ἀφίκοντο, ὅπερ ὁλίγῳ πλέον ἢ ἡμέρας ὅδὸν Βυζαντίου διέχει. Compare with Th. Sim., ii, 17, where the Avar Kaghan crosses 'the so-called Astike' en route from Philippoupolis to Adrianoupolis. Cf. also ii, 10 and vii, 7. This can hardly be identified with the district of the Long Walls; and Procopius' description in fact makes it clear that this Astike lay well outside these defences. Cf. W.Gjuselev, 'Forschungen zur Geschichte Thrakiens im Mittelalter', ByzBulg. 3(1969)155-169, esp. 158. For the praetor of Thrace and his military force see note 777 below. For the Opsikion and its connection with Thrace, see chapter three, 194f.

759) *Mas*^Cūdi, 244, ibn al-Fakīh, 72; ibn Khurradadhbīh, 77.

760) See chapter five, note 784.

761) Préséance, 337. That these portarii were in charge of the gates in the Long Walls, as Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 274, suggested, seems unlikely in view of the preceding analysis.

762) On the wall itself, and its date, see Stein, Bas-Empire, ii, 89, note 4; R.M.Harrison, The Long Walls in Thrace, 33f; and B.Croke, art. cit. (note 755 above).

763) Proc., *De Aedif.*, iv, 9 (ed. Haury, 138, ^{11sq}). Note the remarks of Janin, CP Byz, 262-3.

764) See below, note 777. Where the praetor or vicar of Thrace was also comes domesticorum (in actu and not in vacante), his troops probably also included the scholae. See chapter one.

765) For the attacks on the City, see Theoph., 233,²⁰; Agath., v, 16.2 (A.D. 559); Th.Sim., i, 7.2; Theoph., 254,⁷ (A.D. 583); Th.Sim., vii, 15.7; Theoph., 279,^{18sq.} (A.D. 601); Th.Sim., vii, 9.1; Theoph., 287,^{21sq.} (A.D. 602); Joh.Antioch., frg.218(f) (FHG v, 38; Exc.de Insid., 149,^{21sq.}) (A.D. 610). For the withdrawal in 626, see Chron.Pasch., 717,^{5-10.}

766) Theoph., 301,^{28sq.}; Theod.Synkell.,^{301,}^{30sq.} (Heraclius goes to meet the Avar Khagan outside the Long Walls); Niceph.Patr., 54,^{16sq.} (the Bulgars raid as far as Constantinople during the early eighth century, and: ἀδείας δὲ αὐτοῖς προσγενομένης καὶ πρὸς τῷ χερσαίῳ τείχει τῆς πόλεως σκεδάννυνται); Theoph., 429,²⁷; Niceph.Patr., 74,¹⁷⁻¹⁹ (Bulgar troops raided Thrace as far as the Long Walls during the reign of Constantine V).

767) See Theoph., 455,¹²⁻¹³: ἐν γοῦν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν τοῖς Μακροῖς τείχεσι τῆς Θράκης ἀνθρωπός τις δρύγαν εὗρε λάρνακα, ... a reference which may, however, apply to the district of the walls as much as to the walls themselves. Already in the sixth century they were in bad condition. Cf. Theoph., 233,^{8sq.} εὑρόντες δὲ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ Ἀναστασιακοῦ τόπους τινὰς πεπτωκότας ἐκ τῶν σεισμῶν, εἰσελθόντες ἡχιαλώτευσαν ἔως Δρυπίας κτλ. Their ineffectiveness as a real defence was clear from the beginning. See the comments of V.Velkov, Gradt v Trakija i Dakija (Sofia 1959)46; V.Zlatarski, Iстория на българската арзана, i, 1(1919)48.

768) See Harrison, *The Long Walls in Thrace*, citing Schuchhardt, 'Die Anastasius-Mauer bei Constantinopel und die Dobrudsche-Wälle', *Jahrbuch des kaiserl. deutsch. archaologischen Instituts* 16(1901)107-115.

769) The prefect had his own force of soldiers, headed by a kentyrion who, along with other officials of the same officium, was responsible for policing the City. Cf. *Klet.Phil.*, 113,¹⁴. See *Oikonomidès*, *Préséance*, .320; *Dagron*, *Naissance*, 277ff; RE XXII, 2502ff. Cf. *Epan.*, iv, 8: ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχος... ἔχει στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ πανταχοῦ κινούμενα. Cf. *Bas.* vi, 4.2 (= *Dig.* i, 12.1). In the seventh century the chief of police or master of the watch appears as an important subordinate, referred to as ὁ βιγλομάγισταρ. Cf. *Devréesse*, *L'Hypomnesticum*, 72,²⁴. In the later ninth and tenth century, the same force is described on patrol through the streets of the City, referred to as the kerketon or vigla, responsible for order and the maintenance of the curfew. Cf. *Vita Andreeae Sali*, 649A-B (and see Beck, *Kirche*, 568, for the date of the Life). The pedatura which appears in the *De Cer.* is, I think, to be identified with this force of watchmen/soldiers under the prefect. Cf. *Malalas*, 351,⁸: τοὺς τῆς πεδατούρας στρατιώτας (for the reign of Theodosius II); *Maur.*, *Strat.*, x, 3.9: cited note 716 above; *De Cer.*, 318,¹¹. In the reference from the Strategikon, the term means soldiers who man the walls (of any city under siege); it was also applied to sections of walls or towers themselves, see Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 349, note 332; and Popescu, *Inscriptiile*, 43-4 (no.8) and 224-5 (no.211). Malalas' pedatoura might be soldiers from one of the praesental armies. But by the later eighth century, the only troops in the City were the noumera, the teichistai and the tagmata. These are clearly not the pedatoura, for they are always referred to by their proper names; and since this pedatoura clearly has a place in Hippodrome ceremonial, I suggest

that the term means quite simply the soldiers and watchmen under the prefect of the City. Note De Cer., 482,⁸⁻⁹ where pedetoura refers generally to any soldiers (of the tagmata, for example) manning the perimeter of the imperial camp.

770) The strength of the City walls should also be taken into consideration - even against the fiercest of attacks, relatively few men were needed to defend them adequately. During the final siege of 1453, the Byzantine and Italian forces in the City numbered only a few thousand, yet held out against heavy attacks from vastly superior Turkish forces for seven weeks. In the end it was the Turkish artillery - never before used on such a massive scale - which damaged the walls and made the final entry possible. See S.Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge/London 1965/1969) 85.

771) Cf. Hudūd al-Ālam, 156 - Tablan; Masūdi, 244 - Tabla (and variant Tafra); ibn al-Fakīh, 72 - Talaya; Ibn Khurradadhbih, 77 - Talaya/Tayala; Kudāma, 197 - Taila/Tabla.

772) Cf. Mirac.S.Demetrii, 179 (Lemerle, 228,²); and the references to the Arab geographers in note 771 above. See also Gelzer, *Themenverfassung*, 88; and the references at Theoph., 455,¹²⁻¹³ cited in note 767 above.

773) See Gelzer, *Themenverfassung*, 87-8; Theoph., 455,¹²⁻¹³; ἐν τοῖς Μακροῖς τείχεσι τῆς Θράκης; for imperial estates, Masūdi, 244: l'intervalle qui la (sc. la longue muraille) sépare de Constantinople, et qui est de deux journées de marche, est rempli par les domaines de l'empereur et des patricies et par les paturages pour les bestiaux; ibn al-Fakīh, 72-3: And most of this district consists of the estates of the king and the patricians and meadows for their cattle and draught-animals. Cf. Janin, CP Byz, 261-2. The Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia,

iv, 6 (48,²²) refers to a district within Thrace, next to Constantinople, called Macroticos, as does the later Guidonis Geographica, cap.107, where a region called Magrotichos appears. For the early eighth-century date of the former, see Schnetz, Untersuchungen, and note p.36, para. 3.

774) Ibn Khurradadhbih, ibn al-Fakih, and Kudāma, the three earliest geographers, have the variants Talaya, Taila and Talaka.

775) First suggested by A.Pertusi, 'Il preteso thema Bizantino di "Talaja"', BZ 49(1956)85-95, esp. 92-5. For other suggestions which do not appear very satisfactory, see Brooks, Arabic Lists, 72; Bury, Admin., 68; Ahrweiler, Recherches, 31-2. Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 273-4, was not aware of Pertusi's suggestion, and accepts older theories that the comes of the Walls was in charge of the Long Walls - see, for example, Stein, Bas-Empire, ii, 747, note 2. Minorsky, who edited the Hudūd al-^CĀlām, accepted the original views of De Goeje and Gelzer (Hudūd al-^CĀlām, 421) that the form tafla/tablan was to be preferred and equated with the Greek taphros. See the objections to this argument voiced by Bury, Admin., 68; although Croke, art. cit., note 755 above, favours this derivation. Janin appears to reject the solution offered by Pertusi, while also agreeing that there was no separate theme or province called Talaya (CP Byz, 262). Pertusi's suggestion that the troops of this area were for the defence of the Long Walls, however, Janin was correct to reject (*ibid.*, 262-3), but this does not invalidate the solution to the etymological problem offered by Pertusi, nor the fact that military units - of the tagmata, for example - were based there. An alternative solution was offered by Grégoire, 'Le theme byzantin de Tafla-Tablan et le κόμης τῶν σταύλων', Nouvelle Clio 4(1952)388-91: the term is in fact the Greek words τὰ στάβλα or 'ç τὰ στάβλα, the area being equated with one of the districts under the κόμης τῶν σταύλων.

Al-Djarmi heard this expression, and simply assumed it referred to an officially-designated district. Grégoire's proposal, while interesting, does not adequately account for the absence of the 's' in the surviving Arabic texts; and of the two, *tā ḥallāya* is both nearer the original texts and more likely.

776) Cf. Pertusi, art. cit., and Guillard, Recherches, i, 524-5; Oikonomidès, Préséance, 347. Note also J. Shepard, 'Byzantino-russica', REB 33(1975)224-5 and notes.

777) Cf. Just., Nov. 26, proem: *τὸν μὲν στρατιωτικῶν ἡγούμενον τάξεων* (*πολλὰ δὲ αἱ κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον δυνάμεις*)... Cf. also constitutio i. For the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Pertusi, art. cit., 92f; Guillard, Recherches, i, 524-5. This statement conflicts with every other reference we have to the manning of the Long Walls in the sixth century. The 'forces' referred to are most probably troops of the mag.mil.praes. I, detached under the special command of the praetor (and later the vicar). The troops who appear to have been stationed here in 626 belonged probably to the forces left by Heraclius in 622 - very few in view of Heraclius' later despatch of reinforcements when the Avar threat developed. Their presence nevertheless confirms the supposition that the district was used from the sixth century (if not already in the fifth) as a base for troops in the area.

Croke, art. cit., believes that Arab writers used Talaya/Tafla because this was its administrative designation or because it formed a real administrative district. But the name given to it in the later ninth and tenth century, like that of Macrotichos at an earlier date, is merely descriptive. There is no administrative continuity to speak of. See note 773 above.

Chapter five: notes

778) For the eighth-century ceremonies, -see chapter two, note 275. For the thirty banda, see Anon. Vári, 6, ^{15sq.} The tagmata will be dealt with in the order scholai, exkoubiton, vigla and hikanatoi both because that is the order in which they were originally established, and because that is their order of precedence in Byzantine texts. See, e.g., De Cer., 484, ^{13-15;} 494, ¹⁵⁻²¹ etc.

779) Bury, Admin., 53-4; Guillard, Recherches, i, 432.

780) Niceph., Praecepta, 12, ^{24-5;} 13, ^{27sq.} etc;
Syll.Tact., 35, 4; 5. For the early tenth-century Sylloge Tacticorum, see Dain, Stratégistes, 357f. (and R.Vári, 'Die sog. "Inedita Tactica Leonis"' BZ 27(1927)241-270). The tenth-century military treatises fall into two main groups - those which merely copy older treatises; and those which represent contemporary practice and technique. To the former group belong Leo's Tactica, the Sylloge Tacticorum and the treatise attributed to Nikephoros Ouranos. To the latter, the so-called Anonymous Vári, the De Velitatione Bellica, and the Praecepta ascribed to the emperor Nikephoros Phokas. But Leo's Tactica, and the Sylloge, are not without value, since both contain, at various points, more contemporary material (usually by way of contrast and comparison) concerning both organisation and equipment, strategy and tactics. Even where direct copying - for example, from the Strategikon of Maurice - is clear, Leo's Tactica often includes a brief reference to the contemporary situation; and these aspects of both treatises are particularly relevant to the internal organisation and size of units. For a general summary of the literature, see Hunger, Profane Literatur, ii, 331-338. Schreiner, Zur Ausrüstung (cited note 983 below) 216, has, I believe, exaggerated the uselessness in practical terms of both the Tactica of Leo and the Sylloge Tacticorum. Note also V.V.Kučma, 'Vizantiiskie voennye traktaty VI-X vv. kak

istočniki po istorii voennogo iskusstva vizantiiskoi imperii',
Antičnaya drevnost' i srednie veka 9(1973)102-113.

781) Kudāma, 196-7; Ibn Khurradadhbih, 82.

782) For Ibn Khurradadhbih's thematic figure, see Haldon, Garrison, 89, note 31; for his other figures, see Ibn Khurradadhbih, 84; cf. Kudāma, 197f., and Ibn al-Fakih, 74f. Note that Yaḳūbī, 168, points out that at the end of the ninth century, the total of the thematic cavalry forces amounted to some 40,000 men. The tagmata are unlikely to have equalled more than a small portion of this number. In the sixth century, field forces of as much as 20,000 were considered large (the standard field force in the Strategikon of Maurice varies between 15,000 and 24,000: see the discussion of Mazzucchi, Strategikon, 125ff.); while the scholai and palatine units, excluding the forces of the magg.mil.praesentales, numbered no more than 3,500 to 5,000 (Jones, LRE, 684f.). Even during the height of the Byzantine tenth-century offensive, 11,000-12,000 was regarded as an adequate field force (Anon. Vári, 1,^{12sq.}), and this appears to have included the tagmata and at least one thematic army. Unfortunately most historians have accepted the figure of 24,000 for the tagmata quite uncritically, in spite of Bury's cautious discussion (Admin., 54). Most recently, for example, Lille, Die byz. Reaktion, 328, note 103; although Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 286, sensibly rejects it. See especially the remarks of Teall, Corn Supply, 108ff., 117. In fact, Ibn Khurradadhbih gives a series of apparently conflicting figures (see Haldon, Garrison, esp. 88-9), although he is in fact consistent in giving the forces in Constantinople a total of 8,000 men. See above.

783) For the relationship between the various geographers, see Brooks, Arabic Lists, 67-9, and more recently Miquel, Géographie

humaine, i, xviii, xxi, xxviii, xxix; also Haldon, Garrison, 78ff. The inclusion in Kudāma's garrison list of the federates and the optimates makes it clear that he was using also another lost source, which Brooks does not mention. See Haldon, Garrison; and most recently Winkelmann, Probleme, 26-29, who has argued plausibly that in fact only Ibn Khurradadhbīh is based directly on al-Djarmī; Ibn al-Fakīh and Kudāma both used material based only indirectly on the latter, together with other material, both older and more recent.

784) The two infantry units, the noumera and teichistai, numbered on the basis of these texts two thousand each, although even this would be, in my view, a high estimate of their strength.

For a possible example of the tagmata under the domestic of the scholai campaigning (in an emergency) alone, cf. Theoph., 456, ¹⁰⁻¹¹, during Eirene's reign. For the campaigns with Theophilus, see Theoph. cont., 113, ¹⁶⁻¹⁹ (A.D. 830); 128, ^{4sq.} (A.D. 838) - the tagmata surrounded and protected the emperor in small defensive positions after the battle had been lost. Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 286, makes a number of apposite remarks. The cost of maintaining, and the difficulty of supplying, 24,000 tagmatic soldiers would have been far too great for the Constantinopolitan administration or the central government itself on a continuous, local basis. Considering that Leo's more realistic figure for a picked thematic cavalry force was only 4,000; and that the Anon. Vári (c. 969-976) recommends a basic cavalry force of 8,000 to accompany the emperor, a total of some 8,000 for the tagmatic units, with the noumera and Walls troops, seem far to be preferred. Cf. Leo, Tact., xviii, 143; 149-153. See also Kaegi, Polit. Activity, 10-11; Ahrweiler, Recherches, 3-4, and esp. Teall, Corn Supply, 110. For Arab exaggerations of figures, see Miquel, Géographie humaine, ii, 449. On demographic factors, see, for example,

Charanis, Demography, 10-15, 17; Jacoby, Population, 81-109, on the difficulties of interpretation regarding medieval figures in general; and Delbrück, Art of War, ii, 285-299 for the special difficulties of estimating numbers for armies, and the extreme caution needed in interpreting such figures, whatever the pedigree of the sources in which they may be preserved.

785) De Cer., 666⁸⁻¹³. These figures are for the peratic units, under their domestikoi. Each tagma also had sections in Thrace and Macedonia, however, under the domestic or topoteretes of the scholai. See De Cer., 666,¹⁻⁸, where the total from all four tagmata in Europe amounts to 869 men. Even if we double the figures for the two complete tagmata in Asia, i.e. 700 + 456 x 2 = 2,312, we are not going to be able to make the tagmata amount to more than 5 or 6,000!

786) Vfta Ioanniciei, ^334.

787) Cf. Laurent, Orghidan, 28, no.28, who refers to a seal of a kandidatos of the eighth schole in the Shaw collection; and see Zacos and Veglery, no.3173, a seal of Sergios, komes of the eighth schole, dated to the later eighth century.

788) Theoph., 449,¹⁶⁻¹⁷: τὰ τάγματα ἐπηρέσηεν (Leo IV); Theoph.cont., 265,^{8sq}; 266,^{6sq}.

789) De Cer., 657,^{20sq}.

790) Syll.Tact., 35, 3-5. The author implies that the unit of 50 is not, whereas the name allagion, applied to it, is.

791) Cf., for example, Syll.Tact., 35, 2; Leo, Tact., iv, 9.

792) Laurent, Orghidan, no.32.

793) In 935, for example, 608 'new scholaroi' were enlisted for the Lombardy expedition: De Cer., 660,²⁰; and cf. the 500 scholaroi from the Anatolikon district raised in 911. The term scholarios seems by this time to have been more or less generalised and applied to all soldiers of the tagmata - a result most probably of the supreme command exercised by the domestic of the scholai from the early tenth century on. There is no evidence that the term was applied in this way before this time; but see Ahrweiler, Admin., 29, note 7.

Note that when Eirene disbanded some scholaroi in 785/6 she reportedly discharged 6,000, including the soldiers' families - see Vita Ioann. Gotthiae, 191B. This might suggest only some 1500-2000 soldiers, which would accord with our estimates above. But to what extent the figure of 6,000 is either reliable or an exaggeration is unclear, since the Life was compiled some time later than the events here described. See Ševčenko, Hagiography, 115; G. Huxley, 'On the Vita of St. John of Gotthia', GRBS 19(1978)161-169. Treadgold, Numbers and Organisation, 274-7, attempts to lend credence to the dubious figures of Kudāma by assuming a direct concordance between thematic and tagmatic organisation, and by taking the average bandon in a theme to be of two hundred men. In view of the above observations, this is a highly suspect set of assumptions which can hardly provide the basis for a sound argument. In the first place, Kudāma was writing in the 930s, using older material. Are we to assume that he has updated his older material? If so, then he is clearly unreliable, for the figures from the Anon. Vári and the De Cer. cited above contradict him absolutely. If we are to accept his figures as uncorrupted, however, then the large scholai of the 840s, with their 20 banda (as extrapolated by Treadgold from this, the Klet-Phil. and the assumption that the thematic and tagmatic banda are comparable) had clearly disappeared by the middle of the tenth century, when we find 30 banda but smaller units. Even granted that these assumptions were admissible, some

considerable administrative and organisational reform must have taken place in the period after c.900, for which there is not the slightest evidence.

But the assumptions themselves are rather unlikely. To begin with, tagmatic and thematic banda are not comparable; indeed, there is little enough evidence to suggest that there ever existed in practice a standard thematic bandon: figures range from 50 to 400, and there is variation within both Byzantine and Arab sources (and it should be remembered that the Arab writers - al-Djarmī, Ibn Khurradādhbīh, Ya^ckūbī, Ibn al-Fakīh, Kudāma - were derivative from a whole series of sources, which appear to have presented a wide variety of figures. See Haldon, Garrison, 78, 87-8, and Winkelmann, Probleme, 29). Even if we accept comparability, we might argue that all banda were of 50 men, rather than 200! Furthermore, the figures given in the *Klet.Phil.* (171-5) and cited by Treadgold, are clearly determined largely by the context of the feasts - i.e. the size of the room and the tables; not by the desire to fit in literally every tagmatic officer. Are we really to assume that in 899 all the tagmata were exactly the same numerically? Given their varied origins and the differences between them at a slightly later date, this is unlikely. In fact, as Oikonomidēs rightly pointed out, it would be incorrect to assume that Philotheos intended his ἄνατρας τοὺς ἀρχοντας (of the scholai, exkoubiton etc.) to be taken literally; rather, he intends that representatives from all these groups of officers were present (cf. *Klet.Phil.*, 170, note 157). In view of these considerations, arguments for the accuracy of Kudāma's figures seem somewhat misguided - especially as Ibn Khurradādhbīh, as we have see, does supply an alternative. The same arguments are repeated in Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (East European Monographs cxxi, Byz. ser. II, New York 1982) 17f., 24ff. See now Winkelmann, Probleme.

794) Klet.Phil., 149,²⁵; T.Usp., 55,⁹. Cf. Bury, Admin., 51f; Guillard, Recherches, i, 432.

795) Zacos and Veglery, no.1780, a seal of Basil, ?imperial-protospatharios' and topoteretes of the scholai (dated c. 800-850).

796) De Cer., 666, ^{1sq}; Anon.Vári, 6, ^{15sq}.

797) Kekaumenos, Strat., (Litavrin), 188
(Wassiliowsky-Jernstedt, 35). Niceph., De Vel.Bell., 210.

798) De Cer., 256, ⁷; 524, ^{19sq}. The second reference is, of course, of later date.

799) See notes 796, 797 above. It is possible that many of the entries in the kleterologion of Philotheos, for example, which Bury and Oikonomidès have emended from plural to singular, should in fact be left as plurals, especially for the four chief tagmata. Cf. for example, Klet.Phil., 151, ^{3sq}; and Oikonomidès, Préséance, 110, note 69. I do not think that the latter is correct in asserting that the latter had one 'great' topoteretes alone; although he is correct as far as concerns the lesser topoteretai of the komites.

800) E.g. Anon.Vári, 6, ^{15sq}. Note that in the fitting out of the tagmata for campaign, the domestics of the three lesser tagmata passed on their instructions direct to the heads of the banda in each unit - skribones or komites - whereas the domestic of the scholai passed on his orders first to the topoteretes, who was then responsible for relaying them to the komites. Cf. De Cer., 494, 15-21.

801) Bury, Admin., 54-5; Guillard, Recherches, i, 432. Cf.

Zacos and Veglery, no.3173, seal of Sergios, komes of the eighth schole; Schlumberger, Sig., 359, seal of a komes of the fifth schole (both of the eighth or ninth century); cf. also De Cer., 494,¹⁶⁻¹⁷; Anon.Vári, 6,^{15sq}. For his position after the topoteretes, see Klet.Phil., 111,⁹.

802) T.Usp., 61,²⁵; Klet.Phil., 153,⁵; Acta Martyr.Amor., 23,^{20sq}; 25,²⁴.

803) De Cer., 494,^{15sq}; Anon.Vári, 6,^{15sq}; 9,⁸⁻¹⁴; Leo, Tact., vi, 1.

804) E.g. De Cer., 524,^{19sq}; 599,^{2sq}; cf. also 235,³; 237,¹⁰⁻¹²; 247,³⁻¹¹; 258,²². The last four examples are of eighth-century origin.

805) De Cer., 131,⁸⁻¹³.

806) Klet.Phil., 111,¹⁰; for his rank, cf. T.Usp., 61,²; 63,¹⁷; Klet.Phil., 153,¹⁶. He appears on the whole to have been equal to the komites.

807) Anon.Vári, 6,^{15sq}; and Klet.Phil., 171,^{28sq}. For the μεγάλοι ἄρχοντες τῶν σχολῶν see De Cer., 524,²⁰.

808) Leo, Tact., iv,-31.

809) Klet.Phil., 159,²⁶. For the optio at an earlier period, see chapter one, pp. 100, 108; and for the notaries, see De Cer., 694,²⁰; and 807,³².

810) His duties were no doubt very similar to those of the chartularies of the Demes as outlined at De Cer., 807,^{14sq}: τὸ γὰρ ἀκρόστιχον τῆς δόργας τῶν πολιτικῶν τάξεων τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου

ἐλάμβανον οἱ πραιπόσιτοι ἐκ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ λόγου, ἔχοντες παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐν κώδιξιν τὰς τάξεις κατ'. δύνομα καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῶν ἐρόγενον, λογαριάζοντες ἔκαστον μὴ ἀμελῶς διακείσθαι πρὸς τὴν δουλείαν αὐτοῦ, καθὼς οἱ τῶν·δύνον μερῶν χαρτουλάριοι μετ' ἑγγράφου ἀσφαλείας τούτους ὑπεδείκνυν. καὶ ἐν τούτοις πᾶσι τοῖς τάξεσιν εἴ τινας πύρισκον τελευτήσαντας, κατέτασσον ἀνθετέρους ἀκριβεῖς καὶ ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς ἣν ἔκαστος αὐτῶν ἐτάσσετο τάξιν.

The passage goes on to describe how the situation had changed, and that the military logothete and his chartularies and notaries had taken posession of the list from the praepositi. But the duties of the chartularies and notaries are made clear, and the process of paying the soldiers and filling the ranks of the tagmata can have differed little from this. The chartularies of the tagmata were thus the officials responsible for the internal administration of the units, and it was such officers who were responsible also for the various duties which come under the heading ἡ λογιστικὴ τέχνη (cf. Leo, Tact., epilog. lvii; lxiv). Note the comments of Laurent, Corpus II, 263ff. on the form and function of the stratiotikon logothesion.

811) Cf. Bury, Admin., 90, note 1; Stein, Studien, 148; Dölger, Finanzverwaltung, 21; see CJ i, 27.1/38; Just., Nov. 76, 13. Also Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 221.

812) Cf. Klet.Phil., 115,⁶ (chartulary of the tagmata on the staff of the military logothesion). Cf. also T.Usp., 61,⁵, 6.

813) De Cer., 599, ⁴⁻⁵; cf. Klet.Phil., 111,¹¹ for their position; and Anon.Vári, 6, 15sq; De Cer., 524, 20-21.

Cf. Bury, Admin., 55; Guillard, Recherches, i, 433. Cf. De Cer., 287,²⁰ for the megaloi archontes ton tagmaton as opposed to the lesser domestikoi of the scholai.

814) T.Usp., 63,³; Klet.Phil., 155,²⁹. Cf. Vie de S.Pierre d'Atroa, 39,⁴⁶⁻⁷; Vita Retractata, 111,^{1sq.} for Benjamin, a junior domestic in the scholai in the early ninth century. For date and authorship, see the editor's comments.

815) E.g. De Cer., 237,¹¹⁻¹²; 247,³⁻¹¹; 258,²²⁻³; Klet.Phil., 171,²⁵.

816) Admin., 55.

817) Klet.Phil., 111,¹²; cf. also T.Usp., 63,³¹; Klet. Phil., 157,²⁷. For the ceremony, cf. De Cer., 599, 10sq. Cf. Bury, Admin., 55; Guillard, Recherches, i, 433.

818) Vita Steph.Iun., 1169, 1172.

819) E.g. Anon.Vári, 5,^{25sq.}

820) Cf. Bury, Admin., 55; CTh. vi, 26.10; De Cer., 394,²: ὁ πρώτιμος τῶν ἀδυνατίστων; for the magistri militum and magister officiorum, see Not.Dig., Or., v, 72, 73 etc.

821) Cf. W.Engel, in RE XXIII, 1034-7; see also CTh. vi, 26.10; 11; 12; etc. Also De Cer., 394,¹⁸ for the comes admissionum.

822) Anon.Vári, 5,^{25sq.}

823) Sakellion, Επιστολαί, 407-8; Theophyl.Bulg., Ep., 477, 525

824) A.Guillou, W.Holzmann, Katepansurkunden, 18, in a document of the year 1001/2. A second document of 1023 mentions the chartulary and the protospatharios as witnesses to the decision of the Katepan. But I do not agree with the editors that the

chartulary in question necessarily belongs to the scholai (a conclusion based on the previous reference to the proximos). He might equally be a member of the Katepan's own bureau. For the Gospel, see N.Adontz, 'Notes arméno-byzantins', Byz 10(1935) 161-170.

825) Klet.Phil., 111,¹³; 171, 26.

826) Cf. De Cer., 524,^{19sq}; 599,^{2sq}. for the senior officers; and Klet.Phil., 181,^{28sq}. for the lesser officers.

827) Klet.Phil., 159,¹.

828) Ceremonies - De Cer., 11,¹⁹⁻²²; 15,^{1sq}; Klet.Phil., 171,^{22sq}. for example; cf. De Cer., 11,²⁰ where τὰ σκεύη τῶν προτικτόρων are referred to. Their inclusion among the junior group of officers is inferred from the above reference. The sinatores were junior officers in the excubitors - see below. It can also be inferred from De Cer., 11,¹⁹⁻²⁰ where the general term σκηντροφόρους probably includes, amongst others, the protiktores, since σκεύη are included under a general ἔτερα σκῆπτρα.

829) Cf. Klet.Phil., 111,¹⁴⁻¹⁵; 171,²⁶⁻⁷. For the insignia, De Cer., 640,^{16sq}; 641,^{1sq}. They had previously (in the ninth century?) been kept in the tribounalion of the nineteen couches. Cf. De Cer., 210,^{23sq}. There was a whole range of ceremonial standards and ensigns, maintained especially for ceremonial occasions, many of them of great antiquity. See Reiske's commentary on the various πτυχία, σκεύη, καμηλοδικτώρια, λάβουρα, σίγνα and the Ρωμαϊκά σκῆπτρα, at De Cer., comm., 667-677. Note also Grabar, L'empereur dans l'art byzantin, 76, where the twelve Ρωμαϊκά σκῆπτρα depicted on the base of the column of Arcadius, are discussed and illustrated.

For a general discussion of standards, see R.Grosse, 'Die Fahnen in der römisch-byzantinischen Armee des 4.-10. Jahrhunderts', BZ 24(1923-4)359-372. Note especially 367, on the honours awarded to the regimental and ceremonial standards. Grosse's discussion is marred by his attribution of Maurice's Strategikon to the early eighth century, and his assumption that 'dracones' disappeared before the sixth century and re-appeared only in the later seventh or eighth century. For the honoured position of the regimental standard-bearers, see Max. Conf., Acta, 168, for the middle of the seventh century: τοὺς προθεβηκότας τῶν βάνδων· πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ διακόνους, καὶ τοὺς εὐλαβεῖς σιγνοφύλακας. See also note 901 below. For labarum, see RE XII, 240-2 (Grosse); and see also Stein, Bas-Empire, i, 96, note 9; and H.Grégoire, 'Encore l'étymologie de "labarum"', Byz 12(1937) 277-81; idem, in Byz 4(1927-8)477-82; and D.Wood, 'Byzantine Military Standards in a Cappadocian Church', Archaeology 12 (1959)38-46; R.Grabar, 'Das Labarum, die Kaiserstandarte der Spätantike', SBO 234/1(1960); and most recently G.T.Dennis, 'Byzantine Battle Flags', 'BF 8(1982)51-60. Certainly in the ninth and tenth centuries, and apparently long before, the standards figured centrally in the religious symbolism of the armies and their religious life, as the evidence assembled by A.Pertusi, 'Una acolouthia militare inedita del X secolo', Aevum 22(1948)145-168, esp. 146ff., demonstrates. For the earlier period, see Strat., vii, 2; and the reference above.

830) E.g. De Cer., 11,^{15sq}; 192,^{1sq}; 205,¹¹⁻¹³; 210,^{23sq}; 575,¹⁵⁻²²; 585,¹⁻⁴.

831) Klet.Phil., 111,¹⁶⁻¹⁷.

832) E.g. Syll.Tact., 35, 1; Leo, Tact., iv, 6; 16; 35 (cf. Maur., Strat., xii, 8.7/1).

833) Cf. De Cer., 230,^{21sq}; 236, 7-10; 260, 17-18;
cf. Guillard, Recherches, i, 161; Oikonomidès, Préséance, 291 and
references.

834) E.g. Klet.Phil., 171,^{26sq}; and De Cer., 192,¹: τὰ
ἀξιωματα τῶν σχολῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταγμάτων; 225,¹⁹.

835) Guillard, Recherches, i, 161.

836) Cf. for example, De Cer., 260,¹⁷⁻¹⁸: οἱ ἀξιωματικοὶ
καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀξιωμάτων; 789,¹⁷; 802,¹³; note also
230,²¹⁻⁴, where the text refers to οἱ δὲ ἀξιωματικοὶ καὶ
κόμιτες τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ κούρσορες καὶ οἱ διαιτάριοι...; and
Klet.Phil., 169,⁶⁻⁷: ἀξιωματικῶν, τῶν διαφόρων ταγμάτων.

837) E.g. Klet.Phil., 159,²⁰; 171,²⁶ etc.

838) For the original hierarchy in the scholai, see chapter one
and note 153. Why the titles ducenarii and centenarii should
have been replaced altogether by the more general term
axiomatičkoi must remain unclear. Possibly the title came into
use only after the internal restructuring which took place under
Constantine V, and represents a 'convenience' heading under which
two or more older groups of officers could be assimilated to a
new structure. It is to be remembered, of course, that the
senatores of the sixth-century scholae are hidden in the
protectores from the seventh century on.

839) Association with patrikioi - De Cer., 225,¹⁶⁻²¹,
230,²¹⁻⁴; 236, 7-10; 239,¹⁵; 250,¹⁻²; 260, 17-18;
and for the synetheiai, De Cer., 798,¹⁷; 802,¹³. They
are clearly evidenced from the eighth to the tenth century. The
ceremony described at De Cer., 225f. (i, chapt. 44a) has been
suggested by Diehl to date to April, 769. See the comments in

chapter two, note 275.

840) Stein also proposes that the axiomatikoi in the scholai were equivalent to the sinatores and doukiniaiores in the other tagmata, cf. E.Stein, 'Ordinarii et campidoctores', Byz 8(1932) 386 note 3; although his argument that, because the senatores of the military establishment bore as a rank the same title as members of the senatorial order, therefore the title axiomatikos (which could also refer to senatorial status) was applied to scholai officers on analogy, is not convincing. Axiomatikos means simply 'officer', and the axiomatikoi were clearly those officers selected from, among others, the staffs of the tagmata, to accompany certain processions.

841) The protectores, domestici and candidati, for example, certainly took part in ceremonial processions in the sixth century. Cf. De Cer., 394, 12-13; 397, 7. For the repetition, compare with the hikanatoi, who were consciously modelled on the arithmos - the duties of whose officers (although not the titles) were in turn based upon those of the original two tagmata. See below, p.295 and note 876.

842) See the references cited in notes 834, 836 and 839 above; and note De Cer., 260, 17-18: οἱ ἀξιωματικοὶ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀξιωμάτων.

843) Cf. Bury, Admin., 57, who suggests that they were all standard-bearers. It might be more accurate to reverse the assertion, and say that all standard-bearers counted probably among the axiomatikoi, even if only the scholai had such a group actually entitled such in their establishment. For while some officers certainly bore titles describing their function as ensign-bearers, it is clear that all officers could act in this capacity; and indeed that each group of subordinate officers had

its own standards, borne on ceremonial occasions. Cf. De Cer., 11,¹⁹⁻²²: τὰ εὐτύχια καὶ τὰ ἔτερα σκῆπτρα, πρὸς τούτοις τὰ σκεύη τῶν προτικτόρων καὶ σινατόρων, καὶ τὰ σκεύη τῶν δρακον-αρίων, λάβουρά τε καὶ καμπιδουκτόρια; and 575,¹⁵⁻²¹ where the kandidatoi and the oarsmen of the imperial dromon parade the ensigns. See note 829 above.

844) De Cer., 798,¹⁶; 802,¹²; 803,¹⁵.

845) Klet.Phil., 111,²⁶; T.Usp., 57,⁶; De Cer., 598,¹⁴⁻¹⁶; Klet.Phil., 173,¹⁴; cf. Bury, Admin., 57-60.

846) Mansi, xi, 209; cf. T.Usp., 57,⁶; Klet.Phil., 151,³.

Cf. Zacos and Veglery, nos. 1837, seal of Constantine, imperial strator and topoteretes of the exkoubiton (late eighth century); 2146, seal of Leo, imperial spatharios and topoteretes of the exkoubiton (ninth century); 3075, seal of ?Ambros, imperial spatharios and topoteretes of the exkoubiton (late eighth century). Not also Konstantopoulos, Syloge, no.41, a late eighth- or ninth-century seal of Prokopios, topoteretes of the ?exkoubiton.

847) De Cer., 666,¹⁻¹¹; Klet.Phil., 173,¹⁴; see note 799 above. Copyist's error might also be responsible for the irregularities.

848) Klet.Phil., 111,²⁷; cf. T.Usp., 61,⁶; Klet.Phil., 153,¹⁹ (spatharios).

849) T.Usp., 63,¹; Klet.Phil., 113,¹; 155,²⁷ (stratores).

850) E.g. De Cer., 130,^{21sq.} (compare the ceremony for the excubitors with that of the scholai, '131,^{19sq.}'); 494,^{17sq};

599,^{14sq}; Klet.Phil., 173,^{12sq}; 203,⁹⁻¹⁰; 207,¹¹.

851) De Cer., 81, 20; 87,¹¹; 99,^{6sq}; 24sq. They came under the general authority of the protospatharios τῶν βασιλικῶν on such occasions.

852) Bury, Admin., 59; Leo, Tact., iv, 6; 15.

853) Maur., Strat., ii, 8.1.

854) Syll.Tact., 35, 1; 13: δαιμοτάτοι δὲ καὶ κρίβαντες.

855) The etymology of Leo's scribones is puzzling. The term as originally applied to the corps of scribones (excubitores) referred to their duties as recruiting officers, in charge of the enlistment and pay of the excubitor soldiers, and similar duties. Possibly the word was also used independently, of those who collected the wounded, since the scribones entered the names of injured men on lists; or again, it may refer to their receiving a reward for each man they saved: scribo/scribere can mean to draw a payment or cheque. I know of no other references which use scribo in the sense of medical attendant, except for the military treatises referred to. In the eleventh century there existed also a bureau, the skriboniakon; but whether it had any connection with the (still existing) scribons of the excubitors remains unclear. Cf. Laurent, Corpus II, no.1124.

856) Klet.Phil., 113,²; 159,⁷ (where he follows the drakonarioi); 173,¹⁵.

857) Klet.Phil., 113,³; 159,⁴; De Cer., 599,¹⁴⁻¹⁶ (where skribones and drakonarioi are equated with komites and domestikoi of the scholai; Klet.Phil., 173,¹⁴⁻¹⁵; 181,^{28sq}. (where they are included among the junior officers of the tagmata

as ensign-bearers); cf. also 191,^{6sq}; 203,^{12sq}; and De Cer., 11, 19-22. There is no reason to assume that there were two groups of drakonarioi simply because they had a variety of duties - one must be wary of assuming a modern military administrative logic for a medieval society, however tempting or 'rational' this may seem.

858) Cf. Grosse, Militärgeschichte, 125; chapter one, notes 78 and 89.

859) De Cer., 641,²⁻³; and see above, 280f., for the size of the unit.

860) Klet.Phil., 113,⁷; 159,³³ etc. A late eighth-century seal of Kyrrilos, mandator of the exkoubiton, is listed by Zacos and Veglery, no.2092.

861) The ensigns were kept in the churches already referred to: cf. De Cer., 640,¹⁷; 641,¹⁻⁵. For their role as ensign-bearers, see Klet.Phil., 189,^{19sq}; 203,^{12sq}. where they were grouped with similar officers from the other tagmata.

862) See also chapter one, note 236 for their position; and Klet.Phil., 113,⁶; 159,²¹; 173,¹⁵.

863) De Cer., 11,²⁰: τὰ σκεύη τῶν προτικτόρων καὶ σινατόρων; for their grouping as ensign-bearers, cf. Klet.Phil., 181,^{28sq}; 189,^{19sq}; 203,^{12sq}.

864) Cf. Oikonomidès, Préséance, 314. For the legatarioi of the excubitors, see Klet.Phil., 159,³³. There were also legatarioi in the noumera and the regiment of the Walls, cf. Klet.Phil., 183,^{10sq}.

865) Cf. De Stephano et al., 264.

866) Klet.Phil., 115, 21-32; 173, 27-30 etc. Cf. Bury, Admin., 60-62. Cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.1690, a seal of Achillios, topoteretes of the arithmos, dated by the editors to the first half of the eighth century. In view of what has been demonstrated about the establishment of the vigla under Eirene, this seal must now be placed in the later eighth century. On stylistic grounds, there is no objection to such a re-dating. Cf. Panchenko, Katalog, no.123 (246), for a ninth-century seal of Nikolaos, imperial spatharokandidatos and chartularios of the arithmos.

867) For the komites, cf. De Cer., 599, 20sq; 494, 19-20; Klet.Phil., 183, 30; 209, 8; on the akolouthos, cf. Oikonomidès, Préséance, 331; Bury, Admin., 62.

868) See the references in note 867 above.

869) See Bury, Admin., 62; Oikonomidès, Préséance, 331; Jones, LRE, 83. Cf. De Cer., 410, 8-9; and above, note 829.

870) See chapter one, note 84. The original title was ducenarii or ducenatores. Cf. Bas., vi, 1.59 (= CJ i, 31.3): οἱ κόμητες τῶν σχολῶν μηκέτι τοὺς καλουμένους σενάτορας ἢ δουκινάτορας τυπτέοθωσαν... where doukinatoras replaces the original ducenarios.

871) For the size of units in the later fifth and sixth centuries, see Jones, LRE, 681-2. The vexillations, among which the vigla/arithmos is included, numbered about five hundred.

872) Cf. Klet.Phil., 159, ³⁴; and De Theophili Imp. Benefactis, 42, 11sq: ὁ δὲ δρουγγάριος ἀπέστειλεν ἐκ τῆς ὑποβεβηκυίας αὐτῷ τάξεως τῶν μανδατόρων ἰκανοὺς ἐν τῷ φόρῳ πρὸς τὸ ἄξαι τὸν τε οἰκονόμον καὶ τὰς μοναχούσας ἐν τῷ κριτηρίῳ... Note the remarks of Guiland, Recherches, i, 567.

873) Klet.Phil., 173,^{29.}

874) Préséance, 332.

875) For the headquarters of the vigla, see chapter four, note 643.

876) Klet.Phil., 119,^{1sq.} Cf. Bury, Admin., 63-4;
Oikonomides, Préséance, 332.

877) Chapter two, 186f.

878) Cf. T.Usp., 61,^{29;} 63,^{8.} See also De Cer.,
193,^{14sq.} where the kandidatoi kaballarikou are bracketed
between the komites of the scholai; and the skribones, and lesser
domestikoi of the scholai; while the kandidatoi pezoi are classed
with imperial mandatores and above komites of the vigla and
hikanatoi. Cf. also De Cer., 202,^{11-13;} 203,^{17-24;}
229,¹³⁻¹⁴ for a similar hierarchy.

879) Cf. De Cer., 236,⁷⁻¹⁰: ὥψικεύεται (sc. ὁ μάγιστρος)
ἕπο ἀξιωματικῶν καὶ δομεστίκων πεδίτου καὶ σχολαρίων πεδίτου.
Only the earlier group of ceremonies (late eighth, middle of the
ninth century) mention the difference. By the tenth century it
seems to have disappeared.

880) See note 878 above; and chapter two, 158f.

881) Cf. Klet.Phil., 117,^{19-24.}

882) Theoph., 450,^{23sq.}

883) On the various groups of active and honorific spatharioi,
the protospatharoi and the kandidatoi, their duties and

organisation in the tenth century, see Guillard, *Recherches*, ii, 111f; Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 298-9, 328, 338; Guillard, *Candidat*, 210-225; and on the protospatharios of the imperials, see also Panchenko, *Katalog*, no.221 (386), a ninth- or tenth-century seal of Stephen, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the imperials; and the editor's comments. See also chapter two, note 411; and note 1014 below.

884) See chapter four, 246ff; and Niceph., *De Vel.Bell.*, 240, 18-21: εἶχε δὲ καὶ ὁ τουρμάρχης τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ τοῦρμας παρὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς προστάξεως ἐπ' ἔξουσίας τὰς κρίσεις, κατὰ τοὺς ἐπικρατήσαντας τύπους καὶ τὰ τούτων προνόμια.

885) Leo, *Tact.*, iv, 6sq; Ibn Khurradadhbih, 84f; Kudāma, 196. Cf. Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 340-1 and references; and Haldon/Kennedy, *Arab-Byzantine Frontier*, 103-5.

886) Theoph., 462, 15-17: τότε βαλοῦσα τὰς φαμιλίας αὐτῶν ἐν πλοίοις ἔξωρισεν αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως, κελεύσασα ἐν τῇ ἴδιᾳ χώρᾳ ἔκαστον ἀπελθεῖν, ἐν ᾧ ἐγέννηθε. Cf. Mansi, xii, 991: κελεύσαντες (sc. οἱ βασιλεῖς) ἔκαστον ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἴδιαν πατρίδα. Cf. also Anon.*Excerpta*, 366, 10-16.

887) Theoph., 463, 15-19: καὶ ἀπέθανον πολλοῖ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔξορισθέντων σχολαρίων οὐκ ὀλίγοι.

888) The argument is lent further support by Niceph.*Patr.*, *Refutatio*, 247 where, to quote Alexander's paraphrase, Constantine V 'influenced the army against the Orthodox, in particular those detachments he had recruited for the capital from the herdsmen'. If Nicephorus is to be believed, this seems to be a clear reference to the recruitment of provincials for the new tagmata, who would be unfamiliar with Constantinopolitan politics and hence loyal to their creator. It also helps to

explain, to some degree, Eirene's actions. The issue and production of arms will be dealt with below.

889) This view is still applicable in general terms, although it is clear that solidarity of the eastern themata in their support of iconoclast policies can no longer be argued, as Kaegi has demonstrated. See Byz. Armies and Iconoclasm, 51f; and see now for a balanced assessment Speck, Konstantin VI, 56-72 (and n.b. 405ff.)

890) Cf. Theoph., 429,¹⁸ (for 755); 422,⁹⁻¹⁷ (for 745).

891) Theoph., 414,³¹. ..

892) Vita Ioannicii, 334.

893) Theoph., 449,¹⁶⁻¹⁷; Gen., 19,¹⁰⁻¹⁵: ἐκπέμπεται παρὰ βασιλέως διακυβερνᾶν τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ τῶν ἐξουβίτων συντάγματι) στρατολόγημα.

894) G.Mon.cont., 803,^{17sq}; Sym.Mag., 637,^{19sq}; Leo Gram., 222,^{23sq}. Theoph.cont., 92,^{18sq}. relates a „ different version. For the complex relationship between these scriptores post Theophanem see Hunger, Profane Literatur i, 339-343; 354-357; and most recently W.Treadgold, 'The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Chronicle' of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 813-845', DOP 33(1979)159-197, with bibliography.

895) G.Mon.cont., 807,⁷⁻⁸: ὁ δὲ (στρατηγός) ἔφη ὅτι ἐπεζήτει γενέσθαι σχολάριος· ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ εἰδὼς ὅτι. ἀνδρεῖός . ἔστιν, ...; 807,¹⁵⁻¹⁸: δρισθέντος καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δοκιμάσαι αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰ ἀνδρεῖός ἔστι, ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν σχολάριον. τοῦ δὲ εἰς πόλεμον ἀπελθόντος, ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ ὡς δειλὸς ἐν τοῖς φεύγουσιν εὑρεθεὶς κατεσφάγη. ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. I cannot agree with

Ahrweiler, Recherches, 29, note 7, that scholarios is here to be interpreted as a grade or title granted (or sold) to soldiers outside the tagmata. See note 793 above.

896) Theoph.cont., 6,^{19-7, 5}; although they joined his own body-guards at first, and may not have been part of the official salaried retinue.

897) Acta Martyr.Amor., 23,^{20sq.}

898) For the Tessarakontarion, cf. Theoph.cont., 81,⁶⁻¹⁰: ἀνήρ τις... οὐ τὸ ἐπώνυμον ὑπερύφας, στρατόν τινα ἀθροίσας τὸν τεσσαρακοντάριον τότε καλούμενον βασιλικῆς ἐκ προστάξεως, ἐκ τοῦ διανεμηθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ τεσσαράκοντα χρυσίνων, ...; also Sym.Mag., 624,¹⁻⁵; Gen., 50, 1-7. The unit was decimated in action and seems to have been disbanded. Cf. Theoph.cont., Sym.Mag., loc. cit. Ooryphas later became drouggarios of the Vigla. Cf. Theoph.cont., 136,^{3sq.} For the tenth-century examples, see De Cer., 657,^{20-658,}⁸.

899) Theoph.cont., 265,^{10sq}: διὰ νέων συλλογῆς τε καὶ ἐκλογῆς ἀνεπλήρωσεν (sc. τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς καταλόγους) καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν δεσντῶν παροχῆς τε καὶ ἐπιδόσεως ἔρρωσεν; 266,^{8sq}: ταῖς ἀριθμοζούσαις χορηγίαις καὶ δωρεαῖς λιπάνας αὐτῶν τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τονώσας τὰς δεξιάς,...

900) These topics will be dealt with below.

901) Cf. Bas., lvii, 1.37 (= CJ xii, 33.6); lvii, 1.4 (= Dig. xlix, 16.4); Leg.Mil. (Ashburner), 20; 21; 34; 53. On the proscription of monks joining up, cf. Leo VI, Nov. 7, Nov. 8; and for soldiers, cf. Vita Ioannicii, 311 (Menologion), 338f. Justinian's legislation of the sixth century required soldiers to spend a period of fifteen years supervised by a spiritual adviser

before they were permitted to take holy orders. Cf. Laurent, *Vita Retractata*, 37, note 3. The early doubts cast upon the compatibility of military service with the Christian faith were never popular and left few traces in Byzantine literature. St. Basil and other writers of the fifth century and before frowned upon soldiers who killed, regarding them as murderers. Cf. Basil, Ep. 188,¹³; Lactantius, *Div.Inst.*, vi, 20.15sq; Paulinus Nolae, Ep. 25,² - a viewpoint formulated most strongly before the peace of the Church by Origen, cf. *Contra Celsum*, viii, 71-5. But such an attitude was generally abandoned after the identity of interests of Church and state had been formulated during the fourth century. See Dvornik, *Polit. Philos.*, ii, 609-10, 681-3; A.Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity* (Eng. trans., 1908) ii, 52-64; and C.J.Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War* (London 1919), esp. 49f. The Church as a body had condemned conscientious objectors as deserters at the first council of Arles in 314, cf. Mansi, ii, 470-4; and for the military role of the Church itself during the fourth century, see Ramsay McMullen, *Soldier and Civilian*, 138ff; E.Gabba, 'I cristiani nell'esercito romano del quarto secolo dopo Cristo', in: *Transformation et conflits au 4^e siècle après J.-C* (Colloque du Fédération Int. des Études Classiques, Bordeaux, 7-12 Sept. 1970 [= *Antiquitas*, Abh. 1, alt. Geschichte 29, Bonn 1978]) 33-52. I have not been able to consult the unpublished dissertation of J.Helgeland, *Christians and Military Service A.D. 173-337* (Univ. Chicago, 1973); but see now for a comprehensive treatment J.Helgeland, 'Christians and the Roman Army from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine', in: *ANRW* II, 23.1, 724-834; and also L.J.Swift, 'War and the Christian Conscience I: the Early Years', *ibid.*, 835-868. Together, these two important discussions supersede the work of Harnack, Cadoux and Dvornik in this connection. The army was looked upon as an instrument of God for the conversion and chastisement of the heathen. Cf. CMH, iv, 2, 44f; V.Laurent, 'L'Idée de guerre sainte et la tradition

byzantine', RSEE 23(1946)71-98; also Schlumberger, Nic. Phoc., 252ff. for the views of this emperor; and Ostrogorsky, State, 90f. for the religious wars of Heraclius. Leo VI describes the imperial soldier as τὸν ἡμέτερον συστρατώτην (Tact., iv, 1).

From at least the fifth century, each unit had its own chaplain or priest, and the insignia of the units were blessed and regarded to some extent as symbols of the faith. See Maur., Strat., i, 3.21; ii, 17.1-2; Max. Conf. Acta, 168 (cited note 829 above); and for regimental chaplains in the eleventh century, see Aléxiade, xv, vii.2. Also A.H.M. Jones, 'Military Chaplains in the Roman Army', Harvard Theol. Review 46(1953)239f; and A. Heisenberg, 'Kriegsgottesdienst in Byzanz', in: Aufsätze zu Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte vornehmlich des Orients. Ernst Kuhn zum 70. Geburstag gewidmet (München 1916) 244-57. Cf. Helgeland, art. cit., 813, note 428; A. Pertusi, 'Una acolouthia militare inedita del X secolo', Aevum 22(1948)145ff. For a general note on standards and their importance, see Ramsay McMullen, Some Pictures, 444-5 and the comments in note 829 above. In practice, the religious life was looked upon as a genuine alternative to service for the state - whether military or otherwise - and not necessarily as a better one. Cf. De Petro Thaumaturgo, 123; De S. Maria Iun., 694E, where twin brothers were dedicated by their parents to the military and religious lives respectively. Although composed as much as a century later, the latter retains its value in respect of the conditions and events described. See Patlagean, Sainteté, 91; Beck, Kirche, 565, note 5. Note that Ioannicius was rebuked for his ignorant tolerance of iconoclasts, rather than because he killed many enemy soldiers. Cf. Vita Ioannicii, 337A. The identity of the interests of Church and state at the popular level can best be illustrated by the great popularity accorded the various soldier-saints, especially saints Theodore and George, whose miracula recount a variety of occasions on which the saints rescued prisoners from the heathen, blessed weapons, and so on. See especially H. Delehaye, Les

légendes grècques des saints militaires (Paris 1909), esp. 2-8; and Sigalas, Διασκέψη, 314, 328; Acta Anast.Persae, 25, where soldiers in the 630s argue the respective merits of their 'personal' saints Theodore, George and Mercurius. On these saints see, in addition to Delehaye: Aufhauser, Drachenwunder; St. Binon, St. Mercure; and Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos. See also Bréhier, Institutions, 377-8. But it is possible that many felt some personal objection to the killing entailed in military service, a fact which must lie to some extent behind the relatively large number of soldiers who entered monasteries upon their retirement. See below, 326ff. Other, more material considerations -- a secure and comfortable retirement, for example -- also played a part, of course. See most recently Odahl, Militarisation of Christianity. But note that under certain conditions -- a military emergency, for example -- the state did not hesitate to conscript monks into the ranks -- as the Patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos, Letters, nos. 150 and 164, notes in two letters of protest in the early tenth century. This particular action on the part of the local military authorities may reflect both a lack of manpower, and a resentment at the numbers of able-bodied men consumed by the Church, the monasteries in particular. Note Ahrweiler's remarks, Recherches, 20, note 6; D.Savramis, Zur 'Soziologie' des byzantinischen Mönchtums (Leiden/Köln 1962) for some general perspectives; but warning against over-generalisations, see also H.-G.Beck, Das byzantinische Jahrtausend (München 1978) 207ff.

902) Cf. Klet.Phil., 161,²⁷; Oikonomidès, Préséance, 283.

903) Bas., lvii, 1.39 (= CJ xii, 33.8); lvii, 1.36 (= CJ xii, 33.5). On strateiai and axiai, see Oikonomidès, Préséance, 283f.

904) Vita Nicolai Stud., 893: Νέος ὑπάρχων, ἐν τῇ τῶν σχολαρίων στρατείᾳ κατεληγμένος ἐτύχανον; Vita Petri Athonitae, 18 (a

soldier in the fifth schole at the age of twenty); *Acta Martyr.Amor.*, 23, ²¹⁻²: εἰς ἀκμαίότητος ἡλικίαν τῷ χρόνῳ ἀναδραμῶν (sc. ὁ Κάλλιστος), τῆς καταλόγου γίνεται τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα στρατείας...; *Vita Ioanniciei*, 334: τῷ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡλικίας εἰς τὴν τῶν ἔξκουβιτόρων στρατίαν... ἐντάττεται; *Niceph.Patr.*, *Apologeticus*, 556; *idem*, *Antirrheticus iii*, 504. Cf. also *De Petro Thaumaturgo*, 123, ^{1sq.}.

905) Cf. *Acta Martyr.Amor.*, loc. cit. (the phrase signifies the age of eighteen, at which manhood was attained; although parents retained legal authority over their offspring until the age of twenty-five. See below on military peculium); *Vita Lucae Stylitae*, 200, ¹⁻²; *Leo, Tact.*, iv, 1. *Ioannicius* was enrolled at nineteen; *Luke the Stylist*, *Euthymius the Younger* and *Peter of Atroa* were all obliged to begin their service when they reached their eighteenth birthday. See *Laurent, Vita Retractata*, 37 and his comments.

906) Cf. *Leo, Tact.*, iv, 1: ἐκλέξῃ δὲ στρατιώτας... μήτε παιδας, μήτε γέροντας, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρείους, ισχυροὺς κτλ. (cf. *Syll.Tact.*, 36,1); *Niceph., Praecepta*, 1, ⁴⁻⁵: ἐκλέξασθαι ἄνδρας ὀπλίτας εύμηκεις τὰς ἡλικίας καὶ πλείον τῶν τεσσαράκοντα μὴ ὄντας χρονῶν, ... This applies, of course, to thematic troops in general, and more particularly, to those best fitted among the troops on the muster-list for active campaign duties or special expeditions. The text from the *Praecepta* suggests that those under forty years of age were preferred, in other words, that men over forty years of age could serve. See above, note 540.

907) *Vita Ioanniciei*, 337; *Vita Lucae Stylitae*, 201f. There is some difficulty over the interpretation of the passages in the Life of Luke. *Lemerle, Esquisse*, ii, 64-5, thinks that the passage should be interpreted to mean that Luke was recruited at the age of eighteen, served six years as an ascetic, and at the

age of twenty-four, was ordained a priest. After a period equal to that which had already been mentioned, he left the army, that is, after a further six years, at the age of thirty, the age at which he could legally take up the priesthood; and also, according to Ibn Khurradadhbih, 85, the age after which the minimum period of military service expired (after twelve years under arms). On the other hand, F.Vanderstuyf, in a commentary on the passage in his edition of the Life (in PO 11(1915)145-299), considers that the text means by the period equal to that which had already been mentioned a further period of twenty-four years; so that Luke retired at the age of forty-eight.

908) Ibn Khurradadhbih, 85: Les romains admettent dans le rôle de leur armée les jeunes gens imberbes. Ceux-ci reçoivent un dénaire la première année, deux dénares la seconde, trois la troisième, et ainsi de suite, jusqu'à leur douzième année de service, lorsqu'ils touchent la paye complète de douze dénares. Niceph.Patr., Apologeticus, 556: μέρος οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον τῶν ἐν στρατιωτικοῖς τάγμασι τελοῦντων ποτέ, ὃν οἱ μὲν ἀπε παρηβηκότες τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἀφῆλικες, ... See below, and notes 999, 1000.

909) Bas., lvii, 3.2 (= CJ xii, 35.2): ὁ ἐπὶ κ' ἔτη στρατευσ-
άμενος ἀπῆλλακται δυωρῶν λειτουργιῶν. These regulations
probably did not apply to officers on the permanent establishment
- they, like members of the civil bureaucracy, appear to have had
little or no security of tenure of their posts. See Weiss,
Beamte, 38-40; and compare the passage from the eleventh-century
Logos Nouthetetikos, 102, ^{23-7,} cited in note 999 below. On
the relevance of Byzantine legal texts, and the problems
encountered in their use, see the references in notes 919 and 926
below; and P.Pieler, Entstehung und Wandel rechtlicher
Traditionen in Byzanz, in: Veröffentlichungen d. Inst. für hist.
Anthropologie e.V., 2 (Freiburg-München 1980)669-728.

910) Bas. vi, 1.61: δ στρατεύσασθαι σχολάριος δίχα βασιλικῆς δοκιμασίας θαρρήσας πρὸς τῷ τῆς στρατείας ἐκπεσεῖν εἴκοσι χρυσίου καταθήσει λίτρας. ἀλλὰ μηδὲν εἰς σχολάζοντα βαθμὸν σχολάριου ὑποβαλλέσθω τις ἄνευ θείας ὀντιγραφῆς. καταγραφέσθω δὲ ἐν τετραμηνιαίοις βραβείοις ὃ τῶν σχολαρίων ἀριθμὸς καὶ ὀποτιθέσθω ἐν τῷ ἵερῳ καὶ οἰκειακῷ σκρινίῳ (CJ i, 31.5).¹⁴ Disregarding the archaic terminology retained by the later copyists, the system in the eighth, ninth and tenth century probably differed little from that of the sixth. The military logothesion, with special chartularies for the tagmata, now kept the rosters, which were subject to checks by officials – notaries under the supervision of the logothete and the chartularies – at frequent intervals. Cf. De Cer., 807,^{14sq.} which preserves some details of the methods of payment for the demes and of the officials in the military logothesion. Even the details of the four-monthly returns may reflect ninth- and tenth-century institutional practice, since the element of continuity in these administrative operations seems to have been considerable. See note 946 below.

911) Cf. Theoph., 442, 24-7; 438, 2sq; 437, 9-12; 462, 8sq; Niceph.Patr., 72, 26sq. Note also the comments of Nicephorus the Patriarch who makes it very clear that the tagmatic troops were carefully 'educated' in Constantine's policy. Cf. Niceph.Patr., Apologeticus; 556B.

912) Gen., 19, 10-15.

913) De Cer., 130, 22sq. The ceremonies for the appointment of domestikoi and protiktores were paralleled by earlier versions of the same ceremony from the sixth century. See chapter two. In general, the appointment of senior officers was carried out with reference to the emperor, as in all other state bureaux. The lesser ranks and ordinary soldiers were appointed by the regimental staff and commanders, as Leo's Tactica suggests –

cf. Tact., iv, 32-35. Insofar as the strategoi of the provincial themes could also appoint all their subordinate military officials (Tact., iv, 41-43; and the case of Anthony the Younger, appointed as commander and governor in Attaleia by the local strategos, apparently without reference to Constantinople. See Abrahamse, Cities, 159-60), it is probable that the tagmatic commanders-in-chief selected their topotetrai and komites, and then obtained the emperor's ratification, exemplified in the ceremonies preserved in the De Caerimonii. Those tagmatic officers attached to the military logothesion were probably less subject to the immediate control of their respective domestikoi. Promotions as a result of bravery in the field were referred to the epi ton anamneseon, from where they were passed on to the emperor. See notes 1016 and 1018 below.

914) Ecloga, xvi, 1; Bas., lvii, 2.1; 10; 11; 23 (= Dig., xlix, 17.1; 10; 11; CJ xii, 36.2); cf. Synopsis Bas., xii, 5. For other groups who received this privilege, see Bas., lvii, 2.21 (= CJ xii, 30.1), and on the lex falcidia see, for example, Proch.Nom., xxxii, 1f. A discussion of this law and its later development is to be found in Kaser, Privatrecht, ii, 394. Cf. also Bas., Schol. t.1, viii, 2.19 (73-4). In general, see Kaser, Privatrecht, i, 344, 680ff; ii, 73, 152-3, 347 and n.11, 360, 368; RE XIX, 13-16 (v.Uxkull).

915) Lep, Tact., iv, 1; xx, 71; Syll.Tact., 36, .2; Niceph., De Vel.Bell., 239, ^{13sq}; Anon.Vári, 49, ^{10sq}; Leg.Mil. (Koržensky), i, 2 (the text edited by Koržensky would appear to be a revision of the military laws, carried out during the reign of Leo VI. See Darkó's review of the edition, in BZ 31(1931) 226-7). Cf. CJ xii, 43.1 etc., and chapter one, note 68. Cf. also Bas., liv, 4.3; and Ahrweiler, Recherches, 6-7; Karayannopoulos, Entstehung, 85. See the general comments on the background and tradition behind these compilations in: C.E.Brand,

Roman Military Law (Austin 1968); and RE XV, 1668-71 (Taubenschlag); and esp. RE S^c X, 394-410, art. Militärrecht (Sander); note also V.Giuffrè, Il 'diritto militare' dei Romani (Studi e materiali per gli insegnamenti storicojuridici 2) (Bologna 1980); and cf. the review of C.Capizzi, OCP 47(1981) 233ff; also V.V.Kučma, ΝΟΜΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟΣ.

916) Cf. Bas., lvii, 1.3 (= Dig., xlvi, 16.3). These restrictions do not appear in the Isaurian legal codification; and cf. Theoph., 437, ^{9sq}: πολλῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ στρατιώτων διαβληθέντων προσκυνεῖν εἰκόνας διαφόροις τιμωρίαις καὶ πικροτάταις αἰκίαις τούτους παρέδωκεν of Constantine V's purge of the Constantinopolitan soldiery. Note also De Stephano et al., 263-4.

917) Epan., ii, 1; Bas., vi, 1.40 (= Dig., i, 18.6); vi, 1.94 (= CJ i, 46.2); vi, 1.112 (= CJ i, 38.1); vi, 4.14 (= CJ i, 29.1); vii, 3.42 (= CJ iii, 13.6); vii, 6.15 (CJ iii, 1.17): οἱ στρατιωτικοὶ ἄρχοντες δικαζέτωσαν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ στρατιωτικῆς καὶ μόνης αἰτίας, referring to the junior officers rather than the commanders; for the latter, see Bas., vii, 3.42; and cf. Epitome, xii, 39; 40; xiv, 17 (cf. CJ iii, 1.46 etc.); Peira, li, 29: ἀφορμαὶ πολλαὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν. οἱ μὲν γάρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις, καὶ ὑπόκεινται ταῖς ἑταῖρειαρχείαις καὶ τῷ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ· οἱ δὲ πλέονσι τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ὑπόκεινται τῷ παραθαλασσίτῃ· οἱ δὲ πλῶμοι τῷ δρουγγαρίῳ· οἱ δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν τῷ ἐπάρχῳ· οἱ δὲ περὶ διαθῆκας τῷ κοιαντορι. Cf. also Epitome, xiv, 63; and Niceph., De Vel.Bell., 240,⁸: αὐτοῦ τοῦ νόμου παρεκελεύοντος, ἔκαστον ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἴδιου λαοῦ ἔξουσιάζειν, καὶ τούτους κρίνειν. Also 240,¹⁸⁻²¹: εἶχε δὲ καὶ δι τουρμάρχης τῆς ἴδιας αὐτοῦ τοῦρμας παρὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς προστάξεως επ' ἔξουσίας τὰς κρίσεις, κατὰ τοὺς ἐπικρατήσαντας τύπους καὶ τὰ τούτων προνόμια. In general, see Bas., vi, 1, for the regulations which were

retained from the sixth century. For other aspects of thematic officers' jurisdiction, see chapter four above, note 661.

918) E.g. Proch.Nom., iv, 11; 18; 24; Bas., vi, 1.30 (= CJ xii, 1.13); liv, 2.9 (= CJ x, 40.9).

919) Abolition of praescriptio fori - Bas., vii, 5.92 (= CJ iii, 25.1); restoration (not in Bas.) - CJ iii, 23.2. It is worth mentioning here that the Basilika were not merely a collection of out-dated legal constitutions, but were rather designed to reflect the real situation of the empire - even if the terminology adopted, the situations used as examples and the formal legal assumptions of the compilers are those of the sixth century. See R.S.Lopez, Trade, 78 and note 21. That the device was still employed in the later sixth and early seventh century is clear from the case of a soldier in Italy, who renounced his rights of prescription when making a purchase of land. Cf. Tjäder, P.Ital., 450, note 4 (P. 16). For a comment on the practical relevance of later legal compilations, see Burgmann/Simon, 'Ein unbekanntes Rechtsbuch', in: FM I, 77. See especially the discussion of Pieler, Rechtsliteratur, 345-351.

920) E.g. Bas., vi, 28.12 (= CJ xii, 19.12).

921) Cf., e.g., Bas., vi, 21.1-4 (= Just., Nov. 69, 1-4) which reaffirms the judicial authority of provincial courts over all those in the province, whatever authority they came under, unless a sacred rescript of exemption from the emperor has been obtained.

922) Recherches, 56; note 2.

923) Ahrweiler, Recherches, 31; Oikonomidès, L'Organisation militaire, 141ff. The fact that Kekaumenos advises his son, if a

topoteretes, to obey the local commander, suggests that such officers may not always have done so. Cf. Kekaumenos, Strat. (Litavrin), 188 (Wassiliewsky-Jernstedt, 35). For another provincial topoteretes who may have belonged to the scholai in the eleventh century, cf. Vita Lazari Gal., 543D.

924) Bas., vii, 3.38 (= CJ iii, 13.2); viii 3.41 (= CJ iii, 13.5); Epitome, xii, 14: ὁ ἐνάγων ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ φόρῳ τοῦ ἐναγομένου; cf. also Bas., vii, 3.42 (= CJ iii, 13.6): ὅταν δύο στρατιῶται δικάζονται πρὸς ἄλληλους, ή ὁ ἐνάγων ιδιώτης ἐστίν, ὃ δὲ ἐναγόμενος στρατιώτης, οἱ στρατηλάται τῆς ἀποθέσεως ἀκούετωσαν, εἴτε ἐγκληματικῶς, εἴτε χρηματικῶς δικάζονται· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῖς δικαζομένοις τοῦτο συμφέρει. Note also Niceph. Phocas, De Vel. Bell., 240,^{4sq.} which suggests that by the second half of the tenth century thematic judges were a good deal more independent of the strategoi than hitherto, and were dealing with military cases which should have come (and which formerly did so) under the authority of the military officials. See Kaser, Zivilprozessrecht, 478-9; RE VII, 56ff. (Kipp).

925) E.g. Epan., xi, 5-9; Epitome, xiv, 55.

926) See note 915 above, and Peira, li, 29; see also DAI, 51, 54-65, a description of the jurisdiction and legal powers of chastisement of the protospatharios τῆς φιάλης. Note the comments at the end of this section; the discussion of Pieler (cited note 919 above); and see especially Simon, Rechtsfindung, 17ff.

927) Note the letters of the Patriarch Photius, Ep., nos. 123, 125, 127 to various officials, one apparently in his capacity as judge, appealing not to the 'law' but rather to their sense of justice and morals.

928) Cf. Niceph.Patr., *Apologeticus*, 556: οἵ... τῶν βασιλικῶν σιτηρεσίων στερούμενοι, ἐξ ὧν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς τῶν ὄπλων παρασκευῆς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπορίζετο, ...; idem, *Antirrheticus* iii, 492B, cited in chapter four, note 600; Theoph.cont., 265, ^{8sq}: τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς καταλόγους ἐλαττωθέντας ἐκ τοῦ περικοπῆναι τὰς διδομένας τούτοις φιλοτιμίας καὶ ρόγας καὶ τὰ βασιλικὰ σιτηρέσια...; cf. 243, 19-22; 388, 19sq: τὴν συνήθη τῆς ρόγας διανομὴν ποιησάμενοι ἐν τοῖς τάγμασι...; also G.Mon.cont., 881, and Log.Nouhet., 94: οἱ περὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἔθνικοι τε καὶ ῥωμαῖοι οἱ φυλάσσοντες μὴ ὑστερεῖσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ λαμβανέτωσαν τὰ σιτηρέσια αυτῶν ἀνελλιπῶς καθένα ἕκαστον μῆναν καὶ τὰ χορτάσματα καὶ τὰς ρόγας αυτῶν σῶνας. Cf. also Niceph.Phocas, *De Vel.Bell.*, 239, 4-8, referring to the full-time soldiers of the imperial forces, both thematic and tagmatic. The monthly payment of tagmatic and similar units is illustrated by the figures for the advance pay of the three thousand Mardaites raised in the western themes for the expedition of 949, who received one nomisma each per month. Cf. De Cer., 688, 17-19; also Theoph.cont., 398, ^{17sq}. The actual issue of rogai may have been less frequent, of course - possibly quarterly or yearly. See notes 937, 941 below..

929) On the military logothesion and its operation, see Dolger, *Finanzverwaltung*, 21f; Stein, *Studien*, 148-51; and Laurent, *Corpus II*, 263ff. See the passage already referred to in De Cer., 807, ^{14sq} which gives some details of the method of payment of the demes by the eidikon and the stratiotikon, through τὸ ἀκρόστιχὸν τῆς ρόγας. In this case the issue was made by the deme praepositi, supervised by the chartularies of the eidikon. See note 810 above. There are frequent references in the sources to the lists maintained at Constantinople. See, for example, Theoph.cont., 122, ¹¹: Γεώργιον δὲ τὸν τὰς στρατιωτικὰς δέλτους ἐπειλημμένον; 112, ¹⁸⁻²¹: καὶ κώδιξι στρατιωτικοῖς αὐτοῦς ἀναγράφεται, with reference to the 'Persians' enlisted under Theophobos; and Dölger's note, *Finanzverwaltung*, 96, note 1.

930) Payment immediately before campaigns, or when political support was required, was a frequent occurrence, intended in the former case to stiffen morale. Cf. Theoph., 484,^{29sq}; Theoph.cont., 266,^{6sq}; G.Mon.cont., 804,^{22sq}; Sym.Mag., 616,³⁻⁵; Scriptor Incert. (CSHB), 346,⁵⁻⁷; Vita Theod.Stud., 324,³⁰. For Michael III's failure to maintain payments to the tagmata and the thematic forces, cf. Sym.Mag., 659,¹⁵⁻²²; Theoph.cont., 243,^{14sq}. The best example of campaign financing is provided by the establishment of the mint at Seleucia in 615/6, moved to Isaura in 617/8, to provide for the forces combatting the Persian attacks into N.Syria and Cilicia at the time. Compare the reference to a skoukatameion for the same period, established in the Pontus, discussed in chapter two, note 341.

931) Log.Nouthet., 94,^{30sq}.

932) Compare the story of the man who wanted to become a scholarios during the reign of Theophilus, G.Mon.cont.; 803,^{17sq}. During the tenth century the scholarioi were classed either among the lower echelons of the dynastai, or among the leading group of smallholders, higher than the ordinary stratiotai. Cf. Const.VII, Nov. 6 (for 947), 216-7; Nov. 8 (for 945-59), 223. These references suggest that their pay and emoluments amounted to quite considerable sums, enough to buy or rent reasonable holdings and to establish themselves without too much difficulty (although it is at the same time difficult to know to what extent references to the position of scholarioi in legal texts represent merely a 'reading off' from their position in the table of precedence, and to what extent they represent social and economic reality). During the first half of the tenth century, palatine commissions in the hetaireia were granted only in return for a considerable down-payment - as for the scholae and domestici of the sixth century - of some sixteen pounds of

gold if the roga attached to membership of the unit was forty nomismata; or ten pounds of gold if the roga was twenty nomismata. It is unclear whether these were monthly rogai - very high remuneration indeed - four-monthly, or yearly, but it is clear that ordinary soldiers could never have paid for such positions: these were for members of other palatine sekreta or ordines (the oikeiakoi). See below, 328f. and note 1014.

933) Cf. De Cer., 652f., 666f.

934) De Cer., 652, ^{4sq; 655,} ^{13sq;} for the recruitment of the Platanitai, see De Cer., 657, ^{20sq.} The extra fourteen nomismata (500 men at 6 nomismata each, but a total of 141 litrai, 48 nomismata (i.e. 10,200 nomismata) averages 20.4 nomismata per man!) were for initial equipment - see De Cer., 658, ^{5sq.} They were classed as scholarici and formed their own tagma. They numbered five hundred, and received a total of 10,200 nomismata; the Thrakesian/Macedonian contingent numbered one thousand and thirty-seven, and received a total of 10,176 nomismata. The excess above that paid to the soldiers is accounted for by the much higher rates for officers. It is not clear whether or not Thrakesion here is a mistake - according to the 949 document, Thracian and Macedonian scholarioi were brigaded together, which would suggest that the same had also applied in 911/12. See De Cer., 666, ^{1sq.}

935) De Cer., 655, ^{13sq.}

936) Cf. De Cer., 656, ^{7sq.}

937) De Cer., 655, ^{13-16.} For the scholarici in question, this would tally with the suggestion (see below) that the tagmata received roughly the same, in general terms, as the elite palatine units of the sixth century, (i.e. some 48 nomismata per

year, reduced by perhaps 25%-30% to account for officers' pay; compared with between 30 and 40 in the sixth century); with the suggestion that the general ratio of tagmatic to thematic pay was in the order of 4:1 or 3:1 (see note 941 below and compare Table 1) - note that the full rate for a thematic soldier in the ninth century was, according to Ibn Khurradadhbih, 12 nomismata per year, which accords with the rates paid to the Mardaites, for example (note 941 below and references) and which would again suggest a ratio of about 4:1 between tagmatic and thematic units. See chapt. three above, note 533. The excess in the average 'per soldier' figure for the tenth century over that for the sixth century can reasonably be explained by the inclusion in the former of pay for the officers. In general, the approximate ratios are borne out by the figures given on pp. 668-669, for a period of four months (see 668, ¹⁸⁻¹⁹). The Thrakesian theme soldiers received on this basis, however, half as much as the scholarioi in 911/12 - possibly extra campaign payments? Or are these calculations 'simply' too hypothetical to take us very far?

938) Cf. De Cer., 666, ¹⁻¹³; 665, ^{2sq.} 668, ^{3sq.}

939) Cf. De Cer., 695, ^{14sq.} The cavalry soldier was valued at a slightly higher rate than the marine or sailor. Compare the figures for the theme cavalrymen of the Thrakesion - three thousand men, paid a total of 180 pounds of gold - with those for the naval themes of Kibyrrhaioton and Samos - six thousand, seven hundred and sixty men, and four thousand six hundred and eighty men, paid respectively 221 and 201 pounds of gold. These figures, of course, include officers, but they still illustrate the difference in the scale of payment between land and naval forces. De Cer., 654, ¹⁴⁻¹⁸; 655, ¹⁵. Vryonis has attempted to reconstruct the approximate rates of pay per thema in the ninth and tenth centuries. Cf. An Attic Hoard, 298. The figures he produces are not convincing, however, since there are

too many unknown factors in this sort of calculation. The figures referred to by Theophanes (484, 489), representing sums captured by the Bulgars and Arabs respectively, may not be the whole pay of the thema in question; they may represent extra expenses or administrative payments; they might or might not include back-pay (and given typical Byzantine practice the probability is that they do); and it remains unclear as to whether they are the totals due to only one theme, and whether or not they represent one or several years' pay. See Hendy, 'Administrative Basis,' 136 and note 35.

940) De Cer., 662,^{11sq.}

941) De Cer., 656,^{10sq.} gives figures for the officers and men of the Mardaites in the West in 911/12: turmarchs - 36 nn; drungars - 12 nn; counts - 6 nn; soldiers 4 nn. For those of the theme of Sebasteia: turmarchs - 12 nn; drungars - 6 nn; counts - 5 nn; soldiers - 4 nn. De Cer., 662,^{11sq.} gives similar figures for the thematic fleets in 949 (this passage - 662¹¹- 664² - belongs in the following chapter - II.45 in the Bonn edition - under the Cretan expedition of 949): turmarchs - 30 nn; counts of the tent - 20 nn; chartularies of the themes - 20 nn; domestics of the themes - 20 nn; drungars - 20 nn; counts - 6 nn; soldiers - 3 nn; ships' captains - 4 nn; sailors (Mardaites) - 3 nn. These latter figures appear to be the monthly rate, over a period of three or four months. See De Cer., 668,^{17-19,} where the Mardaites of the West receive 1 nomisma per month for a four-month period in 949.

942) See T.Usp., 55f; Klet.Phil., 151f. for the relative positions of these officers. They provide only approximations, of course, and cannot illustrate the exact position of one officer in relation to another except in terms of their general position in the hierarchy of dignities and offices.

943) Cf. De Cer., 484,^{12sq.}

944) See Bury, ERE, 226f; Ibn Khurradadhbih, 84-5.

945) See chapter one, table i for a comparison. On the whole - excluding temporary rises in prices for reasons of scarcity, for example, or the re-adjustment of markets and supply patterns (as after the loss of the Egyptian grain supplies) - the exchange value of gold appears to have remained comparatively stable and constant from the sixth century. On the international significance of the Byzantine and Caliphal coinages, see, for example, C.M.Cipolla, Money, Prices and Civilisation in the Mediterranean World (Princeton 1956), now rather out-of-date, but valid in respect of the general comments - 22ff. See also W.Wroth, Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum (London 1908) i, lxxiv; P.Grierson, 'The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century', BZ 47(1954)379ff; also Stein, Untersuchungen, 2, 11f. for the constancy and stability of the nomisma. In general see Piganiol, L'Empire Chrétien, 294-300; and A.H.M.Jones, 'Inflation under the Roman Empire', Econ.Hist. Review 5, no.3 (1953)301-314. See also Haldon/Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier, 89-91. Certainly, the gold coinage retained its face value throughout the period in question; and since the values of the basic necessities - olive oil, wine, meat, vegetables and grain, plant- and animal-derived textiles etc. - had not been affected by major improvements in, or cheaper forms of, production, it is unlikely that the rates paid to soldiers or to members of the administration differed appreciably from those of the sixth century. Cf. Ostrogorsky, State, 39; idem, Löhne und Preise, 295f; Jones, LRE, 445-8; Antoniadis-Bibicou, Problèmes, 258; cf. also CMH, iv, 2, 86-7. The exchange-stability of the gold is of considerable importance in this respect; it means, for example, that the evidence of the sixth century can be used more readily for comparative purposes. Note

also that the value of the equipment of the theme soldier was assessed at eighteen and a half nomismata (per year) during the reign of Nicephorus I. This sum would appear to represent the cost of maintaining and equipping the soldier and his mount for a year, and is therefore roughly the equivalent of a year's pay. The one nomisma paid to first-year theme soldiers was clearly nominal: agricultural labourers received on average a good deal higher than this - cf. Nomos Georg., 22 and 62. Muslim soldiers were also paid a great deal more, even taking into account the fact that they may have been 'regulars' as opposed to the 'part-time' Byzantine forces. See M. Canard, art. Cata, in: EI, 729-30; and chapt. three, note 533 above.

945) Very probably the ratio between the tagmata and the themata in terms of pay was the same as that observed between the regular field troops and the scholae in the sixth and seventh century, that is, about 4:1 in favour of the guards units. See note 937 above. The scholae and excubitores did continue to exist, and they maintained their identities as distinct ordines, even though they lost their military value; and they probably continued to receive the same rate of remuneration as formerly. This rate may quite reasonably be supposed to have been retained after the reorganisation of Constantine V's time. Institutional continuity in Byzantine fiscal practice seems to have been considerable. Note that the standard late Roman unit of four months (see note 157, chapt. one) (applied to muster reviews, checks on entries and dismissals from units, regimental accounts and returns etc.) recurs also through the later period - see, for example, De Cer., 668,¹⁸⁻¹⁹ and references in note 937; and compare the bureaucratic practices of the sixth century with those of the ninth-tenth centuries outlined in this chapter. I cannot agree with Bury's suggestion, repeated by Jenkins and Ostrogorsky (cf. Bury, ERE, 227; R.J.H. Jenkins, in CMH, iv, 2, 40; Ostrogorsky,

Löhne und Preise, 302 and note 4) that the pay of such lowly officers as thematic kentarchai was as much as one pound of gold annually (= 72 nn.). More probably, the figures in question (Ibn Khurradadhbih, 85) as well as those mentioned by the same writer in a more detailed list (84) refer to officers of the rank of komes. One pound of gold per year would not differ too radically from the pay of similar officials during the sixth century. Compare the list in Ostrogorsky, Löhne und Preise, with those of Jones, LRE, loc. cit. Note that the monthly salary for a count of a naval theme was six 'nomismata = 72 nn. per year. Cf. De Cer., 662,¹⁵. A series of inaccurate and out-dated remarks on the pay of Byzantine soldiers is repeated by S.P. Spentzas, Δημοσιονομική Διερεύνησις τοῦ Βυζαντίνου Κράτους (Athens 1969). The book is superficial in the extreme, and can safely be ignored by historians.

947) Niceph.Patr., Apologeticus, 556; Theoph.cont., 265,^{8sq;} Log.Nouhet., 94.

948) Sitereson could refer in other instances to a cash equivalent. Cf. Actes de Lavra, 7 (112-4, a chrysobull of Basil II and Constantine VIII for 978); although the siteresia (anonai) of the thematic troops was apparently reckoned in kind: ὑπὲρ στόρον καὶ ἀνόνας αὐτῶν ἀνὰ σίτου μοδίων νό', ...; cf. De Cer., 695, 2-3. This may represent only field-expeditionary practice, however. The regulation of CJ xii, 37.19 on commutation is retained in the Basilica - lvii, 4.19. On these and other forms of taxation, see Dölger, Finanzverwaltung, 74f. Note the letter no.8 of the Metropolitan Ignatius (cited note 951 below), where the phrase quoted might suggest a transfer of the produce collected into cash before its deposit in the public tameion. How this was carried out is not clear.

949) De Cer., 451, ^{15sq.} Note that the writer remarks that,

in the document of Leo Katakylas which he uses, details from the time of the 'Isaurian' emperors are included. De Cer., 457-8.

950) For the late Roman system, see Jones, LRE, 450-1 and notes. For the theme chartulary and protonotary and their duties, cf. Leo, Tact., iv, 31; and see Dölger, Finanzverwaltung, 68f; Ahrweiler, Recherches, 43; Bas., lvii, 4.18 (= CJ xii, 37.19f.) which deals with the provisioning of the thematic forces from the synone. Many of the earlier clauses of the constitution which deal with obviously obsolete matters are omitted from the Basilica, which suggests to me that in outline, the same system was operated. For the distribution of the supplies by the protonotary, see De Cer., 694, ^{23sq.}; which deals with prisoners settled in the province, but which incidentally illustrates his role nicely. For the process in the later eighth and ninth centuries, see De Cer., 451, ^{15sq.} The synone was also paid in cash - certainly in the eleventh century, and probably through much of the earlier period. Cf. Ostrogorsky, Steuergemeinde, 50-1. In many respects, the mitaton - board and lodging, supplied compulsorily to soldiers stationed in or passing through a province (see notes 954 and especially 993 below) - replaced the synone, raised as a regular cash tax: see Ostrogorsky, Steuergemeinde, 60-1; Dölger, Finanzverwaltung, 78 and notes.

951) Special impositions were made on Church estates also. Two letters of the Metropolitan Ignatius, written in the early part of the ninth century, refer to the imposition of a double synone on certain ecclesiastical lands. The letters were directed to a theme protonotarios, exemplifying the position of this official in ensuring the adequate supplying of the armies: See letter 7, 20-26: Ήρὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἡδὸν παρωχηκότος ιουλίου μηνὸς ὁ λόγος τῆς δρισθείσης συνωνῆς ἀπητήθη καὶ ἀσφαλῆς ἀπόδειξις ἐγράφη πρὸς τὰ μὴ ἔτέραν ὑποστῆναι εἰςπραξῖν. Ως δρῶμεν δὲ καὶ παγίᾳ πληροφορίᾳ βεβαιοῦμεθα, καταιγίς ἀπαιτήσεως συνωνῆς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ

καὶ αὐθις ἐνέπνευσε, πρὸς βυθὸν ἔλκοντα τὸν κλῆρον πενίας· ἀνὰ γὰρ μοδίους ἔξι εἰσπράττεται πᾶς ἀπὸ νηπίου θηλάζοντος ἕως καθεστηκότος πρεσβύτου ἢ καὶ ὡμογέροντος...;

letter 8, 10-12: τῆς τελεσθείσης παρ' ἡμῶν σιταρχίας ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείοις ἀποκληρωθείσης ἄλλος ἡμᾶς ἐπεβρόντισεν ἀρχισιτάρχης.

Bratianu suggests in addition that part of Nicephorus' reform may have been to subject previously exempt monastic properties to, among other impositions, that of mitaton/aplikton. Cf. G.

Bratianu, 'La politique fiscale de Nicéphore I^{er} (802-811) ou Ubu roi à Byzance', in: *Études Byzantines d'Histoire, Économie et Société* (Bucarest 1938) 185-216, esp. 211. On mitaton, see note 993 below. For a slightly later date, letters of the Patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos suggest that the Church was never able to prevent the imposition of such extraordinary exactions in kind during 'emergencies'. See Letters, nos. 73; and note in particular nos. 88 and 92.

952) For the late Roman system, see again, Jones, LRE, 459-61; and Bas., lvii, 4.18. For the advance notification of the needs of expeditionary forces, see De Cer., 477, ^{15sq}: ὁ δὲ πρωτονοτάριος λαμβάνει διάταξιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τῶν ἀπλήκτων, καὶ ἀποτίθησιν ἑκεὶ τὴν κρίθην καὶ πᾶσαν ἐτέραν χρείαν βασιλικῆν; 451, ^{15sq}: τὴν δὲ χρείαν τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπηρεσίας ... ἔχορήγει ἔκαστος πρωτονοτάριος ἐν τῷ ιδίῳ θέματι διερχόμενον τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ ἀερίου λόγου καὶ τῶν συνονόων.

Cf. also De Cer., 658, ^{15sq}; and Leo, Tact., vi, 23 (= Maur., Strat., 1, 2.16) on the provision of supplies and equipment (by thematic officials). Leo rewords the original. See Bury, Admin., 94; Dölger, Finanzverwaltung, 68-9, 78; Ahrweiler, Recherches, 43. For the reckoning-up and deduction from the usual returns, see De Cer., 477, ^{3sq}: τὰ δὲ ξενάλια τὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ φερόμενα διὰ κριθῆς παραλαμβάνει ὁ τοῦ στάβλου κόμης, ἐν καταγραφῇ ποιούμενος τὴν ποσότητα, ἅμα τῷ εἰδικῷ καὶ τοῖς

νοταρίοις, ποιουμένων κάκείνων ταῦτα ἐν καταγραφῇ, ἵνα μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι καταστόλιον λογαριάζηται ὁ πρωτονοτάριος καὶ ὁ χαρτουλάριος εἰς τὸ σέκρετον τοῦ εἰδικοῦ, ἵνα ὑπεξαίρωνται αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς χορηγίας τῶν πρωτονοταρίων. This passage in fact concerns the eidikon, since it deals with the supplying of the imperial household rather than the whole army. The chartulary in question is that of the stables at Malagina.

953) See especially Teall, Corn Supply, 113f., who cites numerous examples of the damage caused by troops quartered within imperial territory, and discusses the application of this ad hoc supply-system; and see Patlagean, Pauvreté économique, 277f. Cf. Leo, Tact., ix, 1-3. For the theme prefects, see Kaegi, Two Studies, 87ff. The appearance of seals of protonotarioi in the early ninth century and not before suggests strongly that it was only at this time that this officer^{sc} became responsible for the duties with which he is later associated, and this may well reflect some deliberate rationalisation of the older system, perhaps to be connected with the reforms of Nicephorus I. For seals, see, for example, Zacos and Veglery: of the thirty-five seals of protonotarioi whose thema is named, all date from the ninth century. Of twelve further seals which may or may not belong to theme protonotarioroi, seven are of ninth-century, five of later eighth- or ninth-century date. By itself, this evidence is not conclusive, but it does imply that these officers appeared only at the end of the eighth/beginning of the ninth century. The same conclusion can be drawn from the seals of chartoularioroi in this collection. Note the comments of Seibt, BS 36(1975)211; and idem, JÖB 30(1981)359, where the earlier importance of thematic kommerkiarioi in this respect is noted. See also the seals of a number of seventh- and eighth-century dioiketai ton eparchion, in Laurent, Corpus II, nos. 1168-1176; and the editor's comments - concluding that they were predominantly fiscal officials - 654ff.

954) Officers from the military logothesion did visit the provinces, however, in order to establish the needs of both thematic and tagmatic forces; and like all other imperial officials, they were entitled to mitaton, hospitality or lodgings. Cf. *Actes de Lavra*, 32 (194); 33 (198);, 36 (210); 39 (219), etc., exemptions which refer to the military logothetes and their officials, among many others, such as strateutai, officers connected with the registration and recruitment of thematic soldiers; and synonarioi, subordinates of the proto-notarioi and the military logothesion, and assessors of the military (in origin) synone. See note 993 below, regarding Justinian II's edict of 688.

955) On the general logothesion, see Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 313 and bibliography. The cash rogai came ultimately, through the general logothesion, from the sakellion. Cf. Dölger, *Finanzverwaltung*, 14, 16, 47; and Laurent, *Corpus II*, 129-30 (the genikon); 383ff. (the sakellion).

956) Co-operation between the two bureaux was traditional, for both appear originally to have formed subordinate scrinia under the authority of the praetorian prefect of the East. Cf. Hendy, *Admin.Basis*, 134-5; Stein, *Studien*, 148-50. It is possible that the bureau of the sakellion was connected with the general logothesion in the supplying of rations and fodder. The sakellarrios retained supervisory powers over all the financial bureaux; and the chartulary, who by the ninth century was de facto head of this department had under his authority the proto-notarioi of the themata. Cf. T.Usp., 53, 11; Klet.Phil., 121, ^{3sq.} for his staff. For the sakellarrios, see Klet.Phil., 113, ^{23sq.}: τῷ δὲ σακελλαρίῳ ὑποτέτακται τὰ δόφικαι πάντα διὰ τὸ ἐν ἔκαστῳ σεκρέτῳ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραττομένων διὰ τῆς καταγραφῆς τοῦ οἰκείου νοταρίου ποιεῖσθαι. Cf. also Bury, *Admin.*, 84-6; Dölger, *Finanzverwaltung*, 16-19. The origins of the post of sakellarrios

are obscure. It has been suggested that it originated in the old sacrum cubiculum or one of its subordinate departments (see Stein, *Untersuchungen*, 240-251); but the later occurrence of thematic proto-notarioi under the chartulary's authority would suggest a wider sphere, and perhaps connection with the larginiones. See Oikonomidès, *Préséancé*, 312; Döller, loc. cit., and 27. Note that the bureau of the chartulary included μετρηταί, possibly connected with the measuring and checking of rations delivered from the provinces. Cf. Klet.Phil., 121,⁹. Note also that the posts of sakellarios and military logothete might sometimes be combined: Theoph., 464,³⁻⁴. See Laurent, *Corpus II*, 383ff. and seals.

957) Theoph., 471, ¹³sq. (*Eirene*); 474, ²¹sq. (*Staurakios*) Leo V encouraged the troops' support for his son by making similar payments. Cf. *Script.Incert.* (CSHB), 346,⁵⁻⁷; *Sym.Mag.*, 616,³⁻⁵.

958) Theoph.cont., 265, ⁸sq; 266, ⁸sq: καὶ ταῖς ἀρμοῖς- ούσαις χορηγίαις καὶ δωρεαῖς λιπάνας αὐτῶν τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τονώσας τὰς δεξιάς, ...; Cf. Niceph., *De Vel.Bell.*, 239,⁴⁻⁸: προσήκει... ἄλλας τε δωρεὰς καὶ εὑεργεσίας, πλείους τῶν ἔθιμων καὶ διατετυπωμένων...

959) Leo V and donatives; *Vita Nicolai Stud.*, 880: καὶ δὴ τὰς ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατιωτικὰς φαλάγγας δώροις πολλοῖς φαινακίσας... See note 928 above. For the legal distribution of booty, cf. *Ecloga*, xviii; and the note of P.Collinet, 'Sur l'expression où ἐν τοῖς τούλδοις ἀπερχόμενοι "ceux qui partent dans les baggages"', *Mélanges Ch.Diehl* (Paris 1920) 49-54. For Nicephorus and Krum's treasure, *Script.Incert.* (D), 212,¹⁷⁻²⁰; and for the advice that officers and men should be rewarded after campaigns, see Leo, *Tact.*, xvi, 4. See A.Dain, *Butin de Guerre*, 347ff; and F.Bona, 'Preda di guerra e occupazione'

privata di "res hostium", Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris 25(1959)309-370. Note also Kaegi, Military Unrest, 105 and note 42.

960) De Cer., 471, ^{95d}: λογάριον εἰς ἔξοδον τοῦ φοσσάτου εἰς φίλοφρόνησιν τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἐν πολέμοις... κεντηνάρια, μιλιαρήσια, σακκία εἰς τὸ διδόναι τοῖς φυλάσσουσι σχολαρίοις εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν φίναν, ... παραλαμβάνει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ τε σακελλάριος καὶ ὁ εἰδικός. Also De Cer., 473, ²⁻⁵: λαμβάνει ὁ εἰδικός ἀπὸ τοῦ κριτώνος σακκία χάραγμα κεντινάρια καὶ μιλιαρήσια σακκία λόγῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἑταίρειας καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀγούρων καὶ τῶν σχολαρίων. Cf. also 488, ¹⁻¹¹. On the eidikon and its development, cf. Oikonomidès, Préséance, and the bibliography he cites; and Laurent, Corpus II, 30^{iff}. Perhaps the best examples are from the Cretan expeditionary list of 949. Cf. De Cer., 668, ^{19sq}. Διὰ τῶν δ' ταγμάτων Θράκης διά τε δόγας φιλοτιμίας τοῦ φοσσάτου; such gifts appear to have been issued to both tagmata and themata according to rank, See De Cer., 451, ⁹⁻¹⁰; 485, ²⁷⁻⁴⁸⁶, ¹¹, for donatives in the later eighth and ninth centuries. The issue of gifts - cash or clothing - was a traditional mode of imperial reward to the troops from the earliest times. See Ramsay McMullen, Some Pictures, 440-1.

961) Theoph.cont., 256, ⁴⁻⁷: καὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ θησαυροφυλακίῳ τριακόσια ἐπεισαχθῆναι κεντηνάρια, ἀφ' ὧν ἐν τοῖς ἐπείγουσιν ἤρξατο χορηγεῖν καὶ δεάντως ὁ βασιλεὺς διοικεῖν.

962) Theoph., 462, 12sq.

963) οἱ (sc. ταγματικοὶ) ἐπειδὴ τῶν βασιλικῶν σιτηρεσίων στερούμενοι, ἐξ ὧν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς τῶν ὄπλων παρασκευῆς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπορίζετο...; also Antirrheticus iii, 492B.

964) De Cer., 657, ²⁰-658, ⁸.

965) Theoph. cont., 266,⁶⁻⁷: γυμνάσας καὶ καταρτίσας τὰ τάγματα τὰ στρατιωτικά.

966) On arms-production and the organisation of factories, see Jones, LRE, 834-5.

967) Cf. Just., Nov. 85, 1; Edict. viii, 3 (proem); and Theoph., 274,²²⁻⁴ (Cedrenus, i, 698,²³); Cedrenus, i, 709, for the new armouries built by Maurice and Phocas.

968) He and his armouries may have come under the authority of the eparch, in the same way as provincial arms-factories and storehouses were placed under the supervisory authority of the various municipal governments. Cf. Just., Nov. 85, 3.

969) Zacos and Veglery, no.1136. This factory must be connected with the campaigns of Heraclius against the Persians before 620, and also with the mint established at Seleucia in 615/6. Cf. note 930 above.

970) Cf. Theoph., 440,⁴⁻⁵. It was later re-consecrated by Irene and Constantine VI.

971) T.Usp., 57,²⁶; 61,¹⁴.

972) Klet.Phil., 155,² (see also 233,⁷); De Cer., 673,²⁰. The armamentarea purportedly established by Theophilus may also have come under his command. Cf. Janin, CP Byz., 455.

973) Dölger, Finanzverwaltung, 35-9; Klet.Phil., 123,^{8, 10}. Bury, Admin., 100, suggested that the ergasteriarchai kai archontes represented by some seventh-century seals (cf. Panchenko, Katalog, no.402; Schlumberger, Inédits, nos. 72 and 284 - of

the reigns of Constans II or Constantine IV) were to be equated with the ergasteriarchai. Cf. also Zacos and Veglery, nos. 1990(a) and (b), seals of Isakios, imperial kandidatos and kourator of the imperial ergodosia (ninth century); 2309A, seal of Peter, imperial spatharios and kourator of the ergodosia (ninth century; cf. also no. 2301); 2392(a) and (b), of Stephen, hypatos, imperial vestitor and kourator of the ergodosia (ninth century); 3164, seal of Peter, imperial silentiarios, and kourator of the ergodosia (ninth century). This curator is to be included among the staff of the eidikon, as are the weaving establishments at Constantinople, which produced silks, for example. Laurent, Corpus II, 325ff. places them under the eidikon, see nos. 637ff. That the archon of the armamenta came under the authority of the eidikon is probable, since arms-factories had originally come under the master of offices, who shared authority with the praetorian prefect in the provinces and the prefect of the City in Constantinople (see Jones, JRE, loc. cit.); and they were later incorporated into the jurisdiction of the eidikon. Cf. Dölger, Finanzverwaltung, loc. cit., and Stein, Studien, 149-50, 159-60; most recently, Laurent, Corpus II, 343ff. and seals, nos. 665-667 (ninth century), 668-670 (tenth-eleventh centuries).

974) Zacos and Veglery, no. 2491. Cf. also Schlumberger, Sig., 325-6, a ninth-century seal of Theophylact, imperial spatharios and archon of the armamenton; and Ahrweiler, Mer, 424. From the eleventh century, however, the armamenton appears to have been known by a more popular term, zabareion, as a seal of Constantine, protospatharios, chartularios and archon of the imperial zabareion suggests. See on this, and the history of the term, T. Klias, 'Ζάβα - Ζαβαπειον - Ζαβαπειώτης', JÖB 29(1980) 27-35, esp. 32ff.

975) De Cer., 673, 20-674,⁴.

976) De Cer., 402,²⁻³: τὰς δὲ ἀρούλλας οἱ τῶν φαβρίκων παρέχουσιν, and 498,³ where the fabricenses of the capital took part in a ceremonial acclamation of Justinian. A Constantinopolitan toxopoios referred to in the Miracula S.Artemii, 41,²⁹ (middle of the seventh century) probably belonged to this fabrica (For the text and date, see Beck, Kirche, 464 and note 1).

977) Cf. De Cer., 676,¹⁵; Oikonomidès, 'τὸ κάτω ἀρμαέντον', AP 26(1964)193-6; but cf. Ahrweiler, Mer, 424, note 4.

978) The eidikon and the genikon managed the ore from mines, as well as other material for weapons production, such as charcoal, between them. Cf. Dölger., Finanzverwaltung, 19-20; 35-9; and Laurent, Corpus II, 191-193, nos. 401ff. Laurent identifies these komites τῆς λαυίας as officials in charge of mines/ores in the bureau of the genikon. Given the proposed etymology of the word lamia, this might seem reasonable. But the word was also used, in the seventh century at least, to refer to the granary τῶν Kaiσαρίου in Constantinople, see Mirac. S.Artemii, 16,¹²⁻¹³. It may, in fact, be the case that the warehouse under the authority of the ninth- and tenth-century komites had originally been a granary. Or is the later komes in charge of a granary for the genikon? For the district τὰ Kaiσαρίου, see V.Tiftixoglou, 'Die Helenianai nebst einigen anderen Besitzungen im Vorfeld des frühen Konstantinopel', in: Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels, ed. H.-G.Beck (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensis 14, München 1973) 58-63 and references. A large number of charters and exemptions of the eleventh century and the twelfth century show that the central fiscal bureaux obtained supplies of iron and charcoal, for example, in the form of extra levies on estates or in lieu of other taxes. Cf., for example, Actes de Lavra, no.48 (259,¹⁰⁻¹¹ = Dölger, Schatzkammer, no.3) where an estate is exempted by Alexius I in 1086 from παροχῆς σιδήρου ἡ καρφωτεάλων καὶ μαζίου; Dölger, Schatzkammer, no.14; MM, iv, 1f.

(Bull of John Ducas Vatatzes, 1228) - exemption from the burning of charcoal; cf. also 4, 18f; MM, vi, 44f. - exemption from supplying iron (Alexius I, 1088); etc. The ore, or other produce from these sources, was transported by especially-hired or commandeered vessels and wagons. Cf. *Actes de Lavre*, no.55 (286,^{10sq.}), a chrysobull of 1192: ἐξουσευθήσονται (sc. the ships of the Lavra)... ἀπὸ εἰσαγωγῆς ... σιδήρων οἰωνοτίνων,... For the sources of Byzantine ores, especially iron, see Vryonis, 'The Question of the Byzantine Mines', *Speculum* 37(1962)1-17; and M.Lombard, *Les métaux dans l'Ancien Monde du V^e au VI^e siècle* (Paris 1974). Localised extraction and smelting of ores was usual, and appears not to have been supervised by the state. Cf. the account of Niketas Magistros (ed. L.G.Westerink, Nicétas Magistros, *Lettres d'un Exilé* (928-946) (Paris 1973), letter 5,^{19sq.}) of the extraction of iron-ore from the ore-bearing sands along the southern Black Sea coast in Bithynia; and the editor's comments (64, note).

979) See also Zepos, *JGR*, i, 617; MM, v, 2f.

980) Cf. Bas., lvii, 9.1 (= *Just.*, Nov. 85); Proch.Nom., xxxix. The memorial stone of a bow-maker from the seventh or eighth century may be evidence of independent craftsmen in the provinces, perhaps attached to local military garrisons. See, for example, Grégoire, *Recueils*, no.308 (= CIG 9239) from the Attaleia region.

981) De Cér., 657,^{12sq.}: ιστέον, ὅτι ἐδέξατο ὁ στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ καμεῖν σαγίτας χιλιάδας σ' καὶ μεναύλια χιλιάδας γ' καὶ σκουτάρια, ὅσα δυνηθῆ. ιστέον, ὅτι ἐδέξατο ὁ κριτὴς Ἑλλάδος καμεῖν μεναύλια ,α, ἄπει καὶ ἐτελείωσεν. ἐδέξατο δὲ καμεῖν καὶ ἔτερα καὶ καταγωγίασαι αὐτὰ ἐν οἷς ὃν δέξηται. κτλ.

982) Cf. Log.Nouhet., 100,^{8sq.}: ἔστωσαν δέ σοι καὶ βέλη καὶ

σπλα πολλὰ καὶ δόρατα καὶ θώρακες καὶ κράνη, ἀσπίδες τε καὶ σπάθαι καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἐν πολέμῳ ἀμύνῃ. Such equipment presumably came from the provinces as well as from the armamenton. Cf. also *Patria*, 216,¹⁸: τὰ πρὸς τειχουμαχίαν σκεύη were stored in the *Mangana*.

983) For the monthly checks, see notes 810, 928, 929 above. Advice on equipment - Leo, *Tact.*, vi, 1; .15 (= *Maur.*, *Strat.*, i 2.1); xx, 113; *Anon. Vári*, 49, ^{21sq.} In the thematic forces such checks were apparently less frequent: cf. *Vita Philareti*, 125, ^{34sq.} Note that the tagmatic soldiers were also advised to maintain servants, as the elite units of the sixth century had been. See Leo, *Tact.*, vi, 15 (= *Maur.*, *Strat.*, i, 2.11). Leo alters the wording considerably, which suggests that here was a situation where the relevant constitution of the Strategikon, reworded, represented the reality of the later ninth/early tenth century: τοὺς δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων ἀρχοντας ἢ στρατιώτας καὶ τῶν θεματικῶν βάνδων τοὺς δυνατωτέρους ἀναγκάζεσθαι χρῆ παῖδας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπινοεῖν... Cf. *Vita Eustratii*, 398, ³¹ (mid-ninth century), where a sick scholarios is brought to the saint in Constantinople, ὅπο τῶν οἰκείων... ἀπεκομίσθη. For the types of armour and weapons employed at this period, see *Maldon, Military Technology*, 25ff; but note also the critical remarks of P. Schreiner, 'Zur Ausrüstung des Kriegers in Byzanz, im Kiever Russland und in Nordeuropa nach bildlichen und literarischen Quellen', in: *Les pays du nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance): Actes du colloque nordique et international de Byzantinologie tenu à Upsal 20-22 Avril 1979*, ed. R. Zeitler (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Figura. Nova Series* 19(*Upsala 1981*)215-236; see 215 and note 2.

984) On the vestiarion, see Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 316 and his bibliography; also Seibt, Bleisiegel, 184-5; and Laurent, *Corpus II*, 353ff. The eidikon appears to have hired weavers to make

sails for the Russian vessels in the 949 expedition. Cf. De Cer., 674,^{16sq.}

985) Cf. De Cer., 99,²⁶; for the four colours, 577,⁶⁻⁷: φορούντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἐλατῶν τῶν ταγματικῶν τῶν δ' χροιῶν τὰ ἀλλάξιμα; cf. 575,²¹⁻³: οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐλάται ἐφόρεσαν τῶν ταγματικῶν τὰ φουνδάτα ἀλλάξιμα; 577,¹³. Reiske, De Cer., comm., 677, suggests that the tagmata wore the colours of the factions because the latter formed a militia, with whom the respective tagmata shared watch-duty. This seems most unlikely. For the real origins of this connection, see chapter four.

986) De Cer., 588,^{18sq.} For the connection between the noumera, the Walls regiment, and the demes, see chapter four above.

987) Cf. De Cer., 579,¹¹: τὰ λευκὰ χλανίδια τῶν ταγματικῶν. Cf. also 590,²⁻³: τὰ λευκὰ χλανίδια τῶν δ' ταγμάτων. For the sixth-century uniforms; see chapter one, note 186; and De Cer., 497,^{21sq}: ὑπήντησαν δομέστικοι προτίκτωρες, αἱ ἐπτὰ σχολαὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς τριβοῦνοι καὶ κόμητες, πάντες μετὰ λευκῶν χλανιδίων, for a ceremony which took place during the reign of Justinian I. For the significance of white (sacred/mystical) see Ramsay McMullen, Some Pictures, 446-7; and on Byzantine uniforms in general, F.Cumont, 'L'Uniforme de la cavalerie orientale et le costume byzantin', *Byz* 2(1925)181f; and N.P.Kondakov, 'Les costumes orientaux et la cour byzantin', *Byz* 1(1924)7-49. The best descriptions of soldiers in battle equipment are contained in the military treatises, particularly the Strategikon of Maurice and the Praecepta Militaria ascribed to the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas. Much work remains to be done on Byzantine costume in general. For a somewhat hotch-potch and often contradictory, but still useful descriptive account, see Koukoules, ii, 2, 5-59; more recently, and more reliably,

E.Piltz, Kamelaukion et mitra: insignes byzantins impériaux et ecclésiastiques (Uppsala 1977) (= Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Figura. Nova Series 15); and eadem, Trois sakkoi byzantins: analyse iconographique (Uppsala 1976) (= Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Figura. Nova Series 17).

988) On the logothete ton agelon and the mitata, see Oikonomidès, Préséance, 338; Laurent, Corpus II, 289ff. and seals; and also Seibt, Bleisiegel, 122-3, who notes that from the later ninth century the domestikoi of the scholai were often also logothetes of the herds, a development which presumably facilitated the supply and replacement of mounts for the tagmata, and which highlights the fact that the state catered for these troops in this respect, but not for the thematic troops - at least, not to the same degree. See Laurent, Corpus II, 292 and no.583.

There were mitata of 'Asia' and 'Phrygia', and also apparently in Lydia - cf. Vita Ioannicii, 368A. Cf. also De Cer., 658, ^{6sq:} εἰ δὲ ἐλλειπεῖς εἰσιν πρὸς τὴν βόγαν, ἵνα λάβωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν μητάτων ἄλογα, ή̄ καὶ ἀπὸ ἐκθέσεως μονοπροσώπων ἐν τῷ θέματι τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, referring to the newly-drafted scholarioi enrolled into the tagmata from the thematic forces of the Anatolikon theme in 912. For the raising of horses from estates, lay and monastic, see, for example, DAI, 52; and also Actes de Lavra, nos. 33 (198); 37 (210); 39 (219) etc., where monastic and other estates are exempted from the impositions of the imperial kouratoreia for horses and other materials. Cf. also no.44 (243), and on the term monoprosopa, see Arhweiler, Recherches, 5, note 7; Weiss, Beamte, 55; Haldon, Recruitment, 49-50.

Note that there were also agelai of the Drome - see Oikonomidès, Préséance, 312, note 139; and Zacos and Veglery, no.3179, an eighth-century seal of Sisinnios, patrikios (?) and logothetes of the imperial agelai (and) of the Drome. Cf. Laurent, Corpus II, no.412, who corrects patrikios to basilikos

spatharios. That scholarioi were supplied by the state is clear from the case of the theme-soldier who wanted to become a scholarios (see above, and notes 894-5) - he was prepared to give his own horse up in order to gain entry to the corps.

989) Such duties were shared with other groups, such as the sailors of the imperial galleys, and the scribones, stratores and candidati. Cf. De Cer., 11, ^{15sq;} 15, ^{1sq;} 205, ^{9sq;} 5-11; 500, ^{30sq;} 575, ^{1sq;} 585, ¹⁻⁴ and so on.

990) Cf. Vita Ioanniciei, 337: φυλάττων τε (sc. Ioannicius) συνήθως μετὰ τῶν συστρατιωτῶν εἰς τὰ τῶν βασιλέων προάύλια, and Acta Martyr. Amor., 24, ^{30sq.} See Guillard, Recherches, i, 429f. for the duties in the late ninth and tenth centuries of the domestic of the scholai and his tagma. As mentioned above, the soldiers of the tagmata numbered only some 4,000, and could thus have been accommodated in the City, either in regular barracks or in private houses. Note that Eirene shipped the mutinous scholarioi back to their homes with their families, which appear to have been with them in the capital. See chapter four, note 610 above for references. The 'arsenal' constructed c.843 under Theophilus and Michael may have been such a building. See CIG iv, xl, 315, no.8680: ἔκτισεν πρὸς ἀνάπτυξιν τοῦ λαοῦ τούτον μεγαλότατον ἀρσηνάλην.

991) Cf. Guillard, Recherches, i, 563-7. For the role of the tagmata in the tenth century, see Guillard, Recherches, loc. cit; Ahrweiler, Recherches, 24f., 55f. Other duties not mentioned in these résumés included participation in building and fortification work. See CIG iv, xl, 325-6, 8699 (for the year 1006); 366, 8797, the latter suggesting that the walls in question may have been constructed through the agency of the domestic and his soldiers. Officers in the provinces were normally responsible for maintaining fortifications, both in towns and fortresses;

although the labour will normally have been provided by the imposition of the burden of kastroktisia on the local peasantry. See Xanalatos, Beiträge, 46ff., and Troianos, in Buçavričá 1 (1969)41-57. Cf. Grégoire, Recueils, no.204, an inscription recording the restoration of fortifications in Attaleia under Stephanos, drouggarios. See Ahrweiler, Recherches, 37, esp. note 2; and note Nikolaos Mystikos, Letters, no.80. See also chapt. two above, note 409. Public works in Constantinople were also carried out by artisans and workmen employed by the City. Cf. Mirac.S.Therapontis, 24, ³⁻⁴: στρατιώται τίνες ἐργοδιῶκται τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ ἐπιστάται τῶν ἔργων. These appear to have been foremen and supervisors of building or other public projects, presumably organised in teams - epitagma - and officially enrolled in the service of the state (hence their appellation - stratiotai). Epitagma might also mean 'order' or 'command', of course, although this would not substantially alter the interpretation suggested here, except that they are now 'supervisors responsible for public (i.e. state).orders and foremen of works'. This text is of the seventh century; the foremen in question probably came under the authority of the prefect of the City.

992) See chapter four; and also Vita Nicolai Stud., 893; Vita Petri Athonitae, 18 (and see note 1007 below).

993) Cf. Relatio Nicolai ex mil. mon., 341, ^{22sq.} (and see note 1006 below); Vita Nicolai Stud., 893f. The regulations which concern metatum or billeting and which appear in CJ xii, 40 are retained in the Basilica, suggesting that the system employed for billeting troops had not altered substantially in the intervening period. Cf. Bas., lvii, 5.2-12 (= CJ xii, 40.2-12); Dig., 1, 5.1f. An edict of Justinian II from 688 exempts the church and clergy of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki from contributions to, among others, any στρατιωτικῷ προσώπῳ, which may refer

either to the exemption from metatum; or from contributing to the supply of troops in the region. See H.Grégoire, 'Un édit de l'empereur Justinien II daté de Septembre 688', Byz 17(1944-5) 119-124a; cf. 124, para. 13-14. See also A.A.Vasiliev, in Speculum 18(1943)1-13. A number of imperial prostagma and similar ordinances of the eleventh century and later exempt monastic property from the mitaton, as well as from similar obligations such as the aplekton. The latter referred specifically to soldiers. See Actes de Lavra, nos. 6; 33 (for 1060); 38 (for 1079); 44 (for 1082 = Dölger, Schatzkammer, no.1/2); MM, vi, 44f; v, 135f; 139f. Cf. also JGR (Zepos), i, 617 (for 1044). Many of these name thematic or tagmatic soldiers and officers specifically as those no longer permitted rights of mitaton or aplekton or similar hospitality. The burden of mitaton did fall upon the powerful and privileged as well, however, although they were able to use their influence to have themselves exempted. Cf. the letter of Nikephoros Ouranos to the krites of the Thrakesion theme, requesting exemption from mitaton, which he claimed was crippling his household: Darrouzes, Epistoliers, no. 42, 241-2; cf. also the letter of Nikolaos Mystikos, concerning the widow of the drouggarios of the watch, John, who had had soldiers billeted on her estate: ibid., no.31, 120-1. Compare the effects of the system in the sixth century and its abuses, in R.Remondon, 'Soldats de Byzance d'après un papyrus trouvé à Edfou', Recherches de Papyrologie 1(1963)62-5. For the later period see note 953 above, and Cedrenus, ii, 508-9, for mercenary tagmatikoi wintering in the homes of the rural populace. It should, however, be noted that the eleventh century saw an enormous increase in the numbers of mercenary units - tagmata - hired by the state, and a corresponding decline in the effectiveness of the thematic contingents. This brought with it an increase in the exaction of mitaton and related burdens in order to quarter the foreign troops, who required such maintenance all the year round, in contrast to the indigenous

theme contingents. The long lists of exemptions from such obligations recorded in the documents cited above reflect the nature of state exactions in the tenth century, but not their incidence, which increased dramatically during the eleventh century. In this respect, the enumeration of officers and men from 'tagmata' must clearly be understood as referring predominantly to troops of these more recently recruited, foreign units, rather than the old tagmata. See Oikonomidès, L'Organisation administrative, 144; Xanalatos, Beiträge, 49-50. For camp discipline, see De Cer., 481, ¹⁷sq. and the relevant sections of the Anon. Vári.

994) Acta Martyr. Amor., 24, ^{30-25,} ²: τούτῳ τοίνυν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμέρων ὁ πανεύφημος Κάλλιστος παρεστηκὼς αὐχμηρῷ τινὶ κόμῃ καὶ ἀφιλοκάλῳ γενειάδι· εἴθιστο γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ πολὺν τούτων ποιεῖσθαι λόγον διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ σπουδάζειν τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον ὥραίσμενον θεῷ παριστᾶν· προσχών αὐτῷ βλοσυρῷ καὶ ὑφαίμῳ τῷ ὅμματι, φοῖοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τραχυτέρῳ φωνῇ· 'τὶ ὅτι τοῦ κράτους μου καταφρονῶν τὴν οὐ προσῆκουσαν ἐπιδέδειξαι κατῆφειαν; οὐ χρῆζει, ὃ οὗτος, οὐδὲν ἔμη βασιλεία τῆς τοιαύτης σου ἀκοσμίας.' καὶ παρευθὺν τοῖς παρεστῶσι σωματοφύλαξι προστάξας μετ' ὀργῆς, ἀφεῖλεν αὐτοῦ μαχαίρᾳ τὸ βαθὺ τῆς ὑπήνης.

995) For the military codes, see Zepos, JGR, ii, 75f; also Ecloga, xvii, 10; Leo, Tact., viii, 1-27 (= Maur., Strat., i, 6 and 7.). On the steadiness of the tagmata, see chapter four, note 690.

996) See Vita Retractata, 110, ^{1-5.}

997) See note 906 above.

998) Bas., lvii, 3.2 (= CJ xii, 35.2): ὁ ἐπὶ κ' ἔτη στρατευσάμενος ἀπῆλλακται ὢπαρῶν λειτουργιῶν. Cf. also lvii, 7.3 (= CJ xii, 47.3).

999) Log. Nouthet., 102,²³⁻⁷: εἰώθασι δὲ οἱ τοῦ στόλου ἄρχοντες ἐπιμείναντες χρόνοις πολλοῖς ἐν τῷ στόλῳ κεκτῆσθαι νωθρότητα, ἀνάπαυσίν τε καὶ τρυφήν, ἐν αἷς παντελὴς ἀφέλεια γίνεται· χρῆ οὖν σὲ ἀκρίβειαν ἔχειν εἰς τὸν στόλον καὶ εἴπερ ἵδης (οὖν) οὕτας αὐτοὺς βιοῦντας καὶ πράττοντας, διώκειν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν στόλων, ἔτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν προΐσταν.

Also 102,²⁹–103,³: εἴπερ ἵδης τοὺς πλευστικοὺς ἄρχοντας οὕτως σοι ὡς προείρηται διακειμένους, μὴ ἄλλους πλευστικούς ἀντ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν βαθὺν αὐτῶν καταστήσῃς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν παραταγῶν εὑρὲ κόμπτας δρουγγαρίους γέροντας, οὓς διείλεις ὡς ἀνενεργήτους διώξαι ἀπὸ τῶν ταγμάτων εἴτε καὶ δεδιωγμένους παντελῶς, καὶ κατάστησον αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ στόλου.

1000) Niceph. Patr., Apologeticus, 556. Leo's Tactica (epilog. lvii) refers to the sorting out of the old from the young and the fit from the unfit as part of the tasks included under the general heading ἡ λογιστική. These were essentially administrative tasks, and fell within the competence of the chartularios and his notarioi, among them the optio or paymaster. See also notes 810 and 540 above.

1001) Cf. Constantine VII, Nov. 6 (for 947), 217: Εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν περιφανεστέρων τῆς ὁμάδος πρὸς ἴσους ἢ ὀλίγους ὑποβεβηκότας ἐν ἀξιώμασι τυχὸν σχολαρίων πρὸς στρατιώτας, ἢ ἐκ τῶν εὔτελεστέρων πρὸς τοὺς μικρόν τι ὑπερέχοντας, οἷον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστρατευτῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς σχολαρίους ἢ σεκρετικούς, ...;

Nov. 8 (for 945–59), 233: μὴ δύνασθαι τινα ἐκ τούτων ἀγοράζειν, καὶ μάλιστα περίβλεπτον ἢ ἀξιωματικὸν ἢ μητροπολίτην ἢ ἐπίσκοπον ἢ μοναστήριον ἢ ἔτερον τὸν οἰονδήποτε εὐαγῆ ὅικον ἢ δυνάστην μέχρι σχολαρίου... .

Scholarios here is evidently equivalent to tagmatikos. Note also the interpolated passage in a Novel of Basil II (JGR (Zepos)i, 263f., cf. esp. 265), which follows the emperor's condemnation of such 'nouveaux riches' as Philokales. Significantly, the latter

began his career as a hebdomadarios, a court position comparable to that of chamberlain-guardsman (see Oikonomidès, *Préséance*, 130, note 89).

1002) Cf. Svoronos, *Cadastre*, 13, ii, d.1; and 38-9, 77.

1003) Nicephorus II, Nov. 18 (963-9), 247: εἴ τινες τῶν ἀρμενίων στρατιώτῶν ἀναχωρήσαντες τριετίαν ἀλλαχοῦ ποιήσαιεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑποστρέψαντες εὔροιεν τοὺς ἔσωτῶν τόπους εἴτε πρὸς φύλαξιν (corr. εἴτε πρόσφυξιν) εἴτε τισὶ στρατιώταις ὡς ἀριστεύσασιν ἐπιδοθέντας, ή καὶ ὅρχουσι θεματικοῖς καὶ ταγματικοῖς εἴτε στρατηγοῖς ἀνδραγαθήσασιν...

On the settlement of clasmatic land, cf. Lemerle, *Esquisse*, i, 270f; Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 22.

1004) Cf. *Vita Ioannicii*, 338B, 338F; and 311B (from the Menologion).

1005) De Petro Thaumaturgo, 123.

1006) Cf. *Vita Nicolai Stud.*, 893f; *Relatio Nicolai ex mil.mon.*, 341, ^{22sq}; the two stories are so similar that it is clear that they are both versions of the same event, and that this was a popular story of the time concerning the catastrophic defeat at the hands of Krum. For a fuller account of Nikolaos' story, see L.Clugnet, 'Histoire de S.Nicolas, soldat et moine', ROC 7(1902) 319-330 (= Bibl.Hagiogr.Or., 3(Paris 1902)27-38); see also E.Follieri, I.Dujčev, 'Un acolutia inedita per i martiri di Bulgaria dell'anno 813', Byz 33(1963)71-106, cf. 90, note 1; also J.Wortley, 'Legends of the Byzantine Disaster of 811', Byz 50 (1980)533-562. Note also the reference to a scholarios as the guardian of a church of St. Theodore Tiro at Euchaita in the ninth century. Cf. Sigalas, Διασκευή, 314.

1007) Vita Petri Athonitae, 18, 22f. The details extracted from this Life by Lake, the editor, should not be relied upon too heavily. It has been shown that the Life is essentially a construct, albeit based on details which would otherwise satisfy a contemporary of their genuineness. In this respect, it reflects the conditions of its time, and therefore has a value for our purposes. See St. Binon, 'La vie de S.Pierre l'Athonite', SBN 5(1936)41-53, and especially Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos, ii, 403-5. The original story concerning a certain Peter the scholarios (belonging to a cycle of miracles attributed to Saint Nikolaos) dates probably to the ninth century but was later incorporated into the Life of Peter of Athos by the hagiographer. See Anrich, 293f; D.Papachryssanthou, 'La vie ancienne de saint Pierre l'Athonite. Date, composition et valeur historique', AB 92(1974)19-61.

1008) De Stephano et al., 263: πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν τότε ὄρθοδοξῶν ὄντων ἀποτάξαμενοι, τῷ βίῳ γεγόνασι μοναχοῖ.

1009) Cf. also Vita Lucae Stylitae, 200f. Euthymios seems also to have deserted - see Laurent, Vita Retractata, 37; and Haldon, Recruitment, 63.

1010) Cf. Theoph.cont., 243, ^{14sq;} Sym.Mag., 659, 15-22.

1011) Cf. Leg.Mil., (Ashburner), 8 (= Maur., Strat., i, 8.2; Leo, Tact., viii, 20); 9 (Strat., i, 8.3; Tact., xlii, 21); 37.

1012) See note 901 above.

1013) Cf. Guilland, Recherches, i, 436; and for Nicephorus II, Schlumberger, Nic.Phoc., 249f; Ostrogorsky, State, 257. Bréhier, Institutions, 382, mistakenly assumed that soldiers received state pensions. There is no evidence for this after the sixth

century, although it is reasonable to assume that the system described in chapter one for this period continued in operation until the second half of the seventh century, when the situation of the soldiers was radically altered. See Haldon, Recruitment, 66ff. The older system may have been retained for the full-time, professional troops (i.e. not the locally-based theme soldiers), although again, this must remain hypothetical. The five pounds of gold issued to the widows of soldiers killed in 811 by Michael I, was an exceptional (and extravagant) procedure (cf. Theoph., 494, ^{4sq.}). Possibly a system of land-grants, when clasmatic or deserted land was available, was regularised after the ninth century. Vryonis, An Attic Hoard, 299, repeats Bréhier's assertion, but adduces no new evidence. Land granted to soldiers as a reward for good service was, of course, a different matter. See above, note 1003.

1014) See De Cer., 692, ^{15sq;} see also 697, ^{20sq.} for the privileges accorded members of these corps. It would appear that the opening of these units to men who bought their positions was begun by Leo VI. From his time, members of other palatine corps - the oikeiakoi - (impérial mandatores, kandidatoi, stratores, spatharioi, spatharokandidatoi and protospatharioi) could purchase commissions in these units - see Kolia, Ämter- und Würdenverkauf, 91-2, 100ff; Lemerle, Roga, 80ff; most recently, Oikonomidès, Préséance, 298, note 69; 327-8. The kandidatoi appear to have been the only group of officers from within the active tagmata to have been opened to the purchase of commissions - a result probably of their constant presence at court. The purchase of posts should not, of course, be confused with the obtaining of posts through patronage. See Weiss, Beamte, 38-47, and see below. On venality in general, see, for example, Bréhier, Institutions, 155-7; Antoniadis-Bibicou, Pensions; and now, for the origins of this system, D. Liebs, 'Ämterkauf und Ämterpatronage in der Spätantike', Sav. Zeitschr., röm. Abt. 95

(1978)158-86.

1015) *Vita Ioannicii*, 334; 337-8. For the battles, see Theoph., 467, 27sq; 470, 16sq. Such insignia may have meant a slight rise in status within the body of soldiers. They were certainly a traditional form of conferring honours upon a soldier who had served well. See Ramsay McMullen, *Some Pictures*, 445-6; and note V.A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (London 1981) 248ff.

1016) The soldier in question had admitted to Constantine the wrongness of the worship of icons, as a result of which he received his promotion. Cf. *Vita Steph.Iun.*, 1156. Cf. a similar case, of a man appointed to the dignity of strator and given a military command as the result of some espionage he had undertaken for Constantine V - *Vita Steph.Iun.*, 1137C. Cf. Leo, *Tact.*, xvi, 3f. The only 'official' description of policy regarding promotion that I have found occurs in a harangue to the soldiers attributed to Constantine VII. See H. Ahrweiler, 'Un discours inédit de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète', *TM* 2 (1967) 393-404. Officers were delegated to record in writing the behaviour of the soldiers so that they might be rewarded accordingly. As Ahrweiler notes (art. cit., 400, note 17) this was standard practice and is referred to by Agathias. The ordinary soldiers were rewarded 'according to merit'. Officers of tagmata and 'other (units)' were rewarded with promotion to independent commands - as turmarchs, kleisurarchs and topotetrai of themes. Commanders of large themes received gifts; commanders of lesser themes received command of more important corps. Finally, (in this example) the emperor relies upon his intermediaries for information, albeit against his will, and intends in future to hand out the brabeia - the insignia or testimonials of good conduct - himself. See art. cit., 399, 85-96. During the iconoclast period, of course, failure

to comply with state policy meant loss of both promotion and position. See notes 590, 597 above. For the assumption that cash rewards were a regular part of imperial expenditure, see the references in note 960 above; and cf. *De Cer.*, 484,^{5sq.}

1017) *Apologeticus*, 556: ὁν (sc. the tagmatic soldiers) οἱ πλείους τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ δυσσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας τυγχάνουσιν, ἐκ πολλῆς ἄγαν κτηνωδίας καὶ ἀλογίας...

Also *Antirrheticus* iii, 488-9.

1018) Cf. *Acta Martyr.Amor.*, 23,^{21sq;} *G.Mon.cont.*,^{805,}^{17sq.} This career bears out very nicely the process of promotion for such officers described in note 1016 above.

1019) *Acta Martyr.Amor.*, 23,¹⁴⁻¹⁵: οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ ἀντητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιώτης Κάλλιστος, οἵα τις ἐξ ἑψας ἥλιος ὅρμωμενος, γονεῖς ἐκέκτητο περιφανεῖς;
and also 23,¹⁹⁻²⁰: παρὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἄνθος τῆς ἥλικίας διηνυκώς, πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν ἐκπέμπεται ἐκεῖθεν τῆς ἐν γράμμασιν χάριν παιδεύσεως.

1020) *De Petro Thaumaturgo*, 121,^{58sq}: Διὰ δὲ τὸ ὄραιος εἶναι καὶ περικαλλῆς καὶ εὐμεγέθης, κόμης ζώνυνται τῷ κε' αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεομισοῦς βασιλέως Θεοφίλου ἐκλεγεὶς καὶ καταταγεὶς εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐξουβιτόρων τάγμα...

Komes should, of course, be equivalent to skribon. The former term was more usual and more widely used, and was probably applied to all officers of this rank, whatever their official title. In connection with both Leo (= Peter) and Kallistos, it is important to note that they belonged respectively to the ordines of kandidatoi and spatharioi, groups of officers which appear to have served as reservoirs of experienced and trustworthy men upon whom the emperor could rely. Compare the commemorative inscription from Rhodandos in eastern Anatolia, set

up by the spatharios Symeon, despatched on a mission by the emperors Leo and Constantine (either Leo III and Constantine; or Leo IV and Constantine VI), in: H. Grégoire, 'Note sur une inscription gréco-araméenne trouvée à Faraša', Compte Rendu des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Bruxelles 1908) 434ff. Such officers could also look forward to a successful future, one of the factors which explains the popularity of these corps, and the considerable expense entailed in entering them by the end of the ninth century. Cf. De Cer., 692, ^{15sq.} See also chapter two, note 423. For patrons see note 1021 below, and cf. Weiss, Beamte, 240-1.

1021) Vita S. Maria Iun., 692E-F; .694E; 703F. See also Vita Retractata, 109, ^{1sq.} for a certain Νικήτας δέ τις δρουγ-γάριος ἐκ Αυδίας ὑπάρχων ἐκ παιδὸς γνωστὸς τῷ ἀγίῳ... clearly a military officer whose family had its roots in the region where Niketas served. For further examples of members of rural land-owning society who typify this group, see Vita Theophyl. Nic., 72; Vita Euaresti, 300, ^{19sq.} The example of Theophylact of Nicomedia illustrates the ways in which a young man of limited means might make his career at the capital. Theophylact, from a family of only middling wealth - τῶν ἐν αὐταρκείᾳ καὶ λιτότητι ... βιοῦντων - arrived in Constantinople in the early 780s and managed to join the service of the imperial mystographos (later Patriarch) Tarasios, which opened the door to an ecclesiastical career. The account demonstrates the importance of finding a patron in order to further the career of young men from the provinces. Euarestos' father brought him to Constantinople in his late teens, where he was placed under the tutelage of his cousin's husband, the patrikios Bryainios, who took him into his service during the last years of the reign of Theophilus. For Theophylact's Life, compiled c. 900, see Ševčenko, Hagiography, 118; Beck, Kirche, 563; for Euarestos', compiled soon after his death in 897, see Beck, Kirche, 564.

A similar case is that of Niketas, later Higumen of the monastery of Medikion, whose father sent him initially to train as a clerk in the general logothesion. Cf. Vita Nicetae Conf., 24, ^{11sq.}; and compare Vita Blasii Amoriensis, 639E; Vita Methodii Patr., 1245B. Blasius was of a wealthy family in the Amorion district, sent in the middle of the ninth century to Constantinople for his education and to train for the Church; Methodius, later Patriarch, came from a wealthy Syracusean family, was sent to Constantinople in the early years of the ninth century to join the civil service, where he gained imperial dignities, but was then converted to a more religious and ascetic life. The great weight attached to an education and training in Constantinople, and to the cultivation of a patron, is evident from these examples, as well as from the Life of Michael Maleinos (552, ^{9sq;} 554, ^{6sq.}), whose parents are deeply upset when the young man gives up his education for monastic life. On some of these, see A. Moffatt, 'Schooling in the Iconoclast Centuries', in: Iconoclasm, eds. Bryer/Herrin, 85-92 and bibliography; and Lemerle, Humanisme, 97-104; Weiss, Leichenrede, 273ff. For the relevance and value of such hagiographical material, note the apposite comment of R. Morris, 'The Political Saint of the Eleventh Century', in: The Byzantine Saint, 43-50. Note that Theophanes Confessor, who held a provincial military post for a time, belonged also to this middling group. Cf. Vita Theoph., 5, 4; 7; 23, ¹⁶; 24. On this group see also Speck, Konstantin VI, 67-71. On Blasius' Life, compiled some thirty years after his death in 912, see Beck, Kirche, 565; Patlagean, Sainteté, 90; for Methodius, see Ševčenko, Hagiography, 116 and note 22.

1022) De Eudocimo, 857; Vita Eudocimi, 2, ¹⁹⁻²³; for Benjamin and Constantine, see Vie de S. Pierre d'Atroa, 39, ^{46sq.}; and Vita Retractata, 111, ^{1sq.} Although metaphrastic, the Vita of Eudocimus remains valuable and contains some contemporary detail.

1023) Cf. Leg.Mil. (Koržensky), 3; Bas., vi, 1.58 (= CJ i, 31.2). On the bureaucracy and the ways in which it functioned internally, see Bréhier, *Institutions*, 153-5; Weiss, *Beamte*, 40-1, 95, 106f. A similar 'middle stratum' of career-orientated officials existed in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. See K. Ringrose, *Saints, Holy Men and Byzantine Society*, 98f; and for later developments, V.Tiftixoglou, 'Gruppenbildungen innerhalb des Konstantinopolitanischen Klerus während der Komnenenzeit', BZ 62(1969)25-72; note also H.-G.Beck, 'Die Mobilität der byzantinischen Gesellschaft', *Orient* 14(1978)1-14.

1024) The rise of the leading families and their predominant position has been neatly summarised by Vryonis, *Decline*, esp. 161. See more recently Jean-F.Vannier, *Familles byzantines: les Argyroi (IX^e-XII^e siècles)* (Paris 1975); W.Seibt, *Die Skleroi: eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie* (Wien 1976); I.Djurić, 'La famille des Phocas', ZRVI 17(1976)195-291. An admirable example is provided by the rise of the Maleinos family, whose beginnings as provincial military leaders eventually produced one of the leading 'powerful' families of the tenth century. See Vita Michaelis Maleini, 550, ²⁵-551, ²¹ and the editor's notes; and see also Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, ii, 293-6.

1025) See the prosopography of the domestics of the scholai and the droungarioi of the vigla compiled by Guillard, *Recherches*, i, 435-41; 568-70.

1026) Cf. Theoph.cont., 89, 15sq; Guillard, *Recherches*, i, 437-8, 568. Compare the example of the magister Sergios Niketiates from the district of Amastris in Paphlagonia. He was related to the empress Theodora, see De Sergio, 777-8. He appears to have been appointed commander of the forces which sailed to Crete in 866, and may also have been logothete of the

Drome. See H. Grégoire, 'Études sur le neuvième siècle', Byz 8 (1935) 515-31. Note also the example of Marianos, the brother of Basil I, discussed in Seibt, Bleisiegel, no. 34, 122-5, who should be added to Guilland's list.

1027) Cf. Theoph., 438,^{9sq.}

1028) Cf. Guilland, Recherches, i, 436f. For Peter, see De Petro Patricio, 791, 35sq. He was presumably appointed domestic of the hikanatoi to replace the young Niketas, for whom the unit was ostensibly established, and who was, of course, far too young actually to command the unit. See chapter four above. Peter was captured by the Bulgars and later (miraculously) escaped. For further details, see Follieri, Đujčev, art. cit. (note 1006 above) 90, note 2; and note J. Wöhlk, 'Légende of the Byzantine Disaster of 811', Byz 50 (1980) 533-62, esp. 555ff.

1029) Theoph. cont., 121, 21sq; 24, 2-4; 110, 1-5; also G. Mon. cont., 798; Sym. Mag., 634,^{10-12.}

1030) Theoph. cont., 286,^{18-20;} Leo Gram., 261,^{2-4;} G. Mon. cont., 847,^{10-14.}

1031) Cf. Theoph. cont., 148,^{8sq;} 236,^{9sq.}

1032) Guilland, Recherches, i, 436-7.

1033) Theoph. cont., 392,^{22sq.} The account of the continuator of Theophanes of the reign of Constantine VII provides a number of examples of the growing monopoly of military power by the leading military families and their clients - the Phokades, Doukai, Garidai, Keurkouai, and so on.

Conclusion! · notes

1034) See Haldon, *Some Remarks*, 169ff. The following discussion is predicated on the analysis presented in chapters one to five. Only references connected with questions which have not already been fully documented will be included here.

1035) For an account of the various phases of the Muslim conquests, and the Byzantine response, see Arweiler, *l'Asie Mineure*, 13ff; and Lilie, *Die byz. Reaktion*, where the conditions prevailing at the time are set out very lucidly.

1036) See, for example, Gelzer, *Themenverfassung*, 79; Ostrogorsky, *State*, 157-9. For other factors, see Haldon, *Some Remarks*, 174ff. Physical size and extent of resources in themselves, of course, can explain nothing.

1037) See Kaegi, *Polit. Activity*.

1038) Theoph., 385, 5sq; Niceph. Patr., 50, 15sq. There were, of course, more general contextual stimuli for the series of rebellions which took place at this period. See Haldon, *Some Remarks*.

1039) See Haldon, *Some Remarks*, esp. 176., where I have attempted to outline the cumulative effects of sixth- and seventh-century changes, both in ideological and socio-political terms, upon the imperial authority and upon popular attitudes to and assumptions about that authority. Whether or not Leo III was a convinced iconoclast from the outset, or whether he merely followed the will or inspiration of certain important clergymen, perhaps in order to cement his position at a popular level (see Stein, *Bilderstreit*), it seems clear that he needed to restore popular confidence in central - and therefore imperial -

authority, and to demonstrate the difference between his rule and that of the previous four or five emperors.

1040) The regionalisation and development of local allegiances and loyalties referred to should not be confused with those that were until quite recently supposed to be at the root of the iconoclast movement. Kaegi, Byzantine Armies and Iconoclasm, 48-70, has shown clearly that no district had a uniform, or unchanging attitude to the policies of Leo and Constantine. The views of both parties in the conflict were founded upon much more long-term and deep-seated developments in attitudes than mere interprovincial differences - even if these were occasionally the vehicle for the expression of such attitudes. See also Speck, Konstantin VI, 405-419.

1041) Cf. Theoph., 438, ^{6sq;} De Stephano et al., 263-4. See chapter four, pp. 232-3.

1042) This was certainly the reason for the continued adherence to iconoclasm of a good section of the Constantinopolitan army during the reigns of Irene and Constantine VI and later, and partly accounts for the readiness of Leo V to restore such a policy.

1043) Cf. Brown, Iconoclast Controversy, 22. Speck, Konstantin VI, cogently argues throughout for the existence of a majority of the population of all regions of the empire who were essentially passive in the whole affair (cf. 66-72).

1044) As Kaegi has noted, see Polit. Activity, 9f. For the importance of the capital and the idea of imperial unity, see, among many, Ahrweiler, L'Idéologie politique de l'empire byzantin (Paris 1975), 64ff; Haldon, Some Remarks, 165; Haldon/Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier, 93.

1045) Leo's rebellion owed its success primarily to the defeat and consequent lack of confidence of Michael I in 813, and the fact that the tagmatic officers appear not to have supported him very warmly.

1046) Excluding their activities under Constantine V and Leo IV, the tagmata were involved in coups, attempted coups, or similar examples of political activity no fewer than ten times up to the year 813. See chapter four.

1047) See, for example, A.Vagts, *A History of Militarism* (New York 1959), 29-30; B.Abrahamson, 'Elements of Military Conservatism: Traditional and Modern', in: *On Military Ideology*, 61-74; cf. also Ph.Abrams, 'Restoring Order: some Early European Cases', in: *On Military Intervention*, 39-59. Note especially 45, where the author discusses Cromwell's New Model Army - a force with which the tagmata, at least structurally and in terms of the attitudes engendered among the troops once constituted - have much in common. Cromwell's force was a rationalised military corps, structured internally according to prevailing criteria of military efficiency, paid by the state, and deliberately detached from civilian social relations of dependence and locality. No sooner was it in being than it discovered an active interest - represented in various ideological forms - in maintaining or enhancing its privileges and resisting attempts to disband it. An exactly similar development can be observed in the case of the tagmata. It must be emphasised, of course, that this military conservatism is a relative conservatism - it depends both ideologically and institutionally upon the social/political order within which the units where it is engendered and maintained are first constituted.

Exceptions to this phenomenon, of course, can occur only under potentially revolutionary situations, in which the body of a state's military personnel becomes alienated from the state

and its ideology or its representatives; the role of disbanded Russian peasants in 1917, or left-wing officers in military coups in modern Africa, provide striking examples.

1048) See esp. H.Gerth, C.Wright Mills, *Character and Social Structure* (London 1961), 183 f. On the ways in which roles are internalised by the individual members of a group, and in which institutions 'constitute' both individuals and the groups they make up, see, inter al., P.L.Berger, Th.Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 65ff., and 89f. See also Gerth and Mills, op. cit., 173. Note also Mouzelis, *Organisation and Bureaucracy*, for a general comment on theories of bureaucracy and the institutionalisation of formal roles within an organisation.

1049) Cf. V.Tarasii, 404, 207B,^{37sq}: ίδου τι σμῆνος σφηκῶν, ἀνδρῶν φημι θυμολεστῶν καὶ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου στρατολογίας καὶ λέσχης, τού πάλαι τὸ σκῆπτρον οὐκ εὐαγῶς ιθύναντος, θρέμματα, ὡς ἐκ τινῶν κακοδοξίας σύμβλων ἀπαναστὰν πρὸς τὸ λεχθὲν ἱερὸν ἐφίσταται τέμενος, τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀμυντηρίοις ὅπλοις φραξ- ἀμενον. καὶ δὴ τοῖς προσαυλίοις τοῦ σεπτοῦ δώματος ἐμπελάσαντες αὐτήμου βωῆς τὸν χῶρον ἐμπλήρωσαν, μὴ φορητὸν εἶναι λέγοντες παραβαθῆναι τὰ Κωνσταντίνψ τῷ πάλαι δόξαντα. οὐ γὰρ προδώσομεν ἔκείνου παυθῆναι τὰ δόγματα καὶ κηρυχθῆναι τῆς τῶν εἰδώλων ἔνεκα λόγον ὑπάρχειας. καὶ εἴ γε τούτου κατάρξειει τις καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἡμῶν ὁφθαλμῶν ἀθετουμένην τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κροτηθείσαν κατίδουμεν σύν- οδον, τὴν γῆν τοῖς τῶν ιερῶν φοινίξαμεν αἷμασι. ταῦτ' ἔλεγον καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀράσσοντες ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἔνδον διαχειρίσασθαι.
Theoph., 461, 19^{sq}: δὲ λαὸς τῶν σχολαρίων τε καὶ ἐκσκουβι- τόρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταγμάτων ὑποβληθεὶς ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων ἀρχόντων, ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ πονηροῦ αὐτῶν διδασκάλου, ...
Mansi, xii, 991B-C; Vita Ioannicii, 335B, referring to events after Eirene's restoration of the icons: πλεῖστοι τῆς πάλαι μυστρᾶς εἰκονομάχου αἱρέσεως ἀνέκπλυτον ἀκμὴν τὴν συνείδησιν

εἶχον, ὡς καὶ ὁ θεῖος οὗτος καὶ μέγας Ἰωαννίκιος.

1050) Vita Cosmae Damasc., 294: Ποῦ νῦν ἔστιν, ὁ κράτιστος ἐκεῖνος Κωνσταντῖνος - τὸν Κοπρώνυμον παραδόλοῦντες - ὁ περίδοξος, ὁ περίβλεπτος ἐν βασιλεῦσιν; cf. also Niceph.Patr., Antirrheticus iii, 504; Theoph., 501, ^{18sq:} the ex-soldiers opened the gates of Constantine's tomb, καὶ ἔνδον εἰσποδῆσαντες προσέπιπτον τῷ τοῦ πλάνου μνήματι τούτον ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ οὐ Θεόν, 'ἀνάστηθι', λέγοντες, 'καὶ βοήθουσον τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀπολλυμένῃ'. Note also 501, ^{18sq:} οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς κακίας εὑρετής διάβολος τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐξεπαίδευσεν, ὡς μὴ αἰτιᾶσθαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ὀμαρτίας, ἀλλὰ τὴν δρθόδοξον καὶ πατροπαράδοτον πίστιν, ...
For the political faction-fighting and the efforts of the contending forces to win over sections of the tagmata to their own cause, see especially Speck's account, Konstantin VI.

1051) Constantine V was, of course, in these respects the hero of a cycle which might well, by the time of Nicephorus I, certainly of Michael I, have been in circulation. See P.J.Alexander, The Patriarch Nicephorus I of Constantinople (Oxford 1958), 111ff; Lombard, Constantine V, 10ff; R.Goossens, 'A propos de la légende de Constantine V', AIPHOS 3(1935)157-60; and N.Adontz, 'Les légendes de Maurice et de Constantin V', AIPHOS 2(1933-4)1-12 (= Mélanges Bidez). See most recently Speck's remarks, Konstantin VI, 222 and note 9.

1052) See the comment on Cromwell's army, note 1047 above. Compare the remarks of Nicephorus, Apologeticus, 556C: οὗτοι δέ, ὡς ἴσμεν, ὅπαντες, ἐθάδες τῶν χειρόνων ὑπάρχοντες, τοῖς μὲν καθεστῶσιν ἀεὶ δυσχεραίνουσι, ταῖς δὲ καινοτομίαις χαίρουσι, καὶ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἐφιένται, ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων αυτοῖς θορύβων καὶ ἀταξιῶν, τὰ χρειώδη καὶ ἀναγκαία περιγίγνοιντο; cf. also Antirrheticus iii, 492: στάσεσί τε γὰρ καὶ καινοτομίαις ἀεὶ χαίρουσιν.

The readiness of the tagmata to plot against Constantine in 792, so soon after the support they gave him in 790, and their participation in the plots of 797 against him, of 798 and of 802 against Eirene, illustrates Nicephorus' point only too well. For a concise account of the general political background to these events, see J.Herrin, in: Byzanz (Fischer-Weltgeschichte, 13 [1973], ed. F.G.Maier), 106-8. See now Speck, Konstantin VI; and see above, chapter four. In the light of these considerations, of course, it can no longer be satisfactory to dismiss military political activity of this sort as being grounded simply in 'feelings' or personal resentments as such (see Speck, Konstantin VI, 222-3, for example) - this would be to take the production of such human behaviour out of its historical and social context, and leave us with no explanation at all. But Speck does stress the probably non-iconoclastic, yet still self-interested and very fickle attitude of the tagmata, or, at different times, various sections within them. See Konstantin VI, 561, n.369; 564, n.380; 667, n.76. It is important to remember, as Speck has emphasised, that the connection between iconoclasm, the tagmata, and the 'opposition' to orthodoxy is, particularly after the reign of Leo IV, chiefly an effect of the iconodule literary and historiographical traditional which won the day. The military often appear in this light as scapegoats for iconoclasm. See Konstantin VI, 685, no.54.

1053) On the military aristocracy, see Weiss, Beamte, 92-7.

1054) The collapse of the authority of local government during the third century is a useful example of the effects upon a complex administrative establishment of the break-down of its monetary and its fiscal system; while the reorganisation of a central administrative authority carried out by Diocletian and Constantine was accompanied and made possible by the re-establishment of a viable coinage. Cf. Mickwitz, Geld und

Wirtschaft, 147f; and Jones, LRE, 26f.

1055) Cf. Bloch, Feudal Society, 421.

1056) Hendy, Admin.Basis, 136. Dölger, Finanzverwaltung, 78 (and notes) considers that the provincial government could freely dispose of the cash revenues it obtained to cover its needs - including the payment of officials and troops - forwarding only the surplus to Constantinople. This is possibly true of the later tenth and eleventh centuries (the examples quoted by Dölger); but there are enough references to the reverse procedure - cash forwarded from Constantinople to the provinces to pay the troops and the administrators - from the eighth and especially the ninth century, to suggest that it was not usual before this time. See the examples quoted by Ahrweiler, Recherches, 7-8. The importance of maintaining control over its gold revenues and the coin in circulation will surely have encouraged the central government to direct the flow of tax-revenues to the capital.

For a full analysis of the sources for, and the structure and history of, the Byzantine economy, see Michael Hendy's forthcoming major analysis, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300 - 1450 (Cambridge 1984).

1057) As Kaegi points out, Polit.Activity, 7-8, 15-16 etc.

1058) I do not wish to dismiss altogether the notion\that the themes were partly responsible for the Byzantine ability to withstand concerted Arab raids and attacks (cf. Arhweiler, Mer, 42; Kaegi, Reconsiderations, 48, 51); but their short-term effective role in the military field was limited to harassing enemy raiders and making any settlement or permanent occupation by the raiders impossible. They were not able easily to go over to the offensive - although once assembled and well-led, they did provide an effective force. When viewed over a longer

perspective - considering the period from the late seventh century to the middle of the ninth century - the provincial armies were able to prevent Muslim settlement in the border areas - which were turned into a sort of 'no-man's land' - and thus establish an outer zone through which hostile troops could pass only with difficulty. Within this outer zone lay a second zone, less easily attacked and much less badly affected; and behind this lay yet another, inner district, which suffered only mildly from Arab pressure. See Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion, 325ff., 329f., a general picture which is very suggestive, if perhaps too highly structured with regard to the capacities of the Byzantine administration to consciously organise such a system.

1059) Arweiler, Recherches, 33f; Oikonomidès, Organisation administrative, 143f; Hohlweg, Beiträge, 43ff.

1060) The total manpower of the peratic excubitors in 949 was 700; of the hikanatoi, 456 - see De Cer., 666,⁹⁻¹³. See chapt. four above.

1061) For warning comments, see M.Canard, 'L'Expansion arabe: le problème militaire', Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, xii (Spoleto 1965), 37-63, see 45ff; Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 286ff.

1062) Cf. De Cer., 652,⁴; 666,^{1sq.}

1063) Op. cit., 287ff.

1064) Theoph., 456,^{10sq.} and Speck, Konstantin VI, 123.

1065) See chapt. four. The extent to which the tagmata during the tenth century gradually lost their role as tools of the

government or the emperor, has been referred to already. The question cannot be examined here, but represents nevertheless a crucial phase in their later development, and points out quite clearly the position and role taken by the military aristocracy or elite of the period.

Appendix: notes

1066) For the patrikioi of the empire, see R.Guilland, 'Contribution à la prosopographie de l'empire byzantin: les patrices byzantins du VI^e siècle', *Palaeologia* 7(1958/9) 271-305; also in: *Tόμος εις μνήμην Κ.Ι.Αμάντου* (Athens 1960) 11-24 (the period 602-668); *Ελληνικά* 23(1970)287-98 (the period 668-717) (= *Titres*, no.VIII); *Byz* 40(1970)317-360 (the period 717-829) (= *Titres*, no.IX); *RESEE* 8(1970)593-610 (the period 829-67) (= *Titres*, no.X); *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini* i (= SBN 7) (1953)377-386; *BZ* 63(1970)300-317 (the period 867-912) (= *Titres*, no.XI); *Sillogia Bizantina in Onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati* (= SBN 9) (1957)188-221 (the period 913-59); *JÖB* 20(1971)83-108) (the period 976-1025) (= *Titres*, no. XII). For the domestic of the scholai and the drungar of the watch, see idem, 'Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: le Domestique des Scholes', *REB* 8(1950)5-63; idem, 'Le Drongaire et le Grand Drongaire de la Veille', *BZ* 43(1950)340-365. Both these articles are reprinted in *Recherches*, i. More recently, see F.Winkelmann, in: *Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert*, 191-211: 'Einzelne Mitglieder der Aristokratie', for patrikioi of the late sixth-early eighth centuries.

1067) Cf. Guilland, *Recherches*, i, 436; this officer is probably the same as Niketas Triphyllios, domestic at the end of Eirene's reign and a partisan of Nicephorus I.

1068) These two seals may belong to the same Leo, as may that of Leo, imperial spatharios and drouggarios of the God-guarded imperial vigla, dated by Schlumberger to the ninth century (Sig., 341). That this Leo is to be identified with Leo Katakylas, drouggarios of the vigla under Michael III, as Guilland, *Recherches*, i, 569 suggests, is possible, but unlikely, since the

title is, for this time, rather lowly. Patrikios and/or proto-spatharios would be expected.

1069) Probably the brother of the empress Theodora.
Cf. Guillard, Recherches, i, 568.

1070) Theoph., 438,⁹; Niceph.Patr., 74,^{8sq.}

1071) Theoph., 454,^{15sq}; for the seals, dated c.750-850, see Zacos and Veglery, 3095(a) and (b). Bikarios is most probably a personal name, as Speck, Konstantin VI (506, note 67) has suggested.

1072) Theoph.cont., 9,^{9sq.}

1073) Cf. Georg.Mon.Chron., 788,^{9sq}; Gen., 19,^{10sq};
12,¹³⁻¹⁶; Vita Nicolai Stud., 889; Vita Ignatii, 493B.

1074) Theoph.cont., 237,^{4sq}; 238,^{15sq.}

1075) Theoph.cont., 240,^{22sq.}

1076) A seal of the later ninth century belonged to an officer of a similar rank. Cf. Schlumberger, Sig., 346, a seal of an anon., patrikios, imperial protospatharios and domestic of the excubitors.

1077) Cf. Guillard, Recherches, i, 569; Gen., 81,¹²⁻¹³: he may have held the post of domestic of the excubitores before his appointment as drouggarios of the vigla. Cf. Gen., 81,^{19sq.}

1078) Mansi, xvi, 309.

1079) Theoph.cont., 389,^{4sq.}

1080) Scriptor Incert. (Grégoire), 422, ^{1sq;} Theoph.cont.,
20, ^{4-7;} Vita Ignatii, 492B. See also chapter five, note
1028, for Peter, who commanded the hikanatoi in 811.

1081) Mansi, xvi, 309.

1082) Cf. also Zacos and Veglery, no.3226, a ninth-century seal
of an anon., imperial protospatharios and domestic of the
hikanatoi.

1083) Theoph.cont., 389, ^{4sq.}

1084) Theoph.cont., 395, ^{19-23.} A seal of an anon., domestic
of the hikanatoi, dates from this period. See Ebersolt, no.398.

1085) Cf. Guilland, Noumera, 412-3.

1086) Theoph.cont., 224, ^{23sq;} 229, ^{9sq;} Sym.Mag.,
655, ^{10-11.})

1087) Vita Ignatii, 513; Sym.Mag., 668, ^{12sq.} For references
to further members of this family and its clientèle see Seibt,
Bleisiegel, 324; note Photius, Ep., no.63 (and note 1).

1088) Synax.CP, 470. Numeros, the alternative reading here,
seems more likely.

1089) See chapter three, pp. 191-3, and notes 435-7.

1090) Sebeos, 106; John of Nikiu, 197-8; and note 1089 above.

1091) For Mzez Gnouni, see Sebeos, 94; and see Stratos, Seventh
Century, iv, 8f. For the rebellion of Mizizios, see Greg.II
papae, Ep. xii, 520; Theoph., 352, ^{4sq.} See also the

references in Charanis, *Ethnic Changes*, 34, note 72.

1092) Mansi, xi, 209. For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.3194, dated to the period c.700-750, although it can be earlier.

1093) For the ring, see A.Blanchet, 'Une bague d'or d'un comte de l'Opsikion', *Byz* 1(1924)173-5. Cf. Guilland, in *Hell.* 23 (1970)289. Laurent, *Bulletin*, 621, considers this a tenth-century seal, however.

1094) For seals of Barasbakourios, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 3080A, 3081; Schlumberger, *Sig.*, 249. Cf. Theoph., 380,^{29sq.} Cf. Winkelmann, in *Byzanz im 7. Jhd.*, 207.

1095) Possibly he is to be identified with George the Syrian, a supporter of Justinian II. Cf. Theoph., 378,²⁷. For the events of 713 and after, see Theoph., 383,^{10sq}; and for Theodore Myakes, Theoph., 373,²³. For a possible seal of the latter, see Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.134.

1096) Appointment as Curopalates and count of the Opsikion, Theoph., 395,⁸⁻¹²; for Opsikion forces in Nicaea in 726/7 under Artavasdos, cf. Theoph., 406,⁵; and for the rebellion, Theoph., 417-20; Niceph.Patr., 61-2. For seals see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 1423, 1742, 1743, 1741, 3078A; Schlumberger, *Sig.*, 249. See also A.Mordtmann, *Sur les Sceaux et Plombs Byzantins (Constantinople 1873)* 37; and Th.Whittemore, 'An Unpublished Byzantine Seal', OCP 13(1947)376-83. See now Speck, *Artabasdos*, 153-4 and notes.

1097) For the seal, see Zacos and Veglery, no.2159. For Marianos the father of Eustathios, see Theoph., 414,^{5sq}; and see Guilland, in *Byz* 40(1970)317. For the Dux of the Duchy of Rome,

see LP, i, 403.

1098) Cf. Theoph., 438,¹². David is described as spatharios κατὰ τὸν Βησέρη, which may signify that he was a member of the entourage of Beser (killed at the beginning of the rebellion of Artavasdos) rather than Beser's son. Cf. Θεόδοτος, σωθαροκανδιδᾶτος κατὰ τοὺς Λαλάκωνας (Photius, Ep. 63, 367f.), who seems to be a member of the family retinue or clientela rather than a relative.

1099) For a seal, cf. Zacos and Veglery, no.3079. For the strategos of the Armeniakon province, see Theoph., 451,¹⁴.

1100) For Gregory Mousoulakios, ὁ τῶν Ὀψικιάνων, see Theoph., 451,¹⁶. For his seals, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 1961, 1962, 1963, 3113A. For the Gregory in the plot of 802, see Theoph., 476,¹⁰. Note also Seibt, Bleisiegel, no.158 and comments; Speck, Konstantin VI, 92, note 342a.

1101) See the references in Lilié, Reaktion, 174 and notes. Possibly this Niketas is the same as the kouboukleisios and strateptes of the same name and period. See chapt. three, note 553 above.

1102) For seals, see Zacos and Veglery, nos. 2315(a) and (b), dated c.700-750. For the council, see Mansi, xii, 999B. If these seals belonged to the Petronas of the council, then they must be re-dated to the second half of the eighth century. See also Speck, Konstantin VI, 585, note 525a and references, who suggests that the seals 3165 and 2574A may belong to the same Petronas.

1103) See Theoph., 470,^{29-30.}

1104) Cf. Theoph., 473,^{29.} Four seals dated to the eighth century have been published for other counts whom I have been unable to identify. See Zacos and Veglery, nos. 403, of Kosmas, patrikios and komes of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion; 2039, of John patrikios and komes of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion; 2603, of an anon., patrikios and komes of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion; and Schlumberger, Sig., 249, a seal of Thomas, patrikios and komes of the God-guarded imperial Opsikion. The epithet Theophylaktos appears to denote not merely a general quality applied to imperial institutions, but also a specific relationship with the emperor and the capital. Thus the Opsikion is referred to by this title throughout the later seventh and eighth centuries, until shortly after the reforms of Constantine V, and in contrast, with occasional exceptions, to other military units. From Eirene's reign, it is often the vigla which bears this epithet. Compare the titles of officers commanding these units, above; and the seals in chaps. three and four of the Opsikion and vigla in general. Thus it may be possible to use this epithet in dating certain seals, given that the title reflects also a function, or relationship to the imperial establishment.

Supplementary notes

(i) skoulka and skoulkatameion (see note 341)

W.E.Kaegi argues in Two Studies, 90ff., and in 'Late Roman Continuity in the Financing of Heraclius' Army', in: Akten des XVI. Int. Byzantinistenkongresses II, 2 (= JÖB 32/2[1982]) 53-61, that the term to skoulkaton is an equivalent for 'watch', that is, for the excubitores. This identification poses some problems, however. Certainly, scribones were at times responsible for recruitment drives - see the references in chapt. one, part six above, and Kaegi's notes. On the other hand, no other source equates skoulkaton, skoulkatores or skoulka with the excubitors. This interpretation of the passage in the Parastaseis is a possibility; but it is clear from the numerous references in the Strategikon of Maurice, for example, that the term is a generic word for 'scouts', 'light troops', 'outriders' and so on (Strat., vii, 13a.1-2, for example). As Kaegi notes, E.Gamillscheg (Romania Germanica [Berlin/Leipzig 1934] i, 392) pointed to the Germanic (Gothic) roots of the term long ago, from skulka (cf. Eng. skulk), to spy out/upon. But this is not the same as excubia, excubitor etc. The soldiers τῆς σκούλκας referred to in Heraclius' letter of 627/8 had intercepted two messengers from the Persians, and this reinforces the view that they were merely soldiers of the scouts or regular out-guards or sentries around the emperor's camp: it is unlikely that the excubitors, who numbered only three hundred and were present as a personal bodyguard, participated in such duties.

The passage in the Parastaseis, however, does make it clear that the skoulkatameion was a fisc or pay-chest, and here I would opt for the second proposal (note 341 above), that it was specifically for the payment and recruitment of light troops, skoulkatores. The Greek itself suggests this - the bronze ox was melted down εἰς σκουλκαταμεῖον - not 'in the treasury of the

'watch', but 'in(to) a treasury/pay-chest for the 'skoulka', which was at the time in the Pontus. Every military corps required a pay-chest, of course, and this seems to be a reference to one such hastily-raised supply of cash for a particular corps. Soldiers were paid in principle, like other state servants, in gold; but there are examples which illustrate payments in bronze under certain conditions - the bronze dekanummia excavated at Athens for the period 713/5 to 718, generally connected with the local garrison, for example. See Hendy, Admin. Basis, 152; and idem, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c.300-1453 (Cambridge, forthcoming), conclusion.

These points are hardly conclusive, of course. The main objection to the identity of skoulkaton with excubia has been set out above; but the Parastaseis may well be employing the term in an idiosyncratic way - the text was, after all, compiled at a time when the excubitors had ceased to have any active military role (see J. Herrin, 'The Date and Purpose of the "Curt Historical Notes" (Parastaseis Syntomai Chronikai)', Abstracts of the Sixth Byzantine Studies Conference (1980)44f.); and the term may represent a later compiler's attempt to find a more meaningful contemporary term; although vigla was the usual word used to describe such soldiers. Further debate and comparison with other texts may prove Kaegi correct.

ii) the optimatoi and the numbers of the tagmata

In a recently published monograph, (W.T.Treadgold, The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries [East European Monographs cxxi, Byz. Ser. II, New York 1982]), it has been argued that there were a relatively large number of tagmatic soldiers - including the optimatoi - from the later eighth and ninth centuries: from 18,000 to 24,000. While the argument and the statistics are based for the most part on principles which seem to me both historiographically and methodologically questionable, a few points may be worth noting.

To begin with, the optimatoi were not a tagma in the technical sense: the fact that Arab writers appear to have counted them among the Constantinopolitan units arises from the use of material of the period before Constantine V's reform (as I have suggested in *Byz* 48(1978)78ff.); or, if this argument is not acceptable, from the fact that they served both the tagmata proper and the officials in charge of the imperial baggage-train during expeditions. See the discussion in chapters three and five above. There is no evidence from Greek sources which equates them unequivocally with the tagmata - whatever the organisational similarities may be. Constantine VII explicitly states that they are organised in this way, and not like a theme, because their function is to serve the tagmata (*De Them.*, v,1-12). Theophanes clearly distinguishes between tagmata, optimatoi and themata, in a passage which I have argued reveals already this role of the optimatoi in 773 (*Theoph.*, 447, 19-21). Their 'tagma-like' organisation is a reflection of the function they were formed to carry out; and note that the bureau of their domestic resembles most closely, in terms of nomenclature, those of the vigla and the hikanatoi. It will be recalled that the vigla was a provincial unit originally, that the hikanatoi were modelled on this 'normative' pattern, and not the anomalous pattern of the schools and excubitors. The

optimatoi were themselves a provincial division, and their reorganised structure retains the ranks and nomenclature of such units: komites and kentarchai, for example; the military infrastructure seems to have fallen away, however, and there are no ducenarii (ducenatores/doukinatores) or standard-bearers (see Klet.Phil., 119, ²¹⁻²⁷), whereas the vestiges of older civil administration are still to be seen in the protokagellarios, for example (Klet.Phil., 119, ²⁷; and cf. ibid, 159, ²⁵). In this connection, it should be noted that the titles of officers in units such as the vigla/arithmos are not (as supposed by Treadgold, op. cit., 138 and note 314) 'unique Latin names'. They are the normal titles of the officers in question in the provincial forces, titles which there is no reason to doubt had been in use without interruption since the later sixth century and in some cases earlier. Likewise the title of the Watch, vigla, was also current throughout the period. See chapters one, part one; and four, part two.

The second point concerns numbers. The only specific figure for the total number of optimatoi is given by Arabic sources - all agree on the figure of 4,000 (see ibn al-Fakīh, 74; Kudāma, 198; although Kudāma includes the optimatoi twice, once in the list of themes, once in the list of Constantinopolitan units: ibid, 197). Now, according to the arguments expressed in The Byzantine State Finances, 16f., 24ff., 72 etc., there had been, since Constantine V's reforms, some 18,000 tagmatic soldiers, in about 773, increased to some 24,000 by 842. This is based on a set of arguments already discussed in chapter five above; plus one or two emendations (such as the assumed addition to the originally 2,000 strong optimatoi under Theophilus of 2,000 'Khurramites' - Treadgold, op. cit., 70-72, 75).

Apart from the obvious arguments against these inflated totals, some additional points are worth mentioning here. In the first place, there were clearly supposed to be enough optimatoi to serve those units of the tagmata called out on campaign. This

is apparent from Constantine VII's remarks (and it is also implicit in the remarks of ibn al-Faqih, 74). Note again Theoph., 447,¹⁹⁻²¹, where the text indicates the supporting role of the optimatoi regarding the tagmata. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that most, if not all, of the tagmata went out on campaign with the emperor, leaving the regiment of the walls and the noumera to guard the palace. This is suggested both by the fact that textual references to the tagmata generally appear to refer to all the tagmata; and by De Cer., 494,¹⁵⁻²¹ for example, where the commanders of each of the four tagmata are to ensure that their units are properly equipped for a campaign. But if there are only 4,000 optimatoi, how can they possibly serve the total of tagmatic soldiers proposed in these figures? Even if only two or three out of four units are involved, 4,000 men can hardly serve 8,000-17,000 on the basis described by Constantine.

Likewise, all the optimatoi were to await the emperor, at the beginning of an expedition, at Pylai; and there was to be one optimatos for each mule or pack-animal in the imperial baggage-train (De Cer., 474,¹⁵⁻¹⁷; 475,²¹-476,¹). The total of pack-animals is about seven hundred (see De Cer., 485,²²⁻⁴⁶¹,¹⁹ - the totals of the figures given in the text are not quite accurate!). If we accept the figure of 4,000 men for the optimatoi from the Arab geographers, we are left with some 3,300 optimatoi. These are certainly enough to serve the estimated number of tagmatic soldiers active in the mid-tenth century (see chapt. five); they are certainly not adequate to serve 16,000 men or more. And unless we are to assume a reduction of some 75% in the numbers of the four tagmata after 899 (where there were supposedly still some 16,000 tagmatic soldiers, excluding the noumera, walls and optimatoi) for which there is no evidence whatsoever, this must surely lead us to question very seriously the garbled figures of Kudāma (contradicted directly by the Anonymous Vári, see chapt. five)

and the conclusions based upon them. Alternatively, we could assume that only about 25% of each tagma was intended or understood by Constantine VII to be regularly called out (or a combination of units amounting to 4,000) and force these conflicting pieces of information to agree. But there is plenty of evidence to suggest that this was not the case. Of course, the situation may well have changed over the period from the later eighth to the mid-tenth century. But it is clear from the Taktikon Uspenskij, the Kleterologion of Philotheos and the Taktikon Beneševic that the optimatoi had the same status throughout the period in question; and from the reference of Theophanes to Constantine V's expedition of 773 that they were by then a support-corps for the tagmata, already occupying the position evident in the Taktika and the De Thematibus. I see no reason to doubt that Constantine VII's remarks (supported by the ninth-century material of De Cer., 474, 475-6 referred to above) reflected the situation and function of the optimatoi since the time of Constantine V.

If we accept the Arab geographers' figures for the optimatoi, therefore, it would seem that we have good grounds for rejecting Kudāma's figure of 16,000 for the four tagmata.

One final point. Ibn Khurradadhbih refers twice to the garrison of the City, which he also refers to as the garrison of the palace (two groups, of 4,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry respectively), and, once to the fact that the 'camp of the King', whether in his residence or on an expedition, is made up of four 'standards' or 'corps', each allotted to a patrikios (cf. Ibn Khurradadhbih, 76, 81; 81-2). I have suggested before (Byz 48[1978]80, 89 note 31) that the latter reference is most probably to thematic expeditionary forces. But it has been argued (Treadgold, op. cit., 17; Numbers and Organisation, 270ff.) that 'this seems to be a mistake for six units of four thousand soldiers each, influenced by the fact that the number of cavalry units really was four'. Winkelmann, Probleme, 29, has

already pointed to the textual difficulties and methodological problems which such an emendation brings with it. But there is another problem. Neither the noumera nor the walls regiment campaigned. They were firmly based in Constantinople - see chapter four above, part four. To emend the text in this way, therefore, is immediately to question the accuracy of ibn Khurradadhbih's information in a different respect.

For what it is worth, there is some support for the suggestion that this 'camp of the King' does refer to a thematic expeditionary army. Ibn Khurradadhbih uses the word band to describe these divisions (81-2), and notes that they are commanded by four patrikioi. Even assuming that the domestic of the hikanatoi was a patrikios at the time ibn Khurradadhbih wrote (he was not normally in 842-3 when the Taktikon Uspenskij was drawn up - cf. T.Usp., 53, ²; but see Appendix [D]), this was the usual Arabic term for strategos or thematic commander (see, for example, Kudāma, 196). Mas ^Cūdī, 239, remarks: les provinces (sc. of the Romans) s'appellent bend dans cet empire... Obviously, the Greek word bandon is meant, referring to both standards and sub-units of themes. The Muslim writers appear to have taken the term as applying also to the themata (it seems unlikely that Mas ^Cūdī is referring to the hundreds of small territorial banda within the themes of the empire). Ibn Khurradadhbih's four band may likewise be themata. But what is meant by the comment on the emperor's camp and its whereabouts is difficult to say. And the point is, surely, that there is no way we can force these texts to agree perfectly with each other or to match all the Byzantine material. Equally, we have no right simply to re-write them to suit our predilections. In many respects, the texts have suffered from a degree of 'over-interpretation' which only the careful and rigorous analysis of the sort exemplified by Winkelmann, Probleme, can hope to avoid.

Transcriptions and transliterations

In general, titles and offices are transliterated according to the form in which they appear in the source from which they are taken. Hence candidatus may appear on the same page as kandidatos; although Latin forms are preferred in general discussion. Greek terms are transcribed literally, thus καγκελλάριος = kagkellarios.

Names for which there is a common English equivalent are usually transcribed accordingly, thus Leo, Constantine rather than Leon, Konstantinos etc. Names for which there is no usual English form are transliterated phonetically, e.g. Ἀπτάβασδος = Artavasdos.

For cosmetic reasons, marks for Greek long vowels η and ω have been omitted, e.g. Eirene, not Eirēnē etc.

General Index

This index lists technical terms, titles, proper- and place-names. Other themes can be traced through the table of contents (pp. 5-7 above). Since the majority of the technical terms and titles have both Latin and Greek forms, the former have generally, but not exclusively, been preferred. Entries refer to both singular and plural, Greek and Latin references. Thus excubitores, for example, will indicate also excubitor, exkoubidores and exkoubiton.

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