CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS
THREE TREATISES ON
IMPERIAL MILITARY EXPEDITIONS

INTRODUCTION, EDITION, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

JOHN F. HALDON

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CONSTANTINI PORPHYROGENITI TRES TRACTATUS DE EXPEDITIONIBUS MILITARIBUS IMPERATORIS

INTRODUCTIO ISTRUXIT, EDIDIT, ANGLICE VERTIT ET ADNOTAVIT

IOHANNES F. HALDON

SERIES VINDOBONENSIS

EDIDIT

HERIBERTUS HUNGER

APUD ACADEMIAM SCIENTIARUM AUSTRIACAM VINDOBONAE MCMXCI
VORWORT DES HERAUSGEBERS


Wien, März 1989

Herbert Hunger
Trinitatis (125) 133; and most particularly Professors Herbert Hunger and Otto Kresten, without whose co-operation, support and valuable advice the present edition would not have been possible. Finally, thanks are due to Professor Hunger and the members of the international Kommission für die Herausgabe des CFHB, for kindly accepting this contribution to the series.

Birmingham, May 1987

John F. Haldon
COLLECTIONS AND PERIODICALS CITED
IN ABBREVIATION

BSl  Byzantinoslavica. Prague 1929ff.
CFHB  Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CSHB  Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
EEBΣ  Ἐπετηρις Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινών Συνδών. Athens 1924ff.
EHR  English Historical Review. London 1885ff.
GRBS  Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies (1: Greek and Byzantine Studies). [San Antonio] [Univ./Miss.–Cambridge, Mass.] Durham 1958ff.
RB  Reallexikon der Byzantinistik, ed. P. WIRTH. Amsterdam 1968ff.
RE  Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, neue Bearbeitung, ed. G. WISSOWA. Stuttgart 1893ff.: I/1 (1893)—XXIII/2 (1959; with index of addns.); XXIV (1963); I/A1 (1914)—X A (1972); Suppl. I (1903)—XIV (1974)
SbB  Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse
SBN  Studi Bizantini (1—2) e Neoellenici (3—10). Roma 1925ff. (cont. as Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici)
SbWien  Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse


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H. AHRWEILER, Charisticariat et autres formes d'attributions de fondations pieuses aux Xe — XIe siècles. ZRVI 10 (1967) 1—27.

AHRWEILER, Mer

AHRWEILER, Recherches

AHRWEILER, Un discours

Akropolitēs

Alexiad

ANDRÉ, L'Alimentation

ANDRIOTĖS

Anon. Vāri

ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, Douanes

ATTALEIATĒS, Diataxis

BANDINI, Catalogus
A. M. BANDINI, Epistola de celeberrimo codice Tacticorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae. Florence 1761 (= IDEM, Catalogus codicum manu-
scriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae-Laurentianae II. Florence 1768, 218—238.

BECK, Kirche

BECK, Senat und Volk

BECK, Volksliteratur

BERGER, Das Bad

BOAK, The Master

BÖHLIG, Sprachgebrauch

BROWNING, Medieval and Modern Greek

BURY, Administrative System

BURY, Ceremonial Book

BURY, ERE
J. B. BURY, A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (802—867). London 1912.

CAMERON, Circus Factions

Cass., Variae
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Cedrenus

CEHE II

CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, Steimmata

CLAUSON

CLAUSS, Magister

CMH IV/1—2

CONSTANTELOS, Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare

COWAN

CTh.
Codex Theodosianus, edd. Th. MOMMSEN, P. MEYER et al. Berlin 1905.

DAGRON, Modèle islamique

DAGRON, Naissance

DAGRON, Phocas
see De Vel. Bell.

DAI

DAIN, Énée le tacticien

DAIN, Stratégiestes
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S. Eustratiades, Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινοπόλει μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος. Ἑλληνικά 1 (1928) 245—314.

Gautier, Typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis  

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GRABAR, L’empereur


GRIERSON, DOC


GRIERSON, Tombs and Obits

Ph. GRIERSON, The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors. DOP 16 (1962) 1—63.

GROSSE, Militärgeschichte


GRUMEL, Regestes


GUILLAND, Candidat


GUILLAND, Institutions


GUILLAND, Logothètes


GUILLAND, Patrizes du VIe siècle


GUILLAND, REG 58 (1945)

R. GUILLAND, Sur quelques termes du Livre des Cérémonies de Constantin Porphyrogénète. REG 58 (1945) 196—211.

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Haldon, Milit. Technology  
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Hemmerdinger, Noms communs grecs  

Hendy, Administrative Basis  

Hendy, Coinage and Money  

Hendy, Studies  

Hild, Straßensystem  

Honigmann, Ostgrenze  

Hunger, Herrscherbild  

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HUXLEY, List

G. HUXLEY, A List of ἔπισκοπα. GRBS 16 (1975) 87—93.

Isid. Seville, Etym.


JANIN, CPByz.


JANIN, Églises et monastères


JANIN, Grands centres


JANNARIS, Greek Grammar


JENKINS, Chronological Accuracy


JENKINS–MORAVCSIK

See DAI.

JONES, LRE


JGR


Just., Nov.


KAHANE, Abendland und Byzanz


KAHANE, Western Impact

KAPLAN, Monastères


KARLIN-HAYTER, L’hétériaire


Kekaumenos


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Laiou, Peasant Society

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LEMERLE, Charisticaires

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Leo, Tact.
Leonis imperatoris Tactica. PG 107, 672—1120; ed. R. VÁRI, Leonis imperatoris Tactica I (proem., I—XI); II (XII—XIII, XIV 1—38) (Sylloge Tacticorum Graecorum III). Budapest 1917—1922.

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Ostrogorsky, Steuergemeinde


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Pantokrator Typikon


Papadopoulos, ILPD


Pertusi, De Them.

See De Them.

Pharmacides


Photios, Ep.


Photios, Homilies


Preisigke


Proc., De Aedif.


Prod.


Psaltes, Grammatik


Psellos, Scripta Minora


Ps.-Cod. (Verpeaux)

Ramsay

Reiske, Comm.
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Rhetorica militaris

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Sathas, MB

Scarborough, Roman Medicine

Schilbach, Metrologie

Schlumberger, Sig.

Scriptor incertus

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Serjeant, Islamic Textiles

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Theophyl. Sim.


Theotokos Kecharitomene

Typikon


TIB II


Toynbee, Const. Porph.


Treatinger, Reichsidee


Triantaphyllides,
Lehnwörter


Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos


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V. Andreae Sali

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Vári, Exzerptenwerk

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WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur

ZACOS–VEGLERY

ZILLIACUS, Lehnwort


H. ZILLIACUS, Das lateinische Lehnwort in der griechischen Hagiographie. BZ 37 (1937) 302—344.
I. INTRODUCTION
A. THE NATURE OF THE TEXTS

The three texts which J. B. Bury referred to under the title Περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων, and which were published by J. J. Reiske as an Appendix to Book I of his edition of the De caerimoniis of Constantine VII, have long been recognised as constituting the elements of a treatise or treatises separate from the main body of material in Books I and II of this tenth-century compilation\(^1\). As is also well-known, the three texts actually preface the main body of the De caerimoniis in the Leipzig codex, Lipsiensis Rep. I 17 (saec. X)\(^2\), occupying fols. 1ª—21ª. Reiske’s reasons for incorporating them as an appendix to Book I are unclear: they clearly did not fit in with the main body of Book I and formed an unsuitable preface; but they might have been far better suited as an appendix to Book II, which is much more heterogeneous and contains a variety of documents which bear even less relevance to a treatise on court ceremonial than those with which we are here concerned\(^3\).

The three sections are as follows: ‘Ὑπόθεσις τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξει- δίων καὶ ὑπόμνησις τῶν ἀπλήκτων (Lips. fol. 1ª, lines 1—17; Bonn edn. 444, 1—445, 11), which consists of a short list of thematic aplēkta, or marching camps; followed by a garbled list of illustrations drawn from actual examples, hereafter (A); "Οσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν βασιλέως μέλλοντος ταξειδεύειν (Lips. fol. 1ª—4ª; Bonn edn. 445, 12—454, 14), a brief treatise on the preparations for and organisation of an imperial expedition, hereafter (B); and "Οσα δεῖ γίνεσθαι τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ υψηλού βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων μέλλοντος φοσσατεύσαι (Lips. fol. 4ª—21ª; Bonn edn. 455, 1—508, 5), a longer and much more heterogeneous treatise on the same subject as (B), hereafter (C).

\(^1\) See Bury, Ceremonial Book 438—439; and Vogt, Cér. Comm. I, pp. XVIII—XIX.


\(^3\) See Bury’s summary of the composition and contents of Book II, Ceremonial Book 223—227; and Reiske’s own comments in the preface to Book I, pp. XXV—XXVI.
B. THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITION

The only edition hitherto is that produced by Leich and Reiske and published as the Appendix to Book I of the De caerimoniiis in 1751—1754. Since that time, a part of (B) has been noted in cod. Mediceo-Laur. Plut. 55, 4 (saec. X), fols. 1r/2r, corresponding to pp. 449—454 in the Bonn edition (see below). The other manuscripts from which the De caerimoniiis is known, cod. Chalc. S. Trinitatis (125) 133 and cod. Vatoped. 1003 contain, as far as can be ascertained, no fragments from any of (A), (B) or (C). Thus the Lipsiensis and the Laurentianus are the only witnesses to (B), although four pages (two folios) of the Laurentianus are missing at the very beginning (not an unusual feature of this codex, of which the opening folios of several works have been removed), which will have contained the first part of (B) (see below). Otherwise the Lipsiensis remains the unique witness to (A), most of (B) and all of (C).

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6 Prof. O. Kresten informs me that the palimpsest folios from the Vatopedi and the Chalki manuscripts make up a single codex of the De caerimoniiis, including the Klétorologion of Philotheos. The condition of both palimpsests makes a reading of the text contained in them extremely difficult, however, as noted by MANGO—ŠEVČENKO, art. cit., and OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 72—73. The Vatopedi manuscript was discovered by Prof. Wolfgang Waldstein (Universität Salzburg, Institut für Römisches Recht), but it is to Prof. Kresten that its identity as part of a single codex with cod. Chalc. S. Trinitatis (125) 133, containing a second copy of the De caerimoniiis, is due.

Cod. Lipsiensis Rep. I 17 (Bibl. Urb. 28) = L

Written on good quality parchment, with 32 lines to a page, and large format: 32.5 × 23.5 cm. On quaternions, with a few exceptions, and by a single hand. The text was produced in an imperial scriptorium, and in its final form before the end of the reign of Nicephorus II (969), and after 963. On codicological and palaeographical grounds Irigoin has placed the codex at this time also⁸ and pointed out that in its construction, format and the arrangement and nature of its contents, it is closely related to four other manuscripts of the same period, almost certainly produced in an imperial scriptorium: cod. Turon. 980 and cod. Vat. gr. 73 (containing the Excerpta Constantiniana); cod. Mediceo-Laur. Plut. 55, 4 (see below) and cod. Ambros. B 119 supp., dated to 959—963; both of the latter two

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⁸ See Reiske’s preface (extract from Fabricius, Bibliotheca Graeca), p. LXXIII; and M. Richard, Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues des manuscrits grecs. Paris ²1958, 131, no. 482; I am grateful to Dr. W. Brandes of the Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR for obtaining the exact measurements of the manuscript. See also J. IRIGOIN, Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins. Scriptorium 12 (1958) 208—227; 13 (1959) 177—209, see 178—179, whose dating, on the basis of a careful and convincing codicological analysis, is to be preferred. See also Bury, Ceremonial Book 211—212, 217—221 and summary on 227; also J. IRIGOIN, in: Annuaire de l’École pratique des Hautes Études, IVᵉ Section (1968/1969) 137ff.; but note also the comments of B. Hemmerdinge, Les réglures des manuscrits du scribe Ephrem. BZ 56 (1963) 24; and Lemerle, Premier humanisme 292—293; Hunger, Profane Lit. I 244. O. Kresten will shortly be publishing a study of the manuscript tradition of the De caerimoniiis, in which he shows that the Leipzig manuscript certainly, and the Vatopedi manuscript probably, were produced in an imperial scriptorium in the period 963—969 under the supervision and orders of the parakoimömênos Basil; although, until a more detailed codicological and palaeographical analysis of the Vatopedi manuscript has been carried out, a date for this codex of c. A. D. 1000 cannot be excluded. I am most grateful to Prof. Kresten for putting the results of his work at my disposal prior to their publication. Basil’s participation in a successful expedition in 958 and his subsequent triumph in Constantinople (see Markopoulos, Témoignage 107; W. G. Brokkaar, Basil Lacapenus. Byzantium in the tenth century, in: Studia Byzantina et Neoellenica Neerlandica, eds. W. F. Bakker—A. F. van Gemert—W. J. Aerts [Byzantina Neerlandica 3]. Leiden 1972, 199—234, see 214) may have stimulated his interest in the subject matter of these three texts and indeed encouraged him to incorporate them into the Leipzig manuscript.
contain strategical and tactical treatises of ancient and Byzantine authors\textsuperscript{9}. The five are clearly a product of the encyclopaedic collection of Constantine VII, although the Lipsiensis and the last two were produced at different times, the Laurentianus (M) being probably the earliest\textsuperscript{10}.

**Cod. Mediceo-Laurentianus Plut. 55, 4 = M**

Written on good-quality parchment, with 32 lines to a page, and large format: 32.5 × 26 cm. On quaternions, with some exceptions, and by a single hand. A number of folios are missing, a result possibly of the fact that they bore both titles and illustrations or illustrated headings to works, and were hence removed by a collector. Bandini listed three pages (fols. 1\textsuperscript{r}—2\textsuperscript{v}) containing text (B), equivalent to Bonn edn. 449, 3—the end; Müller reported the same; and he was followed by Vogt\textsuperscript{11}, Mango and Ševčenko\textsuperscript{12} and Dain\textsuperscript{13}. Fol. 2\textsuperscript{v} contains the “military oath”, *Iuramentum fidelitatis officiorum erga imperatorem*, written in a later hand, probably of the 15\textsuperscript{th} or 16\textsuperscript{th} century\textsuperscript{14}. This means that there must originally have been three pages preceding 1\textsuperscript{r}, in order to complete the missing first part of (B), as well as a fourth outer page bearing titles and headings. It is generally accepted that the codex was compiled in an imperial scriptorium around the middle of the tenth century; as

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\textsuperscript{9} Irigoin, art. cit. 178—179; C. M. Mazzucchi, Dagli anni di Basilio Parakimomenos (Cod. Ambr. B 119 Sup.). *Aevum* 52 (1978) 267—316; Dain, Stratégiestes 382, 385; idem, Histoire du texte d’Élien le tacticien. Paris 1946, 185; Dennis, Strategikon 19—22.


\textsuperscript{11} Vogt, Cér. I, p. VII and n. 1.

\textsuperscript{12} Mango–Ševčenko, art. cit. 247 and n. 3.

\textsuperscript{13} Dain, Stratégiestes 383 (and see 361).

\textsuperscript{14} See Chr. Baur, Initia patrum graecorum II (*Studi e Testi* 181). Vatican City 1955, 145 s. v. ὁμοιόμοι έγώ κτλ.
Irigoin has shown, it is closely related to other manuscripts of the same scriptorium; and as I will suggest below, it must have been compiled before the Lipsiensis (i.e. before 963) and was probably written before c. 955\textsuperscript{15}.

\textsuperscript{15} See Bandini, Catalogus 218—238, esp. 218—219, 235; and for a detailed discussion, Müller, Ein griechisches Fragment 106ff.; Dain, Élien le tacticien (cited n. 9 above) 183—186; idem, Énée le tacticien XXXI—XXXII; XL—XLII; idem, Les stratègistes byzantins 382—385; Irigoin, art. cit. 178—180; Dennis, Strategikon 19—20, for literature and description. Note also Hunger, Profane Lit. I 243, n. 3; II 334. M never seems to have contained any of the De caerimoniis proper, however, only this section of (B) (pace Mango–Ševčenko, art. cit. 247 and n. 1), as will become clear from the analysis below.
C. THE RELATIONSHIP OF TEXT (B) TO TEXT (C)

Bury considered that (A) and (B) were originally intended to be part of the same text, (C), into which they had not been properly incorporated\textsuperscript{16}. As will be seen, this is not strictly correct. For while information from (A) appears nowhere in (C), the main text of (C) itself appears to be quite systematically based upon (B), both in terms of the sequence of details and in respect of the specific material employed. This correspondence can be summarised as follows (references are to line numbers of the present edition):

(B) 46—57 — The time and the objective of the expedition are determined by the emperor; the sakellarios, prōtovestiarīos, minsouratōr and domestikos tēs hypourgias are ordered to calculate the requirements for pack-animals; the figures are then passed on to the logothētēs of the herds and the komēs of the stable, who are responsible for providing the animals = (C) 54—135; with 136—311 listing in greater detail the equipment taken by the various departments of the imperial household or government.

(B) 80—91 — Julius Caesar used to observe these ordinances; and then send ahead his retinue, to meet him at the point where the tagmata awaited him. He then prayed in a variety of churches for the success of the expedition, distributed alms, and embarked, blessing the City with the sign of the cross three times from his ship = (C) 312—331.

(B) 107—115 — The order of march of the imperial column = (C) 474—496.

(B) 116—121 — Procedures for marching within Roman territory; the role of the drouggarios of the Vigla = (C) 420—500.

(B) 122—133 — Reception by the themata of the emperor at the various aplēkta (see also [B] 92—100) = (C) 443—473.

(B) 128—133 — Personnel and baggage not necessary to expedition to be left behind in safe (Roman) territory = (C) 512—523.

\textsuperscript{16} Bury, art. cit. 439.
(B) 135—150 — Order and organisation of vanguard, flankguards, rearguard and role of themata = (C) 561—569.

As can be seen, while the order of (C) does not always follow that of (B) absolutely, it is generally extremely close, only obscured by the considerable amount of detail into which (C) goes, as well as a series of repetitions: for example, the lists of equipment to be carried by the eidikos and sakellarios (at both [C] 266—274 and 302—308). Thus (B) clearly provides the basic agenda for (C). From 607, however, (C) adds material not referred to in (B), prefaced, significantly, by a short address to the emperor’s son, Romanos. This material includes the list of beacons used to warn of impending attacks, followed by the story of Michael III’s ordering them to be shut down. From 54 to 606, (C) is therefore a greatly extended version of the greater part of (B); while the two addresses to Romanos at (C) 8—53 and 607—617 have been added by Constantine VII himself, and serve as parentheses to distinguish this section from other elements, incorporated from sources other than (B), into (C). These elements will be discussed at greater length below (see section E).

Not everything in (B) appears in an extended form in (C), however. All the details listed at (B) 3—33 and in particular those at 58—79, on the duties of the ek prosopou of the emperor, are omitted. Did the original editor intend to include these details too? Or did he decide merely to incorporate (B) in his final treatise as a sort of detailed preface, leaving such details in the text? In view of the way in which (C) duplicates and extends much of (B), the second suggestion seems most unlikely. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the first, major section of text (C), prefaced and followed by Constantine’s own words to his son Romanos, is an enlarged and expanded version of (B), omitting a few elements of the latter. Since Constantine is quite emphatic in stating that he had no other treatise on expeditions at his disposal except that of Leo Katakylas, the conclusion that (B) represents this treatise of Katakylas, discovered by the emperor himself in the monastery of Sigríanē, becomes unavoidable.\(^17\) That Constantine emphasises the

\(^{17}\) The idea is itself not new: see Cameron, Circus Factions 112 and n. 3. Neither Dain, Stratègistes 361, nor Lemerle, Premier humanisme 273, n. 27, regarded (B) as the work of Constantine himself; but neither do they seem to
fact that he greatly extended this treatise, which was not even equal to a third of that which he himself prepared, and that he clearly based his own compilation on that of Leo, would add support to this hypothesis. For what it is worth, the main section of (C), shorn of Constantine’s preface and the additions of 607—884 numbers some 21 pages (fols. 5v—15v) as opposed to 7 pages (1r—4r) for (B). There are other signs, however, that (B) is a separate work from (C), and compiled by a different author. In the first place, the references to Constantine the Great and to Julius Caesar in (B) at 3 and 80—81 are quite explicitly contradicted in (C), at 47—50, where Constantine VII insists that by “older” emperors he does not mean Constantine I or indeed Constantius or Julian or Theodosius, but rather the Isaurian rulers (46—47). Surely if he had edited the text of (B) or had it prepared for incorporation, he would have excised these references or emended the text in some other way in the process?

In the second place, the reference to Julius Caesar, if not that to Constantine I, does seem to hint at a certain lack of learning or knowledge about earlier affairs, at least in Constantine’s eyes; it may in fact be a deliberate disguise for the names of Isaurian emperors — Leo III, Constantine V, Leo IV or Constantine VI — of course, demanded by the piety of Katakylas or the original compiler as emphasised by Constantine ([C] 31—33, 34—35); in which case, of course, Leo (or the anonymous compiler) must himself have had written sources at his disposal. It certainly excludes the possibility of Constantine himself being the author, since he is clearly not averse to admitting the role played by these impious rulers (see above). At any rate, deliberate artifice on Leo’s part, or the result of straightforward ignorance, Constantine VII took it as evidence of the latter, and made clear his own more “historical” approach at (C) 35—53. Constantine’s comment, and the evidence of (B) represents a version of the original text discovered by Constantine, and upon which he eventually based his own compilation, (C).

Thirdly, (B) demonstrates none of the typical stylistic elements of Constantine’s work as an editor: in particular, the introductory or parenthetic ἱστέου ὅτι (or ἕρµη εἰδήνατι) used to link disparate items have considered the possibility that it might represent the treatise of Leo Katakylas.
or to introduce or emphasise details in an otherwise continuous narrative\textsuperscript{18}. Such editorial interventions occur throughout (C), and the abbreviated δια through (A): see, for example, (C) 155, 164, 183, 202, 230, 237, 246, 255, 259, 300, 312, 421, 501, 512, 591, 618, 631, 639, 647, 793, 880 and the marginal scholia at 740, 750, 778. But they occur not once in (B). Only the heading may be Constantine’s — and this would be typical of his editorial hand. I will return to this below. There are other, more general differences in style: (B) is altogether less carefully constructed than (C), and has more the form of a rapid précis of the general procedures involved; whereas (C) is both more repetitive and clearly draws on a mass of detailed material intended to provide a much more accurate and analytic description of the workings of the whole process, typical of Constantine’s own style. (C) also contains information that would not be available to anyone working outside the palace bureaux and archives. Finally, the stylistic differences between the two versions of (B) in L and M, which will be discussed below, again suggest that (B) existed as a separate treatise.

In all these respects, (B) bears many similarities, in its unedited and unamended nature, to similarly unedited sections within the *De caerimoniiis*\textsuperscript{19} and the *De administrando imperio*\textsuperscript{20}. As is now generally accepted, considerable sections of both these treatises contain material and documents which had no place in the compiler’s original plans, but which were incorporated or added by a later redactor because they formed part of a dossier which included both the main body of material for incorporation, together with much of the annotated or unannotated source materials on which this was based. Indeed, the fact that (B) was still incorporated into the Lipsiensis, even though it duplicates (albeit in a more concise form)

\textsuperscript{18} See Bury, Ceremonial Book 223 and n. 4, 428; DAI Comm. 2.

\textsuperscript{19} Bury, Ceremonial Book 223ff., notably those sections classified by Bury on 227 under the heading (C), i.e. additions to the text not written or edited by Constantine VII. It is important to note, however, that the internal disposition of these sections owes more to the desires and organisational intentions of Basil the *parakoimomenos*, under whose direction the Lipsiensis was prepared. O. Kresten will demonstrate this at greater length in the forthcoming study referred to in note 8 above.

\textsuperscript{20} J. B. Bury, The treatise De administrando imperio. *BZ* 15 (1906) 517—577; see DAI Comm. 1—2.
much of the main section of (C), while Constantine omitted from (C) those elements of (B) which were not relevant to the actual organisation of the imperial expeditionary forces as such, is particularly significant: it reinforces the impression that (B) was not written by Constantine himself, and that it constitutes a separate treatise incorporated by the redactor into L. There is no reason to doubt that (B) was incorporated, along with (A) (see below, chapter F) because it happened to be filed along with (C) and the remaining material for the De caerimoniiis.
D. THE STRUCTURE AND THE DATE OF TEXT (B)
AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF L TO M

(B) falls into two sections: from 3—79, dealing with the emperor’s researches in advance of an expedition, the preparations for the security of Constantinople and so on; and from 80—150, the end, dealing with procedures during the expedition itself, including some details of the emperor’s departure from the City. In the first section, Constantine I is taken to be the emperor in question; in the second, Julius Caesar.

It is difficult to know whether we have the full text of this treatise. The heading: "Ὄσα δὲὶ παραφυλάττειν βασιλέως μέλλοντος ταξι- δεύειν is an accurate enough description of the first section; the second section can certainly be subsumed under it, but it may well be that the two sections, which deal with two different aspects of imperial expeditions, were themselves drawn from at least one, and possibly several, written sources at the editor’s or author’s disposal, and that the connecting headings and passages have been omitted. The basis for this suggestion lies both in the use of the names Julius Caesar and Constantine the Great (it seems unlikely that a late ninth-century general really believed that the procedures for imperial expeditions had actually been employed by either of these two); and in Constantine’s assertion in (C) that the same τάξις καὶ ἀκολουθία had been followed from the time of the Isaurians and was still in force under Basil I\textsuperscript{21}. How did Constantine know that the treatise he discovered at Sigrianē, upon which (C) is based, and which is represented here by (B), was compiled by Leo Katakylas, the magi-stros, and that this procedure was as old as the Isaurians? Presumably, Leo’s treatise had a heading in which his name and titles appeared; there must also have been some reference, likewise omitted from the version represented in L, to the fact that Leo was

\textsuperscript{21} The phrase is typical of Constantine: see De Cer. 5, 14; 569, 18; and see text (C) 418—419.
writing at the behest of the emperor Leo VI\textsuperscript{22}. Unless we are to assume that the treatise never had an introductory heading or title, but that it was nevertheless remembered as Leo Katakylas' work by the monks/librarians at Sigrianē — possibly for as long as thirty or forty years\textsuperscript{23} —, this seems a reasonable assumption. An introductory section may itself have contained a reference to the Isaurians, although such information may well have been orally transmitted, as Constantine implies, (C) 20—21: \textit{ταύτην γὰρ (the expeditionary procedure of their forbears) πάλαι φημιζομένην καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρὰ πολλῶν φυλλουμένην μή καὶ ἐγγράφως ἔχειν, οὒ δίκαιον οὐδὲ καλὸν ἡγησάμεθα.} At any rate, elements of (B), identifying it as the treatise of Leo Katakylas, are missing. Since, as I have argued, the text itself has not been edited in any significant respect by Constantine, the fact that it occurs independently in M suggests that it was available as a separate treatise in the forms witnessed by the Lipsiensis and the Laurentianus, and with the heading (in L at least) supplied either by Constantine or on his instructions, ὅσα δὲι παραφυλάττειν. In other words, Constantine used a version of Leo Katakylas' treatise as the basis for much of his text (C); while a later redactor, in an effort to iron out any inconsistencies with regard to authorship, had this same version copied out into the Lipsiensis.

The sources for (B) cannot be identified with any certainty. But there are certain similarities with Leo's Tactica, notably the remarks on keeping up the spirit of the population of Constantinople by employing strategems such as reading out false bulletins from the emperor or army (see [B] 77—79 and cf. Leo, Tact. XX 14; 16—19; 79) and on the deployment of vanguard, flank-guards and rearguard (see [B] 134—139 and cf. Leo, Tact. IV 25—28; IX 37; 38; 60; 61 etc.). But whether Leo's treatise, or a common source was

\textsuperscript{22} There may also have been some explicit reference to his piety, for according to Constantine ([C] 34—35) the work was imbued with Leo's godliness. But this seems to have been embodied in the general content of the text itself, since Constantine is careful to stress that Leo's piety, and that in his treatise, was demonstrated in his godly life — see (C) 31—32. The lack of such overt expression in the text is therefore not a sign that it has been re-written in any drastic way, an assumption which \textit{Lembrle}, Premier humanisme 274, seems to make.

\textsuperscript{23} The greater part of Constantine's literary activity seems to have been during the 940s and 950s; but his collecting and editing work began much earlier, during the 920s and before he became sole ruler (from 944). See DAI Comm. 5ff.
used by both, is difficult to say — interest in and knowledge of much older tactica and strategika certainly increased during Leo's reign, and the remarks on maintaining morale through various deceptions occur already in a sixth-century treatise: cf. Rhetorica militaris XIX—XXII, for example. Note also the comments at 146—147 regarding the heavy duties of the (flank)guards (or rearguards in the version L) paralleled exactly, but in extenso, at Anon. Vári 52, 4sq. (Dennis 31, 5sq.), but not found in Leo, Tact., and again suggesting a common and well-known source. Finally, note the remarkable similarity between (B)'s opening account of how to plan an expedition and keep it secret, and the hitherto unpublished chapter of the treatise of Nicephorus Uranus relevant to a similar subject (de Foucault 63, 1, and cf. our text 3—33, esp. 22—25). Nicephorus Uranus used both the Praecepta of Nicephorus II (sources uncertain) and the so-called Corpus perditum; and this latter may also have been employed by Leo Katakylas.24

As we have seen, part of (B) appears also in M.25 Three points immediately deserve our attention: first, that in both L and in M (B) occupies the first folios; second, that in both cases the text of (B) ends with a clear indication of the completion of a section: in the case of L leaving a half-page blank (on which, under the last line, there is a decorative line drawn, beneath which the word τέλος has been added — both these features seem to be later additions); in the case of M with a decorative inverted pyramid constructed out of the last words of the text, thus:

χαρακτωθέντες καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
ἀσφάλειαν ποιήσαντες δίκα
τοὺς νυκτοπολέμους,
ἀνεπαύστο

Third, both versions are followed by a half-page (L, as already noted) or a full-page (M) blank.26 Dain concludes, I think quite

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24 See de Foucault's comments, with literature: Niceph. Uranus 281—283.
25 See Dain, Stratégistes 382ff., see 383; and 361. Dain refers to the two texts together as the Praecepta imperatoris.
26 Cf. Bandini, Catalogus 218—219; Müller, Ein griechisches Fragment 1—7; Dain, Stratégistes 383.
correctly, that in the case of M this signifies its function as a preharatory piece. I see no reason to assume otherwise for L.

* * *

The relationship between L and M seems fairly clear with regard to their chronology — M is older than L, if the conclusions of Kresten are correct, and if the date for M of c. 950 generally assumed is accepted. This is borne out by a number of interesting variations between the two versions of (B) in L and M. In the first place, there is some evidence of what appears to have been an attempt to alter the style of the version in L in a more atticising direction. This can be seen in the following comparison:

L

70 ἐκ τῶν ἀχρων θεμάτων
99 κοπιᾷ
110 μετὰ σελλαρίων
118—119 τοὺς τῶν ποταμῶν πόρους
130 τοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ ἄσθενεστέρους
144 τῇ τῶν ἔχθρῶν γῇ
145 λοιπῶν

M

ἐκ τὰ ἀχρα Θέματα
κοποῦται (κοπῶ)
μετὰ σελλάρια
τοὺς πόρους τῶν ποταμῶν
τοὺς ἄσθενεστέρους τοῦ λαοῦ
τῇ γῇ τῶν ἔχθρῶν
ἐλλων

Note also that where M has Ionic (and pan-Hellenic) -σ-, L substitutes Attic -τ-, e.g. Μ ἡλλασσον, ἑνὴλλασσον, Λ ἑνῆλλαττον (146, 147).

In the second place, the version in M seems to have been more detailed or more explicit (and stylistically less polished): cf. M καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν πάντες ἵσως ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἑπιττον, and contrast L, καταβάντες πάντες, ἐπὶ γῆς ἵσως ἑπιττον (125); and see at 126—127, 130, 131—133.
Third, L misunderstands or deliberately changes the sense of the final note on flank- and rearguards. Where M has: κύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας οὐκ ἠλλασσον. τοὺς δὲ πληγιοφύλακας ἐνήλασσον διὰ τὸν πλείστον κόπον, L has instead: κύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐνήλασσον διὰ τὸν πλείστον κόπον (146—147). The confusion seems to be based on genuinely different advice current in military manuals: the Anon. Vári 52, 4sq. (Dennis 31, 5sq.) does insist, for example, that the sakα or rearguard, rather than the flank-guards, should be relieved regularly. Of course, this text may itself have been based on Leo Katakylas' treatise, or rather, the version in L²⁷.

Fourth, where M has ὑπ' αὐτῶν (corrected by Reiske to ὑπ' αὐτῶ) at 120 (referring to the drouggarios of the Vigla), L has ὑπ' αὐτῶν, which may be phonetically the same, but which clearly misunderstands the context. Whatever the origin of the error, it supports the contention that L is both based upon, and therefore more recent than, M.

Finally, where L has οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προέχοντες ἐκεῖνον (143), already suspected by Koukoulès to be a mistake for προτρέχοντες, M actually has οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προτρέχοντες ἐκεῖνον; where L has τοῦ ἀερίου and τοῦ εἰδικοῦ, M has τοῦ ἀερικοῦ and τοῦ ἕδικοῦ (104).

While none of these variations is conclusive, they cumulatively do suggest that the version preserved in M was both fuller and written in a slightly less atticising style. They also suggest that the version in L is less accurate a rendering of the original than that in M; and that some effort was made to effect a slight change in style. Since M preserves only about one half of (B), however, this comparison will not take us much further, except to suggest that if the pattern of variations evidenced by the pages which do survive were generalised throughout the text, then M seems to represent the fuller and older, and therefore more reliable witness to the original version of (B), than L. This impression is reinforced by what is otherwise known about the execution of M: that the codex was copied out with great care and considerable effort to reproduce as accurately as possible its archetypes²⁸. This might also suggest that

²⁷ See Hunger, Profane Lit. II 335—336 and n.52. For Attic -ττ-, see Böhlig, Sprachgebrauch 20—22; Psaltes, Grammatik cap. 181.
²⁸ See, for example, Dain, Histoire du texte d'Élien le tacticien (quoted n. 9) 189 and notes.
in M, the original title and heading (and therefore the attribution to Leo Katakylas) were included: M is, after all, a carefully-prepared collection of texts arranged in a specific order; if (B) was incorporated as a prefatory piece, as Dain has plausibly suggested, then the original title and attribution would have been essential.

While the exact relationship between the two versions must remain uncertain, the arguments outlined already make both the following hypotheses plausible: either Constantine had the original version of Leo’s treatise (discovered by him at Sigriane) copied directly into M when he commissioned that collection; he later prepared a slightly edited version, using Leo’s original, which involved both stylistic changes (to “improve” the text) and the incorporation of a number of inaccuracies, probably the result of scribal error, with the intention of presenting it at some point to his son Romanos. This version was later incorporated into L; or Constantine had the original version of Leo’s treatise copied into M; the original was lost or destroyed; he later prepared a second version, which included a number of changes and inaccuracies, but based on the version already copied into M. This second version was later copied into L. Whether the attribution to Leo Katakylas was removed from Constantine’s second version or retained, to be dropped by the redactor of L, is impossible to say.

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The results of the foregoing discussion can be summarised as follows:

(i) (C) is a work of Constantine VII dedicated to his son Romanos, and based largely on (B);

(ii) (B) is itself a copy or version of a treatise by Leo Katakylas, compiled at the behest of Leo VI;

(iii) (B) was incorporated into two major codices, M and later L, both of Constantinopolitan origin, the former compiled c. 950 and the latter between 963—969; we can further infer

(iv) that, if the addition of the extant heading of (B) — as well as the editing of (A), see below — are the work of Constantine, then he presumably had originally intended to incorporate them into a compendium of some sort dealing with military
writings — perhaps actually represented by M — but that the
writing of (C) later made at least (B) redundant. This further
strengthens the view that its appearance in L, together with
(C), must be the work of a later redactor, quite possibly una-
ware of the existence of (B) in M.

Finally, the dates of the two compilations. L, as has been shown
by Bieliaev, Bury and later commentators, is the result — except
for a few significant interpolations or emendations\(^{29}\) — of Constan-
tine's work as an editor and compiler: all of Book I, except for caps.
96 and 97, added after 963, and caps. 1—39 of Book II, represent
his original treatise on imperial ceremonial\(^{30}\). The remaining chap-
ters of Book II, including the treatise of Philotheos, which also
circulated independently\(^{31}\), while they may have been edited or
collated by Constantine, were added — clumsily and in no real order —
by a redactor during the reign of Nicephorus II\(^{32}\). The three
treatises or parts of treatises (A), (B) and (C) seem to have been
added, with little consideration for internal consistency, but not
entirely without reason, since (B) and (C) both deal to some extent
with ceremonial, as a preface to the main treatise, again — following
Bury's reasoning — during the reign of Nicephorus II. As Irigoin
and Kresten have now demonstrated, the codex is itself the original,
one of a pair written out during Nicephorus II's reign, the other
being represented by the Vatopedi and Chalki palimpsests.

M is, as we have seen, an ordered collection of military treatises
dated to the period around 950. Here, the treatise (C) is not present,
but the whole is prefaced by (B), in this case more logically, given
the nature of the codex as a whole. (A) was almost certainly not
present (see below, section F). This means, as suggested already,
that (B) was available to the redactor of M and that, therefore, the
latter was produced in the same scriptorium as, later, L\(^{33}\). But it
also suggests very strongly that (C), which would have fitted the
plan of M very well, was not available to the redactor of the latter

\(^{29}\) **Bury**, Ceremonial Book 221.

\(^{30}\) **Bury**, Ceremonial Book 221ff.

\(^{31}\) **Oikonomidès, Préséance** 72—81.

\(^{32}\) **Bury**, Ceremonial Book 223ff., and see his summary, 227.

\(^{33}\) It seems improbable that (B), only recently edited or prepared for incorpo-
ration by Constantine, existed in more than one version.
codex; in other words, that M was produced at a time when an edited or unedited version of (B), prepared for a collection of military treatises, was available; but before Constantine had written (C). The conclusion must be that M represents the material collected by Constantine for the work on military treatises and assembled in a single codex at a date after he had discovered Leo Katakylas’ treatise, but before he had written the treatise (C) dedicated to his son Romanos.

These considerations provide a very approximate date for the compilation of (C), therefore, and equally, a date before which M must have been compiled. Romanos II was born some time after 15th March 938, and would have celebrated his fourteenth birthday — the age at which he formally entered adulthood — sometime in 952. It is likely that Constantine decided to compile (C), addressed to his son, specifically for guidance in the conduct of imperial military expeditions; and I would suggest that such a treatise is unlikely to have been relevant before Romanos was in a position to understand the matters involved or participate himself. Constantine himself took a keen interest in the military affairs of the empire (or claimed that he did so), but regretted that he had himself never led an expedition. There is no reason to doubt that (C) was written in the hope or assumption that his son might achieve what he had

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34 The same argument has been applied by Jenkins and Moravcsik to date the final compilation of the DAI, see Comm. 5.

35 See Ahrweiler, Un discours 399, 71—76; cf. Vári, Exzerptenwerk 78—84; Lemerc, Premier humanisme 272. Note Hunger’s comments, Profane Lit. II 329. Constantine is reported by Scylitzes (247) to have intended to lead an expedition against Syria; and his plans in this respect (although his actual participation is not referred to) are also alluded to in a poem attributed to a certain Symeon, patrikios, aekretes, magistros and logothetes tou stratikou (probably Symeon Metaphrastes, as Ševčenko argues), dating to November of 959. See I. Ševčenko, Poems on the Death of Leo VI and Constantine VII in the Madrid Manuscript of Scylitzes. DOP 23—24 (1969—1970) 187—228, see 211, 49—52; with commentary at 221f. Romanos is mentioned in a harangue to be read to the troops of the eastern armies in 958 (according to Vári and accepted by Ahrweiler), when he would have been 20 years old. According to the text of this harangue, both Constantine and his son were prepared to join the troops in their struggle. 958 might provide an approximate date for the compilation of (C), the more so since, as will be shown below, Constantine never finished it. See for the date of the harangue Vári, Exzerptenwerk 81.
been unable to do. Further, it should be noted that Constantine refers to this treatise (C) in addition to others, already compiled, which strongly implies the *De administrando imperio* in particular, since it too was addressed specifically to Romanos (see [B] 21—23). This again would suggest that Constantine compiled his treatise on expeditions after he had completed these other works, i.e. (in the case of the *DAI*) after 952.

This is clearly hypothetical, but it does, I believe, provide a general framework for the compilation of (C), an approximate date for M, and a clarification of the relationship between the original document of Leo Katakylas, the lightly re-styled and re-titled Constantinian version, and the two codices L and M. This might be represented as follows:

(i) Constantine searches for material on imperial expeditions (c. 930—950);

(ii) he discovers Leo Katakylas’ work; possibly has an emended version made, preparatory to its inclusion in a more general work on such matters. M is begun, and Leo Katakylas’ piece is included as a preface;

(iii) 952 (ca.; as *terminus post quem*) Constantine revises his ideas and decides to produce (C), a fuller and much more detailed version of (B);

(iv) 963—969 (A) and (B), together with (C), are found in the archive alongside the remaining material for the work on ceremonial, and much other material; and are incorporated into L.
E. THE STRUCTURE OF TEXT (C)

As we have seen, the first and main section of (C) (54—606) is a treatise devoted to the details of organisation of imperial expeditions, based on an emended version of a treatise devoted to the same subject ascribed to Leo Katakylas. The material for this section is drawn from a variety of sources, both official and unofficial. Constantine’s opening comments on the value of experience echo closely the sentiments of the prooimion to Onosander’s Strategikos, on which he may have drawn (see 8—19 and Onosandros, Strategikos proem. 7—10 [pp. 2—3]). The account of his search for material follows, and the reference to the Isaurians at 46—47 is indicative of the tradition, if not of the material itself, upon which he drew. For the background to Katakylas’ own treatise, see above.

The information which follows is set out in a rather disorganised and often repetitive fashion. The first part, from 67—311 consists chiefly of lists: of pack-animals to be provided “customarily” for the imperial baggage-train by a range of imperial officials, military and civilian; as well as by churchmen and monastic establishments; of equipment to be provided for the imperial household; of gifts for the soldiers and officers and for foreigners and refugees; and so on. The list of military officers who provide such pack-animals (at 86—92) dates probably to the reign of Basil I; and so may well be drawn from an official document or record, presumably from one of Basil’s own campaigns. This might be confirmed by the fact that neither Leo VI nor Romanos I (as emperor) personally conducted military expeditions; and since such prestation would be required only on these occasions, i.e. when the imperial baggage-train was present, Basil I’s reign and military activity would be the most recent source of such information. The last such expedition was in 881/882, against Melitēnē. Similarly, the reference at 103—109 to animals

36 See also V. V. Kučma, “Strategikos” Onasandra i “Strategikon Mavrikiya”: opit sravnitel’noi charakteristiki. VV 43 (1982) 35—52, in which the influence of Onosander on the Strategikon of Maurice is highlighted.

37 CMH IV/1, 715.
provided by the 52 archbishops and 52 metropolitans seems also to date from the end of Basil's reign. Of the various officials referred to, the two kouratores fix the list in Basil's reign or later, for it was he who established the kouratôr of the Maggana.

There are no other clear references which would fix Constantine's sources to any specific reign, except for a single mention of Basil I's issue of largesses to his soldiers, at 501—511. But these hints are suggestive enough to imply that most of the information and material were of Basil's time, at least as far as these lists are concerned; the detail is so considerable that, assuming this procedure was indeed specific to an imperial expedition, no other conclusion is possible.

The lists themselves are reasonably orderly, with only one or two repetitions — at 266—274 and 302—308, for example — although Constantine clearly found it difficult to arrange his material as neatly as he might have liked: many of the headings include information which would be suitable under several different entries, a result in fact of the practical co-operation in many matters between different palatine bureaux (see 162—184; 261—266, for example). The material which follows the lists, however, — 312 (the emperor's departure) — 606 (a note on the position of some of the imperial riding horses) — is less well-organised. Constantine clearly wanted to set out the procedure for the expedition from the moment when the emperor embarked, to the entry into hostile territory, on a more-or-less chronological basis. To a degree, he succeeds; but he clearly found, or referred back to, information as he wrote, with the result that the narrative is broken and unclear. He clearly relied upon his memory to remind him when and where a specific detail was to be incorporated. Two items which may be from an account of Basil's actual deeds include the prayer upon his departure from the City (at 324—331) and the harangue to the troops (at 466—473: see the commentary for both). The texts of both are specific enough to suggest that they may have been recorded at the time.

While most of this material cannot be dated nearer than the period from the reign of Basil I to that of Constantine VII, there are thus good reasons for believing that much of the information dates

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38 See on (C) 92 and 104—105.
39 See on (C) 96.
from Basil’s reign rather than later. That this material was not filed in any systematic way and that there was no single account is clear both from Constantine’s opening remarks and from his methods of working. The inclusion of the “ancient imperial ordinance” (Θεσπισμα δὲ ἀρχαῖον) at 402 is indicative likewise of his “grasshopper” methods — presumably he came across a reference to this in his researches, and thought it worthwhile including, with an explanation of its importance, at the appropriate place\(^{40}\). Much of what Constantine says, of course, while based on older information, is intended to be prescriptive — this is what should happen, this is the way things ought to be done — and, apart from the use of χρὴ δὲ, δέον δὲ, ὄρθελε, and so forth, the regular use of the present tense fulfills this function. Some of his information — notably the details of specific practices or events which are mentioned in (B), but not described — may well be drawn from the same sources used by Leo Katakylas himself, assuming that the latter was not writing from memory and his own wide experience of military affairs. Whereas the latter chose to summarise them in the briefest of terms, however, Constantine seems keen to have set out the details as fully as possible — the prayer upon leaving the City, the greeting and harangue before the troops, the details of the procedure regarding the μετάτα and the provision of pack-animals, for example.

This section of (C) ends with a second exhortation to his son Romanos (607—617) emphasising the importance of the material prepared for him by his father.

The rest of the treatise falls into two main groups of materials, as follows:

(i) miscellaneous: 618—646, the list of beacons from Loulon to Constantinople, including also the story concerning Michael III and his closing them down; 647—652, the order of payment of the themata according to the old four-yearly rotation; 653—664, a note of the orders to be issued by senior officers before a

\(^{40}\) On Constantine’s working methods, see, for example, LEMERLE, Premier humanisme 274; and on the availability of source materials in the palatine archives, see C. WENDEL, Die erste kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinopel. Zentralbl. für Bibliothekswesen 59 (1942) 193—209; and K. MANAPHEES, Αἰ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει βιβλιοθηκὴ καὶ αὐτοκρατορικὴ καὶ πατριαρχική καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς χειρογράφων μέχρι τῆς ἀλώσεως (1453). Athens 1972.
campaign to their subordinates with regard to equipment, tools and related matters (which may be inspired by or based on part of [B], see [B] 38—39).

(ii) triumphal entries: 665—706, a formalised account of a fifth- or sixth-century triumphal entry or return into Constantinople; 707—723, an account of Justinian’s entry into Constantinople on 11th August 559 (see notes on 707 in Commentary); 724—807, an account of the triumph of Basil I in 878; 808—884, accounts of triumphs of Theophilus in 831 and 837.

Some of this material seems quite relevant to Constantine’s project, some less so. The triumphal entries, while they are not directly connected with the organisation of an expedition, do concern its (successful) outcome; ceremony and the correct observance on such occasions were direct concerns of Constantine, of course, and so while the material may seem rather out of place, its inclusion is not without rational grounds. The sources of these accounts remain unclear. The first two accounts may come from a single source dealing with the prescribed procedure for such events and illustrated by the entry of 559. The material bears many similarities to that ascribed to Peter the Patrician (caps. 84—95, De Cer. 386, 24—433, 9) in Book I, and to the chapter on an imperial visit to the granaries of the Stratēgion (De Cer. 699, 6—701, 17) in Book II, which may also be ascribed to Peter. Clearly, Constantine’s method here was either to provide the section which he excerpted with new headings (δα δεί παραφυλάττειν etc.) but leave the text of the original more or less unaltered; or to compile a “composite” text from several sections of his archetype (illustrated by the heading at De Cer. 389, 1—2, for example: περὶ διαφορὰς στρατευόν, καὶ πόθεν αὐτα δίδονται, καὶ τῇ ἀρμόζει ἔκαστῳ σχεδιαστῇ, δα δεί εὑρέθη ηδυνήθημεν), again providing his own headings. This seems to have been the case at 665—668: the title is clearly Constantine’s — δα δεί γίνεσθαι etc. — as are the first two lines, referring back to his own section on the

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41 See Bury’s analysis, Ceremonial Book 212—213, 216—217. Peter was magister officiorum from 539/540 to his death in 565. There is no reason for not ascribing the account of the triumph of 559, and a description of the formalities of an imperial return to the capital to his name. See Guillard, Patrices du VIe siècle 285 (= Institutions II 144) for prosopographical notes and literature. For the older literature, see Bury, Ceremonial Book 212—213.
emperor’s departure (from 312), connecting the two sections and thereby justifying the incorporation of the triumphal processions. The account is itself archaic and clearly comes from a late Roman source⁴².

For Basil I’s triumph of 878, as well as those of Theophilus in 831 and 837, Constantine probably relied on sources used also by the Scriptores post Theophanem commissioned by him, or writing during his reign⁴³. But the detail which Constantine goes into in his descriptions of these entries, details not found in any of the chroniclers’ accounts (although reference is made to the triumphs — see Commentary and the appropriate notes to the text), suggest other sources not available, or at least not fully exploited, by the chronicle-writers⁴⁴; these may have been official accounts preserved in the palatine archive, perhaps intended originally for the glorification of the emperor; or accounts extracted from some now lost encomiastic compositions. Clearly, such accounts were written down — that preserving the account of the entry of Nicephorus II in 963 provides a good parallel⁴⁵. Taking Constantine’s own introductory remarks into account, however, there is no reason to doubt that the whole of this section on triumphs was an integral part of his treatise (C).

What of the section of material referred to above as “miscellaneous”? The account of the beacons, together with the story of Michael III, is clearly thought to be relevant by Constantine, since it is introduced quite explicitly by a further address to Romanos which connects the previous section to this account. The passage is of historical interest since, according to Constantine, the system no longer operated; but it is also relevant to the organisation of military expeditions led by the emperor. The origins of the story are obscure; neither the list of beacons nor the story itself appear in Leo Grammaticus, Georgius Monachus Continuatus or Theodosius of Melitēnē, the three Greek versions of the original chronicle of the

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⁴² See Guillard, loc. cit. (n. 41 above).
⁴³ On whom see Bury, ERE 453—461; Jenkins, Chronological Accuracy 91—112; the summary in Toynbee, Const. Porph. 606—612; Hunger, Profane Lit. I 347—357; Lemerle, Premier humanisme 274—275.
⁴⁴ Constantine himself goes into no details of Basil’s entry in his own account, for example. See Th. Cont. 284, 2—5.
⁴⁵ De Cer. 433, 11—440, 11, see esp. 438, 1sq.
Logothete, independent of the Constantinian tradition. This may be good grounds for doubting the veracity of the account that the beacons were actually shut down permanently; it is certainly good grounds for doubting that Michael III's penchant for racing was the only reason behind their closure. Possibly, of course, the expansion of the empire during Constantine's reign, the change in the balance of power in the East, and the more-or-less permanent basing of the tagmata under the domestikos of the Scholai in the East, had made the signal-beacons effectively redundant. The story may be part of the general attempt under Constantine to exaggerate Michael's mistakes and to malign his character. Such beacons were still employed for local purposes according to the treatise De velitatione bellica.

While the list of beacons and the story of Michael III are clearly drawn from a source available also to the compilers of the continuation of Theophanes and the Pseudo-Symeon (the variations in spelling, and the substitution in this text for St. Mamas of Mt. Olympus in Bithynia, is probably a result of Constantine's own preference and, in the latter case, of a desire to be more specific about the location of the beacon), however, that dealing with the order of payment of the themata is rather less relevant. Indeed, this section of (C) is not very logically constructed at all. The item on orders to be issued before campaigns, which follows that on thematic payments, would more logically follow the list of beacons (and compare [B] 34—45) and both might have been more suitably placed before (C) 55—59 (the announcement of a campaign) or 312 (the emperor sets out for Pylae). The item on thematic payments, however, seems quite incongruous. Is it possible, therefore, that Constantine never completed his treatise, merely assembling the relevant material, most of which he succeeded in editing and writing up; but some items of which remained to be incorporated by a later redactor? The curious inclusion of this item and the suspect position of the note on orders to be issued before a campaign, might suggest as much. Constantine would thus have completed (C) as far as the end of the

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46 For the relationship between these chronicles, see Hunger, Profane Lit. I 339—343, 354—357; and the useful summary in Rossen, Theophilus the Unlucky 9—23.

47 See the notes to (C) 618sq. below, pp. 254—255.
story about Michael III; he would also have collected and edited the accounts of the imperial triumphs, intended as a final section (as is apparent from his opening sentence at 667—668) as well as material on the preparations for expeditions; but the whole would not have been properly integrated. The less discriminating redactor of the period 963—969 would thus have put the material together in more-or-less the order intended by Constantine, but he must also have incorporated the snippet of information on thematic payments (including Constantine’s introductory ἵσταντειν ἔτη . . . ) which he found filed together with the rest of the material.

It is, of course, impossible to demonstrate conclusively that this was the case. But the similarities between this section of (C) and the way in which parts of Book II of the Book of Ceremonies were constructed make it very likely⁴⁸. It is possible, for example, that the note on the quadrennial payment of the themata should have followed or preceded the list of payments of stratēgoi in Book II⁴⁹; and that both were actually intended by Constantine to be incorporated into a larger treatise on imperial military organisation, possibly together with (A) (see below). The material is also relevant to both the De thematibus and the DAI; and may indeed derive from documents of the same date — the list of payments of stratēgoi is stated to be of the time of Leo VI; the description of thematic payments is described as the custom “of old”. The incongruity of this section in a treatise on expeditions matches the repetitious and disorganised nature of the material on the expedition to Crete (where material pertaining to the campaign of 949, at De Cer. 662, 11—664, 2, is included under the heading for the expedition to Lombardy at 661, 7sq.; and is then repeated in a slightly different form under the correct heading at 669, 5sq. etc.), inserted randomly into Book II, for example. And presumably both this information, as well as that on the various military undertakings included in Book II, was culled from records in the imperial palace, possibly in the archive of one of the palatine sekreta — the vestiarion or eidikon, for example, or indeed, the stratiōtikon.

The source of the information on orders issued before a campaign is uncertain. Similar lists of equipment to be taken by each

⁴⁸ See Bury’s remarks, Ceremonial Book 223 and 226—227.
⁴⁹ De Cer. 696, 10—697, 17.
unit occur also in Leo’s Tactica\textsuperscript{50}, and Constantine has presumably copied down some general prescription on such matters. That this sort of information was relevant to his concerns is clear enough, for a similar statement occurs in (B) at 34—45 as noted already. The lack of any other comment on such matters reinforces the impression that this section of (C) was never completed by Constantine himself, but was compiled from an assortment of documents filed together by the later redactor of L.

Finally, it is worth noting that this text has no real ending or conclusion. Given Constantine’s penchant for advising his son, and the clearly pedagogic function of the main parts of this text, this is rather an obvious omission. We are left to conclude that Constantine never wrote a conclusion because he never completed the final, integrated version of his treatise\textsuperscript{51}.

Text (C) is thus not a homogeneous treatise, as generally assumed. The main section, written probably after 952, and most of the material included in it, was certainly intended to be incorporated; but the miscellaneous material, with the exception of the list of beacons, must have been intended for a different work or, at the least, a very different order in (C).

\textsuperscript{50} Leo, Tact. VI 27; 28 (729 B—C).

\textsuperscript{51} For the date of his death (9th, 15th or 19th November 959) see Markopoulos, Témoignage 108. This treatise was, therefore, probably the last of Constantine’s undertakings, together with, possibly, the \textit{De thematibus}, if we accept Ahrweiler’s recent argument — see H. Ahrweiler, \textit{Sur la date du De Thematibus de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète}. \textit{TM} 8 (1981) 1—5.
F. THE STRUCTURE AND THE DATE OF TEXT (A)

This short text lists the ἀπλέκτα in Anatolia, followed by a list of which of them should serve as points of rendezvous for various themata, the tagmata under the domestikos of the Scholai, and the emperor. It has been carefully examined by several scholars, the most useful analyses being those of Bury and, most recently, of Huxley.52 The confused nature of the text as it appears in L has been thoroughly discussed and need not detain us here. The information it contains is clearly drawn from a variety of sources of different date; but the earliest material probably dates from after 838, as Huxley and others have noted, since Kaborkin is listed as the ἀπλέκτον of the Anatolikon, as opposed to Amorion53. Information from the period up to 878/879 — campaigns against Tephrike, for example — is also in evidence; while the reference to the stratēgos of Seleukeia suggests information from the reign of Romanos I, since the kleisoura of that name first became a thema at this time.54

All those who have discussed the list have also suggested emendations in an effort to re-establish an “original.” While there is no doubt that the list is confused — the repetition of ὁ στρατηγός Ἄνατολικῶν at 6 and 8; the use of ὅτε instead of ὅτι (ἱστέον ὅτι) at 6, 9 and 13; the non-appearance of themata which ought to be men-


53 E.g. Huxley, List 90. But it must be remembered that the thematic ἀπλέκτον may not necessarily have been at the same location as the thematic headquarters. Koron (al-Qurrah) was the military headquarters of the thema of lesser Cappadocia (from at least 863) and probably of the earlier kleisoura of the same name (from the early ninth century at least); while the thema of Charsianon (by 873 at the latest, see Haldon–Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 86, n. 21), in which Caesarea lay, had the fortress of Charsianon kastron as its headquarters. Cf. (C) 462. Yet Caesarea was still the ἀπλέκτον for campaigns in this direction; see Haldon–Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 85—87 and references, and note Huxley, List 93, n. 19.

54 Huxley, List 90; Haldon–Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 86, n. 21.
tioned, such as Thrace and the Opsikion, and so forth — the assumption of an "original" of any sort is somewhat questionable. The insertion, and frequent miscopying, of ὅπι, as well as the confusions listed, suggest rather that Constantine had once again prepared a file of information on this matter, but that he had not had time to impose any sort of order upon it; and additionally, that not all of the information he might have wished to include is actually present in this text. Constantine was, within the limits of his abilities and the materials at his disposal, a reasonably competent editor. He certainly emended information in order to bring it up to date or impose some logic upon it when necessary. But this list is quite chaotic, and really unlike anything else which Constantine edited; it seems most likely that it was put together by a redactor not particularly knowledgeable in such matters, and after Constantine's time. What the redactor found, therefore, were Constantine's notes and comments — the list of aplēkta itself; followed by his own observations on where the emperor met thematic forces.

A further point concerns the armies which were to meet the emperor at each of the aplēkta. It has been assumed that the first reference to the Anatolikon force (6) is an error for the Opsikion (or Opsikianoi); Huxley then conjectures, following Bury, that the reference to the Thrakēsion troops at 6 is likewise a mistake, and should read ὁ στρατηγὸς Θαρέης. Such emendations are all quite logical, if we assume that the text as it stands represents a coherent list, which has been confused by inaccurate copying. Much more likely, it seems to me, is that the redactor found only a jumble of notes based on Constantine's own researches, and representing more likely than not examples of where different forces had met at different times on the occasion of specific campaigns in the past. It is not impossible, for example, that the armies of Thrakēsion and Anatolikon did on occasion meet at Malagina. It is certainly odd that in this text the domestikos of the Scholai, and the tagmata, "ought" to meet the emperor at Kaborkin; for as both (B) and (C), and many other texts imply, these units were as often joined by the emperor at Malagina. The rendezvous depended to a great extent on whether the tagmata were already in the provinces, or whether they

55 Huxley, List 90.
had returned to their bases in Thrace and Bithynia\textsuperscript{56}. Again, therefore, the meeting of the \textit{domestikos}, the \textit{stratēgos} of the Anatolikon and that of Seleukeia at Kaborkin probably represents an actual occasion, the details of which were omitted, probably by Constantine, and may well not represent, or indeed be intended to represent, any standard rule or procedure. This much is suggested by the inclusion of the phrase "if the expedition is to \ldots"\textsuperscript{57}, which does raise a suspicion that the information given in the text should be qualified in this way, and that the examples of objectives in the first section have been omitted or ignored, by Constantine or the redactor. The last sentence is evidence of this misunderstanding\textsuperscript{58}. Indeed, the presence of the \textit{ὅτε} may in fact be evidence of the original form of the narrative and the descriptive nature of Constantine’s sources, a survival from the original “when the general so-and-so and the general so-and-so \ldots”, but mistakenly incorporated into a different syntactic structure\textsuperscript{59}.

Whatever the notes from which this passage was taken, however, it seems clear enough that there was no “original” document, neatly listing the \textit{απλέκτα} and the rendezvous points for different expeditions in a coherent form. The scribe and redactor of \textit{L} seem to have managed other annotated information which they found in an accurate form — why should they have made a complete chaos out of this one only? What we have here are the brief notes of Constantine’s research, drawn from a variety of accounts and sources on past expeditions, put together by a later redactor whose chief aim was to find a suitable context for them; but whose actual understanding of the material and its contents seems to have been minimal. It is quite likely that (A), which may well have been filed along with (B) and (C), was never intended by Constantine to be part of his plans for a treatise on expeditions, and that it accompa-

\textsuperscript{56} See the notes to the text, infra; and note that the troops of Anatolikon and Thrakēsion met and campaigned together under Constantine V, for example, between 741 and 744: see Theoph. 415ff.

\textsuperscript{57} Twice explicitly (against Tarsos or “the East”); and once implicitly (against Tephrikē). See Huxley, List 90—91.

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{ὅτε} τὰ Ἄρμενιακὰ θέματα ὁφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι εἰς Τεφρικὴν εἰς τὸν Βαθῦν Ἐνόσεα \ldots (restored by Huxley [following Ramsay 203] as: \textit{ὅτι} τὰ Ἄρμενιακά θέματα ὁφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι, \textit{εἰς} Τεφρικήν, εἰς τὸν Βαθῦν Ἐνόσεα).

\textsuperscript{59} Cf. (C) 421: Ἰστέον ὅτι, ὅτε κρικετεύει ἀπὸ δρομογγάροις \ldots.
nies and precedes (B) merely because the redactor could find no other appropriate place, in his opinion, to place it. At any rate, hypothetical restitutions of the text are probably not justified, since there was no original text to reconstitute. While this does not mean that the exercise has not been useful, it does mean that it has involved less a reconstitution of an original text than a modern analysis of the *apōlekta* and their function in military undertakings directed against Muslims and Paulicians. In conclusion, it is unlikely that (A) ever circulated as an independent text, unlike (B); or that it was incorporated into M.
G. CONCLUSIONS

The texts which I have referred to as (A), (B) and (C), therefore, constitute three independent and quite separate pieces. (C) is the latest, and represents a work compiled and partly written by Constantine VII for his son Romanos. Based in its main elements on (B), which represents a lightly edited version of the original treatise of Leo Katakylas, it was begun probably after the middle of the 950s but was never completed. A later redactor added miscellaneous and not always entirely relevant pieces of material already collated by Constantine; as well as the final section, in accordance with Constantine’s plans, dealing with triumphal entries into Constantinople.

(B) is almost certainly a copy made on Constantine’s order of the treatise he refers to of the *magistros* Leo Katakylas, probably written down originally c. 903—912. It has a Constantinian heading. It seems to represent the complete text, but there may be elements omitted which it is now impossible to detect. It was copied into the Laurentianus 55, 4 before Constantine had compiled (C), i.e. before c. 958—959 at the very latest, since it is reasonable to assume that otherwise (C) might also have appeared in M.

(A) represents some notes made by Constantine on the *aplēkta* of Asia Minor and the assembly-points of various thematic forces according to the objective of the campaign; information culled from a wide variety of potential sources. It is probable that this material was originally collected for a third treatise, never begun. These notes were later incorporated into L with little discrimination or understanding by a redactor who found them with the other material quite probably on the instructions of Basil the *parakoimōmenos*. As such they represent no “original” text, merely the unedited notes for an incomplete and now lost work.

It is interesting that all three documents, but particularly (A) and (C), deal only with Asia Minor, where the objective in (C) is assumed to be Syria. During the reigns of Basil I, Leo VI and Romanos I (up to 927), the Bulgars played a central role in Byzant-
tine foreign relations, and determined likewise Byzantine military activity in many ways\textsuperscript{60}. But from 927 until 965 Bulgaria, under its Tsar Peter, maintained close and friendly relations with the empire\textsuperscript{61}. The situation in Anatolia, and on the eastern frontier in general, was very different. Against a background of regular annual raids by both Arabs and Byzantines into the border-lands and beyond, the tenth century witnessed a series of major campaigns by successive Byzantine commanders. This effort became more concentrated and more successful after 927 and the end of hostilities with Bulgaria; and a first phase culminated with the final capture of Melitène in 934. Under the leadership of the Hamdanid emir ‘Ali, known as Saif ad-Daulah, Muslim forces were able to stem the tide between 934 and 955, winning several significant victories. But after 955 the Byzantine offensive regained its momentum under the direction of the new domestikos of the Scholai, Nicephorus Phocas, who replaced his brother Bardas; and later under John Tzimiskēs\textsuperscript{62}. While it is not conclusive, the absence of any reference to the conduct of expeditions in the Balkans, or against areas other than Syria, does suggest a preoccupation with the latter war-zone, and provides a wide historical context for the compilation of the treatise (C). Of course, the fact that Leo Katakylas’ account also makes no reference to the Balkans, at a time when Bulgaria was the main foe of the empire, shows that these absences may not necessarily be of great significance\textsuperscript{63}. But again, the list of aplēktα (A), dealing exclusively with Asia Minor, presents material which was intended to deal with campaigns and marching routes in this region only; which suggests that Constantine had collected material with particular

\textsuperscript{60} See OBOLENSKY, Byzantine Commonwealth 115ff.

\textsuperscript{61} OBOLENSKY, Byzantine Commonwealth 127ff.

\textsuperscript{62} For synoptic accounts, with literature, see CMH IV/1, 716—721; Ostrogorsky, Geschichte 230—232; 235—236. Note also MARKOPOULOS, Témoignage 106—107 (on Vat. gr. 163, cap. 11, 1—6).

\textsuperscript{63} Although Leo’s treatise is in fact remarkably silent with regard to geographical location. The ἀνιόχητα at (B) 128 could equally be in the Balkans, although one assumes that the Byzantine-Arab border zone is usually so denominated. Otherwise the only suggestion of a campaign in Asia Minor is the mention of the emperor’s departure from Constantinople by boat ((B) 90) which is by no means conclusive — the emperor might equally have sailed up to the Hebdomon, for example; and the fact that the ek prosōpou must deal with reports from “the West” ((B) 63).
reference to this field of operations. Constantine's clear interest in the military struggle in this area, particularly as expressed in his two surviving harangues addressed to the eastern forces and their officers (written in 952—953 and 958); together with the address to his son and the assumption, both in this address and in one of the harangues, that Romanos would himself participate in a campaign, provides further corroboration for the contention made above, namely, that (C) was compiled in the years immediately before 958.

64 See n. 35 above.
treatise of Leo Katakylas (c. 903—912)
list of ἀπλῆκτα
Constantine’s version of α (c. 930—950)
Constantine’s extended version of (B) (after 952 [?])—959)
sources of (A)
cod. Medic.-Laur. 55, 4 (c. 950—955)
cod. Lips. Rep. I 17 (c. 963—969)
I. THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXTS

In spite of Constantine’s remarks at (C) 30—34 regarding Leo Katakyias’ lack of competence in “proper” Greek, none of the three texts treated here is composed in an obviously atticing style. Only the contributions of Constantine himself, the two addresses to Romanos (8—19 and 607—617), present a more clearly learned style and pretensions; together with what I have suggested may be Constantine’s emendations in the version of (B) in L as opposed to that in M. Indeed, there is little to differentiate (C) from (B) in this respect, reinforcing the impression that Constantine merely had the greater part of his material, certainly for the main section of his treatise, copied out directly from the sources at his disposal. Both texts, accurately reflecting the technical and rather specialised nature of their subject matter, make use of a wide range of non-Greek terms of Latin, Arabic, Slav, Turkic and Iranian origin, which are noted and discussed, where relevant, in the accompanying commentary.

The language of the three texts, similar in many respects to that of the De administrando imperio and the De caerimoniiis, represents what might loosely be termed a formalised and practical Constantinopolitan technical and administrative register, evidenced also in treatises such as Leo’s Tactica, the De velitatione bellica of Nicephorus II, the Praecepta imperatoris ascribed to the same, or the anonymous mid-tenth-century De re militari edited by Vári and, more recently, by Dennis. It represents the informal Koine which had dominated hagiographical, technical and practical writings since the seventh century at least, and which retained its contacts with the spoken language, in contrast to the artificial (and, very loosely defined) “Attic” of the period of literary revival in the later ninth and tenth centuries.

While the texts edited here present no surprises in respect of the known development of the language at this period, a number of features deserve attention.

65 See the relevant entries in the bibliography.
With regard to vocabulary, copulative compounds are numerous: determinative compounds such as ζυγοφλάσκιον, σιτολέκακον, καυκοπινάκιον, ἀξινορύγιον, πλατυλίσκιον, for example; as well as dvandva compounds such as σαγματοπασμαγάδιον, ὑποκαμμοσβράκια. Syncopation of final vowels, especially in neuter forms, normal in the spoken language since the second century A.D., is equally common in these texts: τραπέζιν, κλιβάνιν, φανάριν, σπαθήν, κουβούκλην, ἄγελάθην, φακιόλην, παλάτιν, σαγμάριν, ἀξινάριν, τριβλάττην, and many other examples illustrate the point. In addition, the standard combination of a preposition with a substantive used adverbially occurs on several occasions in an elided form, to produce what are in effect copulative compound adverbs: κάτασσαμαρίον (per pack-animal), καταβάγειαν (absent without leave), διαχειρῴ (by the hand [of]), διαπαντός (perpetually, for ever), for example.

As might be expected, a large number of loan-words is present. They appear to represent at least two stages of borrowings: in the first instance, Latin words which had been absorbed into the language during the later Roman period, up to the sixth or early seventh century: σάγμα, μωλάριον, σπαθίον (σπαθήν), φοσσάτον, τούλιδον, ἔξπεδιτον, φακιόλιον, παλάτιον, κουβούκλειον, κουρατωρέιον, χαρτουλάριος, κελλάριος, σαφραμεντάριος, μινσοράτωρ, and a great many more; together with loanwords from other languages via Latin — Iranian, for example — such as κλιβάνιν. In the second instance, more recent borrowings from both eastern and western sources: medieval Italian pozza, for example (πότζος). Turkic words such as başmak (πασμαγάδιον), words derived from Arabic, such as ἀβδία, ἀδημία,

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66 See especially the detailed analysis of Psaltēs, Grammatik, caps. 474—511; Browning, Medieval and Modern Greek 71. For general surveys of the development of the language at this period, see Browning, Medieval and Modern Greek 57—91; and for lexicography, Kahane, Abendland und Byzanz passim; Kahane, Western Impact 128ff.; Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica I 191—196; II 23—41 and the rich bibliography. See also R. Browning, The Language of Byzantine Literature, in: Speros Vryonis, jr., ed., The “Past” in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture (Byzantina kai Metabyzantina 1). Malibu 1978, 104—133, esp. 114—119.

67 Psaltēs, Grammatik, caps. 95—96; 221—222.


69 A. D. H. Bivar, Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier. DOP 26 (1972) 271—291, see 277 and n. 28.
faulty (‘abayeh, ʽadīm, faṭīl), and words derived from the Slav languages, such as βεδούριον (vedro) or βερζίτικον.\(^{70}\)

In respect of syntax, M seems to represent a more “demonic” version of the text of Katakylas (B), as has already been observed. Particularly obvious are the use of ἐκ with the accusative case (ἐκ ταξιρα θέματα) (70) and μετά with the accusative case (μετά σελλάρια) (110) for “from” and “with” (instrumental) respectively.\(^{71}\) But both M and L demonstrate the standard medieval Greek confusion between ἐν with the dative and εἰς with the accusative for motion towards: thus at (C) 157 ἐν Συρίᾳ for “to Syria”; but εἰς Πωμανίαν at (C) 165 for “in Roman lands”; or εἰς τὰς φορτώσεις at (C) 267 contrasted with ἐν ταῖς φορτώσεσι at (C) 277, both with the same meaning.\(^{72}\) Σύν with the genitive case is also found ([C] 840–841: σύν μανικελλίων; [C] 843: σύν χιώματι διαλίθου). There are many other examples, and the confusion demonstrates the well-known tendency for all prepositions to take the accusative case which by this time dominated the spoken language.

Confusion in the use of the active participle is also evident (again, typical of the written language of this period). At (C) 819–821, for example, we read: ἢ δὲ αὐγοῦστα . . . τοῦτον ὑπήντησεν ἀποβάντι τοῦ ἱππου, καὶ προσχυνῆσα τοῦτον ἡσπάσατο . . .\(^{73}\)

Of relevance to the phonology of the language are the forms ἐκβαλὼτες (for ἐκβαλόντες at [C] 748) and πεσώτες (for πεσόντες at [C] 771), which demonstrate the evolving dentalisation of voiced nasal consonants between front vowels and unvoiced dentals, a process completed in modern Greek. Similar considerations seem to apply to the forms βάντον/βάντω at (C) 654, 655 normally written as βάνδον.\(^{74}\)

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\(^{70}\) **Triantaphyllides**, Lehnwörter passim; **Browning**, Medieval and Modern Greek 71ff.

\(^{71}\) **Jannaris**, Greek Grammar, cap. 1570; caps. 1605–1607.

\(^{72}\) **Jannaris**, Greek Grammar, caps. 1538; 1547–1565; **Mitsakis**, Romanos 103ff.; 108ff.

\(^{73}\) **Jannaris**, Greek Grammar, cap. 1670 — the confusion here reinforces the suggestion that σύν was no longer a part of the spoken language by this time. See, in general, **Browning**, Medieval and Modern Greek 86; **Jannaris**, Greek Grammar, caps. 1487–1699. Note at (C) 876–877, for example, where the verb ἄδωμι occurs in the one sentence with both the dative and accusative cases.

For the confusion common in the use of active participles, see **Browning**, Medieval and Modern Greek 68ff.; **Böhlig**, Sprachgebrauch 176ff.

Likewise, διώγαντάρια ([C] 229) appears to represent διβλατπάρια, whereby the liquid lateral -l- recedes into an aspirated velar -gh-, and the dental -tt- is nasalised to -nt- (i.e. -nd-). The latter phenomenon is general in late ancient and medieval Greek; the former is a characteristic of the Cretan dialects, and is also found in Samothrakē and Tsakonia.\footnote{For -tt-},\footnote{For -tt-}, see Triantaphyllides, Lehnwörter esp. 363–364; and for -βλατ-πάρια, Jannaris, Greek Grammar, cap. 187; and esp. G. E. Pidgalo, Περί του γλωσσικού διδακτικού τῆς Κρήτης, 6 vols. Athens 1955–1970, see I (1955) 220; and cf. standard modern Greek αὐλάκι (Cretan αὐγάκι), for example.

Worth noting also is the form σαράκοντα at (C) 384, a result of dissimilation, in this case, the loss of the first syllable, which represents the intermediate stage in the development from ancient Greek τεσσαράκοντα to modern Greek σαράντα, in which the syncopation of the penultimate syllable has also occurred.\footnote{See Jannaris, Greek Grammar, caps. 639; 645 (and see also 126); and note Mitsakis, Romanos 18–19; 51–52: σαράκοντα is first attested in the sixth century.}

Particularly interesting, however, are the numerous scribal or orthographic errors in the manuscripts, both in respect of standard lexical items and, especially obvious, in respect of proper names. Thus Δορύλαιον instead of Δορύλαιον, Κολώνια for Κολώνεια, Σαλάμβρια for Σηλάμβρια, as well as confusion over the place-name ἡ Ἰέρεια, which appears here as both τὰ Ἡρία and αἱ Ἰερίαι.\footnote{For Hiereia, see on (C) 727; and note Psaltes, Grammatik, cap. 65. The form Salambria may well demonstrate elements of Doric which survived into and beyond the medieval period: see A. G. Tsopanakes, Βυζαντινά διαλεκτικά στοιχεία στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη, in: IDEM, Συμβολές στὴν Ἰστορία τῆς Ελληνικῆς γλώσσας, 2 vols. Thessaloniki 1983, Π 265–277, esp. 272f.} Regular mispellings of Latin loan-words or technical terms demonstrates the inconsistencies of contemporary renderings, as well as the phonological confusion in the vowel-system of early medieval Greek: εξκούβητος, ὑπτήματος, κεντινάρια, παλλάτιον, for example, and regularly, διβλάτιον/τριβλάτιον with only one -t-. Confusion over long and short vowels in words of Latin origin is usual: μινοσουράτωρi instead of μινοσουράτορι, στράτωρες, and so on. Similar missspelling of common Greek words shows that the assimilation of long to short -o-, of -η- to -o/-e-, of diphthong -ai- to -e-, was well-established. Forms such as χόρτι (χόρτη), προσθήκη (προσθήκη), ἄολημος (ἄολιμος), ἔξωδος (ἔξω- δος), δέχετε (δέχεται), σήμα (σίμα), χαμετρίκλινον (χαματρίκλινον),
I. Introduction

υπίντησαν (υπήντησαν), ἀλήμματα (αλείμματα), δυνατί (δυνατή), ὤσαύτος (ὡσαύτως), ὄρισμένος (ὄρισμένως), συναντηματικόν (συναντηματικόν), ὑπαντάτε (ὑπαντάται), δρουγγαροκόμηταις (δρουγγαροκόμητες) and even μι instead of μη are illustrative and typical of L. Whereas many of these must be the result of error on the part of the scribe (ταξίδειον for ταξείδιον, σωφρονήζοντα for σωφρονήζοντα at [A] 9 and [B] 75), some may be the result of local accent or simple orthographic “error”. The case of μερσίνης ([C] 739) (μερσύνης L) for μυρσίνης may be evidence of a shift from -i- to -e- before a liquid and/or a vestige of a local (Constantinopolitan?) pronunciation. Similarly, the few examples of Doric -a-, in the name Salambria ([C] 690) and the adjective χροαν ([C] 754, 828, 844) may also represent vestiges of a local dialect; although scribal affectation is not to be discounted. These characteristics are not typical of these texts alone, of course, but of the later ninth and tenth centuries in general. Some responsibility for the orthography must lie with the copyist(s), however. And it is significant that the orthography is so inconsistent, given that this treatise was rewritten from earlier materials (which may well have contained these mistakes and demoticisms and many more) in an imperial scriptorium at the height of the so-called Macedonian renaissance. It is perhaps a salutary reminder that even the copyists employed by a person such as Basil the parakoimómenos were not party to the literary excellence aspired to by the educated élite of Byzantine society, and attained by very few.

78 In general on the orthography of this period, see Psaltes, Grammatik, caps. 220—229; for double instead of single -l- in Latin loan-words, see cap. 237; and for vowel confusions, see ibid., caps. 1—109; with Kahane, Abendland und Byzanz 429—434; 501—525; 530—537.
J. THE EDITION

The text itself is based throughout on L, except for the better readings of M in the second half of (B). With the exception of these three pages, L is the only witness to all three texts. Variations in M are otherwise noted in the critical apparatus.

In presenting the text, and in the light of the foregoing, no attempt has been made to “correct” vulgarisms or inconsistencies in grammar and syntax; the more so since this would conceal both the nature of the work itself and distort Constantine’s own style of working. Errors which may be attributed to the copyist of 963—969 are noted in the apparatus. Some of the orthographic emendations made by Reiske are retained, but the original forms are likewise noted in the apparatus. Reiske’s occasional omissions and mistakes or hypercorrections are similarly noted. Punctuation and paragraphing has been supplied or emended without comment. The marginal scholia (excluding those on the manuscript made in Latin by later commentators) appear to be contemporary and part of the redactional process, being usually of an explanatory or clarificatory nature, and refer to other sections of the same text. For example, τριβούνος πρωιονώταπος is glossed by παρομοιαστήτης ([C] 670). Since they all occur in sections which were completed before Constantine’s death (see above), they were probably available as notes to the copyist of 963—969, and may have been added by Constantine to his original text. A number of inconsistencies in the last section on triumphs were not ironed out, however. Thus the form τὰ Ἰερία at (C) 727 is retained, with a scholion: ἰερίας. It is notable that the number of scholia and orthographic errors is greater in this last section than elsewhere, suggesting that Constantine was either unable to emend this section or failed to do so.

The scribe has used a number of abbreviations which have not been noted in the apparatus. These are all unexceptional for the period in which L belongs and give rise to no difficulties. Some examples:

\[\begin{align*}
\mu\omega\nu & \quad \mu\omega\lambda\alpha\iota \\
\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\omicron\upsilon & \quad \gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\nu\alpha \\
\chi & \quad \chi\rho\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon \\
\Lambda\Lambda & \quad \lambda\iota\tau\omicron\alpha \\
\theta\theta & \quad \sigma\upsilon\nu\theta\omicron\theta\iota\epsilon\iota\omicron\omicron\nu \\
\psi & \quad \nu\omicron\mu\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha \\
\iota\pi\nu & \quad \iota\pi\tau\alpha\iota \\
\chi\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron & \quad \chi\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron \\
\chi & \quad \delta\omicron\omicron \\
\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron & \quad \alpha\rho\chi\alpha\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\omicron \nu \nu \\
\lambda\omicron\omicron & \quad \lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\theta\omicron\omicron\theta\omicron \nu \nu \\
\lambda\omicron\omicron & \quad \delta\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron \\
\pi\omicron\omicron & \quad \pi\omicron\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron \nu \\
\tau\omicron\alpha & \quad \tau\omicron\pi\omicron\epsilon\omicron\zeta\omicron\omicron \zeta \nu \nu \\
\delta\omicron\alpha\theta\omicron\omicron & \quad \delta\omicron\alpha\phi\omicron\omicron\omicron \nu \nu \\
\pi\omicron & \quad \upsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron \\
\end{align*}\]

The case is usually given by the preceding definite article.

There are many others, and it is perhaps surprising that more such abbreviated forms are not employed, given the vast number of well-known technical terms and titles which occur in the texts\(^{80}\).

K. THE TRANSLATION

In translating the three texts which follow an effort has been made to preserve, as far as possible, the style and flavour of the original. Inevitably, every text must lose something in the translating — neither the cultural milieu nor the linguistic context can be reproduced in such an exercise. The greatest problem encountered was in translating the numerous technical terms. As far as items of clothing and equipment are concerned, I have tried to employ a consistent set of English or anglicised equivalents. With regard to ranks and titles, standard anglicisations are used, together with simple nominativised transliterations — thus *komites* rather than counts, for example. This may at first sight seem confusing to those not familiar with the language of the original; but is justified on the grounds that the use of translated terms throughout detracts from the “Byzantine” nature of the text, and tends to introduce a tacit assumption that the English terms are semantic as well as literal equivalents for the Greek. This is never the case, and to avoid such subtle misrepresentation, I have avoided using translated terms.
L. CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

L  codex Lipsiensis Rep. I 17 (Bibl. Urb. 28)

M  codex Mediceo-Laurentianus Plut. 55, 4

II. TEXTS AND TRANSLATION
Α. ΤΕΧΤ (Α):

L 1'  ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΩΝ ΤΑΞΕΙΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ
R.444  ΑΠΛΗΚΤΩΝ

Εἰσὶ τὰ ἄπληκτα· πρῶτον ἄπληκτον εἰς τὰ Μαλάγινα, δεύτερον τὸ
Δορύλειον, τρίτον εἰς τὸ Καβόρκιν, τέταρτον εἰς Κολώναν, πέμπτον εἰς
5 Καισάρειαν, ἐκτὸν εἰς Ἀρμενιάκους εἰστὸν Δαζιμοῦνα.

R.445  "Ὅτε ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ὀρθοκησίων | καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἄρατολικῶν
ὅφειλον τινὰν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὰ Μαλάγινα, ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν καὶ
ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἄρατολικῶν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Σελευκείας ὁφείλουσιν ὕπαν-
tάν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὸ Καβόρκιν. ὅτε εἰ μὲν ἔστι τὸ ταξείδιον εἰς Ταρσόν, τὰ
10 λοιπὰ θέματα ὁφείλουσιν ἀποσωφρέεσθαι εἰς Κολώναν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέρη
τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὁφείλουσιν ὕπαντάν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ μὲν Καππάδοξας καὶ ὁ Ἑρατο-
νίτης καὶ ὁ Βουκελλάρις εἰς Κολώναν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρμενιάκος καὶ ὁ Παφλαγών καὶ
ὁ Σεβαστείας εἰς Καισάρειαν. ὅτε τὰ Ἐρμενιάκα θέματα ὁφείλουσιν ἀποσω-
φρέεσθαι εἰς Τεφρικήν εἰς τὸν Βασάν Πύσακα.

4 Δορύλειον L R. | Κολώνας L R. || 5 Ἀρμενιάκας R. | εἰστὸν L ||
6—14 δὲ ... Βασάν Πύσακα L, cons. Huxley, List 92:
ὅτι, ὁ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ὀψικάνων ὁφείλουσιν ὕπαντὰν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς
tὰ Μαλάγινα·
ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς (τῶν Ὀρθοκησίων εἰς τὸ Δορύλειον· ὁ στρατηγὸς)
tῶν Ἄρατολικῶν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Σελευκείας ὁφείλουσιν ὕπαντὰν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὸ
Καβόρκιν.
ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἔστι τὸ ταξείδιον εἰς Ταρσόν, τὰ λοιπὰ θέματα ὁφείλουσιν ἀποσωφρέεσθαι εἰς
Κολώναν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὁφείλουσιν ὕπαντὰν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ μὲν
Καππάδοξας καὶ ὁ Ἑρατονίτης καὶ ὁ Βουκελλάρις εἰς Κολώναν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρμενιάκος καὶ ὁ
Παφλαγών καὶ ὁ Σεβαστείας εἰς Καισάρειαν.
ὅτι, τὰ Ἐρμενιάκα θέματα ὁφείλουσιν ἀποσωφρέεσθαι, (εἰ) εἰς Τεφρικήν, εἰς τὸν Βασάν
Πύσακα.
9 ταξείδειον L || 10 et 12 Κολώνας R. || 12 Ἀρμενιάκας R. || 13 Ἐρμενιάκα
L R.
EXPOSITION OF IMPERIAL EXPEDITIONS AND ROSTER OF APLÉKTA

The aplékta are: the first aplékton at Malagina, the second at Dorylaion, the third at Kaborkin, the fourth at Kolóneia, the fifth at Kaisareia, the sixth at Dazimôn in the (district of the) Armenia-koi.

The stratēgos of the Thrakēsioi and the stratēgos of the Anatolikoi must join the emperor at Malagina. The domestikos of the Scholai and the stratēgos of the Anatolikoi and the stratēgos of Seleukia ought to meet the emperor at Kaborkin. If the expedition is to Tarsos, the remaining themata ought to assemble at Kolóneia, but if it is to the eastern regions, the stratēgos of Kappadokia and those of Charsianon and of the Boukellarioi ought to meet the emperor at Kolóneia, those of the Armeniakoi and of Paphlagonia and of Sebasteia at Kaisareia. The Armenian themata should assemble at Bathys Ryax if the expedition is to Tephrikē.
B. ΤΕΧΤ (B):

ΟΣΑ ΔΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΦΥΛΑΤΤΕΙΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΞΕΙ-ΔΕΥΕΙΝ

Κωνσταντίνος ὁ μέγας, μέλλων ταξιεδεύειν, ἐβουλεύετο τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν πείραν τῶν ἐρωτωμένων, ποῦ δεῖ ταξιεδεύσας και πότε. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς 5 ταύτης εὐρών τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν, ἦρεύνα καὶ, τίνες ἄλλοι γινώσκουσιν ταύτα, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸ ὁλίγου χρόνου, καὶ μαθῶν, καὶ εἰ τίνες ἄλλοι ἔμπειροι τούτων εἰσὶν, συνήγα καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡρώτα ἰδίως καὶ ἰδίως ἐκαστὸν, πόση ἐστιν ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα ἀπὸ τα ὅικοιμενα εἰς τὴν τὴν χώραν καὶ ποδατῇ, R.446 καὶ εἰ μία ὁδὸς ἐστίν ἡ πολλαί αἱ εἰσάγουσαι εἰς αὐτὴν, καὶ εἰ ἀνυδρὰ εἰσὶ 10 τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν χωρία ἡ ἐνυδρα, εἰσὰ ποία ὁδὸς ἔστι στενόχωρος καὶ κρημνώδης καὶ ἐπικινδύνοις καὶ ποία πλατεία καὶ εὐδιάβατος, καὶ εἰ τίς ἐστὶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ποταμὸς μέγας καὶ μὴ δεχόμενος πόρον. εἰσὶ ήρώτα περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας, πόσα κάστρα ἔχει, καὶ ποία τούτων εἰσὶν χοῦρα καὶ ποία ἀνόχυρα, καὶ ποία πολυάνθρωπα καὶ ποία ὄλγανθρωτα, καὶ ἀπὸ πόσου 15 διαστήματος ἄλληλων εἰσὶ, καὶ ποδατ orderBy εἰσὶ τὰ χωρία τὰ παραχειμένα αὐτοῖς, μεγάλα ἡ μικρὰ, καὶ οἱ τόποι ὁμαλοὶ ἡ ἀνώμαλοι, βοτανηφόροι ἡ ἐξορί· ταύτα δὲ ἡρώτα διὰ τὴν χρείαν τῶν ἰππῶν.

Εἰπτα ἡρώτα, ποίος λαὸς παράκειται ὁ δυνάμενος βοηθεῖν τοῖς κάστροις ἐκεῖνος ἐν καιρῳ πολέμου, καὶ ἀπὸ πόσου διαστήματος εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πότε 20 εἰσὶν ἔτοιμοι εἰς ταξιεδίον, καὶ πότε διεσπαρμένοι καὶ ἐπαναπαύομενοι εἰς τὰ ἱδία καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀσύμφθαστοι, καὶ εἰς ποίους τόπους ταξιεδεύουσι καὶ πότε ἡ οὐδέποτε ταξιεδεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἱδίας χώρας εἰσὶ πάντοτε. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ἡρώτα καὶ περὶ ἄλλων χωρῶν, ἕνα ὅριζον ῥηδεῖς οἶδεν, εἰς πολλὰν χώραν βούλεται ταξιεδευείν. πολλάκις γὰρ ὅπω τῶν τοιούτων μνημεῖον εἴ R.447 ἐναντίοι ἡσυχαίστερτα τὰ ἱδία ἡ καὶ πρὸς παράταξιν ἐνεπεπίστημαν.

WHAT SHOULD BE OBSERVED WHEN THE EMPEROR INTENDS TO GO ON AN EXPEDITION

When he was intending to go on an expedition, Constantine the Great was accustomed to take counsel with those who had experience in the relevant matters, such as where and when the expedition should be undertaken. When he had ascertained from this advice the place and time for the expedition, he was also accustomed to enquire as to which others knew about these matters, particularly those with recent experience. And when he had found whether any others were knowledgeable, he summoned these also and asked each one individually how long the route was which ran from home territory to the objective, and of what sort; and whether one road or many led to the objective; and whether the regions along the route were waterless or not. And then he enquired as to which road was narrow, precipitous and dangerous, and which broad and traversible; also whether there was any great river along the way which could not be crossed. Next he enquired about the country: how many fortresses it possessed, which were secure and which insecure, which populous and which sparsely populated, what distance these fortresses were from one another; and of what sort were the villages about them, large or small, and whether these regions were level or rough, grassy or arid. He asked this on account of fodder for the horses.

Then he enquired as to which army was available to support these fortresses in time of war, and at what distance they lay from them, when they were ready to go on campaign, and when dispersed and at rest at their homes, not anticipating war; further, in which places they campaign and when, or whether they never campaign, but remain always in the same region. But he asked the same questions also about other lands, so that no-one would know definitely in which region he intended to campaign. For often, being given information from among such advisers, the enemy secured their borders or prepared themselves for battle.
26 Ταύτα δὲ πάντα ἐρωτήσας καὶ μαθῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτοῖς ἐγγράψως δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ ἄπληκτα καὶ τὰ διαστήματα αὐτῶν, καὶ πόσου λαοῦ ἦστιν ἡ χώρησις αὐτῶν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀπασών ἀποκρίσεων μαθῶν, ὅτι ἀκίνδυνός ἦστιν ἡ ὀδὸς καὶ ὅτι δυνατὴ ἦστιν ἡ ἐκβασις τοῦ ταξείδιου καὶ ὅτι ἐνδοξὸν ἔστι τὸ ταξείδιον τις βασιλέως παρουσίας ἄξιον, καὶ ὅτι συμμαχίαν ὁ τόπος οὐ δέχεται, ἡ δέχεται μὲν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν καρδίν τούτον οὐ δέχεται, καθ’ ὑμέλλουσι ταξείδευσιν, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς ταῦτα διδάσκοντας εἰχε μεθ’ ἐκατού τεπαμμαμνήσκοντας καὶ διδάσκοντας τὰ λείποντα.

Ἐπελαμβάνετο δὲ τῆς φροντίδος τοῦ ταξείδιου, καὶ πρώτα μὲν ἐπέτρεπεν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κεφάλαια ταύτα ἐπετρέπε οὐκ ἀμφιβασία || καὶ ἀσφαλίσκοντας
35 τὰ κάστρα ἀκάνος ἐπιστῆσας ἀνδρας ἐπιτηδεύουσι εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἵνα εἰ συμβῇ ἐλθεῖν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκμυθοῦς, αὐτοὶ ἐκπεμπεῖσαν τὸν λαόν καὶ ἀπαγούσιν εἰς τὰ χωρωματα τρίτον, ἀμφιβάσας τὸν στρατὸν τὰ δέοντα καὶ δυνατὰ περὶ τῆς πλῆκτος τέσσαρος, ἀσφαλίσκοντας τὰς βίγλας τοῦ
40 στοιχάειν μανθάνειν τὰ τῶν ἐκμυθῶν καὶ ἀναφερεῖν αὐτὰ τέμπετον, εὐτρεπ-
44 R. 448 ζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς γεφύρας, ἔνθα ὁ στρατὸς μελετεῖ διαβιβάζοναι καὶ ἔνθα πόρον ὁ ποταμὸς οὐκ ἔχει ἔκτον, παραγγέλλειν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀρχούσιν, ἵνα τοὺς ἀπομένοντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταβαγεῖαν, ἐως τῖνος μὲν χρόνου ἐλαύ-
νωσιν εἰς τὸ ταξείδιον, μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν τὸν λαόν, ἵνα κρύπτωσιν αὐτοὺς
45 δεσμίους.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ταξείδιον καθεστῶν ὀρίσας καὶ πρὸς τὸν χρόνον ἐπιλογισάμενος τὸ χρῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐλλήνα βασιλικὴν χρείαν, ἐπέ-
46 έτρεπε τῷ τῆς σακελλαρίῳ καὶ τῷ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ καὶ τῷ μυνσουρατορι καὶ τῷ δομεστίῳ τῆς ὑπουργίας, ἐκατον κατὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ὑπηρεσίαν, κατὰ τὸν
50 ὀρισθέντα χρόνον ἀπαριθμήσας τὰ φορτώματα, πόσον σαγμαρίων εἴσι, καὶ τοὺς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀναδιδάξας. λαβὼν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σαγμάρων καὶ προσλαβὼν καὶ ἐλλῆνα προσθήκην διὰ τὰ τὰ χωλεύμονα καὶ τὰ κυνηρίζομενα κατὰ, ἐπέτρεπε τῷ τῇ κύμη τοῦ στάβλου καὶ τῷ λογοθέτῃ τῶν ἄγελλων συστήσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σαγμάρων ἐκὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἰππαρίων καὶ
55 ἐλληνικῶν ἵππων, ὅσα ἐν ἐβουλήθην εἰς τὸ κίνημα δοῦναι οἷς αὐτὸς ἐκέλευεν, ὑμιῶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, οἷον στρατιώταις, πρόσφυζεν, ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις.

27 χώρησις Λ || 29 δυνατὶ Λ || 35 ἀσφαλίσκοσθαι Λ || 43 καταβάγειαν R. || 46 καθ’ ἐκατόν R. || 48 μυνσουράτωρι Λ R.
And so, when he had asked all these things and learnt (what was necessary), he permitted them to give him in writing the names of the fortresses and the distances between them and how many men they could support. And having learnt from all these replies that the road was safe, that the return march of the expedition was possible, that the expedition was glorious and worthy of the emperor's presence, and that the district in question received no support or, if it did, that it received none during the period in which they intended to mount the expedition, he kept those who informed of these matters with him, to remind him and to inform of the details still lacking.

He took pains over the expedition, and first of all entrusted the stratēgoi with the following duties: first, to fit out and to secure the fortresses; second, to despatch suitable men into the country, so that, if it should happen that enemies should enter the land, they might evacuate the population and bring them into the strongholds; third, to equip the army with everything necessary with regard to weapons and horses; fourth, to ensure that the scouts were diligent in learning about enemy affairs and in reporting back on them; fifth, to be prepared for bridging operations where the army intends to cross and where the river has no ford; sixth, to charge the civil authorities that those soldiers remaining absent without leave be allowed to join the expedition up to a certain time; but that after the army has set off, let them bind them and imprison them.

The emperor himself determined the date of the expedition personally and, when he had reckoned up the funds and other imperial requirements nearer the time, he commissioned the sakella-rios, the prōtovestiarios, the minsouratōr and the domestikos of the household service, each in his own department, to count up at the stated time the loads and the number of pack-animals required, and to report their number. And taking the number of pack-animals, and adding to it a supplement to take account of lame and injured animals, he ordered the komēs of the stable and the logothetēs of the herds to make a grand total of the animals; and in addition, the total of the imperial pack-horses and any other horses which the emperor might wish to give at the start of the expedition to those whom he commands, and likewise to those during the expedition, such as soldiers, refugees, titled persons, and similar.
Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διοικήσας, ὥριζε τὸν ἐκ προσώπου | αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτῷ διατάξεις ταῦτας· ἀπαριθμησάς τὸν λαὸν, ὅσιον τε ὑπὸ τὰ τάγματα εἰς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅσιον ὑπὸ τὸν ὑπαρχόν, καὶ τούτους προ||ορίζειν
61 καθεαυτόν, ἐν πολίῳ μέρει ἑκατὸν τούτων τῶν συστημάτων φυλάξει τὴν πόλιν ἐν || καιρῷ ἐπιδημίας ἔχθρῶν· ἀνορθοῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν τειχῶν κλάσματα καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ δύσεως ἑρχόμενα μανδάτα καταμηνύειν, ἐως ἃν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ οἰκούμενα παρέλθῃ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ μὲν στουδαία καὶ κίνδυνον σύντομον ἀπειλοῦντα διοικεῖν αὐτῶν, καθὼς ἂν νομίσῃ συμφέρον εἰναι, βουλεύομενον μετὰ τῶν χρησμωτέρων τῆς πόλεως· τὰ δὲ μηδεμίαν στουδὴν ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' εὐτελή ὄντα καὶ φανερά, διοικεῖν, τὰ δὲ μεγάλης φροντίδος δεόμενα ὑποκρατεῖν μέχρι τῆς ὑποστροφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως· προσέχειν δὲ μάλιστα περὶ αἰφνιδίου ἐπιδημίας ἔχθρῶν, καὶ διὰ τούτο μάλιστα γράφειν τε συνεχῶς καὶ δέχεσθαι τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων θεμάτων, καὶ κατασκοπεῖν τὰ τῶν γειτόνων ἕχθρῶν, καὶ μανθάνειν καὶ ἀναδιάσκειν· ἵνα γι' ἐμ' καθεαυτόν φροντίζειν περὶ ὅπλων, ὅθεν ἔξει αὐτὰ ἐν καιρῷ χρεᾶς· ταῦτα δὲ λογίζεσθαι καθεαυτόν καὶ ἐτοιμά-ζεσθαι χωρίς ταραχῆς, ἵνα μὴ φόβον ἐμβάλλῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ πολυτιμότερον στήσει τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὰ λουτὰ τῶν εἰδῶν· κατασιγχὲν δὲ τὰς ἀλόγους
75 φήμας καὶ τὰς ταραχὰς, ποτὲ μὲν σωφρονίζοντα τοὺς τὰς φήμας γεννώντας, ποτὲ δὲ ἐπιπαλεῖν τοὺς πολίτας τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίαν· ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πλάττειν ἀγαθὰς φήμας ὡς κελεύσεως ἐλθόντης πλὴν ἀφρίστως, ἢ καὶ ἅλλως ἀπὸ τινὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἔλθοντων, τῶν μὲν τὴν βαθυμίαν, τῶν δὲ τὰς ταραχὰς παύοντα.

80 Ὁὖτω δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων τοῦ ἐκ προσώπου διαταξάμενος ὁ Ἰουλίος Καῖσαρ, ὕλην τῆς τάξεως ὑποκρατήσας λόγῳ τῆς ἱδίας ἐξόδου, τοὺς λουτοὺς ἀπέστελλεν, ἐνθα τὰ τάγματα τὸν βασιλέα ἐξεδέχοντο, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀλόγων καὶ φορτωμάτων καὶ τὰς μεγίστας σχημάς· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς γνωστοὺς τῶν ἁγίων συναγωγῶν περὶ καθάρ-
85 σεως ἦτεῖτο ψυχικῆς, εἶτα ἐλεημοσύνας ἐποιεῖν κατὰ τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ πλησίαζοντα αὐτῷ. καὶ τελευταῖον ἀπερχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς ναοὺς || χάριν εὐχῆς, ἐν ὀλὲ ἐποιεῖτο μάλιστα τὰς προελεύσεις, καὶ ὑποστρέφων ἐπὶ τὸ

61 καθ' ἑαυτὸν L M R. || 65 καθως L, καθως M || 69 συχνῶς M || 70 ἐκ τὰ ἄκρα θέματα M | καὶ1 om. M || 71, 72 καθ' ἑαυτὸν L M R. || 73 ἐμβάλλῃ L, ἐμβάλλῃ M || 75 σωφρονίζοντα M, σωφρονίζοντα L || 78—79 τῶν μὲν τὴν βαθυμίαν παύοντα, τῶν δὲ τὰς ταραχὰς. ὅτως ... M || 85 ἦτεῖτο L, ἦτεῖτο M
When he had dealt with all these matters, he appointed his representative in the City, and gave him the following orders: to count up the troops, both those under the authority of the tagmata of the City and those under the Eparch, and to assign them in advance, according to his own wishes, in which area each of these groups should guard the City in time of enemy attack; to repair the damaged sections of the walls, and to forward news reports coming from the West, until the emperor should himself pass back into home territory. Afterwards, he should attend to those serious matters which threatened immediate danger, in whatever manner he considered advantageous, taking counsel with the most appropriate men of the City. He was himself to deal with those matters which were of no importance, since they were not significant and were straightforward; but he was to put aside until the emperor's return those matters which demanded great care. He was to guard against sudden attacks by the enemy in particular, and in this connection was constantly to write to and receive reports from the border themata, and to keep an eye on neighbouring hostile peoples, to learn and to report. Furthermore, he was personally to pay attention to weapons, and whence he should procure them in time of need. He was to take these matters into account in person, and to be prepared in advance without fuss so as not to inspire fear in the City, and hence encourage corn and the other necessities to become dearer. He should also suppress foolish rumours and disturbances, sometimes punishing those responsible for spreading the rumours, sometimes reassuring the citizens on the safety of the emperor and the army. Occasionally he should invent good rumours, such as that an imperial order has arrived, but without giving details; or alternatively that an order has come with a member of the expedition, the former stemming indifference, the latter the disturbances.

When he had thus instructed his representative in these matters, and keeping back a few of the retinue for his own departure, Julius Caesar sent the remainder to where the tagmata awaited the emperor, and along with them most of the imperial horses and the baggage and the great tents. And having gathered together the holy men closest to him, he craved for spiritual purification, and then gave alms throughout the City and the neighbouring districts. Finally, visiting the churches in order to pray, in particular those in which he was a participant in the holy processions, he returned to
παλάτιον, ἐκείθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐξῆρχετο, καὶ πολλοὶ λαοῦ, τῶν τε ὑπὸ τὸν
R. 451 ὑπάρχον καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως στρατοῦ παρόντων ἐκεῖ καὶ εὐχομένων τὸν |
M 1° βασιλέα. τελευταίον δὲ μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον οἱ || μὲν
91 παριστάμενου πάντες ἐπιπτον, αὐτὸς δὲ, τρίτον σφυραγίσας τὴν πόλιν, ἔκλει.

Ἡράστα δὲ, ἀχρὶ τοῦ συνοψιαζῆναι τὸν λαὸν, διὰ τριῶν, ἐδείπνεε δὲ διὰ
dύο πλὴν τῆς κυριακῆς· ἀκίνητος δὲ ἔμενεν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. φθάνοντα δὲ
αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν λαὸν, ὑπῆρχον αὐτῷ οἱ προλαβόντες τῆς τάξεως καὶ τὰ
95 τάγματα ἐπὶ τῷ ἄχρι τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οὕτω συνείποντο
ἀχρὶ τῆς κορίνης. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάλει τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐδίδου
αὐτοῖς ἀποκόμιβιν καὶ μαίνουμι τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἐκείθεν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ
κυνοῦντα τὸν βασιλέα κατὰ τὴν ὅδον τοῦ ταξείδου, ἐκαστὸν θέμα ὑπῆρντα αὐτῷ
κατὰ τὸ πλησίαζον μέρος τῆς ὅδοι, ἵνα μὴ κοπία ὁ λαὸς ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ,
100 καθήν ἐδέχετο αὐτὸν τὸ θέμα, ἐκάλει τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος.

Τὴν δὲ χρείαν τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπηρεσίας, τουτέστι σφακτὰ τε καὶ ἄρνια καὶ
tὰ τοιαύτα καὶ τὸ σφιμάν τῆς φιλοτιμίας καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν μαίνουμι, ἔχορηγεν
ἐκαστὸς πρωτονοτάριος ἐν τῷ ἱδίῳ θέματι διερχόμενον τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ
ἀριστοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν συνωνῶν· ἡ καὶ μὴ ἔχων, λαμβάνων ἐκ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ,
R. 452 αὐτὸς διώκει ταῦτα, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς μαίνουμάδας ἐδίδου τοῖς ἐκ μαχρότερων
106 τῶν ἐρχομένων θέμασιν.

Ἡ δὲ προέλευσις τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡ τάξεως τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τῶν θεμᾶ-
tων ἦν οὕτως· περιπατόντος ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίον ἵπποι μετὰ
ἀληθείων βορκαδίων διὰ στόχων δύο, δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερὰ· μετ’ ἐκείνους δὲ οἱ
110 βασιλικοὶ ἄρχοντες· εἶτα οἱ στράτοφος μετὰ σελλαρίων καὶ ἡ λυπή μυστικω-
tέρα τάξεως· ἐπειτα ὁ βασιλεῦς· ὅτι σου ὑπὸ τοῦτο ὡς ἀπὸ σαγιοτοβόλων

L 3° τριῶν ὁστερ κατὰ μίαν || εὐθεῖα τὰ στρατεύματα. καὶ μέσον μὲν τὰ τάγματα,
καὶ τῶν τῶν ταμώτερα ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον τόπον, παρ’ ἐκάτερα δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων

89 ὑπάρχον M || 93 φθάνοντα M || 95 καὶ οὕτως μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως συνείποντο
M || 97 post ἀποκόμιβιν ante καὶ· ἐδίδον δὲ M || 98 κυνοῦμενον M || 99
καταται M || 100 καθ’ ἐν M R. || 101 post τε ante καὶ· ἐκ (= καὶ) L || 104
ἀριστοῦ L R. || συνωνῶν L R. || εἰδικοῦ M || 105 διώκει L M || 109 μετὰ

5448
the palace and thence departed the City. And a great host, both from among the staff of the Eparch and from the army of the City, were present there and prayed for the emperor. And at last, after he had gone on board ship, all those standing about fell to the ground, while as he set off he made the sign of the cross three times towards the City.

Until he reviewed the army, he broke his fast each day with three table guests, and dined with two, except on Sundays. For he remained stationary on that day. When he came up with the army, those of the retinue who had set out in advance, and the tagmata, met him at the perimeter of the aplēktōn; and thus with the emperor they proceeded together as far as the imperial pavilion. On the same day, he called the officers to him, and granted them a purse of gold, and a feast for the soldiers. From there, the emperor proceeded with the army along the expeditionary route, each themā meeting him at a point near to the line of march, so that the army might not tire. And on the same day on which each themā met him, he summoned the officers of the same themā.

When the emperor passed through, each prōtonotarios supplied the requirements of the imperial cortège from the aerikon and the synōnē in his themā, that is: animals for slaughter, lambs, and such like, and the provisions for the largesses and the remaining feasts. If he cannot supply all this, then he takes it from the eidikon, and administers these matters himself, issuing rations for feasts in particular to those themata which have travelled farthest.

The retinue of the emperor and the order of tagmata and themata was as follows: in front of the emperor, at a distance of one mile, went horses with purple brocades, in two files to right and left. After them came the imperial archontes; then came the stratores with saddled horses and the rest of the emperor’s personal cortège; and then the emperor. Behind him, at a distance of three bowshots, as if in a straight line, the troops. In the centre were the tagmata, the most honoured being in the middle; and on either side of the tagmata

δὲ ἐκείνους Μ  ||  109—110 οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνους οἱ στράτορες Μ  ||  
110 σελλάρια Μ  ||  111 εἶτα Μ  ||  καὶ ὀπισθὲν τοῦ βασιλέως Μ
τὰ θέματα, καὶ τούτων πλησιέστερα τοὺς τάγματι τὰ ἐνδοξότερα τῶν θεμάτων.

Οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀπλήκτα καὶ τὰς ὀδοὺς τῆς ὑμετέρας γῆς κατέχοντες καὶ γινώσκοντες οἱ μὲν προελάμβανεν μετὰ τῆς κόρης καὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας, οἱ δὲ ἐμπροσθεν τῶν θεμάτων προέτρεχον ὑποδεικνύοντες τοὺς τῶν ποταμῶν πόρους καὶ τὰς εὐθέias ὀδοὺς. τοὺς δὲ ὀδηγοὺς καὶ ἐκατέργασον τὸ κατείχαν ὁ

M 2 R ὁ δρουγάριος τῆς βιγλίας. ὁ ὑπήρχον δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν καὶ αἱ παραμοναὶ τῶν

121 στρατηγῶν πρὸς τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ μνημεῖον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὰ κελευθέρων αὐτοῖς.

R. 453 Ἡ δὲ πρώτῃ δοξῆ ἐκάστῳ θεμάτῳ ἢν οὔτως ἢ ἀπὸ δ ὑδῷ καὶ τριῶν

σαγιττοβόλων τῆς ὀδοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἵστατο παραφηγαμένον τὸ θέμα· ἔπειδαν
dὲ εἴδον τὸν βασιλέα πλησιάζοντα, ὃ μὲν στρατὸς ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν, οἱ

125 δὲ ἄρχοντες, καταβάντες πάντες, ἔπὶ γῆς ἵσιας ἐπιπτον, εἶτα ἀναστάντες μετὰ
cαντός τοῦ στρατοῦ εὑρήκουν τὸν βασιλέα. ὃ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξένευε, καὶ ὅπως

ἐξούσιαν, ἡρώτα, καὶ οὔτως πάλιν ὑπεστρεφέν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀδόν. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ
cατάστασις ἢν αὐτῷ ἄχρι τῶν οἰκουμένων. μέλλων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄοικητα
eἰσέρχεσθαι, ἀπεβάλλετο τὸ τε περισσότερον χρῆμα καὶ τὰ φορτώματα καὶ

130 τοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ ἀσθενεστέρους καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀλόγων χωλὰ καὶ τετραματισμένα.

ἐδίδον δὲ αὐτοῖς κεφαλὴν καὶ μέρος ὅλιγον στρατοῦ ἐις φυλακήν, ἐκέλευε το
dρησιάζειν καὶ ἐν τῶν ἀσφαλεστέρων κάστρων, ὅπερ πλησιεστέρων ἐστὶ πρὸς
tὴν μέλλουσαν ἔξοδον τοῦ λαοῦ γίνεσθαι.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὄριζεν ἀπὸ τῶν θεμάτων μοίρας τινάς, τοὺς μὲν προπο-

135 ῥευσθαι ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ φοσσάτου πρὸς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ ὑπισθεν

L 4 ἐπακολουθεῖν, οὓς καλοῦσι νωτοφύλακας. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸι ὑπήρχον καὶ θηρευτα

τῶν διὰ δειλίαν ἢ φραυμάν στρεφομένων. οἱ δὲ παρ’ ἐκάτερα περιπέτανοι,

R. 454 οὓς ἐκάλουν πλαγιοφύλακας. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα ἐσκόπουν τοὺς μέλλοντας

προσφεύγειν εἰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς.

140 Περιπέτανοι δὲ πάντες τοσοῦτον ἀπέχοντες τοῦ φοσσάτου, ὅπερ μὴ

ἀποκρύπτεσθαι εἰς αὐτῶν διὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ὅσον δυνατὸν
eστὶ προευπροειπῆσθαι τὸ φοσσάτον εἰς ἀπάντησιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτων

μνημονίατα. οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προτρέχοντες ἑκείνου μᾶλλον ὑπήρχον τοῦ

118—119 τοὺς πόρους τῶν ποταμῶν M || 120 βιγλίας M || ὑπ’ αὐτῶν L, ὑπ’

αὐτῶ R. || 121 δὲ αὐτῶν M || 123 σαγιττοβόλων L M || 125 καταβάντες

ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν πάντες ἵσιας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπιπτον M || 126—127 ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐξένευεν

ὡς πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἡρώτα δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἔχουσι· M || 130 τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους τοῦ λαοῦ
the themata, with the more distinguished of them nearest the tagmata.

Of those who secured and were familiar with the aplēkta and the roads of our land, some go on ahead with the household and retinue, others precede the themata, pointing out the river crossings and the straight roads. The druggarios of the Vigla has charge of the guides in each thema; and the attendants of the stratēgoi are also under his command, so that he can pass on to the latter their orders.

The first reception of each thema was as follows: the thema took up position two to three bowshots from the emperor's route. When they saw the emperor approach, the army remained mounted on their horses, while the officers, dismounting, fell upon the ground. Then, standing up again, they cheered the emperor with the whole army. He approaches them and asks how they are, and returns once more to the road. This ceremony was observed by the emperor as long as he remained on Roman soil. When he intended to march into deserted country, however, he discarded the superfluous supplies and baggage, and the less fit members of the expedition, along with the lame and injured beasts. He appointed a commander for them, and seconded a small detachment of the main army as a guard, and ordered them to march to one of the most secure fortresses, one which was nearer to the intended withdrawal-point of the army.

After this he issued orders to selected thematic detachments, some to go ahead of the army as a vanguard, others to follow on behind, known as the rearguard. These latter were also hunters of those who turned back out of cowardice or idleness; others patrolled on either side, referred to as flank-guards; and these looked out in particular for those intending to desert to the enemy.

All these detachments patrolled at such a distance from the main force as not to be cut off from them by the ambuscades of the enemy, yet, as far as was possible, so that the army should be warned in advance of the approach of the enemy, having been informed by these scouts. Those going on ahead of the emperor were

M | καὶ τὰ ἄλογα τὰ χωλὰ καὶ τὰ τετραματισμένα M || 131 μέρος ὀλίγον M R., μέρος ὀλίγου L || 131—133 καὶ ἐκέλευε πληροίζειν καθὰ τῶν ἀσφαλεστέρων κάστρων, ὅπερ πλησιέστερον ἐστὶ τῶν κάστρων πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐξοδον τοῦ λαοῦ γίνεσθαι M || 134 ὅριζεν L || 143 προτρέχοντες M, προέχοντες L R.
Θέματος, οἱ ἐπιληπτὰς τῷ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γῆ διὰ τὸ καὶ πείραν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τῶν 145 τε ὀδῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τόπων τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ἔτι τὴν πείραν τῶν ἐνδερευμά-
των καὶ τῶν πολέμων αὐτῶν. αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑποθερόφυλλακς οὐκ ἠλλασσον·
τοὺς δὲ πλαγιοφύλλακας ἐνήλλασσον διὰ τὸν πλεῖστον κόπον· οὐ γὰρ τὴν εὐθείαν
περιπάτουν αὐτοῖ, ἀλλὰ τὴν τραχυτέραν καὶ δυσεπίβατον. οὕτω δὲ κινούμε-
νοι, τὰς νύκτας περιχαρακωθέντες καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀσφάλειαν ποιῆσαντες διὰ
150 τοὺς νυκτοπολέμους, ἀνεπαύοντο.

Τέλος

144 τῇ γῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν Μ || 145 ἄλλων Μ || 146—147 ὑποθερόφυλλακς ... κόπον Μ, ὑποθερόφυλλακς ἐνήλλαττον διὰ τὸν πλεῖστον κόπον Λ Ρ. || 151 τέλος add.
man. post. Λ, abest Μ, om. Ρ.
preferably from that \textit{thema} which bordered enemy country, since they had experience of the roads and strongpoints of the enemy, and of their ambuscades and ways of making war. They did not change (the duties) of these men and (those of) the rearguard; but they did relieve the flank-guards, on account of the excessive toil involved, since they did not take the direct route, but rather a rough one, difficult to pass. And advancing in this manner, they took rest within a defensive ditch at night, seeing to other security measures against nocturnal incursions.

End
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΑΙΩΝΙΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΩ- 
R. 455 ΜΑΙΩΝ, ΓΙΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΙΔΙΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΒΑ- 
ΣΙΛΕΩΣ, ΑΠΟΓΟΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΙΚΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟ- 
ΣΤΕΦΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ

ΟΣΑ ΔΕΙ ΓΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΥΨΗΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ 
ΤΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΦΟΣΣΑΤΕΥΣΑΙ

"Αχουε, υίε, λόγους πατρός σου, Σολομών σοι παραξελεύεται. παρά 
πολλών γάρ ἀκούσεις τὰ δέοντα, ἄλλα οὐ φύσει τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰσοίσεις διδάγ- 
10 ματα, εἰ μὴ παρὰ πατρός ἀκούσας τὰ ἀριστα. γνησίους γάρ παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ 
ἀληθεῖς τῷ δότι τοὺς λόγους ὑποθεξάμενος, ὥστε τινὰ κλήρον ἔξεις πατρῴων, 
τὴν σωτηρίαν ἥκει προξενοῦντά σοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀλλων κατὰ χάριν λεγόμενοι

R. 456 τῆς ἀληθείας πολλάκις ἐναποδένονται. οἱ δὲ ἐκ πατρικῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῆς 
ἀληθείας ἀφικνούμενοι πολλήν χαρίζονται τοῖς ἴδιοῖς διακαντός τὴν ὠφέλειαν.
15 ἄχουε τοῖνυν, υίε, παρὰ πατρός, ἀ μὴ καλὸν ἔστιν ἄγνοειν· εἰ γὰρ ἄγνοια 
κακόν, ή τῶν πραγμάτων γνώσεις δήλον ὅτι καλὸν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀναγκαίων 
καὶ διὸ πολλὴ καθέστηκε ἡ φροντίς. ἀναγκαίοτερον δὲ τὶ ἄλλο γένοιτο πολε- 
μικῆς εὐτολμίας καὶ τῆς τῶν πραγόνων παλαιᾶς εὐταξίας, ἢν ἐν πολέμοις ἐξὸν 
tὸ πρότερον βασιλικοίς ταξιδίοις κατάστασιν;

20 Ταύτην γὰρ πάλαι φημιζομένην καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρὰ πολλοῖς θρηλου- 
mένην μὴ καὶ ἐγγράφως ἔχειν, οὐ δίκαιον οúde καλὸν ἡγησάμεθα. λυσιτελής 
γὰρ σοι, θεόστεπτε Ῥωμανέ, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἡ τοῦτων γενήσεται 
συγγραφή, Ῥωμαϊκὴν δὴλοῦσα μεγαλειότητα.

"Οθεν πολλὰ περὶ τούτων ἀνερευνησιτες καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπόμνησιν ἐνα- 
25 ποικιμένην τῷ παλατίῳ εὐρίσκοντες, ὡς καὶ μόλις ποτὲ περὶ τούτων 
ὑπόμνημα ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ καλομένῃ Σιγριανής εὐρεῖν ἢδυνήθησεν, ἐν ἡ Λέων 
L 5* ο μάγιστρος, Ῥωμαῖκας ἢν ἐπώνυμον, τὸν μονήρη βλέν ἡσπάσατο. οὕτος
CONSTANTINE, EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS IN CHRIST THE ETERNAL KING, SON OF LEO THE MOST WISE EMPEROR OF BLESSED MEMORY, DESCENDANT OF BASIL THE MOST COURAGEOUS AND MOST BRAVE EMPEROR, TO RÖMANOS, GOD-CROWNED EMPEROR, HIS SON

WHAT SHOULD BE OBSERVED WHEN THE GREAT AND HIGH EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS GOES ON CAMPAIGN

Listen, son, to the words of your father, Solomon exhorts you. For you will hear about duties from many, but you will not reap the lessons of virtue by nature alone unless you hear the best things from your father. For when you have accepted his words as genuinely truthful, you will have what amounts to a paternal legacy, always promoting your salvation. For the words of others, spoken for favours, often lack truth; whereas those from a father’s heart, being honest, bestow upon their sons perpetual advantage. Listen, therefore, son, to your father, whose advice it is not good to ignore; for if ignorance is bad, it is clear that a knowledge of practical matters is good, and most especially of those things touching upon the affairs of the state, to which much care has been devoted. For what could be more important than courage in warfare and the ancient discipline of our forefathers, the order of things to which they held formerly in imperial wartime expeditions?

Now this subject has been reported upon in past times and discussed by many up to the present day, but it has not been contained in writing, a fact which we have held to be neither just nor good. And so it is profitable for you, divinely-crowned Romanos, that there should be a compendium containing these matters, along with others, which demonstrates the greatness of the Romans.

Hence, having completed a great deal of research, yet finding no memorandum deposited in the palace, we were at last just able to discover one which dealt with these matters in the monastery called Sigríanë, in which Leo the magistros, named Katakylas, had embraced the monastic life. For this magistros committed these things to writing by order of Leo the Christ-loving and most wise emperor
γάρ οἱ μάγιστροις περὶ τοῦτων ἐγγράφως διήθετο ἐκ προστάξεως Λέοντος τοῦ 
R. 457 φιλοχριστοῦ καὶ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως Ὁρμαίων, τοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ 
30 σοῦ πάππου. ἀλλ’ ἔπει μούσης Ἑλληνικῆς ἀμέτοχος οἱ μάγιστροις ἦν, τολλὰ 
βάρβαρα τε καὶ σόλοικα καὶ ἀσυνταξίας ή τοῦτο συγγραφὴ περιείχεν, εἰ καὶ 
ὁ ἄνθρωπος θεοσεβῆς καὶ ἀνήρ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἦν τῶν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὡς ἔδειξέν 
ὁ αὐτοῦ βίος. ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ ἀμοιρεῖν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ 
ἤ τοῦτο συγγραφῆ μᾶλλον ὑπήρξεν ἐπισφαλῆς καὶ ἐπιλήψιμος, ὅμως ἐπαί- 
35 νεθή καὶ ἄληθῆς τῷ θεοσεβῆ εἶναι τόν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐνάρετον. ταύτην ἡμεῖς 
ἐυρόντες παρημιλημένην τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ὡς ἐν ἰχνει σκιάς ἀμυδρῶς πως τά 
πράγματα διαγγέλλουσαν καὶ μηδε τό τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῶν, ὄντερ ἡμεῖς 
πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον τε καὶ πλατικότερον μεταγάγομεν, ἔχουσαν, συνεγραφά- 
μεδά σοι τοῦ καταλύειν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν.

40 Ἡ τούν τοιαύτη τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξιεδίων τάξει τε καὶ ἄκολουθα 
ἐφυλάττετο καὶ ἐνήργειτο ἦσις Μιχαήλ τοῦ φιλοχριστοῦ δεσπότου καὶ Βάρδα 
τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου καλόσαρος καὶ Θεοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιότέρων βασιλέων 
ἡ τοιαύτη δηλονότι παράδοσις πρὸς αὐτοῦς καταχθεῖσα, Θεοφίλου τε καὶ 
Μιχαῆλ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάππου τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μιχαῆλ τοῦ φιλοχριστοῦ δεσπότου τοῦ 
45 ὡσαύτως δὲ κάκεινος ἐκ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων φημὶ τὴν τοιαύτην παρά-
R. 458 δοσίν κατελθείν. παλαιότέρους δὲ φημι τοὺς Ἰσαύρους ἐκείνους καὶ περὶ τὴν 
ὁρθόδοξον πίστιν τὰ μέγιστα πλημμελήσαντας· οὗ γάρ, παλαιότερους εἰπών, 
tὸν μέγαν ἐκείνον λέγω καὶ ἀοίδιμον καὶ ἄγιον Κωνσταντίνον, οὔτε Κωνσταν- 
tίνιον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, οὔτε τὸν δυσσεβεστάτον Ἰουλιανόν, οὔτε μὴν Θεοδόσιον 
50 τὸν μέγαν καὶ τοὺς μετ’ ἐκείνον. ἣν δὲ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ ἄνδρικωτά-
tου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως, τοῦ καὶ πάππου, ἡ τοιαύτη τάξεις ἑνεργομενή 
L 5ε· καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τηρομένη, καθὼς ἐγγράφως ἡμεῖς || ἐκθέσθαι ὡς οἶον τε 
πειρασόμεθα.

‘Ο μέγας καὶ ὑψηλὸς αὐτοχράτωρ μέλλων φοσσατεύειν καὶ κατ’ ἐξήθρων 
55 ὅπλα κινεῖν καὶ στρατεύματα, εὐθὺς προστάσει τοῦ κρεμασθήκαι ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ 
ἐξωθεν τῶν πυλῶν λωρίκιον καὶ σπαθιόν καὶ σκυουτάριον. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τοῖς 
πᾶσι γίνεται δήλη ἡ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ φοσσάτου εὐτρέπσις, καὶ ἐκ τότε ἐκαστος ἄρχων 
καὶ ἀρχόμενος τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὅπλα καὶ δάκα ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἄρμαζοντα 
στρατιώτη παρασκευάζειν ἀπάρχεται. εἰτα μετὰ ταύτα καὶ τῷ τῶν ἄγελῶν 
60 λογοθετή προστάσει τοῦ δικαίων διανομῆν τε καὶ ἐκθέσθην μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ
of the Romans, our father and your grandfather; but since the *magistros* was unaccomplished in Hellenic letters, his book contains many barbarisms and solecisms and lapses of syntax, even though the man was devout and most desirous of the things of the spirit, as his life showed. But in that he did not partake of Hellenic learning, as we have said, his compilation was somewhat weak and misleading; nevertheless it was praiseworthy and accurate insofar as the man was pious and virtuous. Since we found this work composed in a negligent fashion, therefore, setting matters forth indistinctly as though in the footprints of a phantom, so to speak, and not even equalling a third part of that which we have conveyed for the sake of greater clarity and greater detail, we have written these things down for you in order to bequeath them as a memorandum and guide.

Now an order and procedure for imperial expeditions such as the aforementioned was observed and put into practice up until the time of Michael the Christ-loving Despot and of Bardas his uncle, the most fortunate *Kaisar*, this tradition clearly having been handed down to them from the preceding emperors, that is to say Theophilos and Michael, the father and grandfather of the same Michael the Christ-loving Despot. Which is to say that such a tradition came down to them in the same way from the earlier emperors. By "earlier", I mean those Isaurians who fell into the gravest error with regard to the Orthodox faith; I do not mean by "earlier" the great and famed and holy Constantine, nor Constantius his son, nor the most impious Julian, nor even Theodosius the Great and those who came after him. This very procedure was again put into practice during the reign of Basil the most courageous and most pious emperor, my grandfather, and was precisely observed in the manner which we shall endeavour, as far as is possible, to demonstrate in writing.

When the great and high emperor is about to go on an expedition and to mobilise arms and troops against the enemy, he orders first of all that a *lērikion* and a sword and shield should be hung up on the Chalkē, outside the gates. From this, the preparation of an imperial expedition is made clear to all, and from this moment each officer and soldier begins to prepare his weapons and such things as are necessary and required of a soldier. Then, after this had taken place, he orders the *logothetēs* of the herds that a fair distribution and rationing (of baggage animals) from the *mitata* of Asia and
ποιείσθαι καὶ πάσης εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀληθείας τοῖς τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας μητάτοις κατὰ τὴν ἱσχύν τε καὶ δύναμιν ἐνός ἐκάστου μητάτου, ὡς ἡ τάξις τῶν προκειμένων ἐκάστου τὸν ὀφειλόμενον ἀριθμὸν ὀρισμένως ἔχουσα πάσι καθ' Ῥ. 459 ἱσταται πρόθελος. διὰ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας μωλάρια | σ' ἄνα νομισμάτων ει', 65 ἱππόρρια σ' ἄνα νομισμάτων ιβ', ὁμοῦ νομίσματα 'ευθ', γινόμενα χρυσοῦ λίτραι ος'.

Διὰ τῶν συνηθείων τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν βασιλικῶν στάβλων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἐξω ἐν τοῖς στάβλοις.

Διὰ τοῦ κόμητος τοῦ στάβλου μωλάρια δ' καὶ ἱππόρρια δ'. διὰ τοῦ 70 χαρτουλαρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπείκτου μωλάρια δ' καὶ ἱππόρρια δ'. διὰ τοῦ ἐξω χαρτουλαρίου μωλάρια β' καὶ ἱππόρρια β'. διὰ τῶν σαφραμέντων μωλάριον α' καὶ ἱππόρριον α' διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων κομήτων μωλάριον α' ὁμοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων νομίσματα τυβ', γινόμενα λίτραι δ', νομίσματα κς' καὶ ὁμοῦ τὸ πάν λίτραι τ', νομίσματα κς'.

75 Καὶ τὰ μὲν μωλάρια τὰ σ', ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ ἱππόρρια τὰ σ', καταβιβάζει ταῦτα ὁ λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγελῶν εἰς τὰ Μαλάγινα, καὶ παραλαμβάνει αὐτὰ ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου καὶ ὁ ἐσω χαρτουλαρίος τοῦ στάβλου πενταέτια, ἐξαέτια καὶ ἑπταετία, μὴ ἔχοντα σπιλώματα εἰς τὴν ψύαν. καὶ σφραγίζονται τὰ τετρακόσια εἰς τὰ δύο μέρη τῆς καπούλας βασιλικῆς βούλλαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς 80 τὸν ἐπερχόμενον χρόνον γίνεται ἡ αὐτὴ ἐκθέσεις καὶ βούλλωσις. λαβίδουνται Ῥ. 460 πάντα τὰ ἱππόρρια καὶ γίνονται εὐθ'.νοῦχα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ φοσσάτου γίνεται Ῥ. 6' προσθήκη. καὶ φέρει ὁ λογοθέτης ἰσοσχηματικϊα τὰ σ' σαμάρια ἔχοντα ἐνδύματα ἐν ταῖς στρατοῦρας κέντρου καὶ κατα σωματικών φορτωμάτων, κεκαλυμμένα, ἐπιφερόμενα καὶ σελινάκα, ἁμα καὶ τῶν καταστροφῶν αὐτῶν. καὶ οὔδε 85 ὡσαύτως ἐπαρκούσην εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν ὑπηρεσίαν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ καρδαὶ τοῦ φοσσάτου προσάπαξ δίδουσιν σὲ στρατηγόν μωλάρια τῷ βασιλεῖ σύντος. ὁ Ἀνατολικὸς μωλάρια γ', ὁ Ἀρμενικός μωλάρια γ', ὁ Θρακής μωλάρια γ', ὁ Οφικάνος μωλάρια γ', ὁ Βουκελλάριος μωλάρια γ', καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ ἀνὰ μωλάριων β' τῆς τοῦ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως. οἱ Σελευκείας μωλάριον α', 90 ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν μωλάρια γ', ὁ δρούγγαριος τοῦ πλοίου μωλάρια γ', ὁ ἔξοδικτος μωλάριον α', ὁ ἱκανότατος μωλάριον α', ὁ νούμερος καὶ ὁ τείχωτης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ὀπτημάτων ἀνὰ μωλάριον α' ὁμοῦ μωλάρια νη'.

73 τυδ' cor. fals. R. || 75 ὡσαύτως L || 78 σπηλώματα L R. || 87 Ῥ. 6' προσθήκη. καὶ φέρει ἰσοσχηματικϊα τὰ σ' σαμάρια ἔχοντα ἐνδύματα κατα στρατοῦρας κέντρου καὶ σωματικών φορτωμάτων, κεκαλυμμένα, επιφερόμενα καὶ σελινάκα, ἁμα καὶ τῶν καταστροφῶν αὐτῶν. καὶ οὔδε 85 ὡσαύτως ἐπαρκούσην εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν ὑπηρεσίαν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ καρδαὶ τοῦ φοσσάτου προσάπαξ δίδουσιν σὲ στρατηγόν μωλάρια τῷ βασιλεῖ σύντος. ὁ Ἀνατολικὸς μωλάρια γ', ὁ Ἀρμενικός μωλάρια γ', ὁ Θρακής μωλάρια γ', ὁ Οφικάνος μωλάρια γ', ὁ Βουκελλάριος μωλάρια γ', καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ ἀνὰ μωλάριων β' τῆς τοῦ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως. οἱ Σελευκείας μωλάριον α', 90 ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν μωλάρια γ', ὁ δρούγγαριος τοῦ πλοίου μωλάρια γ', ὁ ἔξοδικτος μωλάριον α', ὁ ἱκανότατος μωλάριον α', ὁ νούμερος καὶ τείχωτης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ὀπτημάτων ἀνὰ μωλάριον α' ὁμοῦ μωλάρια νη'.
Phrygia, and according to the strength and capacity of each mitaton, should be carried out in the fear of God and in all truth and piety. For each of the above-mentioned mitata has a specific number of animals due from it according to its status, which is set down clearly for all: from Asia and Phrygia 200 mules at 15 nomismata, 200 pack-horses at 12 nomismata, in total 5,424 nomismata, which is 76 lbs. gold.

On the customary dues of the officers of the imperial stables, both in the City and in the provincial stables:

From the komēs of the stable, 4 mules and 4 pack-horses; from the chartoularios and the epeiktēs 4 mules and 4 pack-horses; from the provincial chartoularios 2 mules and 2 pack-horses; from the commissariat 1 mule and 1 pack-horse; from the 4 komites 1 mule. Altogether from the officers, 322 nomismata, which is 4 lbs. 26 nomismata. In sum, 80 lbs. 26 nomismata.

The logothetēs of the herds brings the 200 mules and likewise the 200 pack-horses down to Malagina, and the komēs of the stable and the inner chartoularios of the stable select five-, six- and seven-year old animals, with no blemishes on their flanks. These 400 are then branded with the imperial seal on both sides of the forequarters. The same requisition and branding takes place furthermore in the following year. All the pack-horses are castrated and thus become geldings, and serve as a supplement for the expedition's needs. The logothetēs brings the 200 pack-animals fully harnessed, with felt coverings over their saddle-cloths, carrying ropes for the loads, equipped with leggings, horse-shoes and with their halters. These are not as such sufficient, however, for the imperial household; and at the time of an expedition the stratēgoi make a single donation of mules to the emperor as follows: the Anatolikos, 3 mules; the Armeniakos, 3 mules; the Thrakēsios, 3 mules; the Opsikianos, 3 mules; the Boukellarios, 3 mules; the other stratēgoi of East and West 2 mules each; the stratēgos of Seleukeia 1 mule; the domestikos of the Scholai 3 mules; the drouggarios of the fleet, 3 mules; the Exkoubitos, 1 mule; the Hikanatos, 1 mule; the Noumeros and the Teichidēs and the domestikos of the Optimatoi 1 mule each. Altogether, 58 mules.
Διὰ τῶν ὁφρικιαλίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.

Ο ὑπαρχός μωλάριον α’, ὁ σαχελλάρης δύο, ὁ γενικὸς μωλάρια β’, ὁ R.461 κυαίστωρ μωλάριον α’, ὁ τοῦ σαχελλίου μωλάριον α’, ὁ τοῦ βεστιαρίου 96 μωλάριον α’, ΟΙ Δύο κουράτορες καὶ ὁ κτημάτινος ἀνα μωλάριον ἕνας, ΟΙ Δύο πρωτονόταιοι τῶν Δύο κουρατωρικῶν μωλάριον α’, ὁ ζυγοστάτης μωλάριον α’, ὁ εἰδικός μωλάριον α’, ὁ παραθαλασσίτης καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος ἀνά μωλάριον α’, ὁ σύμπονος καὶ ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ πραγματίου μωλάριον α’, το σέκρετον τοῦ 100 γενικοῦ μωλάρια γ’, το σέκρετον τοῦ σαχελλίου μωλάρια β’, το σέκρετον τοῦ βεστιάριου μωλάρια β’ ὁμοῦ μωλάρια κε’ ὁμοῦ διὰ τῶν ἄμφοτέρων μωλάριῶν ἕξεναλία πτ’.

Διὰ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν καὶ ἀρχιεπισκόπων.

Μωλάρια σεσκαμματωμένα τῶν μητροπολιτῶν υβ’ μωλάρια υβ’ τῶν 105 πεντηκονταδύο ἀρχιεπισκόπων τα ρβ’ σεσκαμματωμένα μετὰ καὶ τῶν φορτωμάτων αὐτῶν καὶ κεκαλυγωμένα παραλαμβάνει δε αὐτὰ ὁ κύριος τοῦ στάβλου ἁμα τῷ τοῦ ἔσο χαρτουλαρίῳ καὶ βουλλοὶ αὐτὰ μετὰ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς προμοσέλλας ὁμοῖο μωλάρια ρβ’. καὶ ὁμοῦ τὸ πάν διὰ τῶν ἄμφοτέρων, τῶν τε μητάτων τοῦ λογοθέτου τῶν ἀγελῶν καὶ τῶν ἕξεναλίων, μωλάρια φπε’.

Διὰ τῶν εὐαγγέλων μοναστηρίων.

L 6ν‘ Ἰππάρια ρ’ τὰ παρασυρόμενα ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως δεξιὰ καὶ εὐάνυμα ὁφείλονται δὲ λαβωνοῦνται τοῦ ψευδοχείσθαι οὐ σφραγίζονται δε διότι οὐτὲ κελεοῦ τὸ βασίλεα τοῦ ποιήσατε ἐξοδον εξ αὐτῶν ἐξοδιαζόνται ὅτου R.462 κελεοῦ ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἕξεναλίων τῶν προσφερομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν 115 καιρῷ τοῦ φοσσάτου. λαμβάνει δὲ κύριος τοῦ στάβλου ἁμα τοῦ χαρτουλαρίῳ τοῦ στάβλου ἐκ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ εἰς ἐξοδον λίτρας γ’.

Καὶ θεωρεῖ ὁ κύριος τοῦ στάβλου ἁμα τοῦ χαρτουλαρίῳ εἰς τὸ κεκλάριον τοῦ βασιλικὸν, ὁπόσας στρατούρας ἔχει βασιλικὰς καὶ καθαλκοκιλίκια ἀπὸ Λυδίας ἐκ τῆς κουρατορείας τῶν Τρυχίνων. καὶ λαμβάνει τα σ’ σγαμάτοποσ-

96 κουράτωρες L R. | κτημάτινος L || 97 κουρατωρικῶν L || 103 μητροπολιτῶν L || 109 μιτάτων L || 117 χαρτουλαρίω L || 119 κουρατωρείας L
From the officiaioi and the rest:

The eparch 1 mule; the sakellarios 2, the genikos (logothetēs) 2 mules; the quaeestor 1 mule; the (secretary) of the sakellion 1 mule; that of the vestiarion 1 mule; the two kouratores and the (secretary of the imperial) estates, 1 mule each; the two prōtonotarioi of the two kouratorikia 1 mule; the zygostatēs 1 mule; the eidikos (logothetēs) 1 mule; the parathalassitēs and the barbaros 1 mule each; the symponos and the logothetēs of the praitōrion 1 mule; the staff of the genikon 3 mules; the staff of the sakellion 2 mules; the staff of the vestiarion 2 mules. Altogether 25 mules; and the total from both groups of mules, 83 animals as gifts.

From the metropolitans and archbishops:

52 fully-harnessed mules from the metropolitans; 52 mules from the fifty-two archbishops. These 104 fully harnessed mules, with their loads, are also to be shod. The komēs of the stable, together with the chartoularios of the inner stable takes them, and brands them with the rest of the baggage train, in all 104 mules. And the grand total from both sources, the mitata of the logothetēs of the herds, and the (animals provided as) gifts, 585 mules.

From the pious monasteries:

100 complementary horses, led before the emperor to left and right. They should be castrated and gelded; but they are not branded, since when the emperor orders a gift to be made, it is from among these that animals are presented wherever he commands. Likewise from the animals brought as gifts to the emperor during the course of the expedition. The komēs of the stable, along with the chartoularios of the stable takes 3 lbs. of gold from the eidikon for expenses.

And the komēs of the stable along with the chartoularios enquires in the imperial storehouse of the stable as to how many imperial blankets there are, and horse-cloths from Lydia, from the kouratoreia of Trychina. He takes the 200 sets of pack-harnesses and leggings from the mitata once only during the campaign; he takes
Διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπουργίας.

7. "Ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης || καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας καὶ ὁ οἰκειοχός βασιλικὸς κελλάριος σαγμάρια π' τὰ μέλλοντα βαστάζειν τὴν βασιλικὴν ὑπουργίαν καὶ τὸ ἀσήμιν τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης. λαμβάνοντι ὁ ὁ τῆς τραπέ-
140 ᾶς καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας λογάριον ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ εἰς ἔξοδον λόγῳ ἀρτυσίας. οἰνάριν δεσποτικὸν, μαγίστρων καὶ πατρικίων χορηγεῖ ὁ ἁπαθηκά-
ριος· τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν μη' μέτρα, ζυγοφλάσσια τριμετρία ζυγᾶς η' καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαγίστρων καὶ πατρικίων ἁσκία πενταμετρία ζυγᾶς ι'. σκορτζίδια λόγῳ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ ἔλαιον, φασούλιν, ὄρυζιν, πιστάκιν, ἀμύγδαλον, φακὴν παρ-
R. 464 εἰχὸν πάλαι τὰ δύο κουρατορία, ὀμοίως καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ βρωσίματα, 146 ἤγουν λαρδῖν, ἀπόκτιν, τυρῖν, ὄψαρα παστά, σφακτά, πρόβατα ὑπαρχα, ἄγελάδια ὑπόμοσχα, καὶ ὁνόν ἐγχώριον χορηγοῦσιν οἱ πρωτονταρίοι. βερζι-
τικον δὲ καὶ νεύρον ὀφείλει ἀγοράζειν ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας. ἀρίθμησιν δὲ καὶ κυπρίνους ὀφείλει ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν κουρα-
150 τορείων. καὶ ἐν ὑ διαπαντάται ἡ βασιλικὴ ὑπουργία, ὅπου εὐρή καλὸν οἶνον καὶ
sets of pack-harnesses and leggings once only. This totals 304 sets of pack-harnesses and leggings. To make the number up to 585 sets of pack-harnesses and leggings he makes certain purchases, that is to say, the 281 blankets and pack-harnesses still required are to be bought and made up. It is also necessary to buy rough-woven blankets and dye them purple, and to make 150 saddle-cloths and brocades: 100 for the horses led ahead of the emperor, 30 for the imperial saddle horses, and 20 for the horses given out as presents. Also 150 nose-bags from the supervisor of the imperial storehouse of the stable; likewise hides for the making of 180 halters; and six-basket panniers for the cedar-oil, and leather bags for wine and vinegar for the treatment of the horses; together with picks and spades and stout shovels for the watering holes. From the imperial vestiarion he should take 50 lbs. of iron for horse-shoes, and should also make 150 light-weight bits. From the hides he should take reins and single halters; and from the hemp, which he obtains from the same imperial vestiarion, he should make ropes.

(Pack-animals required) For the imperial household service:

The head of the table and the domestikos of the service and the personal imperial cellarer (receive) 80 pack-animals for the transport of the imperial service and the silver of the imperial table. The head of the table and the domestikos of the service take a cash sum from the eidikon for the expense of the table requirements. Imperial wine, (and) wine for the magistroi and patrikioi, is provided by the apothēkarios: 48 measures of imperial wine, in eight paired flasks of 3 measures per flask; and for the magistroi and patrikioi 10 pairs of wine-skins of 5 measures per wine-skin. Leather flasks for the imperial oil, and beans, rice, pistacchio, almonds, lentils, as well as the oil, were provided of old by the two kouratorikia. The remaining provisions, that is, lard, fat, cheese, salted fish, animals for slaughter — sheep with lambs and cows with calves — and local wine, are provided by the prōtonotarioi. The head of the table and the domestikos of the service should purchase sturgeon and shell-fish. Arithmia and carp should be provided from the imperial kouratoreia. And insofar as the imperial household consumes its supplies it should
έλαιον καὶ δόσπια, ίνα ἐπιβάλλει ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις αὐτού, καὶ ὅσα ξενάλα
φέρουσι τινες τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὰ μὲν βρώσιμα λαμβάνει ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ
ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας καὶ ὁ οἰκειακὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς κελλάριος, καὶ ὅπου
προστάζει ὁ βασιλεὺς, διανέμουσιν αὐτά.

155 Χρῆ δὲ γινώσκειν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ ἔχειν φούρνους δ′ πρὸς τὴν
ἀποβολήν τῆς Συρίας καὶ δίκτυα πρὸς τὸ ἀποκλειέν τὰ ὄρνεα καὶ καυκοπινάκια, ίνα πίνωσι, καὶ ὅτε κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλέν ἐν Συρία, ὁφείλουσιν
φροντίζειν τὰ π' σαγμάρια τῆς κομπίνας αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅσα σαγμάρια στρέφει ὁ
μινσουράτωρ, ίνα κάκεινα φορτώσῃ ὁ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς
160 ὑπουργίας καὶ ὁ οἰκειακὸς βασιλικὸς κελλάριος, ἵνα καθ’ οἰονθήποτε τρόπον
μὴ λείψῃ τι εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν ὑπουργίαν.

R. 465 Διὰ τοῦ μινσουράτορος ἐγγούν τῆς βασιλικῆς κόρτης, σαγμάρια

L 7v Χρῆ ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὸν μινσουράτορα || δύο κόρτας καὶ ἀνάδιπλα τὰς
165 βασιλικὰς τέννας · ἐπειδὴ ἄδεις μὲν ἑστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ὁρμανίαν, ἢ μία ζυγὴ
ἀπέρχεται ἐμπροσθὲν μετὰ τῆς ἡμισέλιας ὑπουργίας, καὶ προευπρήπετεται τὸ
βασιλικὸν ἀπληκτὸν, καὶ εὐρίσκει ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντα εὐτρεπισμένα καὶ ἔτοιμα.

Δέον δὲ τὸν μινσουράτορα ἔχειν σκαμίνα συστελτά, ἵνα καθεξῆς τείς εἰς ἐν
ἐκαστὸν σκαμίνιον ἀνδρες γ'. ὅμοιος τοῦ μήκους αὐτῶν καὶ τραπέζια συσ-
170 τελτά, μεσάλα καὶ μανάλια τὰ ἀρχοῦντα τῇ βασιλικῇ τραπέζῃ · ἐπεύχια
φούντατα τὰ εἰς χαμόκομμαβ' ἐνεργοῦντα · ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐπιφέρεται ὁ μινσουρά-
τωρ, ἄλλα χορηγεῖ αὐτά ὁ πρωτοβεσταρίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῆς φορτώσεως
τοῦ οἰκειακοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου. πιλωτὰ διβλάττια παχέα καὶ πτενὰ διὰ τὰ
χαμόκομμα . διδοῦντα δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ ὅμοιος ἀπὸ τῆς φορτώσεως τοῦ οἰκειακοῦ
175 βεστιαρίου · ἐτερα πιλωτὰ λυσβεντα ἔχοντα μιλὸν κτενιστόν ἀνὰ λιτρῶν λ'
διὰ τοὺς χλητορευμένους φίλους · κηλίκια διὰ τὰ χαμόκομμα πρὸς τὸ ποσὸν
τῶν χλητορευμένων φίλων.

R. 466 Ἄρ' οὐ γὰρ ἀποβάλη ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Συρίαν, τὰ σκαμίνα καὶ τὰ τραπέζια
καὶ τὰς περιττὰς τέννας καὶ τὴν μίλαν κόρτην παραλαμβάνει ὁ κατὰ τὸν τόπον
180 πρωτοβεσταρίου, καὶ ὅπου προστάζει ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀποτίθηκεν αὐτά. λουτρὸν

155 γινώσκειν L || 162 μινσουράτωρος L R. || 164 et 168 μινσουράτωρα
L R.
add to its storage vessels good wine and oil and vegetables wherever it finds them; and whatever presents people may bring to the emperor, the head of the table and the domestikos of the service and the personal imperial cellarer take charge of any provisions, and distribute them wherever the emperor commands.

The head of the table must remember to have four ovens for the expedition into Syria, and nets for enclosing chickens, and wooden bowls, so that they can drink. And when the emperor gives the order to march into Syria, they must load up the 80 pack-animals of their team; and such pack-animals as the minsouratōr turns back, the head of the table and the domestikos of the service and the personal imperial cellarer should load them up too, so that nothing at all is lacking in the imperial service.

For the minsouratōr, or the imperial tent, 50 pack-animals:

The minsouratōr must bring with him two pavilions and double the number of tents. For as long as the emperor is in Romania, one pair goes in advance with half the imperial service, and the imperial encampment is prepared in advance, so that the emperor finds everything prepared and ready.

The minsouratōr must also have folding benches, long enough for three men to sit on each; likewise folding tables of the same length, utensils and napkins sufficient for the imperial table; also thick tufted rugs for reclining upon — but these are not provided by the minsouratōr: the prōtovestiarios of the emperor issues them from the baggage of the personal imperial vestiarion; thick and thin double-bordered cushions for reclining on — these are likewise provided from the train of the personal vestiarion; other flax-blue cushions, with their pile combed up, each of 30 pounds, for invited guests; and goats'-hair mats in accordance with the number of invited guests.

When the emperor marches into Syria, however, the local prōtonotarios takes the benches and tables and extra tents and the one pavilion, and deposits them wherever the emperor orders. (The minsouratōr also brings) A Turkish bath, called in Scythian tzerga,
Τουρτικόν, ἅγουν Σκυθικόν τῇργά, μετὰ κινστερνής δερματίνης ἀπὸ ἀδημίου· κουκούμια τριμετραῖα ἢβ· πυρομάχια λόγῳ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἢβ· βίσαλα εἰς τὸ καμίνιον, κραββάτια συστελτά· ἐκκλησίαν βασιλικὴν μετὰ ἱερῶν. Ιστέον δὲ, ὅτι τὰ ἱερὰ ὀφείλει βαστάζειν ὁ πρωτευόμενος τοῦ βεστιαρίου.

185 Διὰ τοῦ οἰκειοχοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιντῶν διδομένων εἰς φόρτωσιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου σαγμάρια λ'.

`Η βασιλικὴ τάσσα ἀμφιάσεις καὶ ή λοιπὴ ἔξοπλισις ἐν σκευαρίοις ἐνδεδυμένοις δι' ἀληθινῶν τομαρίων καὶ σιδήρων γανωτῶν μετὰ καὶ χαρταλαμίων ὅμοιως γανωτῶν | διὰ το εἰς τὰ σαγμάρια βαστάζεσθαι. ψυχριστάρια ἄργυρα 191 μετὰ ἐνθυμάτων εἰς οἰνάνθην καὶ εἰς βοδόσταγμα καὶ εἰς νερὸν ἱς· εἷς αὐτῶν εἰς οἰνάνθην ἁστρον μικρὸν α', εἷς βοδόσταγμα μεγάλα δύο, εἷς νερὸν μεγάλα. R. 467 δ' βεδούρια ἄργυρα εἰς νερὸν | β' ἀσκοδάβλαι διάφοροι μικραὶ καὶ μεγάλαι· ἔτερα ψυχριστάρια δικήν μαγαρίκων χαλκᾶ γανωτὰ εἰς νερὸν μεγάλα δ'. 195 βεδούρια χαλκᾶ γανωτὰ β'. ἱερὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ἐπιφέρεται ὁ μινσουράτωρ.

Βιβλία· ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς ἐκκλησίας, βιβλία στρατηγικά, βιβλία μηχανικά, ἔλεπτολες ἑξοντα, καὶ βελοποιικα καὶ ἔτερα ἀρμόδια τῇ ὑποθέσει ἤγουν πρὸς πολέμους καὶ καστρομαχίας· βιβλία ἱστορικά, ἔξαιρετος δὲ τὸν Ἰούλιον καὶ τὸν Σωριανὸν· βιβλίον τὸν Ὁνειροκρήτην· βιβλίον Σύμπαντοματικόν· 200 βιβλίον τὸ περὶ ἔθνων καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ ζῆλας, ὅτε τοῦ καὶ ἀστρατῶν καὶ βροντῶν καὶ ἀνέμων ἐπιφοράς· πρὸς τοῦτοις Βροντολόγοι καὶ Σεισμολόγοι καὶ ἔτερα, ὥσα παρατηροῦνται ὁι πλευστικοί. Ἴστεον δὲ, ὅτι τοιούτων βιβλίων ἐφιλοπονήθη καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν βιβλίων ἡρανισθή παρ' ἐμοῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεὶ αἰωνίῳ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων.

205 Ἑπεύχεια φουνδάτα εἰς τὰ χαμόχοουμβα, ἵνα ἀναπαύονται οἱ φίλοι, ἀπερ καὶ προείρηται εἰς τὴν ἔκδοσιν τοῦ μινσουράτορος, ὅτι δίδονται ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου· θηριακὴν, ἧνίτις, ἔτερα ἀντιφάραξα σκευαστά καὶ R. 468 μονοειδῆ διὰ τοὺς φαρμακευμένους. | πανδέκται μετὰ παντοῦν ἐλαίων καὶ βοηθημάτων καὶ παντοῖον ἐμπλάστρων καὶ ἄλουφων καὶ ἀλληματῶν καὶ

181 Τούρκικος L || 186 φόρτωσιν L || 199 συμπαντομάτικόν L || 200
περίεχον L || 206 μινσουράτωρος L R. || 209 ἀλληματῶν L R.
with a hide cistern of red leather; 12 three-measure pitchers; 12
grates for the bath; bricks for the hearth; folding couches; an impe-
rial chapel with sacred furniture — note that the primikērios of the
vestiarion should transport the latter.

For the personal imperial vestiarion and for those
seconded by the bedchamber for the baggage of the
same imperial vestiarion, 30 pack-animals:

All the imperial clothing and the remaining regalia in vessels
encased in purple leather and burnished iron chains and straps
likewise burnished, so that they can be carried by the pack-animals;
eight silver coolers with covers, for scented wine, rose-water, and
water: of these, one small cooler for white wine, two large ones for
rosewater, and four large ones for water. Two silver pails for water;
various water-skins, large and small; four other coolers, large, of
burnished copper, like earthenware pots, for water; two burnished
copper pails; and sacred vessels for the chapel, which the minsoura-
tōr transports.

Books: the liturgy of the Church, military manuals, books on
mechanics, including siege machinery and the production of missiles
and other information relevant to the enterprise, that is to say, to
wars and sieges; historical books, especially those of Polyainos and
Syrianos; an oneiروcritical book; a book of chances and occurrences;
a book dealing with good and bad weather and storms, rain and
lightening and thunder and the vehemence of the winds; and in
addition to these a treatise on thunder and a treatise on earth-
quakes, and other books, such as those to which sailors are wont to
refer. Note that such a book was researched and compiled from
many books by myself, Constantine emperor of the Romans in
Christ the eternal King.

Tufted rugs for reclining, so that guests may rest, which were
mentioned above in the section on the minsouratōr, and that they
were issued from the imperial vestiarion; theriac, serapium juice,
other antidotes, both mixed and unmixed, for those who have been
poisoned; receptacles with all kinds of oils and remedies; and diverse
salves and unguents and ointments and other medical substances,
Διὰ τῶν ἀργαφίων τῶν εἰς ἑθικοῦς ἀποστελλομένων λόγῳ ἔξενίων ἦν μετὰ σκαραμάγηα διαφόρων χροῖον καὶ ἔξεμπλιῶν, σκαραμάγηα δίασπρα, δικτρίνα, διβεντα, κολόβια μεγαλόζηλα ἐκ τῶν κατ' ὀίκους, ἐσωφόρια μεσόζηλα ἐκ τῶν κατ' ὀίκους, ἐσωφόρια λεπτόζηλα ἐκ τῶν κατ' ὀίκους, ἐσωφόρια λεπτόζηλα διαφόρων χροῖον καὶ ἔξεμπλιῶν ἐκ τῶν κατ' ὀίκους, ἀσπρομύλαια, διυγαντάρια ὄσπρᾳ καὶ ἱάστα, λυρωτα τρίμιτα καὶ ὀλόβηρα ἱαστά καὶ ἀναλεκτά διαφόρων χροῖον. ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐν σκευαρίοις ἐνδεδυμένοις δί' ἀληθινῶν τομαρίων καὶ σιδήρων γανωτῶν μετὰ χαρταλμίων ὁμοίως γανωτῶν βαστάζονται.

Διὰ τῶν ἑρραμμένων ἦν ἀρματάκα ἀπὸ σκαραμάγηας διαφόρων χροῖον καὶ ἔξεμπλιῶν ἀμφισμένα ἀπὸ διβλαστίων. πρὸς τούτων καὶ μεσόζηλα δίσχορτα μανιακά ἀμφισμένα ἀπὸ διβλαστίων ἠτέρα χολόβια ἐκ τῶν κατ' ὀίκους μεσόζηλα δίσχορτα μανιακά λιτά. ἱστέον, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐν σκευαρίοις ἐνδεδυμένους μετ' ἀληθινῶν τομαρίων καὶ σιδήρων γανωτῶν μετὰ καὶ χαρταλμίων ὁμοίως γανωτῶν βαστάζονται. τοῦβλα ἐκ τούτων.
herbs and whatever else is necessary for the curing of men and beasts. Small silver pails and sprinklers with covers for the emperor, and others of polished bronze for officers and distinguished refugees; thick and thin double-bordered cushions for the emperor to recline upon; two chairs for the cortège, chairs for the chamber-pot, of metal gilded with beaten gold, with covers, and with other covers above concealing the space for the latrine; and for the distinguished refugees two other, similar, seats, bound in silver; imperial chalices for the guests invited to dine with the emperor; two imperial swords, one ceremonial, one for the campaign; one sabre; ointments, various perfumes: incense, mastic, frankincense, sachar, saffron, musk, amber, bitter aloes, moist and dry, pure ground cinnamon of first and second quality, cinnamon wood, and other perfumes. Silken sheets, rough linen blankets, linen towels, sheets, “western” patchwork covers, “western” towels.

From the untailored cloths despatched to foreigners as gifts:

*Skaramaggia* of different colours and patterns: all-white, all-yellow and all-blue *skaramaggia*; tunics of high value, produced in the imperial workshops; undergarments of middling value produced in the imperial workshops; undergarments of lower value produced in the imperial workshops; undergarments of lower value of varying colours and patterns produced in the imperial workshops; off-white coats, two-tone silk garments of white and violet; triple-warped striped garments of violet, of purple and a selection of different hues. Note that all these are carried in containers encased in purple leather and burnished chains, with straps similarly burnished.

From the tailored cloths:

Tailored garments with two vents and collars selected from *skaramaggia* of varied colours and patterns, decorated with a double silk border; in addition, double-vented garments with collars, of middling value, decorated with a double silk border; other tunics from among those produced in the imperial workshops, of middling value, with two vents and collars and with a single border of silk. Note that all these are carried in containers encased in purple leather and polished iron chains, and with straps similarly polished. Leggings for all these (garments), those of the best quality with
L 9v πάντων, τὰ μὲν προκριτῶτερα ἀπὸ διβλαττίων ἀετῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν
241 ἄμφισσεμένα, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα τούτων ἀπὸ βδελλίων· σφιγκτούρια, θάλασσαι καὶ
ἄβδια πλατύλωρα καὶ ἄβδια μασουρωτά, τὰ μὲν ἄμφισσεμένα ἀπὸ διβλαττίων,
τὰ δὲ καὶ λιτά· ὑποκαμμισσόμενα διαφόρων ποιοτήτων· ἐπιφρητάρια ὀξέα
πρώτα καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα, ζωστρία ὀξέα διάφορα καὶ ψευδοξέα ἀνὰ
245 νομίσματος ἑνὸς καὶ μιλιαρησίων δ’· καὶ ἔτερα ψευδοξέα ἄνα νομίσματος α’,
καὶ ἔτερα ἀνὰ μιλιαρησίων η’· ὑποδήματα ἄδημα ζυγοὶ διάφοροι· ίστεν, ὅτι
ταῦτα πάντα ἐν βουλγηδίοις ἦ καὶ ἐν δισσαχίοις ὀφέλουσι βαστάζεσθαι. ταῦτα
δὲ διὰ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς πρόσφυγας τυγχάνουσι καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς εὐγενεῖς καὶ
μεγάλους ἔθνικους ἀποστέλλεσθαι.

R. 471 διάχυτα μαλακάτα διὰ τοὺς θεματικούς τουρμάρχας καὶ λοιποὺς πρόσφυγας
255 τε καὶ ἄρχοντας. Ἴστεν, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐν σκευαρίοις ἐνδεδυμένους δι’ ἀληθινῶν τομαρίων καὶ σιδήρων γανωτῶν μετὰ καὶ χαρταλαμίων ὁμοίως
gανωτῶν βαστάζονται. σφιγκτούρια, θάλασσαι καὶ ἄβδια πλατύλωρα καὶ
μασουρωτά, τὰ μὲν ἄμφισσεμένα ἀπὸ διβλαττίων, τὰ δὲ λιτά· ἐπιφρητάρια
ὀξέα διάφορα, ὑποκαμμισσόμενα διαφόρων ποιοτήτων. Ἴστεν, ὅτι ταῦτα
260 πάντα ἐν βουλγηδίοις ἦ καὶ ἐν δισσαχίοις ὀφέλουσι βαστάζεσθαι.

Αὐγάριον εἰς ἐξοδον τοῦ φοσσάτου, εἰς φιλοφρόνησιν τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων
ἐν πολέμοις καὶ τῶν ἄρχοντων καὶ εἰς λοιπὰς ἐξόδους, κεντηνάρια, μιλιαρήσια,
σακχὰ καὶ τὸ διδόναι τοὺς φυλάσσουσι σχολαρίοις εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν φίλων, τοῖς
τε βασιλικοῖς ἀγώνιοις καὶ τοῖς ἑπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐταιρείας καὶ ἄλλοις, οἷς ἐν
265 κελευθοί βασιλείς εὑσεβείων διδόναι, εἶτε καθ’ ἑβδομάδα ἅπαξ, εἶτε καθὰ δύο,
καὶ εἰς λοιπὰς ἐξόδους. παραλαμβάνει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ τε σακχάλαριος καὶ ὁ εἰδικὸς·
L 9v καὶ βαστάζουσιν εἰς τὰς οἰκ. φορτώσεις αὐτῶν τυρεκβολον μετὰ ἔσοχας καὶ
χανδύλας ἄργυρας γ’, καὶ χαλκάς γ’, μία μὲν εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα, μία δὲ εἰς τὸ
R. 472 κουκουμέλην, ἔτερα δὲ εἰς τὸ παρακοιτωνάριον.
double borders of silk decorated with eagles and imperial symbols, 
those of second quality decorated with hornets. Shirts, tunics of the 
sea-pattern type, and mantles, some with broad stripes, others with 
narrow stripes, some decorated with double, some with single, bor-
ders. Undershirts with breeches of various qualities; purple-dyed 
hoods of first, second and third (quality), various purple and false-
purple belts valued at 1 nomisma 4 miliarēsia each; and others in 
false-purple at 1 nomisma, and others at 8 miliarēsia. Various pairs 
of red-leather boots. Note, that all these should be carried in bags 
or panniers; and these items are brought along for distinguished 
refugees and for sending to distinguished and powerful foreigners.

Garments of lower value from those produced in the imperial 
workshops, of the first class, simply decorated with triple and 
double borders of purple silk, and with double borders decorated 
with eagles, imperial symbols and hornets, both lots vented and 
with pouches, for the stratēgoi and the kleisourarchai. Other gar-
ments from those produced in the imperial workshops of lesser value 
and of the second class, with a single border, vented and with collars 
for the thematic tourmarchai and the remaining refugees and offi-
cers. All these are kept in containers encased in purple leather and 
burnished iron chains and with straps similarly polished. Shirts, 
tunics of the sea-pattern type, and mantles with both broad and 
narrow stripes, some decorated with double, some with single bor-
ders; various purple-dyed hoods, undershirts with breeches, of vary-
ing qualities. Note that all these items should be carried in sacks or 
panniers.

Cash for the expenses of the expedition, for largesse for those 
who fight in battle and their leaders, and for other expenses: sacks 
of coin in (gold) kentēnaria and in miliarēsia, for giving to the 
scientists guarding the imperial perimeter and to the imperial es-
quires and to those in the imperial Hetaireia and to others, to 
whomsoever the emperor orders generosity to be shown, whether 
once a week or every other week; and for other expenditures. The 
sakellarios and the eidikos take charge of these matters. They also 
carry in their baggage flint with tinder, three silver lamps and three 
bronze ones, one of which is placed in the bed-chamber, one in the 
latrine, and one in the ante-chamber.
270 Ὄφειλε δὲ γίνεσθαι λάκκος ἑχων βάθος σπιθαμάς δύο, καὶ ἵνα σκεπάζονται ἔπανω τῆς γῆς ύπὸ πετάλων χαλκῶν χοσκινωτῶν, καὶ συμπαράκεινται αὐταῖς πρὸς ἔν τρία κχρούλια, φανάρια χαλκᾶ χοσκινωτά καὶ ὦρολόγιον μικρὸν ἄγγυρον διὰ τὰ νυκτερεύματα, ὅπερ ὀφειλεῖ ιστασθαι εἰς τὸν χοιτῶνα, καὶ ἕτερον χαλκοῦν, ὅπερ ὀφειλεῖ ιστασθαι, ἐνθα οἱ κχιοταίναι μένουσιν.

275 Πρὸς τούτους σχοινείλλια ὀλόχρυσα δ', μινσουράκια ὀλόχρυσα β', ὀρθομίλια ὀλόχρυσα δύο. ἱστεόν, ὅτι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ συνεστιάσθαι ἐθνικοὺς τῷ βασιλεί ὀφείλουσιν ἐνεργεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς φορτώσεσι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου τυχάνουσιν, ὄς μὴ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐνεργοῦντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τραπέζιν. τὸ δὲ ἀσήμιν τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπονομῆς ὀφειλεῖ βασιλεῖ βασιλεῖσθαι ἡ ὑπονομὴ 280 εἰς τὴν φορτώσιν τῶν π' σαγμαρίων τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπονομῆς.

'Αρ' οὐ δὲ ἁποκειμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους, δύο φιάναι ὀφείλουσι γίνεσθαι, καὶ καθ' ἐβδομάδα ὀφείλουσι λαμβάνειν μιλιάρχεια. ὀμοίως καὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἄγουροι μαζουμῖν καὶ μιλιάρχεια. οἱ δὲ μάγιστροι καὶ οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ οἱ ὄφρικάλλιοι συνεστιῶσι τῷ βασιλεί εἰς τοὺς ἀκλήτους σὺν τοῖς 285 πραιτοσίτοις.

R.473

Διὰ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ σαμαρία μις'.

Λαμβάνει ο εἰδικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ κχιτώνος σακχάρα χάραγμα κεντηνάρια καὶ μιλιαρίςια σακχάρια λόγῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐταιρείας καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἂγουρῶν καὶ τῶν σχοινιάων καὶ τῶν παραμενόντων τῷ βασιλεί εἰς τὴν φινάν. ἴματια 290 εἰς ἁγορὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου δεκάλια, ἐννάλια, ὀκτάλια, ἐπτάλια, ἐξάλια, λωρωτὰ μεταξωτὰ Αἰγυπτικὰ. ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια. ταῦτα πάντα διὰ τὸ ἀποστέλλεσθαι εἰς ἐθνικοὺς λόγῳ ἐξεύμ. ἴματια εἰς ἁγορὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου, ἐρράμ||μένα διάχυστα μανισακά, δεκάλια, ἐννάλια, ὀκτάλια, ἐπτάλια καὶ ἐξάλια, λωρωτὰ μεταξωτὰ Αἰγυπτικὰ, ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια, βαμβακερά ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια καὶ 295 πράσινα. ζωστρία διαφόρων τιμῶν καὶ ποιοτήτων. σφιγκτούρια ἐκάστου ἰματίου πρὸς ἀναλογίαν. ὑποκαμισοβράκια διαφόρων τιμῶν καὶ ποιοτήτων. ἐπιρρυπτάρια διαφόρων τιμῶν καὶ ποιοτήτων. τούβα εκάστου ἰματίου πρὸς ἀναλογίαν. ὑποδήματα διαφόρων τιμῶν καὶ ποιοτήτων. σάββανα μετά τῶν ἄκολουθίων αὐτῶν, πρῶτα, δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα.
And there should be trenchers two spans deep, covered at ground-level with sieved bronze plates; and there should be placed together in each one three wax candles, sieved bronze torches, and a small silver time-piece for the night vigils, which should be set up in the bed-chamber, and another, of bronze, which should be set up where the chamber attendants stay.

In addition to these, four solid-gold plates, two gold vases, two solid gold jugs. Note that these should be used when foreign guests eat with the emperor. This is why they are carried with the baggage of the imperial vestiarion, since they are not used every day at the imperial table. The household service itself should transport the silver of the imperial service, in the baggage of the 80 pack-animals assigned to the imperial service.

When the emperor moves off into the border-lands, there should be two perimeter picket-lines, and they should take an issue of miliarēsia each week. Likewise the imperial esquires take an issue of food for feasts and of miliarēsia. The magistroi and the patrikioi eat with the emperor together with the praipositoi among those requiring no invitation.

For the eidikon, 46 pack-animals:

The eidikos takes from the koitōn sacks of coin in kentēnaria and in miliarēsia for the imperial Hetaireia and the imperial esquires and the scholarioi and those attending the emperor on the perimeter; garments from purchase on the market of 10, 9, 8, 7, and 6 nomisma value, striped garments of Egyptian silk, locally-produced purple garments — these are all for presenting to foreigners as presents; garments from purchase on the market, decorated, vented and with collars, of 10, 9, 8, 7 and 6 nomisma in value; striped garments of Egyptian silk, locally-produced purple garments, locally-produced cotton garments of purple and of green; belts of various values and qualities; and shirts for each garment accordingly; under-shirts and breeches of varying values and qualities; hoods of varying values and qualities; leggings for each garment accordingly; shoes of varying values and qualities; linen towels with their accompaniments of first, second and third grades.
300 Ἰστέον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν βλαττία τὰ τε ἀρράβια καὶ τὰ ἐρραμμένα ἐν σκευαρίῳ ὁφείλουσι βαστάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα, οἷον λωρίτα ἀληθῶς ἐνθάδια R. 474 ἐρραμμένα | τε καὶ ἀρράβια ἐν βουλγιδίοις ἢ καὶ δισαχίσεις. τυρέχομεν μετὰ ἴσκας, φανάρια χαλκά κοσκινωτά β’, κανθάλαι καλχαί εἰς τὰ βασιλικὰ πεντζι-μέντα δύο· πέταλα χαλκά κοσκινωτὰ διὰ τὸ ἐπισκεπταζεσθαι τοὺς λάκκους, 305 ἔνθα οἱ κανθάλαι ἀπτουσιν. ὁφείλει δὲ γίγνεσθαι λάκκοις ἔχων σπιθαμὰς δύο καὶ σκεπταζεσθαι μετὰ πετάλων χαλκῶν κοσκινωτῶν διὰ τὸν ἀνέμον καὶ τὸν κατόν, καὶ ἵνα συμπαράκεινται καὶ ταῖς κανθάλαις φατλία δύο καὶ κηρούλια δύο καὶ φανάριν χαλκών διὰ τὰς ἀνακυπτούσας χρείας τῆς νυκτί.

Κηρούλια διόγκια τ’, φατλία λίτραι τ’, ἐπειδὴ ὁ δρουγγάριος καθ’ 310 ἐσπέραν εἰς τὸ κέρκετον λαμβάνει ἐν, καὶ ἀρ’ οὗ ἐνοικῇ τοὺς θέμας καὶ δύο καὶ τρία, ἕποι ἡ βία τοῦ ἀνέμου· χαρτία τομάρια τ’.

'Ἰστέον ὅτι, ὅτε κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς πέρασαι εἰς Πύλας, ὄριζε τὸν χώμητα τοῦ στάβλου καὶ καταβιβάζει τὴν προμοσέλλαν εἰς Πύλας. ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν δομέστικον τῶν ὁπτιμάτων, ἵνα κάκεινος εὐρεθῇ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὁπτιμάτων 315 εἰς Πύλας, καὶ παρέχει κατασαγμάριον ὁπτιμάτων, καὶ ἵνα προαστοτέλη δύο βασιλικοὺς, τὸν μὲν ἑνα εἰς Πύλας τοῦ διαπεράσαι τὸν λαόν, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰς τὸν Λευκάτην τοῦ ἐξελαύνει τὰ καράβια πρὸς τὸν Λευκάτην, τὸν δὲ ἐτερον L 10" εἰς Σάγγαρον καὶ εἰς τὸν ἄγιον Σαβίνον. προαστοτέλει || δὲ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς R. 475 καὶ πάντας, ἵνα ὑπαντήσωσι τῇ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ εἰς Πύλας, καὶ μαγιστροὺς καὶ 320 πατρικίους καὶ ἄλλους, οὕς κελεύει, ἄμα καὶ τοῖς πραπιτοτοίς ἀναλαμβάνεται μετ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ δρόμωνα, καὶ ἀπὸ ξαναὶ διαστήματος τοῦ βασιλείου ὁμοίω τοῖς γενόμενοι, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπισκοπεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐγείρεται ἀπὸ τὸν καρβάτου 325 καὶ ἵστασις καὶ βασιλικάς τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν αἰρών, ἀπὸ τριῶν τῆς χειρί τὴν πόλιν κατασφεραγίας εὐχετά τῷ Ἡθῳ λέγων οὕτως· «Κύριε Ἦσσοι Χριστέ, ὁ Θεός μου, εἰς χεῖρας σου παρατέθηκε ταύτην τὴν πόλιν σου. φύλαξον αὐτήν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐπερχομένων ἐν αὐτῇ ἐναντίον καὶ δυσχερῶν, ἐμφυλιοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπιδρομῆς. ἀνάλωτον αὐτὴν τήρησον καὶ ἀπόρηθην, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐπίδιας ἡμῶν ἀνεθέμεθα, καὶ σὺ ἐν κύριος τοῦ ἑλέους καὶ πατὴρ τῶν ὁσιτρίμων καὶ Θεός πᾶς τῆς παρακλήσεως, καὶ σώζει ἐξειρασμών καὶ κινδύνων νῦν καὶ ἅπα καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν».
Note that silks, both tailored and untailed, should be transported in containers; but the rest, such as locally-produced striped purple garments, both tailored and untailed, should be carried in sacks or panniers. Flints with tinder, two sieved bronze torches, two bronze oil-lamps for the imperial baggage; sieved bronze plates for covering the trenchers where the oil-lamps are lit. There should be a trencher two spans deep, covered with sieved bronze plates on account of the wind and smoke; and next to the lamps there should be two torches and two candles and a bronze lantern for needs arising during the night.

300 two-ounce candles, 300 pounds of torch(fat), since the drouggarios takes one each evening on his patrol, and from the time that the imperial column joins with the themata, two or three, if the wind is strong. 300 sheets of parchment.

Note that when the emperor gives the order to cross over to Pylai, he commands the komēs of the stable to transfer the baggage-train to Pylai. He likewise commands the domestikos of the Optimatoi to be present with all the Optimatoi at Pylai, and to provide one Optimatos for each pack-animal. And he should send on two imperial (officers), one to Pylai to transfer the troops; and then on to Leukatēs to see the ships off from there; the other to Saggarios and to St. Sabinos. He sends on ahead the imperials and all the rest, that they might meet his majesty at Pylai; and the magistroi and patrikioi and others, whomever he commands, he takes with him, together with the praipositoi, on the warships. When the emperor is a sufficient distance from the imperial harbour, so that he can look upon the City, he rises from his couch and stands looking eastwards with his hands raised to heaven; and making the sign of the Cross three times with his hand over the City, he prays to God and says: “Lord Jesus Christ, my God, I place in Your hands this Your city. Defend it from all enemies and misfortunes which approach it, from civil strife, and from the inroads of the heathen. Guard it impregnable and unassailable, for we place our hopes in You. You are the Lord of forgiveness and Father of compassion and God of every supplication, and Yours is the power of mercy and salvation and deliverance from temptations and dangers, now and always and forever more. Amen”.
Καὶ μετὰ τὸ διαπεράσαι τὸν βασιλέα θεωρεῖ τὴν προμοσέλλαν, τὰ τῇ παρίππια καὶ τὰ μωλάρια, καὶ διατάσσεται τῷ τοῦ στάβλου χόμητι καὶ τῷ χαρτουλάρῳ, ἵνα, καθὼς κατωτέρῳ ρήθησηται, κομπινεύσῃ τὰ τῇ σαμάραια R. 476 καὶ τὰ παρίππια. καὶ κατὰ σαμαρίαν ὕψεῖ τεκτόνοις ὁ τῶν ὀπτιμάτων 336 δομέστικος ὀπτιμάτων, ἐν καταγραφῇ ποιούμενος τὸ τῇ ὀνόμα καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπολήσεται, ὑμιστοῦται αὐτὸ ὁ ὀπτιμάτως εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνη, ἀποκομίζει τὰς σφραγίδας εἰς τὸν χόμητα καὶ τὸν χαρτουλάριον. παρέχει δὲ καὶ ὁ χόμης τοῦ στάβλου εἰς τὰς φορτώσεις κατὰ δέκα σαμαρία σύντροφον τῶν Μαλαγί-340 νῶν, ἵνα οἱ ὀπτιμάτοι σύρωσι τὰ σαμαρία, καὶ οἱ σύντροφοι ἀκολουθοῦσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ διορθοῦνται τὰ γομάρια. καὶ ὄτε ἀποφορτώσουσιν εἰς τὸ ἀπλήκτον τὰ σαμαρία, ἀναλαμβάνει ταῦτα ὁ χαρτουλάριος τῶν Μαλαγίνων καὶ ὁ σαφραμένταριος μετὰ τῶν χομῆτων καὶ τῶν συντρόφων καὶ τῶν ὀπτιμάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν βοσκήν· ὑμεῖς καὶ εἰς τὰ παρίππια τῶν φορτώσεων|| L 11' κατὰ κ' παρίππια σύντροφος εἰς. καὶ ὄτε δῶσει τὸ βούκινον, πάλιν φέρουσιν 346 αὕτα καὶ παραδίδοσι, καθὼς ἐκομπινεύθησαν.

Τὴν δὲ κριθὴν ὄλην, τῶν τε σαμαρίων καὶ παριπτῶν καὶ σελλαρίων, ἐν οἷς ἐκομπινεύθησαν, παραλαμβάνει ὁ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ στάβλου ἄμα τῷ κελλαρίῳ τὴν κριθὴν ἦτοι τὰς ταγάς αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πρωτονταρίου τοῦ R. 477 θέματος, καὶ χορηγοῦσιν ἐκάστου ἀλόγου ταγήν. ὁ δὲ πρωτονόταριος λαμβάνει 351 νεὶ διάταξιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τῶν ἀπλήκτων καὶ ἀποτίθησιν ἐκεῖ τὴν κριθὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐτέραν χρείαν βασιλικήν.

Τὰ δὲ ἐξενάλια τὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ φερόμενα διὰ κριθῆς παραλαμβάνει ὁ τοῦ στάβλου χόμης, ἐν καταγραφῇ ποιούμενος τὴν ποσότητα, ἄμα τῷ εἰδικῷ καὶ 355 τοῖς νοταρίοις, ποιομένων κάekteῖν ταῦτα ἐν καταγραφῇ, ἵνα μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι καταστολὸν λογαριάζηται ὁ πρωτονταρίος καὶ ὁ χαρτουλάριος εἰς τὸ σέκρετον τοῦ εἰδικοῦ, ἵνα ὑπεξαίρωνται αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς χορηγίας τῶν πρωτονταρίων.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ περάσαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἑδεῖν τὴν προμοσέλλαν διατάσσεται 360 τῷ χόμητι καὶ διανέμει αὐτὴν, καθὼς κατωτέρῳ ρήθησηται. διὰ τοῦ χόμητος τῶν ὀπτιμάτων τῆς υποργίας ἄνδρες α' καὶ τοὺς μὲν ρ' ὕψεῖ, ἄναλαμβάνεται ὁ χόμης τοῦ στάβλου καὶ ὁ χαρτουλάριος ἐν καταγραφῇ λόγῳ τῶν ρ' ἵππαριων τῶν παρασυμφέρουν, καὶ τὸν χόμητα μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ρ' ἀναλαμβάνεται ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς υποργίας καὶ ὁ οἰκειακὸς

334 χαρτουλάριον L || 335 ὀπτιμάτων L
After the emperor has crossed, he inspects the imperial baggage-train, pack-horses and mules, and he orders the komēs of the stable and the chartoularios to team up the pack-animals and the pack-horses, as will be mentioned below. For each pack-animal the dome-stikos of the Optimatoi must provide one Optimatos, making a record of both his name and his village; and if it is lost, the Optimatos is fined accordingly; but if it dies, he takes the seals to the komēs and the chartoularios. The komēs of the stable provides for the loads of every ten pack-animals an attendant from the Malagina staff, so that the Optimatoi lead the animals, and the attendants follow them, and set the loads straight. And when they unload the pack-animals at the aplēkton, the chartoularios of Malagina and the saphramentarios with the komites and the attendants and the Optimatoi takes charge of them and puts them out to graze. Similarly, for the baggage pack-horses there is one attendant for every twenty horses. When the trumpet is sounded, they bring them back and hand them over in the same teams as they were beforehand.

The chartoularios of the stable together with the kellarios takes all the barley for the pack-animals, pack-horses and saddle-horses, according to the teams in which they were drawn up, from the prōtonotarios of the thema, that is to say the barley for their feed, and they issue a ration for each animal. The prōtonotarios obtains an order from the emperor concerning the aplēkta, and he deposits there the barley and every other imperial requirement.

The komēs of the stable takes the gifts brought to the emperor in the form of barley, noting the amount in an inventory, along with the eōdikos and the notaries, who also note these details down, so that after the army has disbanded, the prōtonotarios and the chartoularios reckon up the cost in the bureau of the eōdikon, so that the days during which the prōtonotarios provided provisions should be deducted (from the assessment owed by the thema).

After the emperor has crossed over (i.e. to Pylai) and viewed the baggage-train, he issues orders to the komēs (of the stable) and assigns it as will be described below: for the komēs of the Optimatoi attached to the service, 200 men. The komēs of the stable and the chartoularios take 100, who are recorded, for the 100 led horses. The head of the table and the domestikos of the household service and the personal imperial kellarios take the komēs and the other 100 men, of
365 βασιλικὸς κελλάριος· καὶ οἱ μὲν π' σύρουσι τὰ π' σαγμάρια, οἱ δὲ χ' ἀκολουθοῦσι. καὶ ὅτε κατάβη ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ ἄπληκτον, ἐπαίρουσιν οἱ

R. 478 σύντροφοι καὶ οἱ ὄπτιματοι τὰ παρίσπια τῶν ὑπουργῶν καὶ ἀπάγουσιν εἰς τὴν βοσκὴν πρὸς τὸν χαρτουλάριον τῶν Μαλαγίνων. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φορτωσίαι καὶ πάντες οἱ κομπινευθέντες βασιλικὰ ἁλογα, ἦγον κατὰ σαγμα-370 ῥιν ὄπτιματος, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω εἰρήται.

Εἰς ἅντι φορτωσίαι οὕτως:

Διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπουργίας σαγμάρια π', παρίσπια ἕξβ'. διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς κόρτης σαγμάρια ν', παρίσπια μγ'. διὰ τοῦ οἰκειακοῦ βασιλικοῦ

L 11" βεστιαρίου σαγμάρια λ', παρίσπια ιε'. διὰ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ σαγμάρια μ' καὶ τῶν 375 ἐθνομαρίων παρίσπια ιε'. διὰ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου σαγμάρια δ', παρίσπια δ'· διὰ τῶν κοινωνίων τῶν 3β' σαγμάρια κδ', παρίσπια κδ'· διὰ τῶν σαράκων τῶν παρισταμένων τῇ τραπέζῃ σαγμάρια κ', παρίσπια κ'· διὰ τῶν ἐπι τῆς ἑαυτεικῆς ἄνδρας σ', σαγμάρια ρ', παρίσπια ξ'. διὰ τῶν ρ' ἑθνικῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτεικῆς σαγμάρια ν', παρίσπια ν'· διὰ τοῦ κόμητος τοῦ στάβλου σαγμάρια
380 ιβ', παρίσπια ιβ'· διὰ τοῦ χαρτουλαρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπείκτου σαγμάρια ιζ', παρίσπια ιζ'· διὰ τοῦ ἀποθέτου τοῦ κελλαρίου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στάβλου σαγμάρια λ', παρίσπια ιβ'· διὰ τοῦ σταβλοχυμοτος τῆς πολέως σαγμάρια β'

R. 479 καὶ πολιτικὰ Ἰππάρια δύο· διὰ τῶν δύο σταβλοκομήτων σαγμάριν α'· καὶ πολιτικὰ Ἰππάρια β'· διὰ τῶν σαράκων συντρόφων τῶν σελλαρίων σαγμάρια ε',
385 παρίσπια μ'· διὰ τοῦ χαρτουλαρίου τῶν Μαλαγίνων σαγμάρια ε', παρίσπια ε'· διὰ τοῦ σαφραμεντάριου σαγμάριν, Ἰππάρια β'· διὰ τῶν 3δ' κομητῶν τῶν Μαλαγίνων σαγμάρια δ', παρίσπια δ'· διὰ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ εἰς τὰ βασιλικὰ χαρτία σαγμάρια δυο· διὰ τοῦ δεκανοῦ εἰς τὰ βασιλικὰ χαρτία σαγμάριν α'· διὰ τῶν δ' παπάδων σαγμάρια δ'. ὁμοί τὰ κομπινευθέντα σαγμάρια υβ'.

390 παρασυρτὰ τὰ εἰς ὑπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἀπόθετων καὶ τῶν ἀποστασιαρίων καὶ ἐν καρφῷ τῆς ἀποβολῆς τῆς Συρίας εἰσαγαγῆς κριθῆς σαγμάρια ρ'. ὁμοί τὸ πᾶν σαγμάρια φιβ', καὶ τὰ παρίσπια τὰ κομπινευθέντα υ'. Ἰππάρια καὶ παρασυρτὰ τὰ ἐμπροσθὲν τοῦ βασιλέως περιπατοῦντα δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα, ὁμοί τὸ πᾶν Ἰππάρια μωλάρια λατζε' καὶ ἐκτρωμένα σελλάρια λ'.

395 Καὶ ὁσα ἂν ἐξέλθωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὁσα ἂν λάβῃ ἐπὶ φοσσάτον ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦτων πάντων τῶν ἀλόγων τὰς ταγάς παραλαμβάνει εἰκ τοῦ πρωτο-

366 κατάβει L | 378 lacuna 1 litt. praebet cod. post voc. παρίσπια | 387
eιστασοβασιλικά L | 391 εἰς ταγήν R.
whom 80 lead 80 pack-animals and 20 follow. When the emperor goes down to the ἀπλέκτων, the attendants and the Ὄπιματοι take the pack-horses of the household staff, and lead them off to the chartoularios of Malagina for pasturing. The same procedure is followed for all the baggage and to all those teamed up with imperial animals, that is, one Ὄπιματος per pack-animal, as was stated above.

The loads are as follows:

For the household service 80 pack-animals, 62 pack-horses; for the imperial tent 50 pack-animals, 43 pack-horses; for the personal imperial vestiarion 30 pack-animals, 15 pack-horses; for the eidikon 40 pack-animals, and 15 pack-horses for the hebdomarioi; for the protovestiarious 4 pack-animals, 4 pack-horses; for the 12 koitōnitai 24 pack-animals, 24 pack-horses; for the 40 table attendants 20 pack-animals, 20 pack-horses; for the 200 men of the Hetaireia, 100 pack-animals, ... pack-horses; for the 100 foreigners attached to the Hetaireia 50 pack-animals, 100 pack-horses; for the komēs of the stable 12 pack-animals, 12 pack-horses; for the chartoularios and the epektēs 16 pack-animals, 16 pack-horses; for the supervisor of the store house of the imperial stable 30 pack-animals, 12 pack-horses; for the stablokomēs of the City, 2 pack-animals and 2 city horses; for the 2 stablokomites 1 pack-animal and 2 city horses; for the 40 attendants of the saddle-horses 5 pack-animals, 40 pack-horses; for the chartoularios of Malagina 5 pack-animals, 5 pack-horses; for the saphramentarios a pack-animal, 2 pack-horses; for the 4 komites of Malagina 4 pack-animals, 4 pack-horses; for the stratiōtikon, for imperial documents, 2 pack-animals; for the dekanos in charge of imperial documents, 1 pack-animal; for the 4 priests, 4 pack-animals. In total, the teamed up pack-animals number 482; (plus) 100 relief pack-animals for replacing dead and runaway animals, which transport barley fodder during the expedition into Syria. Altogether, 582 pack-animals; and the horses teamed up with them number 400; so the horses and relief horses which precede the emperor to right and left, together with the other animals, horses and mules, number altogether 1086; plus 30 saddled riding horses.

The fodder of all the animals, as many as leave the City and as the emperor takes on campaign, is provided by the komēs of the
νοταρίου ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου καὶ ὁ χαρτουλάριος καὶ ὁ κελλάριος, καὶ
χορηγοῦσιν εἰς πάντα τὰ κομπίνευθέντα ἄλογα. ταγίζονται δὲ τὰ μὲν παρίπτια
L 12" καὶ τὰ μωλάρια διτάγιν, τὰ δὲ σελλάρια | τριτάγιν, ὁ δὲ || ἐπείκτης παρίσταται
R. 480 εἰς τὰς ταγάς τῶν ἵππων καὶ εἰς τὰ καλυγώματα καὶ εἰς τὰ κατίστρια καὶ εἰς
401 τὰ σαγίσματα καὶ εἰς τὸ ποτόν.

Θέσπισμα δὲ ἄρχαίον τυγχάνει βασιλικόν, ἵνα μηδές λαμβάνῃ χαρι-
στικήν, μὴτε μωλάριον μὴτε παρίπτιον, ἔχων βασιλικήν σφραγίδα, ἵνα μὴ
καταχωυνωθῇ ἢ προμοσέλλα καὶ ἀπόληται. εὰν δὲ τις εὑρέθη τοιοῦτον ἔχων,
405 ὡς κλέπτης καταδικάζεται· ἐκ δὲ τῶν μὴ ὄντων ἄλογων ἐσφραγισμένων, ὅπου
κελεύει ο βασιλεὺς, δίδωσιν εἰτε ἐθνικοῖς εἰτε πρόσφυξιν εἰτε ἄλλους τισίν,
ὅλος κελεύει καὶ βούλεται. ἐσφραγισμένον γὰρ ἵππαριον ἢ μωλάριον βασιλικῆ
βούλλη οὔτεν δίδοται εἰς χαριστικήν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὅτε γηράσει καὶ ἀνενέργητον
πρὸς ὀδουπορίαν γένηται ταξειδίου, ἀλλάσσει αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν προμο-
410 σέλλαν.

Ὅρειλε δὲ ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου καὶ ὁ χαρτουλάριος μετὰ τῶν ἄρχοντων
αὐτῶν παρίστασθαι εἰς τὰς βασιλικὰς φορτώσεις, ἵνα ἔχωσιν σαγμάριον
βαστάζῃ μοδίων ἡ γυμάριν· καὶ ἀν εὑρωσι κατὰ τὴν ὄδον ἐπιφορτώματα,
τύπτουσι τοὺς τεθεικότας τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ βίπτουσιν αὐτά.

415 Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀποκατασταθῆναι τὴν κομπίναν, τότε, εὰν κελεύει ὁ βασι-
R. 481 λεὺς περιπατεῖν τὴν μίαν κόρτην καὶ τὰς ἡμισελάς τέντας, ἀμα καὶ | τῆς
ἡμισελᾶς ὑποργίας, καὶ προευτρεπέζειν τὰ βασιλικὰ ἀπλήκτα, γίνεται οὕτως,
καὶ ἐως ὁ ἐν χώρῃ τοῖς θέμασιν, ἢ αὐτὴ ἀκολουθεῖ γίνεται, καὶ ἡ τάξις τῆς
περιπατήσεως ἐν τῇ ὄδι φυλάττεται κατὰ τὸν τύπον τοῦ διακινήματος.

420 Περὶ τῶν χερκέτων

Ἰστέον ὅτι, ὅτε χερκετεύει ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης τὰς ἐσπέρας,
λαμβάνει φατλίον ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ, καὶ οἱ ρ’ σχολάριοι, οὗς ἔχει, ποιοῦσι τὴν
φῖναν τὴν ἑξω, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας κρατοῦσι φῖναν ἑσω μετὰ τοῦ ἑταιρει-
άρχου πλησίον ἑξω τῆς κόρτης, ὅπου εἰσὶ δεδεμένα τὰ σχονία αὐτῆς· καὶ
425 λαμβάνει σίγυν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλείους μυστικῶς, εἶπε τὸν Σωτήρα, εἶπε τὴν
L 12" Θεοτόκων, εἶπε τὸν 'Αρχιστράτηγον, || εἶπε τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τῶν στρατη-
λατῶν, εἶπε ἄλλο τι, δὲ κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς. καὶ ὑπαλλάσσει ἐκάστης ἐσπέρας

399 ἐπίκτης L || 402 μηδὲς L || 427 ὑπαλλασσ L
stable and the *chartoularios* and the *kellarious*, from the *prōtonotarios*; and they provision all the animals thus teamed up. The horses and mules are fed a double ration, the saddle-horses a triple ration. The *epeiktēs* supervises the feed of the horses as well as their shoeing and bridling and pack-harnesses and watering.

Now there does exist an old imperial regulation, to the effect that no-one should take freely either a mule or a horse which bears an imperial brand, lest the baggage-train be dispersed and lost. If anyone is found with such a beast, he should be condemned as a thief. From the beasts that are not branded, however, the emperor orders gifts to be made wherever he commands: to foreigners, refugees, or anyone else to whom he commands and wishes. A horse or mule branded with the imperial seal is given to no-one as a gift; since otherwise, when it grows old and incapable of taking part in the march of campaign, it can be (secretly) exchanged for (another) one in the imperial retinue.

The *komēs* of the stable and the *chartoularios* with their officials ought to be present at the loading up of the imperial baggage, so that each pack-animal carries a load of eight *modioi*; and if extra loads are discovered during the march, those who loaded them on should be beaten, and the extra loads thrown off.

After the baggage-train reforms, and if the emperor orders one of the pavilions and half the number of tents to march on, together with half the imperial household service, in order to prepare the imperial encampments in advance, then this is done. This procedure is followed until the emperor joins up with the *themata*, and the order of march on the road is adhered to according to the plan of the expedition.

On camp patrols:

Know that, when the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* patrols in the evenings, he takes a torch from the *eidikon*; and the 100 *scholarioi* whom he has with him stand guard on the outer perimeter, while those in the *Hetaireia* stand guard on the inner perimeter with the *hetaireiarchēs*, near to and outside the pavilion, that is, where its guy-ropes are secured. And he (i.e. the *drouggarios*) secretly obtains a password from the emperor, either "the Saviour" or "the Theotokos" or "the Arch-General" or one of the holy martyrs and *stratēla-tai*, or another password, whichever the emperor commands. He
τὸ σίγνον καὶ ἱστησιν ἔπιστάτας, καὶ περιγυρεύουσι δι’ ὅλης νωκτός τὴν φύσιν. τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἐταιρειάρχης μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας. καὶ ἄφρ’ οὗ κερχετεύει ὁ δρουγάριος, οὔτε κοιτωνίτης ἐπ’ ἐξουσίας ἔχει ἔξω τῶν σκουταρίων εἰςελ-
R. 482 θεῖν, οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας, οὔτε ἀλλὸς τις μέγας ἢ μικρός, ὑπερέχων ἢ ὑποβεβηκὼς, ἐὰν μὴ λάβῃ τὸ σίγνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸν δρουγάριον. εἰ δὲ δοκιμάσεις τις ἐξελθεῖν ἄνευ σίγνου, δεσμοῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπάγουσιν εἰς τὸν δρουγάριον, καὶ ὑπομιμήσεσαι περὶ τούτου ὁ βασιλεύς,
435 καὶ εἰ τι κελεύει ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ.

Εἰ δὲ λάβοι σίγνον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅποθεν αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει ὁ δρουγάριος, ἐκείθεν καὶ πάλιν εἰσάγει, καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν οὐχ ἔξεστιν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τῶν πεδητούρων δεσμεύεται καὶ τὸ πρῶτο τῷ βασιλεί παραδίδοται. τούτῳ δὲ φυλάττεται μέχρι τοῦ καταστολίου.

440 "Οτε δὲ ἑνωθῇ τοῖς θέμασιν ὁ βασιλεύς, γίνεται προσθήκη ἀλλής μιᾶς φίλας πλησίον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας, ἔγγον ἔξω τῆς ἑταιρείας καὶ ἔσω τῶν τοῦ δρουγαρίου σχολαρίων.

Διερχομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς θέμασιν, ὑπάνταται παρ’ ἐκάστου θέματος, δηλονότι παρατεταγμένον ὅντος τοῦ θέματος. καὶ δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως
dierchoménon, ως ἀπὸ διαστήματος ἰκανοῦ πρὸ τοῦ τῶν βασιλεά καταλαβεῖν, ἀποβαίνουσι τῶν ἕπτων τοῦ περι τοῦ βασιλεά καταλαβεῖν, καὶ τοῦ ἑτατο specializing τοῦ θέματος καὶ οἱ τουρμάρχαι καὶ οἱ δρουγαροκόμηται καὶ οἱ μεράρχες καὶ οἱ κόμης τῆς κόρης καὶ ὁ χαρτουλάριος καὶ οἱ δομεστικοὶ τοῦ θέματος, καὶ ποιοῦσι δέξιμον.

R. 483 καὶ τοῦ βασιλεώς διερχομένου, πίπτουσι πάντες οἱ προειρημένοι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 450 προσκυνοῦντες τὸν βασιλέα· οἱ δὲ στρατιώται πάντες ἵστανται καβαλλάριοι. καὶ μετὰ τὸ προσκυνήσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς σὺν τοῖς προελεηθείν ἄρχονσι

L 13’ έκνευει ο βασιλείς θλίγον τῆς οδοῦ, λέγων ν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, έκνευει ο βασιλείς, "καλῶς εὑρομενοι·

εἶτα ἔρωτα αὐτοὺς· "πάος ἔχετε, παιδία μου; πάος ἔχουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν, αἱ νύμφαι μου, καὶ τα παιδία;" έκνευει ο βασιλείς, ὁ βασιλεύς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ πάντας τοὺς προειρημένους ἄρχοντας καβαλλάριοι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ στρατού αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ίδιαν καὶ ὑπομιμήσεις αὐτοὺς τάξειν.
changes the password for each evening and sets up the pickets who patrol the perimeter throughout the night. The ἱηαἱαἱαἱαἱιαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱαἱα海棠es does the same with the Ηetaiρεια. And from the time that the drouggarios begins his patrol, not even a koιτονιτε̃s has authority to pass outside the soldiers of the Vigla, nor a member of the Ηetaiρεια, nor anyone else, great or small, officer or subordinate, unless he receives the password from the emperor and appears before the drouggarios. If someone attempts to go out without the password, they bind him and take him to the drouggarios, and the emperor is informed of the matter and asked what his majesty commands.

If he does obtain the password from the emperor, the drouggarios is to re-admit him at the same place from which he let him out; it is not permitted to let him in anywhere else, since then he will be bound by the perimeter guards and handed over to the emperor in the morning. This procedure is followed until the expeditionary force is disbanded.

When the emperor joins up with the themata another perimeter is added near to the soldiers of the Ηetaiρεια, in other words, outside the Ηetaiρεια and inside the σχολαιριοι of the drouggarios.

Once the emperor has passed into the themata, he is welcomed by each thema, when the thema is drawn up in parade order, of course. When the emperor approaches, the στρατηγος and the πρωτονοταιριοι of the thema and the τουρμαρχαι and the drouggarokomites and the μεραρχε̃s and the κωμε̃s of the tent and the chartoularios and the domestikos of the thema dismount from their horses while the emperor is still some distance from reaching them, and form a reception party. And when the emperor passes through, all the aforementioned fall to the ground, paying homage to the emperor; but the soldiers all remain mounted. After the στρατηγοι and the officers referred to have paid homage to the emperor, the latter makes a short detour from the road, saying to them: “Well met!” Then he asks them: “How are you, my children? How are your wives, my daughters-in-law, and the children?” And they reply, that “In the life of your Majesty, so we, your servants, are well”. And again, the emperor responds: “Thanks be to Holy God who keeps us in health”. When all have acclaimed the emperor, he commands the στρατηγος and all the above-mentioned officers to mount up, and to leave with their army for their own ordained position.
460 Εἰ δὲ μᾶλλον κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποσωφρευθήναι τά τε τάγματα καὶ τὰ Θέματα, εἴτε ἐν τῷ Θέματι τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων εἰς τὸν Δαξίμωνα, εἴτε ἐν τῷ Θέματι τοῦ Χαρακινοῦ εἰς Κασάρειαν, εἴτε ἐν ἑτέρῳ Θέματι πρὸς τόν τόπον, ἐν ὃ μέλλει φοσσατεύσασθαι, ἐπιτηθεὶς τυγχάνοντος· καὶ ὅτε ἔλθῃ ἑγγίστα πρὸς τὸ ἄπληκτον ἀπὸ τριῶν μιλίων, προοπνευτός τά τε τάγματα καὶ τὰ Θέματα ἐπευγόμενοι τῷ βασίλει, καὶ πρὸς ἐν ἑκατὸν τάγμα καὶ Θέμα λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἔκνευσεν πρὸς αὐτὸ, οὕτως· «καλῶς ὑμᾶς εὐρομεν. πῶς ἔχετε; πῶς ῥ. 484 ἔχουσιν αἱ νόμοι μου, αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ παιδία; πῶς ὑμῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ διηγήσης; ἀγωνίσασθε, τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιώται καὶ παιδὴ ἐμά, ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ δέντε ἐπιδειξηθῇ τῇ γεναιώτητα καὶ τῇ ἄνδρειαν ὑμῶν καὶ τῷ πρὸς Θεὸν 470 καὶ βασιλείαν ἡμῶν πιστὶν ὅρθην καὶ ἀγάπην, ἵνα ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν ἐξίως τῆς ἄνδρειας καὶ γεναιώτητος ὑμῶν καὶ ὅρθης πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης εὐνοιαν ἀποδεξάμενη ἀνταμείψηται καὶ εὐφερετήσῃ καὶ τιμᾶς διαφόρους τιμῆσῃ καὶ ἐξ ἀναξίων ἡμῶν δείξῃ καὶ μυρία καλὰ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐνδείξηται».

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἔρχονται ὑπὸ τὸν δρομογράφον 475 καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑτατείας καὶ περιπατοῦσι παρατεταχμένοι. καὶ ὅτε εὐθηνὴ στένωμα ἤ ποταμὸς εἶτε καὶ γέφυρα, διαπέρωσι τὰ τάγματα ἐμπροσθεν. ὃς L 13’ πρῶτον μὲν αἱ σχολαὶ, δεύτερον τὰ ἔξοχοβιτα, τρίτον ὁ ἄριθμὸς, | τέταρτον ὁ ἱκανότας ὁ ὑμώοις καὶ τὰ Θέματα.

Καὶ καθὼς τούτος ἔχει, περιπατοῦσιν οἱ μάγιστροι καὶ οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ 480 οἱ κοιτωνίται καὶ οἱ βασιλικοῖ εὐνούχοι. οἱ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς καὶ παρ’ αὐτὰ προσκαλεῖται τοὺς μαγιστροὺς καὶ πατρικίους, καὶ ὅτινα ἀν κελεύῃ, συντυγχάνει, καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν τάξιν τῶν πατρικίων περιπατοῦσι οἱ κοιτωνιταὶ, ὅππερθεν δὲ ὅλον περιπατεῖ ὁ πρωτοβεσπιάριος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ ὅππερθεν αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος βολὴν περιπατοῦσιν οἱ εὐνούχοι καὶ πατρίκιοι καὶ πρωτοσπα- ῥ. 485 Θάριοι· ἐμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως περιπατοῦσιν οἱ πραιτόριοι καὶ τὸ 486 κουβούκλιν, καὶ μέσον τῶν πραιτοσπίτων περιπατεῖ κουβούκλιος βασιλικῶν τὰ τίμια καὶ ζωοποιεῖ ξύλα μετὰ τῆς ἥχης ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου. ἐμπροσθεν δὲ τὸ κουβούκλιον περιπατοῦσιν οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ μέσον τούτων περιπατεῖ σχυνόφορος βασιλικῶν σταυρὸν χρυσοῦν διάλυθων. ἐμπροσθεν δὲ τῶν βασιλε- 490 κῶν περιπατοῦσιν ἀπὸ δύο σαγγιτόβολων παρασυρτὰ βασιλικὰ ἱππάρια ρ’ μετὰ σαγισμάτων ἄλθηνιν καὶ βορχαδίως δεξία καὶ εὐωνυμα. καὶ δύο κανδιδάτοι, εἶτε καὶ σταθάριοι, δεξία καὶ εὐωνυμα τοῦ βασιλέως περιπατοῦσι καβαλλάριοι ὡς ἀπὸ διαστήματος μετὰ σχυντορίων καὶ τους προσερχομένους
But if, on the other hand, the emperor orders the tagmata and themata to assemble either in the thema of the Armeniakoi at Dazimôn, or in the thema of Charsianon at Kaisareia, or in another thema, near the lands where it is intended to campaign, the necessary arrangements are made. And when he has come to within a distance of three miles of the camp, the tagmata and themata come out to meet him, acclaiming him. The emperor says to each and every tagma and thema, turning towards them: "Well met! How are you? How are my daughters-in-law, your wives; and (your) children? How did you get on during the march? Strive, soldiers of Christ and my children, so that in time of need you will show your nobility of spirit and your bravery, as well as your true devotion and love for God and our majesty; and so that our majesty, displaying good will, may worthily repay and reward your courage and nobility and true faith and love; and honour you with various honours; and award dignities to those who previously had none, and distinguish you with countless benefits".

After addressing these words to them, they fall in behind the drouggaros and the soldiers of the Hetaireia and advance in formation. And whenever a narrow pass or river or bridge is encountered, the tagmata cross first: first the Scholai, second the Exkoubita, third the Arithmos, fourth the Hikanatoi; and likewise for the themata.

And as custom ordains, the magistroi and pankratoi and koitônitai and imperial eunuchs march along (together); and there and then the emperor summons to his side the magistroi and pankratoi, and whomever he commands accompanies him. The koitônitai march in the body of the pankratoi; a little behind march the prōtovestiaros and the head of the table; and behind them, at a stone's throw, the eunuch pankratoi and the prōtospatharioi. In front of the emperor march the praipositori and the koubouklion, and in the middle of the praipositori marches a koubikouarios carrying the holy and life-giving wood of the Cross, with the case about his neck. In front of the koubouklion march the imperial officers, and in their midst marches a signophoros bearing a golden, bejewelled cross. In front of the imperial officers, at a distance of two bowshots, are led 100 imperial horses to right and left, with purple blankets and brocade trappers. Two kandidatoi, or spatharioi, to the right and left of the emperor, ride along at a given distance with shields; and they receive those who approach and lead them to the emperor. These
ἐπαίρουσι καὶ εἰσάγουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἑπερωτῶνται παρ’ αὐτοῦ, ὅ τι 495 ἂν δέονται, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνονται τὰ δεητικὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδίδουσιν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἑπὶ τῶν δεήσεων.

Καὶ ὅτε καταλάβῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἀπληκτὸν, ἔνθα ἡ βασιλικὴ ἱσταται κόρτη, καλεῖ τοὺς μαγίστρους, τὸν δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν καὶ πραιτόστοις, τοὺς ἀνθυπατοποτρικίους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀφρυκιᾶς καὶ κλεισουρ- 500 ἀρχας, καὶ συνευφραίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης.


'Iστέον ὅτι, ὅτε ἀποκινήσει ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἀρρήμους πρὸς τὴν Συρίαν, καταλαμπάνει τοῦλθον καὶ τὴν μίαν κόρτην καὶ τὰς περισσώς τέντας καὶ τὰ συστελτὰ τραπέζια, καὶ ἀλλὶ ὅστι ἦν ἡ ἀποσκευή, καὶ τὰ πτωχὰ ἄλογα καὶ τὰ 515 χωλά, καὶ παραλαμβάνει αὐτὰ τὸ πρωτονοτάριο τοῦ Θέματος, ὥθην ἀποβάλλη ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὴν Συρίαν, μετὰ καὶ ἀρχόντων τῶν στάβλων τῶν Μαλαγών καὶ ἐκ τῶν σελλαρίων σταβλοχαμήτων μετὰ τῶν συντρόφων· καὶ εἰς ὅπου ἦν Θέμα μέλλη ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ Συρίας, ἀντιπαραδίδεσι ταύτα τὸ πρω- νοτάριο τὸ πρωτονοτάριῳ τοῦ Θέματος ἐκείνου, καὶ σωμάτητε ἄλογα τά R. 147 βασιλικὰ, ἵνα, ὅταν ἔξελθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Συρίας, εὐρήσει αὐτὰ ἀναπαυ- 521 μένα καὶ ἐσταβλισμένα, καὶ ἔχει πᾶσαν χρεῖαν βασιλικῆς ἔτοιμην. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀρχόντες οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ παρακάτω ποιοῦσιν ἀποβολὴν καὶ συναχολουθοῦσι τῷ τούλῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ.

'Ὁ δὲ μινσουράτωρ ἔχει πιλωτά κεντουκλείνα ἐνδεδυμένα λυσβένετα, 525 καθὼς προείρηται, καὶ γίνεται ἡ βασιλικὴ τράπεζα χαμόκουμβα. τὰ δὲ

498 κόρτι  L  ||  502 ἄδιθμος  L  ||  503 τριβλατίων  L R.  ||  504 διβλατίων  L R.  ||  508 διβλατίων  L R.  ||  βασιλικὸ L; cf. supra 240
petitioners are asked by him what they seek, and their requests are
handed over, and the kandidatoi give them to the secretary of
requests.

When the emperor reaches the aplēkton where the imperial
pavilion is pitched, he calls the magistroi, the domestikos of the
Scholai, and the praipositoi, the stratēgoi of anthypatos and patrikios
rank, and the staff of the various departments and the kleisourarchai,
and he entertains them at table.

Note, that in the aplēkton, if the emperor so commands, as did
often the glorious emperor Basil, he presents the stratēgos with a
tailored garment with a triple border of silk, the tourmarchai each
with a tailored garment with a double border decorated with horns;
and the merarchēs, the komēs of the tent, the chartoularios and
the domestikos of the thema each with a garment with a single border
of silk. This takes place in the great, Roman themata. The stratēgoi
and kleisourarchai of the Armenian thema are each presented, if he
so commands, with a tailored garment with a double border of silk,
with eagles or with imperial symbols; the great tourmarchai are each
presented with garments with a single border of silk; the merarchēs
and the rest receive each a tailored garment with a single border of
10 nomismata in value, from among those purchased on the market.

Note, that when the emperor sets off into the deserted lands
towards Syria, he leaves behind a baggage-train and one pavilion
and the superfluous tents and folding tables, and other such equip-
ment, as well as the poor and lame beasts. And once the emperor has
marched into Syria, the prōtonotarios of the thema takes them, along
with the officers from the stables at Malagina and the stablokomites,
together with the attendants of the saddle-horses, and hands them
over to the prōtonotarios of whichever thema the emperor intends to
return to. And the latter exercises the imperial animals, so that
when the emperor leaves Syria, he will find them rested and stabled,
and will have every imperial requirement to hand. All the remaining
officials and officers of lower rank deposit their unnecessary baggage
and accompany the imperial baggage-train.

The minsouratōr has flax-blue covered patchwork cushions, just
as mentioned already, and imperial meals are taken reclining. The
imperial cooks prepare the food for the next day in the evening. The
πρόφαγα τοιούτων οἱ βασιλικοὶ μάγειροι τῇ ἐσπέρῃ. οἱ δὲ ὁγδοῦχοντα ὀπτοὶ τοῖς σύρουσι τὰ σαγμάρια τὰ βασιλικά καὶ οἱ χ’ ἀκολουθοῦσιν εἰς διόρθωσιν τῶν σαμαριτῶν. ὡμοίως καὶ οἱ μάγειροι καὶ οἱ σύντροφοι τῶν Μαλαγίνων· καὶ ὁτε εὑρόσι ξύλα ἡ δένδρα εἰς ἐρήμους τόπους κεῖμενα, κόπτουσιν οἱ 530 σύντροφοι καὶ οἱ μάγειροι καὶ ἐπαίρουσι πρὸς ἐν ξύλων καὶ ἀποκομίζουσι πρὸς τὸ βασιλικὸν μαγείρειον.

Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀποκίνησιν τοῦ τούλδου οφείλει ὁ τῆς τραπέζης φορτῶσαι τὰ π’ βασιλικά σαγμάρια πᾶσαν χρείαν βασιλικὴν· καὶ οφείλει λαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου εἰς χρείαν τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης καὶ εἰς τοὺς μαϊσουμάδας 535 πρόβατα ὑπαρνὰ ρ’, χριάρια ν’, ἀγελαδία ν’, ὁρνίθαις σ’, χηνάρια ρ’.

"Οτε δὲ ἐστίν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ἀρωμανίαν, λαμβάνουσιν μαϊσουμάδα ἐκ τῶν ἐξαναλίων οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἠγουροὶ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐταφείας καὶ οἱ κορτινάριοι καὶ R. 488 οἱ ἐβδομάριοι τοῦ εἰδικοῦ καὶ οἱ σύντροφοι τῶν σελλαρίων, | ὡμοίως καὶ οἱ μάγειροι. καὶ ὁτε ἀποβάλῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους, λαμβάνουσιν καθ’ 540 ἐκάστην κυριακὴν μαϊσουμὰν ἀνὰ μιλαρχίαν. λαμβάνουσιν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς φίνας τῶν σχολαρίων τῆς ἐσού καὶ τῆς ἐξω καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡμοίως ἀνὰ μιλαρχίαν, ἕπειδὴ, ἂρ’ οὐ ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς Συρίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς, δύο φίνα κυκλοῦσι τὴν βασιλικὴν χόρτην, καὶ οὐκ ἄρχοντες παραμένουσιν τῷ βασιλεί, λαμβάνουσιν, εἰ κελεύει πολλάκις ὁ βασιλεὺς τούτους ἐυπρεπεῖτεν, διὰ μιλαρχίας· εἰ μὲν 545 εἴσην ἄρχοντες μεγάλοι τῶν ταγμάτων εἶτε καὶ θεμάτων, οφείλουσι λαμβάνειν ἀνὰ μιλαρχίαν δύο ἑ τριῶν εἶτε καὶ δ’, πρὸς τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ προσώπου.

Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀποβολὴν τοῦ τούλδου, οὐσὶν καβαλλικεύουσι βασιλικὰ ἁλογα καὶ ἑχουσί σαγμάρια βασιλικά, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἁλογα τὰ βασιλικὰ ὁφείλουσι 550 λαμβάνειν χριάριον ἀνὰ μοδίων δ’ εἰς ταχήν αὐτῶν· ὡμοίως καὶ οὐσὶ εἰς σελλάρια γυμνά, βαστάζουσιν ὑποκάτω τῶν σαγματῶν ἀνὰ μοδίων τ’· καὶ ὁσα παρίστανται ἔχει ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου βασιλικὸ καὶ σαγμάρια, φορτοὶ αὐτὰ ἀνὰ δέκα μοδίων χριάς.

"Ο δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης οφείλει ἔχειν ἐξουσίαςὑπὸ τοῦ Θεόματος τοῦ L 15’ Ὀψικίου ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ Τέμβρη μετὰ καὶ δικτύων, ἵνα χρατῶσιν ὁ φάρα R. 489 εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τῆς ἐρήμου.

557 "Οτε δὲ ἐστίν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ἀρωμανίαν, καθ’ ἐν ἐκαστόν Θέμα ὑπηρε- τοῦσιν οἱ πρωτονοταρίοι, ὡμοίως καὶ οἱ κόμητες τῆς χόρτης, καὶ παρέχουσιν ἀγγαλία δῶρο ρηγαρίῳ τῆς βίγλης εἰς τὰς βασιλικὰς δούλειας. ὁτε δὲ 560 ὑπάρχει δῶρογαρίῳ εἰς βασιλικὴν δουλείαν, ἐπροσωπεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἰκανάτος.
80 Optimatoi lead the imperial pack-animals, and 20 Optimatoi follow them to keep the loads straight. Likewise the cooks and the attendants from Malagina (with their animals); and when they find wood or trees lying in unpopulated areas, the cooks and attendants should chop them up and take them to the imperial kitchen, each carrying a log.

For the departure of the baggage-train, the head of the table should load the 80 pack-animals with all the imperial requirements, and should obtain from the prōtonotarios 100 suckling lambs, 500 rams, 50 cattle, 200 chickens and 100 geese, for consumption at the imperial table and for feasts.

When the emperor is in Rōmania, the imperial esquires and the soldiers of the Hetaireia and the tent-attendants and the hebdomarioi of the eidikon and the attendants of the saddle-horses, as well as the cooks, receive provisions for a feast from the gifts presented to the emperor. When the emperor sets off into the deserted lands, they take such provisions each Sunday, as well as one miliarēsion each. Similarly, the scholarioi of the inner and outer perimeters receive also one miliarēsion each since, after the emperor has set out for Syria, two perimeters encircle the imperial pavilion. If the emperor often orders that they be issued largesses, those officers who remain with the emperor receive miliarēsia, two or three miliarēsia each if they are higher officers in the tagmata or themata, or even four, according to the rank of the person.

With regard to those who ride imperial horses and have imperial pack-animals when the baggage-train sets off, the imperial horses ought to take 4 modioi each of barley for their fodder; unridden saddle-horses carry likewise 8 modioi each below their pack-saddles. And the imperial pack-horses and pack-animals which the komēs of the stable has, he loads with 10 modioi each.

The head of the table ought to have exempted persons from the Opsikion thema, from the village of Tembrēs, with nets, so that they can catch fish in the rivers of the uninhabited regions.

While the emperor is in Rōmania, the prōtonotarioi are at his service in each particular thema, likewise the komites of the tents, and they provide the drouggarios of the Vigla with supplies for the imperial service raised through compulsory exactions. When the drouggarios of the Vigla is engaged on the imperial service, the domestikos of the Hikanatoi represents him.
"Ότε δὲ ἀποβάλῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους, οὐ τε ἡ κόρτη προλαμβάνει ὦτε τὰ βασιλικὰ πράγματα οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς οἰονόμητο πράγμα, πλὴν οὐς ἔχει ὄρισειν ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης ἀπὸ προστάξεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ τῶν θεμάτων. προφυλάττοισι καὶ περιπατοῦσιν ἐμπροσθέν τοῦ βασιλέως ὲς ἀπὸ 565 μιλίων δύο ἀχρίται φ’, ἀνδρὲς ἔξωπλησμένοι, καὶ ἔτερον θέμα, οἶον ὄρισε, ἦνα ὅσι πλαγιοφύλακες, ές ἀπὸ διαστήματος τοῦ βασιλέως μιλίων δύο, καὶ ἔτερα δύο θέματα, οἶα ὄρισε ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης ἐκ προστάξεως τοῦ βασιλέως, ἦνα ὅσι ὀπισθοφύλακες. καὶ ὑπαλλάσσει τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐκάστη ἡμέρα.

570 Καὶ παραλαμβάνει ὁ δρουγγάριος τοὺς κόμητας τῆς κόρτης τῶν θεμάτων καὶ ἔχει αὐτοὺς εἰς παραμονὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὸ θείαν τὴν κόρτην καὶ εἰς τὸ βίφα μετὰ τῶν κορτικαρίων. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ καλοῦνται κόμητες τῆς R.490 κόρτης. καὶ ᾧ θέλει κερτεύειν ὁ δρουγγάριος τὰ θέματα, ἢ ἔγγον κατὰ νύκτα, ἔχει μεθ’ ἕαυτον τοὺς αὐτοὺς κόμητας τῆς κόρτης τῶν θεμάτων καὶ 575 μανδάτορας καὶ δύο φατλία ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου καὶ περιγυρεύει τὰ θέματα καὶ θεωρεῖ τὰς πεδητοῦρας καὶ τὰ ἐξωβίγλια, καὶ ἄν εὑρή τινάς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀμελοῦντας ἐκ τῶν μενόντων εἰς τὴν πεδητοῦραν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐξωβι-γλια, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦρμαρχῶν καὶ κατωτέρω τύπτει αὐτοὺς ἱσχυρῶς, καὶ καθὼς εὕρη, ἀναγγέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ.

580 Ὁ δὲ πρωτοστάτωρ τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ καὶ στρατόπους τριῶν βασιλικῶν ἀμα τῷ κόμητι τοῦ στάβλου καὶ τρισὶν ἰππαρίοις ἐστρωμένοις ποιοῦσι παρα-L 15" μόνιμα ὑποσθέν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ || πύργου, ἦς οὗ ἐκβῆ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Συρίας.

Τὰ δὲ ἰππάρια τὰ σασαγισμένα καὶ παρασυρόμενα οὐκέτι περιπατοῦσίν ἐμπροσθέν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἢσιν ἡ προμοσέλλα ἡ βασιλικὴ, ἔχει βέβηχονται μετὰ 585 τῶν λυπῶν, καὶ ἐπιτρεπεῖ αὐτὰ ὁ βασιλικός σταβλοκόμης, ποιῶν τὴν πρόνοιαν αὐτῶν.

"Ὅτε δὲ ἀπόληται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ οἰονόμητο πράγμα, ὁ εὐρηκός φέρει αὐτὸ καὶ διδωσὶ τῷ δρουγγάριῳ τῆς βίγλης, καὶ ὁ ἀπολέας ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν δρουγγάριον καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ ἱδιον εὐχερῶς. ἐδὲ ὁ εὐρηκός τὸ πράγμα 590 ἀποκρύψει αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐσχάτων εὐρεθή, ὡς κλέπτης καταδικάζεται.

Ἱστέον ὅτι, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντος, λαμβάνουσιν οἱ μάγιστροι καὶ οἱ πατρίκες καὶ οἱ πρωτοσπαθάριοι διφικαλίας μαίουμαν· οἱ μὲν μάγιστροι 568 ὑπαλλάσσει L || 572 κόμηταις L || 575 μανδάτορας L || 587 εὐρηκος L || 588 δρουγγαριω L
When the emperor sets off into the deserted regions, neither the pavilion, nor the imperial baggage, nor anyone else’s baggage goes on ahead, except for those from the themata ordered to do so by command of the emperor, by the drouggarios of the Vigla: 500 frontier soldiers, fully-armed, march and serve as a vanguard up to two miles in front of the emperor; and another thema, whichever he commands, should serve as flank-guards, up to two miles distant from the emperor; and a further two themata, which the drouggarios of the Vigla orders according to the emperor’s command, should act as rearguards. And he changes them around each day.

The drouggarios of the Vigla takes the komites of the tent of the themata, and places them in attendance upon the emperor, for erecting the pavilion and taking it down, together with the tent-attendants. This is, in fact, why they are called komites of the tent. When the drouggarios wishes to patrol the themata, that is to say, at night, he has with him these komites of the tents of the themata, and mandatores, and two torches from the imperial vestiarion; he makes a circuit about the themata, and inspects the perimeter guards and the outer pickets; and if he discovers some of the officers posted to the perimeter or to the outer picket-line failing in their duties, he beats those of the rank of tourmarchēs and below severely, and he reports them as soon as he discovers them to the emperor.

The prōtostrator of the emperor, together with three imperial stratores, the komēs of the stable, and three saddled horses, form up in attendance behind the imperial column until the emperor leaves Syria.

The horses with pack-saddles that are led along never march at the front, but graze with the other animals wherever the imperial baggage-train is to be found; the imperial stablokomēs supervises and takes care of them.

When anything is lost by someone on the expedition, the finder brings it and hands it over to the drouggarios of the Vigla; while the loser comes to the drouggarios and receives his possessions straightforwardly. But if the finder of the item conceals it and is eventually found out, he should be condemned as a thief.

Note that when the emperor is in Syria, the magistroi and patrikioi and the civil prōtospatharioi receive provisions for a feast: the magistroi 2 beasts each for slaughter; the patrikioi 1 each; the civil prōtospatharioi 1 for two persons, (and this takes place) each
R. 491 ἀνά δύο σφακτῶν, | οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι ἀνά σφακτοῦ ἐνός, οἱ δὲ πρωτοσπαθάριοι ὀφρικάλιοι σύν δύο τὸ σφακτὸν ἐκάστη κυριακῇ, τὸ δὲ χῦμα τοῦ λασοῦ, ἤγουν 595 οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἄγνοιροι καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐταιρείας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σὺν δέκα τὸ σφακτὸν· οἱ δὲ θνικοί σὺν λ´ τὸ ἀγελάδιν τὸ α´. ὅτε δὲ ἐστιν εἰς Ἄρωμανίαν ὁ βασιλεύς, λαμβάνουσιν μαϊουμᾶν οἱ προσημένοι ἐκ τῶν ἐξεναλίων. εἰ δὲ ἐξενάλια οὐκ εἰσί, χορηγοῦσιν οἱ πρωτονωτάριοι.

Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας ὀφείλουσι 600 βαστάζειν υπηρεσίαν βασιλικὴν τραπέζιον, δηλοντός τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντος, εἰς ἀσκοῦσιν οἶνον Νικαινίδων παλαιῶν μέτρα π´ καὶ ἔλαιον Νικαινίδων μέτρα λ´, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰνοχός οἶνον δεσποτικὸν τὸν ἄρχοντα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ὀφείλουσιν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς χορηγίας τῶν πρωτονωτάριῶν, ἤγουν ἀπὸ Ἄρωμανίας.

605 Ὁτι τὰ ἑπτάρια τὰ ἐστρωμένα, ὅτε εἴσην ἐν Συρίᾳ, περιπατοῦσιν ἐμπροσθεν μετὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν σελλαρίων καὶ βόσκονται ἐσωθεὶν τῆς φίνας.

L 16’ Ἐτι καὶ ταύτα πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους, ὑλὲ πολυέραστε, καλὸν || εἰς γνώσιν ἀνήκειν τὴν σήν. ἡ γὰρ τῆς πλείονος γνώσεως πεῖρα εἰσόθηκα τεχνοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἐχόντων διὰ σπουδῆς τῶν προσηκόντων μηδὲν ἁγνοεῖ, ὡστερὸν R. 492 αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας εὐτολμοστέρους ἐργάζεται πολλῷ καὶ ἰσφά|λεστε- 611 ροὺς.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πρὸ ἡμῶν σοι προεκτεθείσαν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων ἐκ-θεσιν, πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα πειθόμενος, ἀνέγνωσι καλῶς, προσήκον ἄρα σοι καὶ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ταξειδίων γινόμενα διελθεῖν τε καὶ ἐκμαθεῖν, ὡσπος διὰ φανῶν 615 τινῶν καὶ λαμπάδων τῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς πρὶν ἀνημεμένων ὁ βασιλεύς ἐν μιᾷ ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐθὺς κατεμάνθανεν ἐφοδιών, ἀλλ` ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων σοι κεφαλαίων ταύτα τρανώτερον δηλωθῆσηται.

Ἰστέον ὅτι, τὸ παλαιῶν ἀπὸ Ταρσοῦ ῞Οραχίνων κατὰ Ὁρμαίων ἐξερχο-μένων, εὐθέως τὰ κάστρον τὸ λεγόμενον Λοῦλον ἐν περιόπτῳ προσκείμενον 620 ἐξῆπτε φανῶν, ὅν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὁ καλούμενος Ἀργαέας βουνὸς διεδέχετο, καὶ ἤπτε δὲ καὶ αὐτός· καὶ εὖθυς ὁ τῶν ἐκείσε ῞ο βουνὸς ὁ Σάμος ἀνηπτε· καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐδέχετο τὸ κάστρον τὸ Αἶγυλον, καὶ ἤπτε καὶ αὐτὸ· καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτὸ ἐδέχετο ῞ο βουνὸς ῞ο ῎Ολυμπος, καὶ ἤπτεν ἐν χορυφῇ· καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐδέχετο ῞ο βουνὸς ῞ο Κύριςεος, καὶ ἤπτε καὶ αὐτός· καὶ εὖθυς ὁ τῶν 625 βουνῶν ῞ο Μούκυλος ἐπάνω τῶν Πυλῶν, καὶ ἤπτε καὶ αὐτός· καὶ μετὰ τούτον
Sunday. The rest of the retinue, that is, the imperial esquires, the soldiers in the *Hetaireia* and the rest, receive 1 slaughtered animal for ten persons; the foreigners (attached to the *Hetaireia*) receive 1 cow for thirty persons. When the emperor is in Rōmania, the above-mentioned receive these provisions from the gifts (offered to the emperor); if there are none, then the *prōtonotarioi* provide.

The head of the table and the *domestikos* of the household service ought to transport the imperial table-service; and when the emperor is in Syria, of course, 100 measures of vintage Nicaean wine in skins; and 30 measures of Nicaean oil; and the imperial wine-server (should bring) sufficient imperial wine. All the rest (of the provisions) ought to be drawn from the supplies of the *prōtonotarioi*, that is, from Rōmania.

Note that the saddled horses, when they are in Syria, march on ahead with the imperial riding horses, and graze within the perimeter.

Dearest son, it is good that, in addition to the foregoing, these things come also to your understanding. For familiarity with the greater part of knowledge usually has the result that the minds of those who attain knowledge through diligent study of what is necessary are ignorant of nothing; and furthermore, causes them to be more courageous and more secure in their undertakings.

And since, placing trust in your father in all things, you have read the description of imperial expeditions before our time set out for you carefully, it is surely becoming that you learn and go through the events which occur before a campaign, and how, through certain torches and beacons lit in succession, the emperor learns immediately of the enemy attack, within one hour. But the paragraphs below will make things clearer to you.

One ought to know that when in former years the Saracens from Tarsos attacked the Romans, the fortress called Loulon straightway lit a beacon in a conspicuous place nearby, which the mountain called Argeas received next, and lit a beacon itself. And from there a beacon on Mt. Samos was lit; and after that the fortress at Aigion received it, and lit one in turn; and then on to Mt. Olympos, which lit a beacon on the peak. From there Mt. Kyrizos received it, and it also lit a beacon. Then Mt. Mokilos above Pylai received it, and lit a beacon; and after this the hill of St. Auxentios, called the "look-
ἐδέχετο ὁ τοῦ ἀγίου Αὐξεντίου βουνὸς ὁ Σκοπός προσαγωγοῦμενος, καὶ ἦπτε καὶ αὐτὸς· καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἐδέχετο ὁ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοῦ Φάρου ἕλικος, καὶ ἦπτε καὶ αὐτὸς. διατάραξιν γὰρ ἐκεῖσέ βίγλας ἢ καὶ πάντοτε κρατοῦντες πρὸς τὸ μὴ λαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀχριβῶς ἀπεσκόπουν πρὸς τὸν βουνὸν τοῦ ἀγίου Αὐξεντίου τοῦ.

630
R. 493 Ἰστέον ὅτι, τῶν | φανῶν τούτων πάντων ἀψάντων, εὐθὺς οἱ χαρτουλάριοι ἔκλυγον τὰ βασιλικὰ ἔλογα | καὶ τὰ βασιλικὰ συγκατα τὰ ἐν τῇ πύλῃ ἔκνυσαν καὶ κατήρχοντο εἰς τὴν βασιλέως ἀπάντησιν ἐν Πύλαις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐξήρχετο μέχρι τῶν Πυλῶν, τὰ 635 δὲ βασιλικὰ σελλάρια καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐφορχόμενοι τῆς ξηρᾶς προελάμβανον τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Πύλαις· καὶ ὅτε τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φοσσάτων ὄψῃ τισ πρὸς τὰ τῆς Ῥωμανίας συστάμενα, ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ.

640 Ἰστέον ὅτι οἱ προβροθήκτες φανοὶ διεχράτουν μέχρι τῶν ἠμερῶν Μιχαήλ βασιλέως τοῦ Ἐθοφέλου. ὄντος ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀγίου Μάμαντος προκένσου καὶ μέλλοντος ποιῆσαι ἱπποδρόμοιν, ἐν ὃ καὶ ἀντι βασιλέως ἡνίοχος ἐγνωρίζετο — καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἰππηλασίαις ἀντὶ ἡνίοχου ἱππηλάτει —, συνέβη τοὺς συνήθεις ἄψα φανοὺς, καὶ εἴπε τούτῳ διαλογισμένον, ὅτι «ἐὰν κατάθηκος γένηται ἡ ἐξοdoς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, λυπηθήσονται οἱ πολίται, καὶ οὐ μὴ 645 ἐξέλθωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἐμὴν ἰππηλασίαν Θεάσασθαι». καὶ ἐν τότε διετάξατο μὴ ἀπτεῖν τοὺς φανοὺς.

640
R. 494 Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν τύπος ἢν τὰ Θέματα ῥυγεύεσθαι καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη, οἴονε τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ὁ ἔνατος, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ 'Ἀρμενιάκος, ὁ Ἑρακλῆς, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Ὀψίκανος, ὁ Βουκελλάριος, ὁ Καππάδοξ, τῷ δὲ ἀκόλουθῳ 650 χρόνῳ ὁ Χαρασάνθης, ὁ Ὀλυμπίας, ὁ Παφλαγόνιας· καὶ πάλιν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῇ Ῥάφυς, ὁ Μακεδονίας, ὁ Χαλδίας. καὶ τῶν δ' χρόνων διελθόντων, πάλιν ἐρρογεύοντο τὰ ῥυγεύθεντα Θέματα τῷ πρῶτῳ χρόνῳ.

Δέον πάντας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ποιεῖν τε παραγγελίαν εἰς τοὺς τουρμάρχας αὐτῶν, κἀκεῖνοι εἰς τοὺς δρογγαροκόμητας, ἢν ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ βάνδῳ ἔχοσιν 655 τὸν κωμοδρόμον αὐτῶν, ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ταγαγάριν, καὶ κατὰ βάνδων ἔχοσιν πρὸς
out”, received the message and lit its own beacon; and from there the solar Pharos in the palace received it, and its beacon was lit. For the diaitarioi maintained constantly a permanent watch there, so that nothing escaped them, carefully keeping a look-out in the direction of the hill of St. Auxentios.

Note that, when all the beacons were lit, the chartoularioi of the outer (i.e. provincial) stables and the saphramentarioi would shoe the imperial horses and, when they had got the imperial pack-animals ready, would set off immediately, and march down to meet the emperor at Pylai. The emperor went out as far as Pylai, while the imperial riding-horses, the officers and the rest from the City, leaving the mainland, preceded the emperor to Pylai. And as soon as the Saracen army was seen by anyone approaching Roman territory, the emperor was ready to meet them without delay.

Note that the above-mentioned beacons were in use until the days of Michael the emperor, the son of Theophilos. But one day, when he was in the procession in the St. Mamas district and intending to hold a chariot race, in which he used to take part as a charioteer rather than as the emperor (for he rode in the chariot races himself, rather than one of the charioteers), it happened that the usual beacons were lit, and he made the following objection, that “if the invasion of the Saracens is made known, the citizens will be distressed and will not come out to the hippodrome to see me in the chariot race”. And he ordered that from that time the beacons should not be lit.

Know, that it was the custom of old that the themata should be paid every four years; thus in the first year the Anatolikon, the Armeniakon, the Thrakēsion; the next year the Opsikion, the Boukellarion, and Kappadokia; the year after Charsianon, Kolōneia and Paphlagonia; and once again the next year those of Thrace, Macedonia and Chaldia. When the four years had passed, the themata paid in the first year were paid once more.

All the stratēgoi should issue orders to their tourmarchai, and the latter to their drouggarokomites, so that each and every bandon has its smithy and likewise its bootmakers. And each bandon should
ένα ἀσκόν βόειον καὶ ἀνὰ δύο ἄσκον ἀπισίων πρὸς τὸ εὐχόλως διαπερᾶν αὖ- ||

L 17τοὺς τοὺς βασεῖς καὶ δυσκόλους ποταμοὺς ἢ ἔχωσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑργαλεῖα αὐτῶν ἀνελλιπτοῖς, ἦγουν ἄξινάριν ἕν, σκεπάριν α', σμιλάριν α' μετὰ τοῦ ξυλοσφόρου αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν παραγγελίαν ποιεῖν καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν καὶ εἰς τὸν τοποτηρητὴν τῶν σχολῶν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ κόμητες κατὰ μίαν σχολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκολουθήσων ἔχωσιν. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἔξωκύβιτος εἰς τοὺς σκρίβωνας αὐτοῦ ποιήσει τὴν αὐτὴν παραγγελίαν, καὶ ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης εἰς τοὺς κόμητας τοῦ ἄριθμοῦ, καὶ ὁ ἱκανότας εἰς τοὺς κόμητας αὐτοῦ ἔχετο τὰ αὐτὰ ἑργαλεῖα.

R. 495 Ὁσα δεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἄταν ἀπὸ ἑξεπεδίτου ἡ μακρὰς ὅδοιπορίας ἑπανέρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς

Ἑπανερχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως, τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα γίνεται κατὰ τὴν ὅδον, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀπίειναι αὐτὸν εἰρήκαμεν. γινομένου αὐτοῦ περὶ Κωνσταντινούπολιν, οἱ ἀπομείναντες ἄρχοντες ἀπαντοῦσιν ἐν τῷ Ὑπατί Αὐγήνων ἄλλο, ὁ μὲν τριβοῦς πραισιντάλος ὁ ἀπομείνας εἰς παραφυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντᾷ μετὰ μαντίου ήτοι σαγίου βουάσιον εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸ κατάβα τοῦ Ὑπατίου, καὶ καθήμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν ἱππὸν δέχεται αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ προσκυνοῦμεν μετὰ τοῦ σαγίου μόνον καὶ ὄψιν ἔχειτε οὕτων. οἱ δὲ κόμητες κονσιστορίαν καὶ τριβοῦν πάντες λευχεμονοῦντες κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα προσκυνοῦσιν καὶ ὄψιν ἔχουσιν. 675 παρίσταται δὲ αὐτοῖς σιλεντιάριοι καὶ λέγει· «φύλαρχοι παρουσίαις, κόμητες συστατήριοι, φύλαρχοι πρατηρίου». δὲ ἐπαρχεῖ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ υπατικοὶ καὶ ἐὰν εὐρέθη καὶ πατρίκιος ἐμπρός τοῦ παλατίου ἑστανται, καὶ ὡς κατέλθῃ τοῦ ἱπποῦ, προσκυνοῦσιν, καὶ δέχεται αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ στόματος. ἦλθον δὲ διούλονται τίνες τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ εἰς ὁ Ὁράκλειαν ἄπελθειν κακῇ δέξασθαι T. 496 τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστεσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ συγκλητικοὶ, ἔδω ἡ δραματικά, καὶ ἐν πεζῇ ἐρχέσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ Ὁράκλειον, ἀπαντοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Νηπίων ἐμπρός τοῦ μαρτυρίου, καὶ κατέρχεται ὁ δεσπότης καὶ δέχεται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ στόματος καὶ L 17εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον καὶ εὑχεται. καὶ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης || ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ Ὁράκλειον, οἱ δὲ συγκλητικοὶ ὅπου βούλονται.
have one hide skin and two skins of soft hide to facilitate their crossing deep and difficult rivers. They should also have their set of tools complete, that is: one axe, one adze, and one chisel with its wooden mallet. The same order should be issued also by the domesti- kos of the Scholai to the topotērētēs of the Scholai, so that the komites in each scholē observe the same order; and likewise the exkoubitos should make the same order to his skribōnes, the drouggarios of the Vigla to the komites of the Arithmos, and the Hikanatos to his komites, so that they might have the same tools.

What should be observed when the emperor returns from an expedition or a long journey

When the emperor returns, the same procedures are followed while he is on the road, as we have described for his departure. When he reaches the district of Constantinople, the officials who remained in the City meet (him) at Rhegion; but the praesental tribune who remained to guard the City meets him, in a tunic of red, directly after the disembarkation at Rhegion; and the emperor, mounted on his horse, receives him. He pays homage, wearing simply his tunic, and then accompanies him. The komites of the consistory and the tribunes, all dressed in white, pay homage to him in the same fashion, and then accompany him. A silentiarios stands by, and announces: "the praesental Phylarch, the komites of the consistory, the Phylarchs of the praetorium". The Eparch of the City and the consuls and, if he can be found, a patrikios, stand before the palace and pay homage as he dismounts from his horse. The emperor receives them verbally. If some of the officials wish, they may go off to Herakleia to receive the emperor there, for this is also permitted them. If the emperor comes on foot to the Hebdomon, the senators meet him in the Church of the Innocents in front of the martyrium, where the emperor goes down and greets them verbally, and then enters the martyrium and prays. The emperor then departs for the Hebdomon, and the senators to wherever they wish.
685 Εἰ δὲ πλῶ βρέχεται ὁ δεσπότης, ἵστανται πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ καὶ ἐξιόντα
αὐτὸν τοῦ δρόμων, προσκυνοῦσιν ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ὁ ἀπομονεῖσας, καὶ
dέχεται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ στόματος, καὶ ὅψινευοισιν μέχρι τῆς πόρτης καὶ ἐκεῖ μετὰ
tῶν ἄλλων ἄρχοντων ἀφίστανται.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα, ἕκατ' ἄρκῃ ἐξεπεδίτου ἔρχεται ἡ μακρᾶς ὀδοιπορίας· ἑπεὶ ἕκα
690 ἀπέλθη ἡ Ἑρακλείας ἡ ὅλῳ πορφώτερῳ καὶ ὅλῳ ἡμέρᾳ ποιήσῃ καὶ εὐθὺς ὑποστρέψῃ, ὅπου συνετάχθαντο ὁι ἄρχοντες, ἐκεῖ καὶ
dέχονται αὐτὸν. ἔγαρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἐβδομοῦ ἐξῆλθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ
"Ἐβδομον ὑποστρέψει, ἐκεῖ ἄπαντοις εἰς τὸν πόλιν, ἐκεῖ πάλιν ἄπαντοις αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ συγκλητικοὶ προλαμβάνουσι. καὶ
695 ἕκα πεζῇ εἰσέρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἄπαντοις αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ Φόρῳ Θεοδοσίου τῷ
R. 497 καλομένῳ Ταύρῳ καὶ προσφέρουσιν αὐτῷ | στεφάνους, ἕνα μὲν χρυσοῦν,
ἄλλους δὲ ἀπὸ δαφνῶν· ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀντιδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς νομίσματα ὑπὲρ τοῦ
χρυσοῦ στεφάνου, ὡστε μὴ ἤμιλαν αὐτοὺς ὑπομεῖναι.

Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀσίας ἡ Βιθυνίας ἡ Περσικοῦ πολέμου ἐπανέρχεται ὁ
700 βασιλεύς, ὁ ἐπαρχος τῆς πόλεως ἄπαντα, ἐνθα δὲ συνυῖτη ὁ βασιλεὺς μεσάλ-
λαγον ποιήσαι, εἰτε ἐν τῷ Σατῦρῳ εἰτε ἐν τῷ Πολεατικῷ ἡ ἐν Ὄρουφηναναῖς
ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἱερείᾳ· εἰ δὲ θελῇσθε ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοῦ Στρατηγίου ἀνέλθειν,
προλαμβάνουσιν ὁι συγκλητικοὶ εἰς τὸν φόρον τοῦ Στρατηγίου κακεῖ τοὺς
705 στεφάνους προσφέρουσιν. εἰ δὲ πλῶ βουλεῖται ὁρθοποδῆσαι εἰς τὸ παλάτι
τὸν ἰστατεῖ ἐμπρὸς τῆς σκάλης καὶ ἐνθα δέχεται κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τοῦ ἐπαρχον τῆς
πόλεως καὶ τὸν ἀπομονεῖα, καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους προσφέρουσιν αὐτῷ.

Ἐνδεκάτη τοίνυν τοῦ Αὐγούστου μυνὸς, ἡμέρα β', ἔτους λ' , εἰσῆλθεν
ὁ εὐάσβης βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν περὶ ὁποὺ ἀν α' διὰ τῆς
L 18' πόρτης τῶν Χαρισίου, τῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ τοῦ | ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως ἐκεῖσε
710 ἄπαντασάντων δύχα στεφάνον· καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ Δεύτερον ἡμεῖστῳ ἐν τοῖς
Ἀποστόλοις καὶ ἤψεν χηροὺς εἰς τὸ μνῆμα τῆς δεσποίνης καὶ κατέλειπεν ἐπὶ τὸ
Καπητᾶλιον. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μέσην, ὑπήνθησαν δομέστικοι προτίκ-
R. 498 τορες, αἱ ἕτερα σχολαὶ καὶ μετ' | αὐτοὺς τριβοῦναι καὶ κόμητες, πάντες μετὰ
λευκῶν χλανιδών καὶ κηρῶν δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερὰ ἱστάμενοι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς
If the emperor arrives by ship, they stand by the shore, and when the emperor disembarks from the warship, the praesental tribune (and others) pay homage, as in Constantinople, and he receives them verbally; then they accompany him in procession as far as the gate, and there, along with the other officials, they withdraw.

But these procedures apply only if the emperor is returning from an expedition or a long journey. For if he is coming back from Selymbria or Herakleia, or a little further away, and is absent only a few days and returns straight away, then the officials meet him wherever they were first assembled. Thus, if the emperor departs from the Hebdomon, and returns there, that is where they meet him. If he wishes to go directly into the City again, they meet him there (i.e. the Hebdomon) and the senators go on in advance. If the emperor enters by land, then they meet him at the Forum of Theodosios, the Tauros, and bring crowns to him, one of gold, others of laurel. The emperor gives them coin for the golden crown, so that they incur no financial loss.

If the emperor comes back from Asia or Bithynia or a Persian war, the Eparch of the City meets him wherever he decides to complete his change of vestment, either at Satyron or Poleatikon, or in Rouphinianai or Hieria. If the emperor wishes to enter via the Statēgion, the senators go on ahead to the forum of Stratēgios and offer the crowns there. If he wishes to go directly to the palace by boat, he stands before the quay, and receives there in the customary manner the Eparch of the City and the praesental tribune, and they offer him the crowns.

Now on the 11th of August, a Monday, in the 33rd year, the pious emperor Justinian entered Constantinople at about the first hour of the day through the gate of Charisios, where the senate and the Eparch of the City met him, without crowns. Arriving in the second district, he prayed in the Church of the Apostles, and lit candles to the memory of the empress (Theodora) and went on down to the Kapitōlion. As he entered the Mesē, there met him the domestikoi protiktores, the seven Scholai with their tribounoi and komites, all wearing white mantles and with candles, standing to right and left; and along with them magistrianoi, phabrikēsioi, the
715 μαγιστράνοι, φαβρικήσιοι, τάξις τῶν ἐπάρχων καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου, άργυροπρά-
ται καὶ πάντες πραγματευταὶ καὶ πάνιν σύστημα, καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτω-
λίου μέχρι τῆς Χαλκῆς τοῦ παλατίου πάντα ἐπεπλήρωτο, ὡστε μόλις προβαίν-
ειν τὸν ἔποπον τοῦ βασιλέως. ὥς δὲ εἰσέσθη τῇ Χαλκῆν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἔστη ὁ
ἀδμισσιονάλιος, ἔχων τὸν προτικτορά καὶ τὸν θριαμβευτὴν, καὶ ἤφαξεν τὸ
720 θριαμβευτάλιον. οὕτω γὰρ συνειδῆνε γενέσθαι ὁ μάγιστρος διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰσέρχεσ-
θαι τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης. πάντες δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ πατρίκιοι
πεζεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐδιρρήγευσαν, καὶ οἱ κουβικουλάριοι πεζεύον-
tες ἡκολούθησαν.

Ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ φοσσάτου μετὰ νίκης ἐπανόδος Βασιλείου τοῦ
725 φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως ἀπὸ Τεφρικῆς καὶ Γερμανικείας

Τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπανελθόντος μετὰ νίκης ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου Τεφρικῆς καὶ
Γερμανικείας, διεπέρασεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰερείαν ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ, ὑπαντησάς
αὐτῷ ἐκείσθη ἂπάσης ἡλικίας τῶν τῆς πόλεως μετὰ στεφάνων τῶν ἔξ ἀνθέων
R. 499 καὶ ρόδων κατεσχευσάμενων. ὠσκάτως καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος πᾶσα ἡ ἐν τῇ | πόλει
730 ἐκείσθη αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ στόματος αὐτοῦς ἐδέξατο. ἐἰσελθὼν
de καὶ εὐξάμενος ἐν τῷ τοῦ Προδρόμου ναῷ τῷ ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ, ἄψα χρυσῶς
ἐξήλθε καὶ βαλὼν σκαραμάγγιον τριβλάττων ἀμώς Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ νέῳ
ἱππεύσαντες ἤσθον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῶν Ἀβραμίτων, ||
L 18" προγυμνομένης πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἄμα καὶ
735 φλαμούλων τινῶν λιτῶν, καὶ καταβάντες τῶν ἔποπων εἰσήλθον εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς
Θεοτόκου. εὐξάμενοι καὶ ἄψαντες χρυσῶς, ἐκαθέσθησαν μικρόν.

Ὁ δὲ ἐπαρχός τῆς πόλεως προηγομάσατο καταστέψας τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ
719 τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης μέχρι τῆς Χαλκῆς ἀπὸ δάφνης καὶ δενδροβάνου καὶ
μερσίνης καὶ ρόδων καὶ λοιπῶν ἄνθεων, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἀπὸ σκαραμαγγίων
dιαφόρων καὶ σενδές καὶ πολυκανθήλων. ὠσκάτως καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα φιλοκαλη-
θεῖσα κατεστρωτο ἄνθεσιν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ λυβαδῆς τῷ ἔξω τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης ἐπήγγεσαν τένται, καὶ
dιεπέρασαν ἀπὸ Ἰερείας ἐκείσθη τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ ἐμφανεῖς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων

719 ἀδμισσιονάλιος | πρωτόκτωρα L R. || 720 συνίδεν L || 727 Γερμανικείας
L | ἐπὶ τὰ Ἡρά L R. (cum annotatione in marg. L: ἱεραῖς) || 729 ὠσκάτως L ||
733 ἄφραμητῶν L || 739 μερσίνης L R. || 740 schol. in marg. L: ιστέου, δι
body of eparchs and the Eparch (of the City), silversmiths, and all
the merchants and every guild, so that from the Kapitōlion to the
Chalkē of the palace the Mesē was quite simply entirely filled, and
the emperor’s horse could only just pass through. As the emperor
enters the Chalkē, the admissionalios stands there with a protiktōr
and the triumphator, and calls out the triumphal salute; and the
magistros ordered this to take place (at this point), since the emperor
did not enter via the Golden Gate. All the officials and senators
processed on foot from the Holy Apostles, and the koubikoularioi
followed, also on foot.

The victorious return of the Christ-loving emperor
Basil from campaign in the regions of Tephrıkē and
Germanikeia

When the emperor returned victorious from the war against
Tephrıkē and Germanikeia, he passed via Hiercia to the Hebdomon,
where citizens of every age met him, with crowns prepared from
flowers and roses. Likewise the whole senate then in the City re-
ceived him there also, and the emperor greeted them verbally. And
when he had entered and prayed in the Church of the Baptist in the
Hebdomon, and lit candles, he went out; and donning a triple-
bordered skaramaggion, and riding together with his son Constant-
tine, they came to the Church of the All-Holy Virgin of the Abrami-
tes, with the whole senate going ahead with the people of the City,
and with processional banners. Dismounting from their horses, they
entered the Church of the Virgin; and having prayed and lit candles,
they sat for a short time.

In the meantime, the Eparch of the City had prepared the City
in advance, garlanding the route from the Golden Gate as far as the
Chalkē with laurel and rosemary and myrtle and roses and other
flowers, also with a variety of skaramaggia and silk hangings and
candelabra; he similarly strewed the ground, which was completely
covered in flowers (scholion: note, that the City was decked out like
a bridal canopy).

On the meadow outside the Golden Gate, tents were set up, and
they brought over the noble and important Hagarene prisoners
Ἀγαρηνῶν καὶ τά ἐξαίρετα τῶν λαφύρων τοῦ πολέμου, φλαμούλων τε καὶ Ῥ. 500 ἀρμάτων, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τένταιν ἐνδον ἀποτελέσματα διηρέθησαν, | καὶ διῆλθον ἐν τῇ 746 Μέσῃ Θριαμβευόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης ὦς τῆς Χαλκῆς τοῦ παλατίου, ἀνοιγείσι τότε τῆς μέσης καὶ μεγάλης Χρυσῆς Πόρτης.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ τά λάφυρα διελθεῖν ἀναστάντες οἱ δεσπόται καὶ ἐκβαλόντες τά σκαραμάγγια, ἐφόρεσαν ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἤματιον 750 ἐπιλόφυλον χρυσούφαντον δύσλο χαγκελλωτὸν διὰ μαγαριτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὦραις ἑμφιεσμένοι διὰ μαγαριτῶν τελείων, ζωσάμενος καὶ σπάθην ζωστίκην, φορέσας καὶ διάδημα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καισαρίκιν· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντῖνος ἐφόρεσε κληβάνιον χρυσοῦν καὶ σπάθην ζωστίκην, ποδύψελλα τε χρυσά καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔλαβεν λόγχην χρυσῆν διὰ μαγαριτῶν ἑμφιεσμένην. 755 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐφόρεσεν φακίδιον δίκην προπολούματος, λευκὸν χρυσούφαντον, ἔχον ἐπὶ τοῦ μετάπου ὄμολομα στεφάνου χρυσούφαντον. ἐπέβηγαν δὲ ὄμφορεις ὅπευσαντες ἐν ἵπποις λευκοῖς ἑστρωμένοις χιώμασιν διαλίθους. ἐν δὲ ἐστῆσαν ἐφύπποι δεξαμένου τοὺς δημάρχους καὶ τὰ δύο μέρη, ἱν. 19ος φοροῦντων τῶν δημοτῶν καί μακάρια καὶ || στεφάνια σημεντέται ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς 760 αὐτῶν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τραχῆλοις αὐτῶν ἑτερα στεφάνια ἀπὸ ρόδων καὶ ἀνθέων Ῥ. 501 κατασκευασμένα, ταῖς δὲ χερσῖ ἐγικερία βασταζόντων· τῶν δὲ δημάρχων φοροῦντο τὰ νικητικά αὐτῶν σαγία, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν καμία καὶ χλανίδια. ἐν δὲ ἠζευφανήθη ἐν πρόποις θύμων· «δόξα Θεί!] τῷ ἀποδόντι ήμῖν μετὰ νίκης τους ἴδιους δεσπότας· δόξα Θεί!] τῷ μεγαλύνοντι ύμᾶς, αὐτοκράτορο- 765 μες Ρωμαίων· δόξα σοι, παναγία τρίας, ὅτι εἴδομεν νικήσαντας τοὺς ἴδιους δεσπότας· καλῶς ἔλαβες νικήσαντες, ἀνδριώτατοι δεσποταῖς». καὶ λοιπὸ ἐπευφημισθήσαν νικητικά, καὶ ἀπελατικοὶ στρατηγικοὶ ἐλέχθησαν, ἐμπροσθὲν περιπατοῦντων τῶν δύο μερῶν.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀβραμίτων ἔδωντες ἐν τῇ Χρυσῆ Πόρτῃ, ὡς εἰπομεν 770 ἀνοιγείσις αὐτοῖς, ἐστησαν πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτής εὐφημισθήνετε ὀμολόγα. δεξάμενοι ἐκείσα τῶν ἑπαρχῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀπομονέα, οἰκίνες πεσόντες προσεκύνησας καὶ προσήνεγκας τῷ αὐτοκράτορι στεφανὸν χρυσῶν κατὰ τῶν παλαιῶν τύπων καὶ ἑτέρους ἀπὸ δαφνῶν ὡς τῆς νίκης σύμβολο· ἔλαβον δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως νομίσματα χάραγμα τὴν τιμήν καὶ πλεῖο τοῦ χρυσοῦ

744 ἀγαρηνῶν L || 747 ἀνυγήθησις L || 748 ἐκβαλομένα L || 749 αὐτὸ κράτους L || 750 καγκελωτῶν L || μαγαριτῶν L || schol. in marg. L: ἰστέον, ὅτι τὰς ὀφιῶν ὦτα λέγεται τὸ βοσκήματος || 751 τελείων L || σπαθήν ζωστίκην L || 753 σπαθήν ζωστίκην L || ποδύψελλα L || 754 χρυσῶν (see Introduction, p. 74) ||
together with the best of the booty of war, banners, and weapons. When it had been deposited in the tents, this was divided up and paraded triumphally along the Mesē from the Golden Gate to the Chalkē of the palace, for the central, great Golden Gate was then opened.

After the booty had been paraded, the emperors rose and, changing out of their skaramaggia, the autocrat and great emperor donned a gold-embroidered breastplate-tunic covered in pearls set in a criss-cross pattern, and with perfect pearls along the hems; girding himself also with a belted sword, bearing upon his head a Caesar's diadem (scholion: this garment is called "rose-cluster"). His son Constantine wore a gold klibanion and a belted sword, golden greaves, and in his hand a gilded spear decorated with pearls. On his head he wore a low turban with a circlet, of white embroidered with gold, having on the forehead a likeness of a gold-embroidered crown. Both rode mounted on white horses equipped with gem-encrusted caparisons. While mounted, they received the demarchs and the two factions, wearing deme tunics and segmented diadems on their heads, with other garlands made from roses and flowers around their necks, carrying kerchiefs in their hands. The demarchs wore their triumphal mantles, and their officials tunics and ordinary mantles. The acclamations were to begin with as follows: "Glory to God, who returns our own Lords to us victorious! Glory to God, who exalts you, autocrats of the Romans! Glory to you, All-Holy Trinity, that we see our own Lords victorious! Welcome as conquerors, most courageous Lords!" Then other acclamations in praise of victory were made, and processional military hymns were sung, as the two factions processed before (the emperor).

When they had come from the Church of the Abramites to the Golden Gate, as we said, which was open to them, they stood before the entry to it, and were similarly acclaimed. They received then the Eparch of the City and the emperor's representative who, falling to the ground, paid homage, and presented to the emperor a golden crown, after the old custom, along with other crowns of laurel, as symbols of victory. And they then received from the emperor coin to the value and above of the golden crown. When the demes had

756 ὄμολομα L || 757 ἑστραφμένοις L R. || 759 δημωτῶν L R. || καμήσαια L || 765 ἵθομεν L || 769 ἀβραμητῶν L || 770 ἀνουγήσας L || 771 πισώτες L || 774 πλεία L
775 στεφάνου. τῶν δὲ μερῶν πληρωσάντων, εἰσῆλθον τὴν Χρυσῆν μεγάλην Πόρταν διηγευόμενου καὶ ἤλθον ἐν τῷ Σήματι καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐν R. 502 τῷ Ἐξακονλίῳ καὶ Ἐπιολόφῳ, αὐτίκα τὸν Βοῦν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, Φιλαδελφίῳ τε καὶ Ταύρῳ, Ἀρταπούλῃ τε καὶ τῷ Φόρῳ.

'Επὶ δὲ τοῦ Φόρου ἐλήθοντες κατέβησαν τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν 780 ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, προσαπαντήσαντος αὐτοῦς ἐκεῖσε τοῦ πατριάρχου μετὰ λιτής τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας. ἐν ὧν λαβόντες κηροὺς παρά τοῦ πραιτοποίου καὶ εὐξάμενοι, ἐξελθόντες καὶ ἐκβαλόντες τὰ στρατηγικά, ἐφόρεσαν διημίσθια τριβλάττια καὶ χλαμύδας χρυσούφαντος καὶ καμμάγα καὶ L 19τε στεφθέντες διήλθον || τὴν Μέσην τοῦ Φόρου, ἱσταμένων καὶ προπορευόμενων 785 ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν τῶν σκέυων, λαβόντων, σήγων καὶ βάνδων καὶ τῶν μεγάλων σκήπτρων καὶ τῶν χρυσῶν φλαμούλων καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τε καὶ διαλίθου, καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Μέσην ἐως τοῦ Μιλίου εἰσῆλθον διὰ τοῦ ἐμβόλου τοῦ Μιλίου εἰς τῷ Ὀρμολογίῳ καὶ ἀπέθεντο τὰ στέμματα ἐν τῷ ἐνδον τῆς Ὀρμοίας Πύλης μητατορίῳ καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι εὐξάμενοι μετὰ 790 κηρῶν εἰς τὴν μέσην ἁγίαν τύλην, εἰσοδεύσαντες μετὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Θείας λειτουργίας καὶ ή εἰσοδός αὐτῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ παλάτιν ἐτελέσθησαν καθ’ ὅν τρόπον ἐν ταῖς ἐμπράτειοι προελέυσειν προετέθη δὲ καὶ κλητόριον μέγιστον ἐν τῷ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρικλίνῳ, καὶ εὐφρανθέντες δεδώκασιν πάσιν τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου βεστομιλιαρίσια.

R. 503 'Ιστέον δὲ, ὅτι τὴν μὲν κατάστασιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ φιλοχαλλιάν ἠτομικα- 796 σατο ὁ ἐπαρχος, τὴν δὲ τῆς προελέυσεως τάξιν καὶ ἀπαντὴν τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν μερῶν τὰς ἐπινικίους φωνὰς καὶ προδόως καὶ τῶν δοχών τὰς τοποθεσίας ὁ πραιτόστος διορίσσατο, ὑποργούντων αὐτῷ τοῦ τῆς καταστάσεως καὶ τῶν σιλεντιάριων καὶ τοῦ κουβουκλίων παντὸς. ο τοῖς ἐναπομεῖνας μετὰ τοῦ 800 μαγιστροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου, ὁ καὶ διέτοις τὴν ἐκ προσώπον τοῦ βασιλέως δουλείας ἁρχὴν Βασίλειος ἢν, ὁ πατρίμιος πραιτόστος καὶ σακελλάριος, καθὼς τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκφάτει τοῖς βασιλευσίν ἔθος, ἐξερχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ φοσσάτον τοῦ πραιτόστου παρεῖν τὴν ἐκατοῦ ἁρχῆς ἐπικράτειαν καὶ τῷ

completed their acclamations, the emperors went in procession through the great Golden Gate and came to the Sigma; and turning left, to the Exakionion and the Xērolophos; and directly after to the Ox and the Kapitōlion, the Philadelphia, the Forum of the Bull, the Artopoulion, and the Forum (scholion: in the places listed take place receptions by the demes, and acclamations).

When they reached the Forum, they dismounted from their horses, and went into the Church of the All-Holy Mother of God, where they met the Patriarch with a liturgical procession of the Great Church. And so, taking candles from the prai̇pōsitos, and praying, they came out once more and, casting off their military garb, put on triple-bordered ceremonial tunics (divētēsia), a gold-embroidered mantle, and boots; and wearing their crowns, they crossed the Forum section of the Mesē, with the insignia, labara, signa and banda, and the great skēpta and the gold banners, and the blessed, great and bejewelled cross, all raised up before them and preceding them. Passing along the Mesē as far as the Milion, they went through the entrance to the Milion, as far as the Hōrologion, where they put off their crowns in the changing-hall of the Beautiful Gate (of the Great Church), and then entered the narthex, praying and holding candles, and thence through the central holy door, entering with the Patriarch. The rest of the divine liturgy, and the entry into the palace, were completed in the manner customary in formal processions. A great feast was then held, in the Triklinion of Justinian; and having refreshed themselves, they distributed miliarēsia from the vestiarion to all the senators.

Note, that the preparation and adornment of the City was prepared by the Eparch, while the order of the procession, the meeting with the senate, the victory acclamations of the demes and their parade, and the position of the receptions, was determined by the prai̇pōsitos, with the master of ceremonies, the silentiarioi and all the koubouklion assisting him. The official who remained with the magistros and the Eparch, and who directed the affairs of the emperor as his representative, was Baanēs, the patrikios prai̇pōsitos and sakellarios, just as the old custom followed by the emperors: when the emperor went off on campaign, the prai̇pōsitos was present to take charge of the emperor's duties, while the magistros and the
μαγίστρω καὶ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ τὴν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τὴν διοίκησιν. 805 ἐπανοίησε τοῖνυν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ φοσσάτου ἀντιλήψεις πλείσται καὶ δωρεῶν παροχαὶ πᾶσιν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν τοῖς τε μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐδίδοντο. ||

L 20' Ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ φοσσάτου ἐπάνωθι Θεοφίλου βασιλέως, ὅτε ἐνίκησεν κατὰ κράτος τοὺς ἀπὸ Κιλικίας στρατοπεδεύσαντας 810 κατ’ αὐτοῦ Ταρσίτας, Μομψουστίτας, Ἀδανίτας, Εἰρηνουπολίτας, Ἀναζαρβήτας καὶ λοιποὺς, χιλιάδας κ.

R. 504 Ἐπανελθόντος τοῖνυν Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τοῦ | πολέμου τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας κατ’ αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύσαντων Ἀγαρηνῶν, ἐγένετο ἡ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύσαν πόλιν εἴσοδος αὐτοῦ τοιαύτης φθάσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰερείᾳ, 815 ἐξῆλθεν ἡ ἀγούστα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὁ διέστη τῶν μαγίστρων καὶ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ πόλει σύγκλητος ἄπασα, παρεῖσαντος τοὺς τῶν ταγμάτων ἐξάρχους εἰς φυλακήν τῆς πόλεως. καὶ ἡ μὲν σύγκλητων ἀπήγγεισαν τῷ βασιλεί ὡς ἀπὸ διαστήματος μικροῦ πρὸ τοῦ φθάσαι εἰς τὸ πολάτιν καὶ πασίν προσεκύνησαν ἡ δὲ ἀγούστα ἐνδόν τοῦ καγκέλλου τοῦ 820 χαματρικλίνου τούτου ἀπήγγεισεν ἀποβάντα τοῦ ἱπποῦ καὶ προσκυνήσασα τοῦτον ἑπάσατο· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διορίσατο ὡς ἐπὶ προκένσου τὴν σύγκλητον διάγενον σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ Ἰερείᾳ μέχρις ἡμερῶν ἐπτά, ὡς καὶ οἱ δέσμιοι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Ἀγαρηνῶν φθάσασιν. ἐκέλευσεν δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἐξέλθοσι τῆς πόλεως διάγενος σὺν τῇ αὐγούστῃ ἐκείσε.

285 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐβδομήν ἡμέραν ἀποπλεύσας τῶν ἐκείσε ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν ἄγιον Μάμαντα καὶ ἐποίησεν ἁμα τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἡμέρας γʹ. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐκείσε διαπλεύσας ἐφάσαν ἐν Βλαχέρναις καὶ ἐξέλθον τοῦ δρόμων ἐπικεφαλῆς ἐπειδὴ διὰ τοῦ ἐξω τείχους ἄνηλθεν εἰς τὴν Χρυσῆν μεγάλην Πόρταν καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν R. 505 προετοιμασθεῖσαν κόρτγον ἐν τῷ λιβαδίῳ τοῦ κομβινυπασιίου. Ἐφασαν δὲ 830 τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οἱ τοὺς δεσμίους φέροντες ἐν Χρυσόπολες καὶ βαλόντες αὐτοὺς L 20' εἰς πλοία διεπέρασαν αὐτοὺς, ἐνθα || καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρῴδῃ· ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπαρχος ἦν προετοιμάσας καὶ καταστέψας τὴν τούλιν δίκην νυμφικῶν παστά-

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805 ἐπανωντι L  || 809 στρατοπαιδεύσαντας L  || 813 στρατοπαιδευσάντων L  || 820 χαματρικλίνου L  || 821 ἀσπάζατο L  || 827 δρόμων L  || 828 ἐξῆλθεν  ... εἰς (ἥλθεν) om. R.  ||  χρυσᾶν L (see Introduction, p. 74)  || 829 κομβινυπασιίου L  || 831 πλοία L
Eparch had charge of state affairs and the day-to-day administration respectively. And upon the emperor’s return from an expedition, a great number of dignities and presents was awarded to all, as far as was possible, who had accompanied him and who had remained in the City.

The return of the emperor Theophilos from campaign, when he was completely victorious over those who made war against him from Tarsos, and Mopsouestia and Adana and Eirēnopoupolis and Anazarba and others, numbering 20,000

When the emperor Theophilos returned from the war against the Cilician Saracens who campaigned against him, his entry into the imperial City was as follows: when he had arrived at Hiereia, the Augousta along with the emperor’s representative, the magistros, the Eparch of the City, and all the senate in the City, came out, leaving the officers of the tagmata to guard the City. The senate met the emperor at a short distance from his reaching the palace and, falling to the ground, they paid him homage. The Augousta met him within the railing of the low Triklinion when he had dismounted from his horse and, paying homage, she kissed him. The emperor ordered that the senate should accompany him in conformity with the order of a formal procession to the Hiereia, and remain seven days, until the fettered Hagarene prisoners-of-war should arrive. He ordered also that the wives of the senators, having left the City, should proceed thither with the Augousta.

After the seventh day he sailed thence and came to St. Mamas, where he spent three days, with the senate; and from there he sailed to Blachernai, and disembarking from the warship, he mounted his horse and came up along the outer wall as far as the great Golden Gate, and entered the pavilion prepared in advance on the meadow where the hippodrome horses were exercised and teamed up. On the same day, those bringing the prisoners arrived at Chrysopolis: and embarking them in ships, brought them across to where the emperor was waiting. The Eparch of the City had prepared the City in advance, adorning it like a bridal canopy with various skaramaggia and hangings, silver candelabra, and variegated flowers and roses,
δὼν ἀπὸ σκαραμαγγίων διαφόρων καὶ σενδὲς καὶ ἀργύρου πολυφώτων τε καὶ ἄνθεων καὶ ρόδων πουκίλων ἀπὸ τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης μέχρι τῆς Χαλκῆς· καὶ 835 διελόντες οἱ τῶν τάξεων ἱδία καὶ χωρίς κατὰ τάξειν τοὺς δεσμίους, τὰ λάφυρα, τὰ ἀρματα, ἐθιάμβευσαν μέσον τῆς πόλεως.

Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀναστὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφόρεσεν χιτῶνα χρυσούφαντον ἐπιλώριῳ τοῖς ῥοδόπτορι, ζωσάμενος καὶ σπαθίν, βαλῶν καὶ τίραν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ. ἐπέθη δὲ Ἰππω λευκῷ ἐστρωμένῳ χιώματι διαλήθω, λαβὼν 840 ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ σκητῆτον. ὁ δὲ καίσαρ ἐφόρεσεν χρυσοῦν κλιβάνιον σὺν μανικελλῖ καὶ ποδοφέλλοι καὶ αὐτῶν χρυσῶν, βαλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ κατίδα σὺν περικεφαλαίᾳ χρυσῆ, ζωσάμενος καὶ σπαθίν, ἐπίβας καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰππω δόμιωσι λευκῷ σὺν χιώματι διαλήθου. ἔλαβεν δὲ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ λόγχην χρυσῆν· μικρὸν δὲ τῆς πόρτης περθακὼς κατέβη τοῦ Ἰπποῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς 845 καὶ ἔπεσεν πρὸς ἀνατολάς προσκυνήσας τρίτον. εἰδ' οὖτως ἀναστὰς ἐπέβη τῷ R. 506 Ἰππῳ. καὶ εἰσερχόμενῳ αὐτῷ τὴν μεγάλην Χρυσήν Πόρταν, προσηνέγκαν αὐτῷ ὁ μάγιστρος καὶ ὁ διέσπαν καὶ ὁ ἔπαρχος τῆς πόλεως χρυσῶν στέφανον κατεσκευασμένον ἐκ λίθων τιμίων καὶ μαργάριν πολυτίμων, διὸ καὶ λαβόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφόρεσεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ βραχίονος· καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ μέρη αὐτὸν 850 υπήντησαν ἐμπράτως, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐορτασίῳ προκένουν, εὐφημοῦντες ἐπινίκια. καὶ διοδεύσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε διὰ τοῦ Σίγματος καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄγιον Μώσιον μέχρι τοῦ Μιλίου. ἐν τῷ Μιλίῳ ἀπέβησαν τῶν Ἰππῶν ὁ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ πεζοῦντες διηρήσαντο ἐμπρόσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐως τοῦ φρέατος τῆς 'Αγίας Σοφίας. πλήν οὖν ὁ ἄπο τῶν ἔξω συνεισθόντες τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν τῇ πόλει, 859 μετὰ χρυσῶν κλιβανίων καὶ σπαθίων καὶ κονταρίων εἰσήλθον || ἐφιπποι, τάξεις L 21' ἐκάστη ἱδία καὶ χωρίς· ἐμπρόσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ πραιτοῦσι καὶ τὸ κουβούκλιν, χρυσοκλιβάνιοι· ὅπιθεν δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ ὅργυμων πέντε πρωτοσπαθάριοι εὐνοῦχοι μετὰ χρυσῶν κλιβανίων καὶ σπαθοβαλκίων. ἐν ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ τοῦ παλατίου ἐστὶ ἐμπρόσθεν τῆς πύλης πολυτίτων, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐν μέρος τὸ χρυσῶν 860 ὄργανον τὸ λεγόμενον πρωτόθαμα, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἔτερον μέρος σένζον χρυσῶν καὶ διάλιθων, μέσον δὲ τούτων ὁ χρυσοῦς σταυρὸς καὶ διάλιθος ὁ μέγας.

833 πολυφώτων L R. || 838 σπαθῆν L | τίραν: schol. in marg. L: τούφαν || 839 ἐστρωμένῳ L R. || 841 καὶ ἔσχατον L || 842 σπαθῆν L || 844 χρυσῶν L (see Introduction, p. 74) || 848 κατεσκευασμένον L || 850 ὑπήντησαν L || 848 σπαθήματος L || 851 σήματος L || 853 παρθενοντές L || 857 κουβούκλιν L
from the Golden Gate to the Chalkē. The soldiers of the different units took their own prisoners separately and in order, along with the booty and weapons, and proceeded triumphally through the City.

When the emperor rose to leave the pavilion, he wore a gold-embroidered breastplate-style tunic, known as “rose-cluster”, with a belted sword, and a tiara placed upon his head. He was mounted upon a white horse bearing a bejewelled caparison; and in his right hand he took a sceptre. The Kaisar wore a gold klibanion with vambraces and greaves, also of gold; and on his head a helmet with a gold circlet. He wore a belted sword, and was mounted likewise on a white horse with bejewelled caparison. He had in addition a gilded lance in his hand. When he had come to within a short distance of the Gate, the emperor dismounted from his horse and, falling down, bowed three times towards the East. Then, standing up, he mounted his horse again. On his entering the great Golden Gate, the magistros and the emperor’s representative and the Eparch of the City brought a golden crown to him, made of precious stones and valuable pearls, which the emperor took and wore on his right arm. Immediately following this the demes met him, in formal order as in a festive procession, proclaiming hymns of victory. And so, passing by those who stood there, he arrived by way of the Sigma and the road to St. Mŏkios at the Milion, where the senate dismounted from their horses, and processed on foot before the emperor as far as the Holy Well of the Church of the Holy Wisdom; although those who entered the City from outside, with the emperor, came in on horses, wearing gilded klibania and carrying swords and lances, each unit according to its proper position: in front of the emperor the praipositoi and the kouboukleion, with gold klibania; behind, at a distance of 10 metres, the eunuch protospatharioi, with golden klibania and staves. At the Chalkē of the palace, in front of the gate, a rostrum was set up; on the one side stood the golden organ, known as the “foremost wonder”; and on the other, a golden and bejewelled throne; and between them, the great gilded and bejewelled cross.
R. 507  ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἱππου εἰσήλθεν διὰ τοῦ φρέατος εἰς τὴν ἅγιαν Σοφίαν καὶ εὐξάμενος ἐξήλθεν πάλιν διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης καὶ πεζεύων ἤλθεν ἐν τῇ Χαλκῆ καὶ ἁνελθὼν κατεσφραγίσατο ἐπὶ τοῦ σένζου, καὶ ἔκραξαν τὰ 865 μέρη «εἰς ἅγιον». καὶ καθίσας, προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς πόλεως χρυσοῦς βραχίόλους, καὶ λαβὼν τούτους ὁ βασιλεύς ἐφόρεσεν ἐπὶ τῶν βραχίόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπεδέξατο αὐτοὺς εὐχαριστῶν, δημηγορῆσας ἀφ’ ἕαυτοῦ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ πάντες ἐπινικίως αὐτὸν εὐφημίσαν· ἀναστὰς δὲ τοῦ σένζου ἐπέβη τῷ ἱππω καὶ διήλθεν διὰ τῶν διαβατικῶν τοῦ 870 Ἀχιλλεώς καὶ τῶν πλαγίων του Ζευξίππου καὶ ἐξήλθεν εἰς τὸν ἄσκεπαστὸν ἵπποδρομον καὶ ὑποκάτω τοῦ καθίσματος εἰσελθὼν κατέβη διὰ τῆς Δάφνης εἰστὸν κάτω σκεπαστὸν ἵπποδρομον καὶ καταβὰς τοῦ ἱππου εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὰ Σκῦλα ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ ἔγενετο αἰτήσεις δεξίμου. καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐτελέσθη τὸ δεξίμον, καὶ προετέθησαν ἀντιλήψεις πλείσται ἀναβιβαζόμεναι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν 875 βασιλικῶν μανδάτοροι ἀξίας μέχρι τῆς κυριωνύμου πατρικιότητος, καὶ δωρεαὶ πλείσται τοῖς πολιτάρχαις, καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔδοθησαν, καὶ ἰππικά ἐτελέσθησαν, κἀκεῖ πάλιν τοὺς δεσμίους καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐθριάμβευσαν· ἐφ’ ἤκανας δὲ ἡμέρας ἐκράτησεν ἡ δεξίωσις τῶν δωρεῶν διαχειρών τοῦ βασιλέως διδομένων.

R. 508  ἵστεον δὲ καὶ τούτο, ὅτι πάλιν ἐν δευτέρου ἐξελθόντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ 881 Θεοφίλου ἐπὶ φοσσάτον, ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν αὐτὸν καὶ μέλλειν τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεσθαι προσέταξεν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως παῖδας ἐξελθέν πάντας εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν εἰς ἄνθέων κατεσχευασμένων στεφάνων, εἰσελθὼν ὁμολογοῦν τοῦ προτέρου σχήματος.
Dismounting from his horse, the emperor entered the Holy Wisdom via the Holy Well and, having prayed, came out again through the same door; then, walking, he entered the Chalkē and mounting the throne he made the sign of the cross; and the demes cried out: "One Holy God". When he seated himself, the people presented him with golden armbands, and when he had taken them, the emperor wore them on his arms, accepting them with gladness, thanking the populace, and making a speech himself on the successes of the war. Then everyone praised him with hymns of victory. Rising from the throne, he then mounted his horse, crossed through the porticoes of the Achillēs baths, along the wings of the Zeuxippos, and came out into the open hippodrome; going below the kathisma, he descended via the (palace of) Daphnē to the lower covered hippodrome where, dismounting from his horse, he went into the Skylā in the palace; here there took place a formal request for a reception. And on the following day the reception took place, and many dignities were conferred and promotions made, from the rank of imperial mandator to the lordly dignity of patrikios. Many presents were granted to the officials of the demes, and the population too, from the emperor. Chariot races took place, and once again the prisoners and the booty were paraded, in the hippodrome. And the issue of largesses from the hand of the emperor lasted several days.

Note this also, that when the same emperor Theophilos returned from a second campaign, he ordered on his return and as he was about to enter the City, that all the children of the City should come out to meet him, with crowns made from flowers; then he entered likewise according to the first procedure.
III. NOTES
(A) 1 ὑπόθεσις: cf. Reiske, Comm. 479: expositio.

(A) 1 ταξιδιων: cf. Reiske, Comm. 479, and cf. anc. Greek παράταξις/τάξις. See also Du Cange 1528; Stephanus 1813; and cf. Anon. Vári 50, 19 (Dennis 29, 22—23) and (B) 34; DAI 30, 28: ἐν ταξιδίῳ, on campaign; also ibid. 40, 16; 51, 92; 52, 13.

(A) 1 ὑπόμνησις: cf. (C) 39.

(A) 2 ἀπληκτον: Lat. applicatum. Cf. Du Cange 98—99; (B) 27; DAI 44, 128; 45, 86. The term had two basic meanings, that of an ordinary military camp or marching camp; and of an imperial (and permanent) field camp. By extension, it came also to mean the quarters of billeted soldiers and finally, the right to demand quarters. For the latter, see Haldon, Praetorians 315; 600. For the former, see Maurice, Strat. I, 3, 35; II 12, 3; 12, 6 etc.; Niceph., Praec. 1, 13; 12, 26; 18, 16sq.; De Vel. Bell. 218, 3; 198, 17 (Dennis 13, 21; 8, 35; Dagron—Mihăescu XIII 15; VIII 27sq.); Leo, Tact. IX 1; epilog. 59; cf. also XX 34; 122; Anon. Vári 1, 1. 4. 13 (Dennis 1, 3. 5. 14); and for the verb ἀπληκτεύειν see, for example, Leo, Tact. IX 2; Maurice, Strat. I 9, 16 etc.; Theoph. 310, 5. 7; 387, 16; 464, 1 etc. and note also ἀπληκτεύειν at Leo, Tact. XV 24; Niceph., Praec. 12, 18. In general, see Koliás, Περὶ ἀπλήκτου, passim.

(A) 3—5 τὰ Μαλάγινα ... Δαζύμωνα: these are the imperial marching camps. Their position: Malagina — cf. Theoph. 462, 12; 473, 25; 479, 20; see S. Sahin, Studien über die Probleme der historischen Geographie des nordwestlichen Kleinasiens II. Malagina/Melagina am Sangarios. Epigraphica Anatolica 7 (1986) 153—166; also Ramsay 202—206; Huxley, List 93, n. 19 (in the area of Osmaneli—Vezirhan); Dorylaion — cf. Theoph. 414, 20 (Artavasdos’ base with the Opsikion army in 741/742); see Ramsay 212—213; Huxley, List 92, n. 13 (mod. Eskişehir); Kaborkin — see Huxley, List 93, n. 19; Ramsay 213—214; Kolōneia — see TIB II 207; Pertusi, at De Them. 141—142; Kaisareia — see (C) 461; De Cer. 434, 7—8; TIB II 193—196; Dazimön — see (C) 460; TIB II 79; Honigmann.
Ostgrenze 60, n. 7; De Them. I 2, 33 and Pertusi, ibid. 64; Huxley, List 89; Toynbee, Const. Porph. 301. In general, see Gelzer, Themenverfassung 108—114 and map; Honigmann, Ostgrenze; Toynbee, Const. Porph. 301—302; Ramsay 202—203; Huxley, List 87—93 and map; TIB II. See above, Introduction.

(A) 6 ὅ στρατηγὸς: see Oikonomidès, Préséance 341; 345; Ahrweiler, Recherches 36—45 and literature. The stratēgoi were the military governors of the themata, or provinces made up of the districts named after the late Roman field armies which came to be based in them. While theoretically supreme heads of the regions, in practice they exercised only limited authority over the civil administrative apparatus. See Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 118—143.

(A) 6—13 τῶν Ὑφαρμοστῶν ... ὅ Σεβαστείας: military corps and their commanders. For the Scholai and their domestikos, see Haldon, Praetorians 228ff. and 282ff. with literature. For the themata in general, see Oikonomidès, Préséance 348—350 and literature; TIB II 70ff.; Huxley, List, passim; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 72—118 and literature. For those mentioned here: Thrakēsion — Oikonomidès, Préséance 348; Lilie, „Thrakien“ und „Thrakesion“, Pertusi, De Them. 124—126; Toynbee, Const. Porph. 253; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 76ff.; Seleukeia — a kleisoura from the first half of the ninth century, a thema from c. 927—934: Oikonomidès, Préséance 350; Pertusi, De Them. 147—148; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 111; Kappadokia — Oikonomidès, Préséance 348; Toynbee, Const. Porph. 254; Pertusi, De Them. 120—122; TIB II 70ff.; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 111—113; Charsianon — Oikonomidès, Préséance 348; Toynbee, Const. Porph. 255; Pertusi, De Them. 123—124; TIB II 163ff.; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 110ff.; Sebasteia — Oikonomidès, Préséance 349; Pertusi, De Them. 142—143; TIB II 274—276; Boukellarion — Oikonomidès, Préséance 348; Pertusi, De Them. 133—136; Haldon, Praetorians 222 and literature; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 99ff.; Armeniakon — Oikonomidès, Préséance 348; Toynbee, Const. Porph. 253; Pertusi, De Them. 117—120; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 79ff.; Thrace — Lilie, „Thrakien“ und „Thrakesion“, Pertusi, De Them. 156—160; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 90ff.; Opsikion — Oikonomidès, Préséance
348; Pertusi, De Them. 127—130; Haldon, Praetorians 164ff.; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 72ff.

(A) 9 εἰς Ταρσόν: see Haldon–Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 107—and literature.

(A) 13 τὰ Ἄρμενιάκα θέματα: the Armeniak themes, i.e. those of the Armeniakon, Chaldia, Kolōnea (and also Charsianon); not to be confused with the later mikra Armeni(a)ka themata which, settled predominantly with Armenians and Syrian Jacobites, developed along the south-eastern frontier of the empire in the tenth century. See TIB II 45 and n. 41. See also Ahrweiler, Recherches 80, 82; Oikonomidès, Préséance 345—346; idem, Organisation 83ff.; Haldon–Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 103; and note also Gelzer, Themenverfassung 23; Dagron, Phocas 151, 240. The incorrect accentuation in L illustrates the later tenth-century copyist’s confusion.

(A) 14 εἰς Τεφρικήν: on the border of the theme of Kolōnea, Tephrikē was the chief fortress or citadel of the Paulicians until its capture in 878. See TIB II 294—295 with literature.

(A) 14 τὸν Βασίλειον 'Ρύκα: Honigmann, Ostgrenze 60, n. 7; TIB II 157—158 with literature. See Huxley, List 89 (map).

(B) 1—2 ταξιδεύων: see on ταξιδιων at (A) 1 above.

(B) 3 Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας: the details which follow preclude this being the real Constantine the Great. See above, Introduction; note also Haldon, Praetorians 536, n. 751; Cameron, Circus Factions 112, n. 3.

(B) 3 ἔβουλευτο: cf. Leo, Tact. III 1ff.

(B) 8 τὰ οἰκούμενα: Roman territory; home territory. Cf. Leo, Tact. IX 20; Reiske, Comm. 481—482; note also Dagron, Phocas 239.

(B) 13 κάστρο: fortress/fortified town; also used of a polis, cf. Haldon–Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 94—96 and n. 56; and cf. Suidas II 40: κατὰ Ὀρμικίους παρεμβολὴ ἀσφαλῆς; cf. DAI 7, 6; 9, 6; 11, 1—2; 26, 13; 27, 38. 50; 29, 8. 11 etc.; 44, 2; 45, 52; 49, 14 etc.; Theoph. 376, 17; 395, 19; and Leo, Tact. XV 21: Εἰ δὲ τὸ κάστρον ἢ

(B) 35 ἀμφίβασι: ἀμφιέννυμι — equip. Cf. DAI 30, 52; Theoph. 251, 26; 500, 10; De Vel. Bell. 236, 11 (Dennis 18, 26; Dagon—Mihăescu XVIII 20); and (C) 188.

(B) 37 ἐκστηλεύσως: ἐκστηλεύω — evacuate, lat. expello, cf. Reiske, Comm. 482; Du Cange 408 s. v. ἐκστηλευτής; De Vel. Bell. 197, 8; and cf. ibid. 188, 11; 244, 7sq. (Dennis 8, 5; 2, 9; 20, 73; Dagon—Mihăescu VIII 4; II 7; XX 59): ὅπωταν δὲ τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν καλὰς ἐκστηλεύσης . . . . Cf. also Lampe 438: ἐκστηλευτής/ἐκστηλευτής. Clearly, the ekspēlatores of the De velitatione bellica were local officials responsible for ensuring that the civilian population with its chattels removed to a safe distance from the enemy. Note the late Roman compulsores, in Greek expelleutai, officials sent to collect arrears of taxation, see Jones, LRE 451 and n. 98; the meanings and the terms are clearly related; note also Dagon, Phocas 228—229 and n. 33.

(B) 38 τὰ ὀχυρώματα: strongholds, including also kastra. Cf. Leo, Tact. XV 4. 26. 36. 45. 46. 50 etc.; Anon. Vári 37, 17 (Dennis 21, 16); De Vel. Bell. 236, 24 (Dennis 18, 38; Dagon—Mihăescu XVIII 30); Dagon, Phocas 219.

(B) 38—39 τρίτον . . . ἵππους: this passage emphasises the role of the stratēgos and the thematic administration in selecting troops and providing for weapons and remounts. See Leo, Tact. V 1. 2. 11; VI 1; VII 1. 2; IX 25; XI 7. 11; XX 63. 113; and see Haldon, Praetorians 218, n. 540; 321—323 and notes; and Dagon, Modèle.
islamique 233—235; Haldon, Recruitment and Conscription 51, n. 87; 57, n. 100; also Dagron, Phocas 275ff.

(B) 39 τὰς βίγλας: guards, piquets, scouts; not to be confused with ἡ βασιλικὴ βίγλα/ὁ ἀριθμός. The term is Latin vigilia, cf. Du Cange 199—200 s. v. See Leo, Tact. XI 20; Anon. Vári 11, 15sq. (Dennis 4, 3); Niceph., Praec. 20, 5. Cf. Maurice, Strat. X 3, 47. 53 etc.; De Vel. Bell. 186, 12sq. (Dennis 1, 2; Dagron–Mihăescu I 1); and see Haldon, Praetorians 508, n. 636.

(B) 42 τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσιν: thematic/Constantinopolitan administrative and/or judicial officials. The term politikos is usually used in opposition to either thematikos (i.e. the City as opposed to the provinces) or to stratiōtikos (i.e. civil as opposed to military). See Oikonomidès, Préséance 322—333, for the former. Here, the latter is clearly meant. The loss of the status of a soldier, with its attendant rights and privileges, was a drastic punishment. See Leg. Mil. c. 46 (Ashburner, JGR II 78); c. 11 (Koržensky, JGR II 82); De Vel. Bell. 240, 4sq. (Dennis 19, 51sq.; Dagron–Mihăescu XIX 40sq.) and Haldon, Praetorians 304ff. This passage is very similar to one in the Stratēgikon of Maurice, I 6, 16—18; and cf. Leo, Tact. IV 3 for the division of the thematic administration into the civil and military spheres (politika kai stratiōtika).


(B) 44—45 ἣνα κρύπτουσιν αὐτοὺς δεσμίους: cf. Leo, Tact. VIII 4: Maurice, Strat. I 6, 16.

(B) 48 τῷ σακελλαρίῳ: comptroller-general of the fiscal bureaux; originally in charge of the sakellion, itself formerly a department of the sacrum cubiculum. See Bury, Administrative System 84—86; Oikonomidès, Préséance 312 (wrongly deriving it from the sacrae largitiones); Hendy, Studies 410—414.

(B) 48 τῷ πρωτοβεστιάριῳ: chief of the imperial private wardrobe (οἰκειαχόν βασιλικόν βεστιάριον) as opposed to the public/state depart-
ment of the same name (τὸ βασιλικὸν βεστιάριον); cf. Bury, Administrative System 95—96; Oikonomidès, Préséance 305; Guillard, Institutions I 216ff.; Hendy, Studies 196, n. 224; 197—198; 275.

(B) 48 τῷ μίνσουράτῳ: subordinate of the papias or concierge of the Great Palace, responsible for the disposition of the imperial tent on campaigns or other imperial outings. From Lat. mensor, mensurator; for its late Roman origins see Boak, The Master 80—81; and see Bury, Administrative System 129; Oikonomidès, Préséance 306 and n. 100; see below, commentary to (B) 117. This mǐnsouratōr is to be differentiated from the thematic and military officials of the same name attached to the staffs of stratēgoi and similar commanders: cf. Maurice, Strat. I 3, 35; Leo, Tact. IV 22; IX 7; Syll. Tact. XXXV 1, 17; Anon. Vári 2, 25. 28—29; 3, 10; 13, 24 (Denniss 1, 45. 49. 60; 6, 8); Niceph., Praec. 18, 28; De Vel. Bell. 218, 1sq. (Denniss 13, 21sq.; Dagron–Mihăescu XIII 14sq.). See Koliás, Περί ἀπλήκτου 164.

(B) 49 τῷ δομεστικῷ τῆς ὑπουργίας: the chief subordinate official of the ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης, or head of the imperial table, both for ceremonial and provisions. See Bury, Administrative System 126; Oikonomidès, Préséance 305—306; Guillard, Institutions I 239; and see on (B) 117 and (C) 137sq. below.

These four officials — the sakellarios, the ἁρτογείτιοι, the mǐnsouratōr and the domestikos of the household service — have the chief responsibility for preparing and catering for the imperial wardrobe, tent and household staff and its equipment for the expedition. The sakellarios has the leading role: he exercises a supervisory authority over all the palatine bureaux, as well as liaising with the thematic ἀρτογείτιοι for the provisioning of the expeditionary force as it passes through the provinces. See on (C) 349—350 below.

(B) 50 τῷ φορτώματα: ὁ φόρτος/τὸ φόρτιον. Cf. Anon. Vári 23, 12; 26, 5. 12; 52, 24 (Denniss 12, 7; 15, 5. 11; 31, 23); Theoph. 345, 10; 503, 24; DAI 20, 9; Schilbach, Metrologie 170. The term phortōma was also used as an equivalent for γομάριον: see on (C) 341 infra.

(B) 50 πόσων σαγμαρίων εἰσί: cf. σάγμα, pack-saddle or -harness; load/container. See Isid. Seville, Etym. XX 16, 5; sagmaria are differentiated from horses used for riding; see Leo, Tact. XI 46: ἡ διὰ
(B) 52 κονδριζόμενα: cf. REISKE, Comm. 483—484: derived from σκονδρίζειν/σκονδυλίζειν/ἐκσπόνδυλίζειν (?); rejected by KOUKoulos, EEBΣ 19 (1949) 105: the word derives from anc. Greek κοντριάζω.

(B) 53 τῷ τε κόμητι τοῦ στάβλου: head of the imperial stables in Constantinople and at Malagina. See BURY, Administrative System 113—114; OIKONOMIDēs, Préséance 338—339; LAURENT, Corpus II 487ff.; and see below on (C) 109—110. The bureau of the komēs of the stables has been re-established by BURY, loc. cit.: the chartoularios of Constantinople and that of Malagina; the epeiktēs (in charge of the feeding and care of the animals); the saphramentarios (in charge of pasturing — see on [C] 71 below); four komites; forty syntrophoi (grooms/attendants); the imperial stable storehouse supervisor or manager (apothetēs tou kellariou tou basilikou stablou). See also R. GUILLAND, Chartulaire et grand chartulaire. Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes 9 (1971) 405—426, see 406 (=IDEM, Titres et fonctions XVIII).

(B) 53 τῷ λογοθέτῃ τῶν ἄγελῶν: a “military” function according to Klet. Phil. 107, 26 (classed among the stratharchai, along with the komēs of the stable). He was in charge of the herds of horses and mules in the mitata of Asia and Phrygia, and their distribution to the aplēktōn at Malagina or to other points, for imperial expeditions and related purposes. His bureau was also closely connected with that of the logothētēs tou dromou, for whose department and staff he also provided animals. See BURY, Administrative System 111; OIKONOMIDēs, Préséance 338; LAURENT, Corpus II 289ff.; HENDY, Studies 610—611; and below, on (C) 59sq.

(B) 54—57 ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ ... ὀμόλους: along with the pack-animals were taken a number of “imperial” horses from the stables at Constanti-
nople and Malagina, raised through compulsory donations/presentations to the emperor from monastic landholders and private persons. See below, on (C) 110sq.

(B) 58 ὁρίζετο τὸν ἐκ προσώπου κύρου ἐν τῇ πόλει . . .: the emperors always left a representative to administer their affairs. From the later eighth century it may often have been a magistros (cf. Bury, Administrative System 32–33; 46; Boak, The Master 49–58, esp. 52–54; 118–126; Haldon, Praetorians 149–150 and cf. 444, n. 361; also Vogt, Cer. Comm. II 57; 75. Cf. Theoph. 415, 3: Θεοφάνη τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ μάγιστρον ἐκ προσώπου ὄντα . . .). During the later eighth and ninth centuries there were often two magistri; while the existence of a protomagistros in the tenth century suggests the continuation of this principle, alongside the honorific or titular magistri. See Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur, esp. 31.

ὁρίζω is a verb commonly used to denote imperial commands or orders (along with θεσπίζω, κελεύω etc.); see Dölger–Karayannopoulos, Urkundenlehre 75, and (C) 457.

(B) 59–62 ἀπαριθμήσατε . . . πόλιν: the troops in the City “under the tagmata” were the Noumera and Walls regiments; those “under the Eparch” the systēmata or associations of crafts, shopkeepers, the circus fanclubs etc., along with the City watch or pedatoura/kerke- ton. See Haldon, Praetorians 256–275, esp. 266–270 and notes; and for the systēmata forming a city militia under the authority of the Eparch, ibid. 258–259 and notes. Here, they are clearly allotted specific districts of the City or its defences to guard, a traditional and standard procedure (see Haldon, Praetorians 260). For the Eparch’s responsibility for security and related functions, see Haldon, Praetorians n. 751, n. 752, n. 769; and in general on the Eparch, responsible for the internal administration of Constantinople, its commercial and industrial life, civil and criminal justice etc., see Oikonomidès, Préséance 319–322 with literature; note also infra (C) 737 and (C) 796.

(B) 62 ἀνορθοῦν δὲ . . .: this whole passage lists the various duties of the emperor’s representative during his absence. Cf. Kekaumenos 30, 27sq. (Litavrin 178, 12sq.); De Vel. Bell. 245, 15sq. (Dennis 21, 5sq.; Dagrant–Mihaescu XXI 2sq.); infra (C) 798sq.; and esp. De Obsid. Toleranda c. 3—c. 37, n. 29; Leo, Tact. XV 46ff.
(B) 63 τὰ μὲν ἐκ δόσεως ἐρχόμενα μανδάτα: (diplomatic) reports from the West; but the term meant also imperial orders, regulations or rules, news or information and so forth. See De Cer. 660, 11—12 and Theoph. 447, 10; De Vel. Bell. 223, 15; 225, 9. 25 (Dennis 14, 120; 15, 24. 38—39; Dagron—Mihăescu XIV 96; XV 18. 30): news, information; and Maurice, Strat. I 6, 29; VII A 4. 7; De Cer. 557, 5; 615, 18; 620, 20: orders; and Maurice, Strat. I 6, 1f.; 7, 1f.; 7, 17 etc.: regulations. The word is the Lat. mandatum. See Du Cange 861—862 s. v.; H. Kreller, Art. Mandatum. RE XIV/1 (1928) 1015—1025; and see further Leo, Tact. VIII 8; Theoph. 243, 5; 249, 26; Anon. Vári 53, 15 (Dennis 32, 14) (as “orders”).

(B) 70 ἐκ τῶν ἄχρων θεμάτων: the frontier themata: cf. De Vel. Bell. 186, 14; 188, 13 (Dennis 1, 4; 2, 11; Dagron—Mihăescu I 3; II 8). The comment suggests that the akritai or their equivalents along the frontier despatched regular reports from all fronts to the central government in Constantinople. See Kekaumenos 24—26 (Litavrin 166—168). The term was used generally of the frontier zones: cf. DAI 49, 13; 50, 78. 116; Anon. Vári 49, 6; and cf. ibid. 29, 11 (Dennis 28, 25; 18, 25). But it could also apply simply to “edge” or “extremity”, cf. Anon. Vári 4, 5; 8, 4; 11, 1 (Dennis 1, 78. 174; 3, 17).

(B) 71 ἐτι γε μὴν καθεσαυτὸν φροντίζειν περὶ ὀπλῶν: just like a local general, and like the Eparch of the City, the ek prosdou was himself responsible for ensuring the supply of weapons and war materials, produced both in the imperial workshops and in the provinces. See Haldon, Praetorians 318ff. and notes 967—977; and on (B) 38—39.

(B) 73 ταχαχῆς: a great deal of emphasis was placed upon not upsetting the populace of Constantinople; cf. Reiske, Comm. 485; and see Leo, Tact. XX, 14; 16; 19; 79 etc. on keeping bad news from the troops while at the same time announcing real or invented good news. This seems to have been a common topos, possibly drawn from the anonymous Rhetorica militaris of the sixth century — see cap. XIX—XXII, which recommends the reading of false letters from the emperor to encourage the soldiers. Note Dagron’s comment on this genre, Modèle islamique 226ff., esp. 226 and n. 33, for example. Cf. Maurice, Strat. VIII 1, 12—13.
(B) 80—81 ὁ Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ: from the description that follows this clearly has nothing to do with Julius Caesar. The name — like that of Constantine the Great — is clearly a cover for either an unnamed emperor, or — far more probably — an iconoclast in the compiler’s source. See supra (B) 3 and note. REISKE’s suggestion, that this is an error for ὁ ἄγιος Καίσαρ, and refers to Constantine the Great also seems unlikely (followed, incidentally, by Koukoulès, EEBΣ 19 [1949] 91).

(B) 81 ὀλίγους τῆς τάξεως ὑποκρατήσας: the imperial taxis, i.e. loosely the group of officials accompanying the emperor — those of the imperial table and household service, the basilikoi archontes, and so on. See infra on (B) 110—111. Taxis in this context is to be differentiated from προέλευσις, retinue in the more general sense. See the comments of OIKONOMIDES, Préséance 108, n. 63; and Vogt, Cer. Comm. I 7—8.

(B) 82 τὰ τάγματα: the units of the imperial guard based in or near Constantinople. There were originally two (the Scholai and Exkoubita) but Eirēnē added the Vigla or Arithmos, Nicephorus I the Hikanatoi. Later came the Hetaireia with its attached units of Chazars and Pharganoi. See Haldon, Praetorians 228ff.; 266, n. 743. These all accompanied the emperor on expeditions — cf. DAI 51, 42—43 — and by the end of the ninth century accompanied the domestikos of the Scholai regardless of whether the emperor was present or not.

(B) 83—84 τὰ πλεῖστα . . . σχηνάς: for the full list of horses and baggage provided for the imperial household and cortège, see text (C). For the imperial tents or pavilions, of which there were usually two, see (C) 162sq.

(B) 84—85 περὶ καθάρσεως . . . ψυχικῆς: spiritual purification before a campaign was a standard element, as well as before battle: see Leo, Tact. XII 72; XIV 1: Ἡποτιθέμεθα ὁδὸν σοι, ὁ στρατηγός, πρὸ γε πάντων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πολέμου καθαρῶν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν καὶ εὐχῆν γενέσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἕκτην καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἀγιασθῆναι πάντας καὶ οὕτως καὶ ἔργους καὶ λόγους πεισθῆναι, ἵτι τὸν Θεὸν ἔχουσι βοηθῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κινήσας πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον λαμπροῦς καὶ προθύμους. Ibid. XX 172: Ἡνίκα δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξάγειν μέλλεις πρὸς πόλεμον, δεῖ μὲν καθαρᾶς αὐτὰς ἐξ ἀμαρτημά-
Notes to (B) 80—(B) 96


(B) 91 τρίτων σφραγίσας τὴν πόλιν: cf. (C) 321—324; and De Cer. 347, 11: καὶ σφραγίσας τὸν λαὸν ἐκ τρίτων... On σφραγίζειν for making the sign of the Cross, see Du Cange 1499 s. v.

(B) 92—93 ἡρίστα ... κυριακῆς: Reiske, Comm. 486—487, thought the phrase probably referred to the number of courses at each meal; although he did not exclude it referring to the number of persons with whom the emperor ate. Koukoulès, Epist. Ep. Phil. Schol. Panep. Ath. 5 (1954/55) 51—52, demonstrated that the latter must be correct: cf. De Cer. 603, 10; 604, 15. 21; where the emperor dines διὰ ὡς or διὰ ἑξ. Koukoulès points out that sixteen- or even a six-course meal would be unlikely! See also Oikonomidès, Préséance 182, n. 178.

(B) 92 συνοψισθήναι: συνοψίζω: cf. Theoph. 331, 12; 372, 31; 436, 10; and Du Cange 1487 s. v.

(B) 95 ἐπὶ τῷ ἅχρω τοῦ ἀπλήκτου: see below on (C) 263sq.; and above, on (B) 70.

(B) 96 ἅχρι τῆς κορτίνας: κόρτις, Lat. cors/cortis or cohors/-tis; also κόρτη/τῆς κόρτης; κορτινάριοι; see below on (C) 537; and see Kahane, Western Impact 131—132; Oikonomidès, Préséance 341, n. 308; Du Cange 717 s. v.; cf. Leo, Tact. XI 20. The term korte was usually reserved for the emperor’s pavilion, or the headquarters tent of a thematic stratēgos: cf. Anon. Vári 5, 12. 14. 21; 6, 12; 14, 22 (Dennis 1, 108. 109. 115. 130; 6, 29). In addition, it had the wider meaning of the staff attached to the emperor’s tent — cf. infra (B) 117. Apart from korte, the term σκηνὴ was also used, for tents in general, along with τένδα, tent or canopy. Cf. Du Cange 1544 s. v. and Leo, Tact. XI 16; X 12; Niceph., Praec. 18, 32; Anon. Vári 5, 16. 21; 14, 10. 14 (Dennis 1, 111. 115; 6, 20. 24).

(B) 96 τοὺς ἄρχοντας: a generic term for all officials and officers bearing a title, active, titular or honorary, applied also to members of the upper strata of society. See Leo, Tact. IV 5. 30. 31. In this text it refers to the members of the emperor’s entourage, and to the
mainly military officials involved in one way or another with the expedition.

(B) 97 ἀποκόμβιν: see Reiske, Comm. 487—488; Hendy, Studies 338—339; 355; Oikonomidès, Préséance s.v.; Guillard, REG 58 (1945) 208ff. A term used of purses or bags containing a specific number of (gold) coins, tied and sealed; imperial rogaí were issued in this form, as were largesses or similar issues of coin, as this example illustrates. See De Cer. 182, 8—11; 241, 1—3, for example.

(B) 97 μαίομαι: Lat. maiuma (May festival), used in the Byzantine and late Roman periods of either feasts, the issue of victuals for such occasions, or — more usually — cash largesses. See Lydus, De Mensibus 133, 1: μαίομαι τὸ ἑορτάζειν ... εἴς οὗ καὶ Μαίουμαν. See Reiske, Comm. 489; Jones, LRE 561; 977—978; 1021; K. Preisen- danz, Art. Maiuma. RE XIV/1 (1928) 610—612; and cf. Theoph. 451, 26; De Cer. 649, 10: φιλοτιμώ τις ἡ μαίωμα; and note (B) 102, (C) 283, 534, 536, 540; and Scriptor incertus 337, 2—3; note I. Rochow, Beiträge der Chronik des Theophanes zum mittelgriechischen Wortschatz. Klio 69 (1987) 567—572, see 568—571. For the best detailed treatment of the occasion and frequency of imperial largesse, see Hendy, Studies 192—201.

(B) 98 ἐκαστὸν θέμα: in the original sense of “each army”. See Haldon, Recruitment 30; Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion 287ff. From the middle of the eighth century at the latest the term was used to refer to both the provincial armies and the territories in which they were established; and even to detachments of these armies: see (C) 565, where thema means detachments from the thematic forces. For the different uses, see Anon. Vári 1, 13—14 (Dennis 1, 14—15) (tagmata as opposed to themata); Leo, Tact. IV 1 (thema as territory); and cf. ibid. IV 31; DAI 52, 2. 5; and 52, 12 (where stratos is opposed to thema).

(B) 100 τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος: i.e. the officers of the units and administration of the thema: stratēgos, prōtonotarios, tourmarchai, drouggarokomêtes, merarchēs, komēs tēs kōrtēs, chartoularios, domestikos tou thematos and others. On these, see Oikonomidēs, Préséance 341; for drouggarokomêtes, see Haldon-Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 103 and on (C) 654 infra.
(B) 101 τὴν δὲ χρείαν τῆς βασιλικῆς ύπηρεσίας: that is, the requirements of the imperial table service and household (for gifts, the provision of feasts, etc.). Cf. Anon. Vári 5, 14—19 (Dennis 1, 109sq.): pitched around the imperial tent are those of the staff making up the hypēresia: prōtovestiarios, epi tēs trapezēs, phylax (connected probably with the eidikon, see Hendy, Studies 310—311, n. 262 and literature), koitōnitai, hebdomarioi.

(B) 101 σφακτά: sheep/lambs or other animals for slaughter, brought on the hoof. See on (C) 146sq. infra.

(B) 102 τὸ ψωμίον τῆς φιλοτιμίας: with the general sense of food or provisions for feasts, i.e. largesses in kind.

(B) 102 τὸν λοιπὸν μακομάν: possibly suggesting that for the writer of this text the maīuma was normally understood to be the issue of provisions for a feast or celebratory meal of some sort.

(B) 103 ὁ πρωτονοτάριος: from the early ninth century, each thema seems to have had one prōtonotarios, under the authority of the palatine bureau of the sakellion, and responsible for the day-to-day fiscal administration of the thema. See Bury, Administrative System 94; Oikonomidès, Préséance 315 and literature; R. Guilland, Chartulaire et grand chartulaire. Revue des Études Sud- Est Européennes 9 (1971) 405—426, see 413 (= idem, Titres et fonctions XVIII); and esp. Winkelman, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 120ff.; 140—143. See on (C) 349—350 infra.

(B) 103—104 ἐκ τοῦ ἀερικοῦ (ἀερίου Λ) λόγου: note the classicizing variant of L; M has the correct form. The aerikon was a reserve drawn from the collection of the land-assessment, introduced under Justinian by John of Cappadocia. See Ostrogorsky, Steuergemeinde 53—56; Hendy, Studies 237—238. It seems to have formed part of the resources held in the provincial treasury of the prōtonotarios, which may be the successor to the regional treasuries of the praetorian prefecture (Jones, LRE 450; Hendy, Studies 411—412). The later ἀηδ was a (regularised) judicial tax or fine and is quite different in nature. See, for example, Laiou, Peasant Society 158ff.
(B) 104 καὶ τῶν συνωνῶν: συνωνή, Lat. coemptio, originally signifying an irregular compulsory purchase or levy in grain or other produce for the state — especially the army. By the middle Byzantine period, it was applied to the regular land-tax assessment (see Ostrogorsky, Steuergemeinde 50ff.); although Dölger, Finanzverwaltung 54—59, argued that it referred rather to an additional levy over and above the assessment for the kapnikon and the land-tax. See Hendy, Studies 51; 607; 611—612; Haldon, Praetorians 585 and n. 951. Ostrogorsky’s hypothesis seems the more likely. The term was sometimes used also as an equivalent of annona, rations in kind; but the latter term was still employed in this sense also, in opposition to misthon, cash payment. Cf. De Vel. Bell. 188, 19; 189, 1 (Dennis 2, 15. 20; Dagron-Mihaescu II 11. 15).

(B) 104 ἐκ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ: τὸ εἰδικὸν λογοθέσιον: the “special” treasury as opposed to the genikon logothesion of the old praetorian prefecture of the East: see Jones, LRE 450 and references; Hendy, Administrative Basis 134f.; idem, Studies 410; 412; 629 and literature; and Laurent, Corpus II 303ff. For different views, see also Bury, Administrative System 86ff. and 98f.; Dölger, Finanzverwaltung 35—39; Oikonomides, Préséance 316—317. This special treasury supplied a variety of items: cash for the rogai of the senate; expenses for the fleet; precious cloths; various uniforms; and so forth. It was headed by the εἰδικός (λογοθέτης). See Hendy, Studies 629, for a note on the medieval and the modern tendency to confuse εἰδικός with ἴδικός. Note the variant in M.

(B) 107 προέλευσις: staff/retinue = basilikoi anthropoï. In the formal language of the system of ranks there was a difference between those titles which were προέλευσιμαίοι and those which were συνελήνικοι (i.e. those attached to the emperor’s person, imperial ranks; and those of senatorial origin), see Oikonomides, Préséance 99, n. 57; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 43ff. In general, the term meant simply “accompanying staff/persons”, such as the proeleusis of a thematic stratēgos: cf. De Cer. 663, 8sq.; 666, 16—20; Leo, Tact. IV 30; VI 1; IX 10; see also on taxis at (B) 81 supra. But the term was also applied to formal processions or progresses, see Ebersolt, Mélanges 41; Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 5—7; it was an equivalent of the earlier prokenson (Lat. processus) which it had replaced by the tenth century; and it was used also of any public imperial outing or
progress, as well as of those within the precincts of the great palace: see DAI 51, 18. 40. 45. 142 (prokenson); and 13, 46; 50, 215; see DAI Comm. 65; 193; note also BoAK, The Master 118; and cf. Theoph. 226, 19; Leo Diac. 64, 22; and Oikonomidès, Préséance 166, n. 142. See references and literature in McCormick, Eternal Victory 93, n. 58.

(B) 108—109 ἵπποι μετὰ ἄληθινῶν βορχαδίων: ἄληθινός signifies here (dyed with) genuine purple. A variety of terms was used to describe “real” purple (πορφύρα, ὀλοβήρα, ὀλούργις, ἰαστά, along with a variety of compounds built around them) as opposed to “red” purple (ὁξέα, Τυρέα) and “false” Tyrian purple (ψευδοξέα). See Guillard, REG 62 (1949) 333—334 and n. 3; Ebersolt, Mélanges 54, n. 5; Koukoulès, BBP VI 281; Nicole, Ep. Bibl. 92—93; Ps.-Cod. (Verpeaux) 144, n. 1. See on (C) 173 — diblattia — infra. Note also the occasional use of the term kastorion to denote real or sea purple: cf. De Cer. 438, 10—11; Dig. Akr. 206, 736; Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos 1723; 1725; and see Suidas ΠΠ 39, 30: καστόριον εἶδος βαφῆς ἀπὸ τῆς κογχύλης. The term should not be confused with the adjective for beaver or beaverskin: cf. Ed. Diocl. 8, 31 and commentary 245. See also Testament d’Eustathios Boilas 143. On the Mediterranean silk-dyeing industry in the tenth/twelfth centuries, see Goitein, Med. Soc. I 106f., for general comments and literature; and for the classical and late antique background, see CEHE II 359ff. For borkadia, see on (C) 124 infra.

(B) 109—110 οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἀρχοντες εἶτα οἱ στράτορες . . . : these two groups, along with others, made up the imperial proeleusis. The archontes will have included the commander(s) of the basilikoi an thrōpoi (see Haldon, Praetorians 423—424, n. 299; 460, n. 411; Oikonomidès, Préséance 328); the higher officials of the sekreta, along with the domestikos of the household service, the head of the imperial table, as well as the imperial prōtostratōr and the komēs tou stablou are certainly included. Cf. De Cer. 81, 18sq. and see Anon. Vári 5, 15—6, 9 (Dennis 1, 110—128), where those accompanying the emperor on such an expedition include: ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, κοινωνίας, ἐβδομάριος, οἱ τοῦ στάβλου ἀρχοντες, μαγκλαβίται, πανθεώται, ὁ λογοθέτης, ὁ πρωτοασφερής κτλ., apart from various officers of the tagmata; and from (C) 371—388, a similar list includes — apart from the extended staffs of the stable (at Constantinople
and Malagina) and the staff of the stratiōtikon, and the prōtoasēkrētēs (the dekanos) (see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 310—311) — the following: ἡ βασιλικὴ ὑπουργία, ἡ βασιλικὴ κόρη, τὸ οἰκειακὸν βασιλικὸν βεστιάριον, ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος, ὁ εἰδικός, οἱ ἔθδομαριοι, οἱ κοιτωνῖται, οἱ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, κτλ. For the hebdomarioi, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 318. The stratares are those tou stratorikioù, under the prōtostrator, responsible for the horses from the imperial stables, and forming thereby also a guard or company of attendants on the emperor’s person. This functional position is not to be confused with the honorific dignity of strator, to which it gave rise. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 337—338; BURY, Administrative System 117—118; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 34; 41f.

(B) 110 μετὰ σελλαρίων: the term is used in this and other texts of riding horses, as opposed to pack-animals, cf. De Cer. 551, 14; and note DU CANGE 1349—1350; and Lat. sellarius, horse with a saddle. Cf. Lat. sella, seat/saddle, and Maurice, Strat., passim; Leo, Tact. VI 8—10 etc., Niceph., Praec. 11, 35 and LP XC. V (DUCHESENE I 390): sellares imperiales, sellas et frenos inauratos ... Cf. (C) 347 and (C) 394. OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 339, notes that sellarioi denotes the attendants or syntrophoi of the sellaria. Note the term promosella ([C] 108; and Theoph. 473, 27) meaning baggage-train. Sella must not be confused with sellion — seat or throne, cf. De Cer. 23, 17; 67, 10; 92, 17—19 etc. and GUILLAND, REG 58 (1945) 202 and n.7 (but see De Vel. Bell. 226, 16 [DENNIS 16, 13; DAGRON—MIHÆSCU XVI 10]: sagmosellia — saddle-bags or pack-saddles).

(B) 110—111 μυστικωτέρα τάξις: μυστικός is a term generally used to describe both “private” and “imperial” — the later mystikos is supposed by some to have been a private secretary, having his own sekreton, and being connected with the administration of justice (see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 324—325; and P. MAGDALINO, The Not-So-Secret Function of the Mystikos. REB 42 [1984] 229—240). In this case, the term refers simply to the accompanying imperial retinue in opposition to the troops of the themata and tagmata. See EBERSOLT, Mélanges 40, n. 3 and references.

(B) 111—112 ἀπὸ σαγιττοβόλων τριῶν: the bowshot was equal to 328,8 metres approx. See SCHILBACH, Metrologie 42. It is a common unit of measurement in Byzantine military and other texts. See, for
example, Anon. Vári 11, 20; 21, 31sq.; 40, 7—8 (DENNIS 4, 7; 10, 59; 21, 82); Theoph. 319, 8 etc.

(B) 112—113 τὰ τάγματα, καὶ τούτων τὰ τιμιώτερα . . .: the ranking order of the tagmatic units was (1) Scholai (2) Exkoubita (3) Arithmos/Vigla (4) Hikanatoi; see BURY, Administrative System 47ff.; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 329ff.; AHRWEILER, Recherches 24ff.; HALDON, Praetorians 276ff. The more “honoured” were therefore the Scholai and Exkoubita. See (C) 475—478; and compare Anon. Vári 25 (DENNIS 14).

(B) 114—115 τὰ ἐνδοξότερα τῶν θεμάτων . . .: in the Klétorologion of Philotheos the themata are listed in order of precedence; the themata in the unamended list here ([A] 6—14) would, according to Philotheos, be ranked as follows: Anatolikon, Armeniakon, Thrakèsion, Boukellarion, Kappadokia, Charsianon, Kolôneia, Paphlagonia (Sebasteia, Seleukeia: not in Klet. Phil., see Takt. Benešević 247, 13, 15). See Klet. Phil. 101, 5sq. The amended list adds the Opsikion and Thrace, which would in this case follow Thrakèsion and Paphlagonia respectively. Note (C) 478.

(B) 116 οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀπληκτα . . . ὁδοὺς: local soldiers from each theme were responsible for guiding the armies, selecting the best routes, camp-sites, river-crossings etc.; as well as for accompanying and guiding the baggage-train and the tents which had been sent on ahead of the emperor’s column to specified sites, in order to prepare for his arrival. Cf. (C) 561—569. These soldiers are the same as the doukatores of Anon. Vári 28, 8—29, 20 (DENNIS 18, 1sq.); cf. Leo, Tact. IV 22—23; IX 7; 8; 38. Note that the Anon. Vári differentiates between the specialist doukatores on the one hand, and the local peasants who know their district on the other: Anon. Vári 28, 13sq. (DENNIS 18, 7sq.). See (B) 143—146; and De Vel. Bell. 188, 4sq.; 189, 2—7 (DENNIS 2, 3sq. 20sq.; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU II 2sq. 15sq.) for the same difference.

(B) 117 μετὰ τῆς κόρτης καὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας . . .: the korte referred to both the imperial tent and pavilion, and the necessary baggage and equipment that accompanied it, together with, by extension, the attached personnel. See on (B) 96 supra. Each thematic stratēgos seems to have had on his staff a komēs tēs kōrtēs (cf. Leo, Tact. IV
30; and (C) 570—573: the komites have their staff of kortinarioi to set up the tent. Cf. Du Cange 718 s. v.; Oikonomides, Preséance 341; Bury, Administrative System 43). The emperor might have himself an imperial komēs tēs kortēs, cf. Th. Cont. 9, 11; 12, 11—12; Genesius I 8, 53—54; otherwise, the drouggarios of the Vigla supervised the thematic komite tēs kortēs. In the later ninth and tenth centuries, the minsourator, on the staff of the papias, was jointly responsible for the imperial tent(s), along with an imperial komēs tēs kortēs, if present, and seems normally to have taken charge of the tent itself. See Oikonomides, Preséance 306, n. 100; and (B) 48; (C) 158—159, 162sq.: διὰ τοῦ μινσουράτορος, ἤγουν τῆς βασιλικῆς κόρτης... See above, on (B) 96. The tent or pavilion itself seems to have been big enough to accommodate a large number of persons. Anna Komnēnē reports that Alexios' I tent could receive a considerable number of officers as well as the imperial throne: Alexiad I 8, 2; IX 9, 1; XI 3, 2. While of a later date, there is no reason to doubt the relevance of this description for the period with which our text deals.

The υπουργία represents the department of the imperial table, headed by ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, seconded by ὁ δομέστικος τῆς υπουργίας, with a staff of υπουργοί (compare also [C] 364), also called ἐγγυστάριοι or ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, and a notarios (Leo Gramm. 303, 18; see Oikonomides, Preséance 305—306; Bury, Administrative System 125—126; Guillard, Institutions I 239ff.). Note that the epi tēs trapezēs had both the kastrēsios and the kēnarios under his authority: see W. Seibt, Über das Verhältnis von κηνάριος bzw. δομέστικος τῆς τραπέζης zu den anderen Funktionären der βασιλική τράπεζα in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit. BZ 72 (1979) 34—38; for an older view, see Bury, Administrative System 126. There were at least forty hypourgoi to serve the imperial table (see [C] 376—377) and in addition there were imperial cooks attached (see [C] 526, 528). For the kortē and the hypourgia together, see Theoph. 462, 11—12: ἐξείδησε πᾶσα ἡ βασιλικὴ υπουργία καὶ ἡ κόρτη ἐως τῶν Μαλαγίνων... In fact, hypourgia represents more than the imperial table service; it signifies also the imperial baggage-train, ceremonial service, and includes also the koitōn and the private vestiarion and their staffs. Cf. (C) 150sq., 372—374 and Theoph. 468, 1: τὴν κόρτην μετὰ πάσης τῆς βασιλικῆς υπουργίας... Note Anon. Vāri 20, 13; 22, 9 etc. (Dennis 10, 17, 66), where the term hypourgikon represents the administration of the imperial service and baggage in general, and hypourgoi signifies
servants or attendants; cf. ibid. 21, 10; 43, 5 (DENNIS 10, 39; 24, 7); also De Vel. Bell. 218, 22—219, 1 (DENNIS 14, 12; DAGRON—MINAEOCU XIV 8): ἡ μὲν ἀπωσκευὴ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄταν τὸ ὀπουργικὸν . . . . On the technical value of these terms, see DAGRON, Phocas 186ff.

(B) 119 τοὺς δὲ ὅριγος . . . : cf. on (B) 116 above. The sentence emphasises the local nature of the thematic guides: cf. Leo, Tact. XVII 24.

(B) 119—120 ὁ δρομπαράγος τῆς βίγλης: the commander of the imperial Watch, and of the third tagma of guards, responsible for security in the imperial camp and in the palace (see [C] 420). On this officer and his unit, see HALDON, Praetorians 236ff. and literature.

(B) 120—121 αἱ παραμοναὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν . . . τὰ κελευόμενα αὐτοῖς . . . : cf. Anon. Vári 7, 23—25 (DENNIS 1, 166—168): ἐν δὲ τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ δρομπαράγος τῆς βίγλης αἱ παραμοναὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ προσδεδεμένων . . . . These paramonai may have been made up from the hetaireia of each thematic general (headed by the komeis τες hetaireias, cf. Klet. Phil. 111, 2; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 341; BURY, Administrative System 44; and see De Cer. 659, 15, where the stratégos of Samos must send his komeis to the katepano: Bury supplies τῶν κόμητα between ἦνα ἀποσταλεὶ and τῆς ἐταιρείας to read: ἦνα ἀποσταλεὶ τῶν κόμητα τῆς ἐταιρείας μετὰ κελεύομενο ἀρχῶν . . . ., which matches the sense of the passage here and in the Anon. Vári). They may also have been made up from among the kentarchoi and spatharioi attached to each stratégos: cf. Klet. Phil. 111, 1, and OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 341; BURY, Administrative System 43—44; or from the mandatores of each stratégos (each unit, down to and including the bandon, had mandatores, see Leo, Tact. IV 16. 35. 49; and Klet. Phil. 111, 4—5; Leo, Tact. XI 20, following Maurice, Strat. XII B 22, 29—32: Ἐκαστος δὲ τουρμάρχης ἦνα ἵδιον μανδάτορα ἀφορίση, ὥστε εἶναι εἰς τὴν κόρτην τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προσδεδένεντα ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν δρομπαράγοις καὶ κόμητας εἰς τὴν τένταν τοῦ τουρμάρχου, ἦνα διὰ τούτων συντόμως γινώσκοσι πάντες τὰ ἐντελλομένα).

(B) 122 ἦ . . . δοξή: reception. Cf. De Cer. 156, 3 (Vogt, Cér. I 144, 10; REISKE, Comm. 30; 83—84) and (C) 797. See also on deximon at (C) 448 infra.
(B) 123 παρατεταγμένον: drawn up in order. Emphasis was placed on maintaining order, both in camp and on the march: cf. Anon. Vári 19, 29—20, 1sq. (Dennis 10, 3sq.); Leo, Tact. IX 5, 28; etc. See (C) 475: καὶ περιπατοῦσι παρατεταγμένοι; and cf. Maurice, Strat. I 9, 6sq.

(B) 128 ἡ κατάστασις: ceremony/order: cf. DAI 13, 115, 145; 53, 100; and (C) 795: τὴν μὲν κατάστασιν τῆς πόλεως. Note Reiske, Comm. 76; 857. Also in the sense of “procedure/order”, see Anon. Vári 1, 1 (Dennis 1, 3); Niceph., Praec. 12, 1; and on the palatine official ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως see Οἰκονομίδης, Préséance 309; Bury, Administrative System 118—119. See on (C) 718—719 infra, ὁ ἀδιμισσιονάλιος.

(B) 128 τὰ ἀοίκητα: this seems to be an equivalent of τὰς ἔρημους (en route for Syria) at (C) 512, 539, 556, 561 and suggests deserted lands rather than “deserts” (see [C] 556: εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τῆς ἔρημου . . .). See Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion 18ff.; 336 (map); 339ff. on the “buffer zone” or “no-man’s land” between Muslim and Christian states; and cf. Anon. Vári 50, 24 (Dennis 29, 26), for example, where the ἔρημια is assumed to lie between Roman and hostile territory. See (C) 529 and Reiske, Comm. 481—482.

(B) 131 ἐδίδου δὲ αὐτοῖς: a separate commander was appointed to the extra baggage, injured or lame horses, ill soldiers and so on. See (C) 514—515, and cf. Leo, Tact. X 19; De Vel. Bell. 226, 5—13 (Dennis 16, 5sq.; Dagron-Mihăescu XVI 3sq.); and Maurice, Strat. V 3. Cf. Anon, Vári 26, 1sq. (Dennis 15, 1sq.).

(B) 134 ἀπὸ τῶν θεμάτων μοίρας: a moira, according to Leo, Tact. IV 42; 43 etc., is the old-fashioned term for drouggos used in Leo’s time — cf. Maurice, Strat. I 3, 6; 4, 2; 4, 4; Π 1, 6 etc. In Maurice, moira appears throughout, although it may have been used only in such treatises, not in everyday speech (drouggos in the Stratēgikon is used where later meros would appear: see Haldon, Praetorians 385—386). This text suggests that it did remain in use in later treatises as well. But the term probably means simply “detachments” rather than any specific technical meaning — see (C) 563—564.

(B) 134—135 τοὺς μὲν προπορεύεσθαι . . . τοῦ φοσσάτου: this arrangement for marching orders was standard — it is repeated, with minor variations, in all the military manuals, and there is no reason to
believe that it was not also practiced, as far as the commanders were aware of it. See (C) 564sq.; and see Leo, Tact. IX 37; 38; XVII 71 etc.; Anon. Vári 19, 29sq. (Dennis 10, 2sq.); and note also Leo, Tact. IX 36 (the touldon in the centre) and IX 60; 61.

For φοσσάτον, Lat. fossatum, originally military camp (entrenched position) as an equivalent for στρατόπεδον, but later used also for army or military force, cf. Du Cange 1691—1692; and see, for example, Theoph. 393, 10; 500, 32; Anon. Vári 33, 10; and 19, 9; 41, 21; 43, 15; 44, 3 (Dennis 20, 47; 9, 24. 25; 22, 14; 24, 15; 25, 8); Kekaumenos 9, 5; 12, 25; 15, 15 (Litavrin 134, 2; 142, 3; 146, 24): used as army/camp: Theoph. 233, 23; 319, 12; 325, 2; 387, 16; cf. Leo, Tact. IX 1; X 9; 13; 14; and as ditch or entrenchment, see Leo, Tact. epilog. 59; and XVII 106. Cf. φοσσάτωσιν, go on an expedition (see [C] 8; Theoph. 192, 19—20; 462, 10, for example). For stratopedon as army, see e.g. Anon. Vári 3, 3; 15, 4. 10; 40, 19 (Dennis 1, 53; 6, 41. 48; 21, 92); and as camp, Leo, Tact. IX 1. See further Dagon, Phocas, Index 339 s. v.

(B) 136 οὖς καλοῦσι νωτοφύλακας: that is to say, in military manuals — cf. Leo, Tact. IV 28; Theoph. 396, 4 etc. During the tenth century this classical term was replaced by the word saka, Turk. saqat, cf. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II 263—264; A. Dain, Σάκα dans les traités militaires. BZ 44 (1951) 94—96; and see Syll. Tact. XXIII 7. 8; 29. 1; XLVI 17—21; De Vel. Bell. 226, 20; 228, 5 (Dennis 16, 17. 45; Dagon—Mihăescu XVI 13. 37); Anon. Vári 52, 4sq. (Dennis 31, 3sq.), etc. The reference to the rearguard as pursuers of soldiers who turn back through cowardice etc. suggests that this was not an uncommon feature: cf. Anon. Vári 50, 11—12 (Dennis 29, 13sq.); Leo, Tact. XVII 71; XX 165; 166. See Dagon, Phocas 59, n. 4.

(B) 138 πλαγιοφύλακας: see Leo, Tact. IV 25; Anon. Vári 20, 21; 25, 16 (Dennis 10, 22; 14, 20sq.) etc.

(B) 143—146 οὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προτρέχοντες ... τῶν πολέμων αὐτῶν: very similar to the advice in Anon. Vári 28, 8sq. (Dennis 18, 2sq.); cf. Leo, Tact. IV 23. Note that the earlier version of the text in M has προτρέχοντες, confirming Koukoulès' emendation suggested in Epist. Epist. Phil. Schol. Panep. Ath. 5 (1954/55) 50—51; cf. De Vel. Bell. 218, 1 (Dennis 13, 20; Dagon—Mihăescu XIII 14).
(B) 146 ὀπισθοφύλακας: = νωτοφύλακας: cf. Anon. Vári 20, 27 (Dennis 10, 27); on the importance of alternating the rear- and vanguards, see Anon. Vári 52, 1sq. (Dennis 31, 2sq.). Note that the version in M adopted here seems more complete than that preserved in L, which actually states the opposite: the rearguards should be alternated because of the difficulty of their task, not the flank-guards.

(B) 149 περίχαρακωθέντες: to entrench, dig a ditch around the camp. Cf. Anon. Vári 4, 15; 12, 19; 22, 22; 40, 7 etc. (Dennis 1, 88; 4, 30; 11, 2; 21, 81); and cf. Niceph., Praec. 19, 29 (chandaka for charaka); Theoph. 192, 19; 395, 19—20; Leo, Tact. epil. 59; and XX 34.

(C) 1—5 see in general DAI, Comm. 9—10; Dölger, BES 9—33; 140—158; idem, Byz. Diplomatik 130—151; Treitinger, Reichsidee; Ensslin, Gottesgnadentum; idem, Gottkaiser.

(C) 1—2 Κωνσταντίνου ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίω βασιλέως Ὠρωμαίων: for the emperor as slave of Christ and ruler of the Roman (i.e. the civilised) world, see Dölger, BES 23; Treitinger, Reichsidee 146, n. 8; Rösch, "Ὀνομα 62—63; and note also O. Kresten, Iustinianos I., der „christusliebende“ Kaiser. Zum Epitheton φιλόχριστος in den Intitulationes byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden. Römische Historische Mitteilungen 21 (1979) 83—109, see 108, n. 82. See DAI Comm. 9; and cf. ibid., proem. tit.


Ῥωμαίων: the epithet was added to coins in 812 to emphasise the superior position of the Byzantine over the western/Frankish emperor, although it had been in regular use since the seventh century in other contexts: see Rösch, "Ὀνομα 111—116, 155f.; E. Stein, Zum mittelalterlichen Titel „Kaiser der Rhomäer“. Forschungen und Fortschritte 6 (1930) 182ff.; Ostrogorsky–Stein, Krönungsordnungen 195; Treitinger, Reichsidee 161; 187, n. 117; Dölger BES 80, n. 17; Ohnsorge, Abendland und Byzanz 27; 30 (and cf. Dölger, BES 297ff. and Byz. Diplomatik 135, n. 24).

(C) 2—4 ὑπὸ Λέοντος ... βασιλέως: the emphasis on family and dynas-
tic antecedents is clear; see DAI 22, 80—81 and (C) 28—30. ἀολίμος: normally used of deceased emperors; see (C) 502; and cf. DAI 29, 73. 83. 89; 30, 127; 40, 8 etc.

σωφρότατον: see (C) 29; Leo was already in his own lifetime called "the wise" or "most wise": see OSTROGORSKY, Geschichte 202 and literature; and see, for example, Klet. Phil. 81, 3; 187, 17 etc.; Th. Cont. 282, 16—17; see Dölger, BES 201, n. 13; C. MANGO, The Legend of Leo the Wise. ZRVI 6 (1960) 59—93, see 68; 90—92; and see J. IRMSCHER, Die Gestalt Leons VI. des Weisen in Volkssage und Historiographie, in: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.—11. Jahrhundert, ed. by V. VAVELNEK. Prag 1978, 205—224.

ἀπογόνου: Constantine was keen to emphasise the inheritance and legitimate succession from his father Leo VI (29th August 886—12th Mai 912) and his grandfather Basil I (24th September 867—29th August 886), particularly in view of the difficulties he had experienced with Romanos I and his sons (see TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 12—13) and in order to re-affirm his claims to precedence. See (C) 51; and DAI 22, 81; De Them. X 10—11; and GRIERSON, Tombs and Obits 57—58.

Ἀνδρικωτάτου καὶ γενναίοτάτου: Constantine himself fostered this image of Basil as a bold and fearless soldier-emperor, descended from the ancient line of the Arsacids (see TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 582ff. with full documentation); and he continued the tradition inaugurated by his father in eulogising Basil's achievements. See the epitaphios delivered by Leo on his father: A. Vogt—I. HAUSSHERR, Oraison funèbre de Basile I par son fils Léon le Sage (Orientalia Christiana 36/1, no. 77). Rome 1932; see TOYNBEE, loc. cit., and note Leo, Tact. IX 13.

(C) 4—5 Ὄρωμαν τὸν θεοστεφῆ βασιλέα καὶ μιὸν αὐτοῦ: the address is to his son Romanos (II), co-emperor from 6th April 945, sole ruler from 9th November 959 to 15th March 963: see OSTROGORSKY, Geschichte 236—237; OSTROGORSKY—STEIN, Krönungsordnungen 197, n. 3; and the review of this by F. Dölger, in: BZ 36 (1936) 149—157, see 150—151; G. De JERPHANION, La date du couronnement de Romain II. OCP 1 (1935) 490ff. Note (C) 22.

θεοστεφῆ: see De Cer. 567, 6—7; TREITINGER, Reichsidee 34—38; 61—62; 114; ENSSLIN, Gottesgnadentum 163ff.; idem, Gottkaiser, esp. 84—85; Dölger, Byz. Diplomatik 139; RÖSCH, "Ονομα 66—67.
(C) 6—7 τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ υψηλοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων: see (C) 749. For μέγας cf. Dölger, Byz. Diplomatik, esp. 134—139; the term was often used of the senior emperor, see ibid. 136, n. 27, from the middle of the ninth century. See P. Schreiner, Zur Bezeichnung „Megas“ und „Megas Basileus“ in der byzantinischen Kaisertitelatur. Byzantinische Zeitschrift 3 (1971) 175—192; Rösch, "Onoma 47; 109.

υψηλὸς: see Dölger, Byz. Diplomatik 142ff. (from the tenth century).

(C) 8—53: the introduction to the treatise is divided into three sub-sections:

(i) (C) 8—23. An opening section emphasising the value of paternal advice to a son, both for the future and for its practical relevance for the running of the state; warning also of the consequences of ignoring such advice. It concludes by introducing the theme in hand, namely the organisation of military expeditions, and the precedents set by their imperial forbears.

(ii) (C) 24—39. Constantine notes the importance of the subject, and regrets the lack of any written memoranda of the sort required. He emphasises his own research efforts, and describes his eventual discovery of the manuscript of the magistros Leo Katakylas at Sigrianē, upon which he has based his own compilation.

(iii) (C) 40—53. Constantine notes that the procedures outlined in the text that follows have been passed on from the time of the Isaurian emperors at least, and were followed in detail in the reign of his grandfather Basil I.

The first of these three sections should be considered together with two passages in the De administrando imperio (proem. and 1, 4—15; see Comm. 1—9). The symbolism of the mention of Solomon is striking, and occurs in both texts; see Treitinger, Reichsidee 135; Grabar, L'empereur 95; see De Cer. 570, 17; and note the references to Psalm 71 in the proem to the De administrando imperio, and compare with the opening verses of the same psalm inscribed on the psalter held by David (flanked by Sophia and Prophetia) in the Paris psalter (Par. gr. 139), reproduced in H. Buchthal, The Exaltation of David. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 37 (1974) 330—333, a work produced during the reign of Constantine VII. This Solomonic aspect is particularly
marked in Constantine’s representations of imperial authority and imperial ceremonial (cf. De Cer. 566, 13—14 and the reference to the Solomonic throne of the emperors), but is a well-worked motif in late Roman and Byzantine representations of imperial power — it occurs in Agapētos, George of Pisidia and in the writings of Leo VI. Note Basil I’s advice to his son: μὴ κατόχκει τάς τῶν παλαιών διεξέρχον
c αν γνώμας ... καὶ πλέον πάντων τά τε Σολομώντεια ... (Basilii imperatoris Romanorum paraenesis ad Leonem filium, PG 107, 22—56, see 56B). The opening sentence “Listen, son . . .” is modelled on Proverbs 1, 8 and stresses Constantine’s interest in this tradition. Note E. Ville-Patlagan, Une image de Solomon en basileus byzantin. Rev. des Études Juives, 4e série, 1/121 (1962) 9—33; cf. Proverbs 10, 1 and the opening words of the De administrando imperio, proem. Note also C. Brett, The Automata in the “Byzantine Throne of Solomon”. Speculum 29 (1954) 477—487; also G. Huxley, The Scholarship of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Proc. Royal Irish Acad. 80/2 (1980) 29—40, see 37—38 and literature. For further comment, see Averil Cameron, Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium. Past and Present 84 (August 1979) 3—35, see 20—21. It is quite likely that Constantine was here deliberately invoking the tradition also emphasised by his grandfather Basil I, who had placed great stress on his role as emulator of both David and Solomon. See Photios, ep. 241, esp. 11. 91—97; and in PG 102, 582—584 (cf. Beck, Kirche 526); Th. Cont. 335. Note the comments of P. Magdalino, Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I. JÖB 37 (1987) 51—64, see 58.

Finally, the sentiments expressed in this first section, up to (C) 19, are remarkably similar to those introducing the Stratēgikos of Onosander (see proem. 7—10), a text with which Constantine was certainly familiar. See Introduction above, p. 54.

(C) 10—12 γνησίους . . . προέξενωντα: see Proverbs 3, 1—4.

(C) 13 οί δὲ ἐκ πατρικῆς ψυχῆς . . .: see Proverbs 4, 1—4; 5, 7ff.

(C) 15—23 εἰ γὰρ ἁγνικα κακόν . . . μεγαλειώτητα: the advice and knowledge offered are closely linked to the fate of the empire. Cf. DAI proem 6—14; Leo, Tact. proem. 677B—C.

(C) 17 ἀναγκαιότερον: cf. Leo, Tact. proem. 673B; C—D; 676A.
(C) 20—21 ταύτην γὰρ ... ἡγησάμεθα: see on (C) 24—25 below.

(C) 22 θεόστεπτε Ρωμανέ: see on (C) 4—5 above, θεόστεφη.

(C) 24—25 ὅθεν εὑρίσκοντες: Constantine can hardly mean here the various taktika and strategika, either of his own father or of the ancients, which were available in the palace archives; but is referring rather to accounts of the organisation of the expeditionary forces themselves. See (C) 18—19: ἢν (εὐταξίαν) ἐν πολέμοις εἶχον τὸ πρώτον βασιλικὸς ταξειδίους κατάστασιν. Cf. in contrast Leo, Tact. proem. 676B: Ταῖς γὰρ ἀρχαίς καὶ ταῖς νεωτέραις στρατηγικαῖς τε καὶ τακτικαῖς ἐμφυλοχωρήσαντες μεθόδους καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις καταλογάθην ἐντυχόντες ἱστορίας, καὶ εἰ τι κατὰ χείρας ἐδοξεῖ χρήσιμον τῶν ἐν πολέμοις ἀναγκαίων ἔκειν ἀναλέξαμενοι .... For the encyclopaedic collections assembled under Constantine's direction, of both military and other texts, see the Introduction.

(C) 25—30 ὅψε καὶ μόλις ... πάππου: Constantine's search for material seems to have been fairly systematic — he clearly followed up leads from his father's records, as his search for the document prepared by Katakylas suggests.

(C) 26 ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ καλουμένῃ Σιγριανῆς: the monastery was situated on the southern shore of the Bosphorus, see C. Mango—I. Ševčenko, Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara. DOP 27 (1973) 235—277, see 259—267; Jahn, Grands centres 195—199. The monastery of Agros (Megas Agros) was in the foothills of Sigrianē (Karadağ) and is best known as the home of the Confessor Theophanes. See, for example, DAI 25, 1—2; 22, 77.

(C) 26—27 Λέων ὁ μάγιστρος, ὁ Κατάκυλας ἦν ἐπώνυμον: see V. Euthymii (ed. de Boor) 140—142; (ed. Karlin-Hayter) 161—162; 10, 16. There is some uncertainty over his identity, the name appearing variously as Katakylas, in our text; and Katakoilas in V. Euthymii (ed. Karlin-Hayter) 11, 16; 27, 21; 29, 26; 31, 25. In the latter Life he is described as a former drouggarios and relative of Photios; in the V. Ignatii 569 D (PG 105, 487—573) a certain Leo Katakaland is similarly described — as a drouggarios and brother-in-law of Photios; which seems evidence that the two are one and the same — see Guilland, Institutions I 569—570. He was further identified by de
Boor with the Leo Katakalôn defeated in 896 at Bulgarophygon, who was *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *Scholai* (Th. Cont. 359, 23; 360, 8—13), referred to also at DAI 45, 51 as the successful commander of the campaign against Phasianē and Theodosiopolis in 902. See DAI, Comm. 173; de Boor, V. Euthymii 140. The fact that Constantine’s Leo Katakylas entered the monastic life (in 886, after Leo VI’s accession and as a result of the plotting of Zaoutzēs) is no hindrance to his having been later domestic of the *Scholai* for, as is clear from the *Vita Euthymii*, he was exiled to a monastery and then recalled (probably during the year 888: see V. Euthymii [ed. Karlin-Hayter] Comm. 160—161; 165—166). In this case, he will have been made *magistros* after his recall, and *domestikos* of the *Scholai* after the fall or death of Nicephorus Phocas (also engineered by Zaoutzēs) in about 894 (see H. Grégoire, *La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas*, in: Προσφορά στ. Π. Κυριακίδην ['Ελληνικά, suppl. 4]. Athens 1953, 232—254; also Karlin-Hayter, V. Euthymii, Comm. 151; Guillard, Institutions I 440 and notes; and see also Dagron, Phocas, 168, n. 22; and J.-C. Cheynet, ibid. [Appendice: les Phocas, 289—315] 293; 295). At some time before 912—913, when Constantine Doukas was *domestikos* of the *Scholai* (Guillard, Institutions I 440), Leo Katakylas had again been removed, or had retired or died. It is in fact probable that he once again — voluntarily — entered the monastery, where he remained until his death. Whether he wrote his treatise during his first or second period there is not known, although since he was out of favour at the beginning of Leo’s reign, whereas at the end he was both a successful and experienced officer, and bore the title *magistros*, the hypothetical second period seems almost certain.

For the title *magistros*, see on (B) 58 supra; and Oikonomides, Préséance 294 and literature. The title was awarded from the ninth century as an honorific to senior officers of state. It was often borne in tandem with that of *patrikios*, see Oikonomides, Préséance, loc. cit.; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur, s. v.

(C) 28 ἐγγράφως διέθετο ἐξ προστάξεως Λέοντος: possibly to be connected with the commissioning of the *Tactica* attributed to Leo himself: cf. Tact. proem. 676B.

(C) 29 φιλοχριστῶν: see Reiske, Comm. 493—494; Rösch, "Ονομα 65; and O. Krešten, Justinianos I., der „christusliebende“ Kaiser.

(C) 30—35 ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ μούσης Ἐλληνικῆς ... ἐνάρετον: Constantine is critical here of Leo’s lack of Hellenic learning and classical education, stressing thereby his own knowledge. Contrast with DAI 1, 8—13, where he argues in favour of a simple narrative style; cf. DAI 5, 2sq. and Comm. 12. For the theme of devotion and piety assuring truth, if not Hellenic learning, see Kekaumenos 19, 13—28; 75, 25—76, 9 (Litavrin 154, 23—156, 8; 272, 8—23); Leo, Tact. proem. 676D—677A; and note Reiske, Comm. 492—493.

(C) 37—39 for Constantine’s expansion and elaboration of Leo Katakylas’ text, see Introduction above, p. 40—44.

(C) 38 πλατικώτερον: cf. Reiske, Comm. 493.

(C) 40 ἡ ... τάξις τε καὶ ἀκολουθία: “order and procedure”, see Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 7—8; cf. De Cer. 5, 14; (C) 418. The phrase recalls daily liturgical usage, see, for example, Mateos, Typicon 200, 1; and ibid., Index (V) 277 s. v. ἀκολουθία.

(C) 41—53 Constantine’s remarks are important. It is not clear whether they derive from a lost introductory section to Leo Katakylas’ treatise or an independent — written or oral — tradition. But they confirm what is already apparent from the contents of the De caerimoniiis that Constantine had access to material of the eighth century, in one form or another. See Ostrogorsky–Stein, Krönungsordnungen, passim.

(C) 41 Μιχαήλ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου: Michael III (21st January 842—24th September 867). For philochristos see on (C) 29 supra. For despotes, the usual form of address to an emperor from the sixth century, see Dölger, Byz. Diplomatik 131 and notes; cf. L. Bréhier, L’origine des titres impériaux à Byzance. *BZ* 15 (1906) 161—178, see 176.

(C) 41—42 Βάρδα τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου καίσαρος καὶ θείου αὐτοῦ: Bardas, brother of the empress Theodora, uncle of Michael, murdered by Basil (I) on 21st April 865, cf. Ostrogorsky, Geschichte 183 and notes; 186f.; 193. He was caesar from 29th April 862, see Ostro-
gorsky—stein, Krönungsordnungen 226, n. 7. For eutychēs, see rösch, "ονομα 43. For the title caesar, conferred upon members or adoptive members of the imperial family, see oikonomidēs, pré-séance 293 and literature; voge, Cér. Comm. II 42—50; rösch, "ονομα 36—37.

(C) 42 εὐτυχέστατος: for this title (felicissimus) see voge, Cér. Comm. II 45; rösch, "ονομα 43.

(C) 43—44 θεοφίλου καὶ μιχαὴλ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάππου: Theophilus: 3rd October 829—20th January 842; Michael II: 25th December 820—2nd October 829.

(C) 45 ἐκ τῶν πρωτέρων βασιλέων and (C) 46 παλαιοτέρους δὲ φημι τοὺς ἵσαύρους: the former appear to be the immediate predecessors of Michael and Theophilus, viz. leo V, Michael I, Nicephorus I; the latter are the Isaurian emperors, that is, leo III, Constantine V, leo IV and Constantine VI.

(C) 47—50 Constantine is careful to stress that he does not mean the Roman emperors of old, that is, Constantine I, Constantius, Julian and Theodosius the Great. See Introduction above, p. 42.

(C) 54 ὁ μέγας καὶ υψηλὸς αὐτοκράτωρ . . . : see on (C) 6—7 supra. This is, in fact, the opening section of the treatise itself, following on from the three-part introduction. After an account of the action to be taken by an emperor intending to set out on an expedition, the text plunges immediately into detail, and is followed by a series of sub-titled sections dealing with the provision of horses, pack-animals, equipment and supplies. — For the title αὐτοκράτωρ, see dölger, Byz. Diplomatik 107—117; 133ff.; rösch, "ονομα 35—36.

(C) 55—56 ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ . . . πυλῶν: the Brazen gate of the palace; see on (C) 717 infra; and mango, Brazen House 97ff.; janin, CP Byz. 110—111.

(C) 56 λωρίκιον καὶ σπαθίον καὶ σχουτάριον: on loriōn, see haldon, Milit. Technology 34; from lat. lorica. See r. grosse, Art. Lorica. RE XIII/2 (1927) 1444—1449. The term was generally used to refer to mail rather than other types of defense. For spathion, lat. spatha, from germ., see f. lammert, Art. Spatha. RE III/2 A (1929) 1544—1545. The symbolic hanging out or display of items of cloth-
ing or weaponry was a usual way of signalling a particular type of event. See, for example, De Cer. 623, 9sq. and 625, 11; and note the regular use of items of luxury clothing as decorations during public festivals: see, for example, on (C) 739—740 infra. For weapons as insignia, see Wessel, Insignien 412—417.

(C) 59—60 τῷ τῶν ἀγελῶν λογοθέτῃ: in charge of the imperial mitata of Asia and Phrygia. See on (B) 53 supra.

(C) 61—62 τῶν τῆς Ἁσίας καὶ Φρυγίας μητάτων: these are the two chief imperial military stud farms or ranches for the breeding and maintaining of horses and pack-animals for imperial and military purposes. They were under the direction of the logothete of the herds — see above — with his staff of prōtonotarios, notarioi, dioikētai and komites. Under his authority were other ranches, or episkepseis, under episkeptitai, see Oikonomidēs, Préséance 312; 338, n. 296; and cf. Nystazopoulos-Pelekidou, Patmos II 27, 10. For another mitaton in Lydia, see Haldon, Praetorians 597, n. 988. These later mitata appear to be descended from the late Roman mutationes of the cursus publicus, that is, stock-breeding farms maintained for the replacement and replenishment of animals for the post and for state requirements in general, which by the tenth — and probably since the seventh — century were also sources of military horses and beasts for expeditionary forces in general. For the connection between these establishments, under the logothêtēs tōn agelōn, and the Dromos, under the logothêtēs tou dromou, see Haldon, Praetorians, loc. cit., and especially Hendy, Studies 610—611, who notes also the connection between the imposition by the state of mitaton upon landowners, for example, and the original meaning of the term. Note that the passage (C) 59—64 suggests that the provision of beasts from the mitata was not always carried out honestly. Presumably, the logothêtēs and his officials could, on occasion, demand more horses or beasts than were actually required, and sell off or otherwise dispose of the extra animals for their own profit.

(C) 64 μωλάρια: mules, mod. Greek μουλάρι, from Lat. mulus/mula. See Du Cange 960 s.v.; Theoph. 426, 24: ζῶον μουλικόν; and see (B) 54—57 supra.

(C) 65 ἰππάρια: horses/ponies = ἰπποι; see LSJ s.v. and cf. DAI 51,
202—203; 52, 1sq. Medieval Greek texts use a wide variety of technical or semi-technical terms to describe different types of horse, mule, pony or pack-animal. It is often difficult to tell which, if any, are used in a technical sense.

(i) σαγμάριον: cf. Du Cange 1318 s.v.; Ed. Diocl. 11, 4—6; Comm. 250. This term appears to be applied to all kinds of animal — horses and mules, for example — and means simply ‘beast of burden/pack-animal’. See (C) 81, 138, 372sq.; Maurice, Strat. I 2, 73; 5, 19; 5, 20; 5, 22; XII B 6, 11; Theoph. 423, 22—23; Leo, Tact. VI 29; X 7; 12; XI 46 (often following Maurice, Strategikon); and note Suidas IV 575, 21: τοῦλδον: ὢμαϊστὶ τὰ σαγμάρια τὰ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν τῶν πολεμιῶν βαστάζοντα . . . . Note also ibid. I 318, 25; IV 434, 1; Anon. Vári 18, 19 (Dennis 9, 8—9): σαγμάρια ἤ παριππαράτους contrasted with the ἵπποι of the troops.

(ii) σελλάριον = ἵππαριον with a sella, i.e. for riding rather than for baggage. See (C) 126, 394, 399, 548sq., 634—635. Note that such horses are clearly of superior quality — they receive a triple fodder ration as opposed to the double ration of the pack-animals: (C) 398—401.

(iii) παριπτπιον: pack-horse, cf. (C) 333, 335, 344, 345, 372sq. The word is used interchangeably with ἵππαριον, for example (C) 402—403, 407, 583: τὰ . . . ἵππαρια τὰ σεσαγμαμένα καὶ παρασυρόμενα . . . . Note that these are different from those at (C) 605: τὰ ἵππαρια τὰ ἐστρωμένα, which are classed with τὰ βασιλικὰ σελλάρια. Note also (C) 394, where ἵππαρια is used to describe animals listed also as παριππια. The inferior position of animals described as parippia, whatever the technical weight of the term, is confirmed by the fact that they receive only a double fodder ration, in contrast to the riding-horses or sellaria, see (C) 399; and cf. (C) 548sq. See also Theoph. 414, 28 (Constantine V escapes on a parippion); De Vel. Bell. 197, 15—16; 227, 22—23; 216, 4—5 (Dennis 8, 11; 16, 39; 12, 28; Dagron—Mihăescu VIII 9; XVI 32; XII 22.

(iv) παρασυρτὰ: this term, and equivalents, is used to refer to “led” i.e. haltered horses/animals, either parade-animals, as in this text; or pack-animals. See (C) 111, 362—363, 392—393, 490—491; De Vel. Bell. 197, 13—14 (Dennis 8, 10; Dagron—Mihăescu VIII 8); Niceph. Praec. 5, 13; and cf. ibid. 13, 1; 14, 27—32. See Dagron, Phocas 188 and notes.
(v) a variety of terms was also available for beasts of burden in addition to those listed above, including: μεσομουλάριον, βορδώνιον, μεσοβορδώνιον etc. Cf. JGR I 617; MM V 137; 143; VI 2; 20; 22; 27; 47 etc. Lavra I, no. 38, 32sq.; no. 48, 30sq. For bordōnion, see Theoph. 182, 29 (Lat. burdo: see Du Cange 211 s. v.; Lampe 304; Ed. Diocl. 11, 4 a; Comm. 250; Kriaras IV 177). Where these terms can be differentiated, moularion refers to the offspring of a male donkey and a mare; bordōnion refers to the offspring of a female donkey and a horse. Cf. Lat. mulus, hinnus, ginnus; Ed. Diocl. 7, 17. 19; 11, 4 a; 14, 10; and Comm. 235—236. For sixth- and seventh-century usage in Egypt, see T. Reekmans, A Sixth-Century Account of Hay (P. Lond. Inv. 653) (Papyrologia Bruxellensia 1). Bruxelles 1962, 47ff.

(C) 64—66 μωλάρια σ’ ἀνὰ νομίσματων ἵππ,’ ἵππαρια σ’ ἀνὰ νομίσματι οἰκία, δημοῦ νομίσματα εὐκάθ,’ γενόμενα χρυσοῦ λιτραί οἰ’: i.e. 200 × 15 + 200 × 12 = 5424/72 = 76 pounds of gold. In fact, the arithmetic of the text is somewhat inaccurate: the total amounts to 5400 nomismata (2 hippocaria omitted?), which is 75 pounds of gold exactly.

For the costs of horses and mules, see, for example, Ostrogorsky, Löhne und Preise 328ff.; Hendy, Studies 636; Jones, LRE 625—626; Dagron, Phocas 185, n. 23. The system operated in the ninth and tenth centuries was not markedly different from that of the later Roman period. In the later period, the logothetēs of the herds received orders directly from the emperor, and then handed the animals over to the komēs of the stable and his officials; in the sixth century it was the procuratores of the imperial estates (subordinate to the res privata) and the praepositi gregum whose duty it was to levy the horses and then to deliver them to the officials of the comes stabuli. The “prices” represented in this text probably do not represent any sort of market value: fees for the levying may or may not be included in the sums named (fees taken by the officials responsible for the levying itself) and the sums paid by the state to its subordinate departments may be accordingly higher or lower than the actual value of the animals on the market. Horses and pack-animals were raised by at least two other methods: a “customary” levy on individuals and institutions (as here: see below; the same had also applied in the later Roman period and before, see Jones, LRE 626 and n. 37); and the compulsory purchase or requi-
sitioning of animals, often at artificially low prices, to the advantage of the state or the officials responsible, from private individuals, a requisition known as the ἔκθεσις μονοπροσώπου (see, for example, De Cer. 658, 7—8; Anon. Vári 52, 13—24 [Dennis 31, 14]; Psellos, Scripta minora II 111—112; 84; 164; Psellos, in: Sathas, MB V 363; Lavra I, nos. 33, 83; 38, 32; 48, 29—30; JGR I 616; 617; MM VI 2; 20; 22; 27; 47; MM V 137; 143; and Leo, Tact. XX 205 [1069B]. See Ahrweiler, Recherches 5 and n. 7; Weiss, Beamte 55, nn. 171—173, is mistaken in concluding that this was a general levy of animals). In addition, of course, the levy could be commuted, as occurred in the theme of the Peloponnese: see on (C) 104—105 infra. According to Leo’s Tactica, the thematic authorities, while not actually providing the ordinary soldiers with horses, were expected to make sure that horse dealers and breeders and merchants were available, from whom soldiers could purchase remounts. In the present example, the horses and pack-animals were sold at a fixed price from the mitata to the komēs of the stable, presumably to compensate the mitata and for the restocking and purchase of new animals for stud.

(C) 67—68 Διὰ τῶν συνηθείων τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν βασιλικῶν στάβλων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ξω ἐν τοῖς στάβλοις: this heading introduces the first list of the memorandum. For the officials in question, see Bury, Administrative System 113—114; Oikonomides, Préséance 338—339 and literature. The synētheiai represent the customary sportulae or prestations to the emperor on the occasion of an imperial expedition. See Reiske, Comm. 278; 317—318; Oikonomides, Préséance 88, n. 28. A large number of the animals required by the imperial baggage-train were provided by this means.

(C) 71 διὰ τῶν σαφραμέντων: cf. (C) 343: ὁ σαφραμένταριος; (C) 386, 632: (οἱ) σαφραμένταριοι. These officials were responsible with the chartoularios of the exō stablya for shoeing and pasturing the animals, and generally for looking after them. See the passages listed above. Oikonomides, Préséance 339, suggests that there was only one saphramentarios, but there seem in fact to have been several. The saphramentarios who accompanied the expedition needed only two pack-horses and a mule ((C) 386), in contrast to the chartoularios, who had five ((C) 385—386). The origins of the term are unclear. Reiske’s derivation from sagmataroi via saumataroi is unconvincing
(Comm. 495—496). More likely is a hypothetical Latin *saframentum*, derived perhaps from *frumentum*. Cf. the saccarii and frumentarii, unloaders of corn at Rome and Constantinople (Jones, LRE 698 and nn.; and O. Fiebigé, Art. Frumentarii. RE VII [1912] 122—125; Daremberg-Saglio II/2, 1348 s. v. frumentarii). Saphramentarios may well be the result of a copulative compound *saccofrumentarius* → *safrumentarius* → *saphramentarios*; in which case the duties of such officers will have been connected with the pasturing and provisioning of livestock. The description of their duties in this text seems to support such a definition.

(C) 72—73 ὁμοῦ διὰ τῶν ἄρχοντων νομίσματα τκβ', γινόμενα λίτραι δ', νομίσματα κς': i.e. 12 μῶλαρια at 15 nomismata + 11 hipparia at 12 nomismata = 312 nomismata (not 322), that is, 4 pounds, 24 nomismata. The calculations have clearly been corrupted in copying: the first total (322 nomismata) is wrong; but so is the second total, even on the basis of the first mistake, since 4 pounds 26 nomismata = 314 nomismata. See Reiske, Comm. 496, and his attempt to rationalise the figures. Simple copyist’s error seems the most probable explanation. But see on (C) 73—74 infra.

(C) 73—74 ὁμοῦ τὸ πάν λίτρα π', νομίσματα κς': i.e. 80 pounds, 26 nomismata (that is, 76 pounds carried forward from [C] 64—66 supra, + 4 pounds 26 nomismata according to the incorrect calculation above; which totals, correctly, 80 pounds and 26 nomismata). In fact, the actual total based on the figures given in the text amounts to 75 pounds, + 4 pounds and 24 nomismata, = 79 pounds, 24 nomismata. It is impossible to ascertain whether the copyist intervened to adjust the totals in line with the incorrect figures; or whether the text was already corrupt from the start, and was copied accurately, including the errors.

(C) 78 ψόνυ: cf. LSJ s. v. ἡ ψόα; and Malalas I 457, 15: back or flanks; Suidas IV 850, 25; Maurice, Strat. I 2, 94 (Leo, Tact. VI 22).

(C) 78—79: cf. (C) 403, 407—410 infra. τῆς καπούλας: Lat. scapula; βουλ LGPL: Lat. bulla (see Dölger-Karayannopoulos, Urkundenlehre s. v.; and [C] 107, 112; Th. Cont. 440, 1: βουλλόω and σφαγίζω are clearly equivalents).
(C) 79—80 ἐτί δὲ ... βούλλωσις: this assumes a further campaign the next year; unless Constantine or the document from which he took his information has mistakenly included material from an actual description of a series of campaign preparations; or has inadequately edited or prepared for incorporation such material.

(C) 80—81 λαβίδοινται ... εὐνοῦχα: cf. Reiske, Comm. 497; the male ponies were castrated presumably on two counts: to reduce the risk of theft (for breeding); and to reduce the potential difficulties with female animals en route.

(C) 82—84 καὶ φέρει ... αὐτῶν: the logothetes of the herds had to provide the mules from the mitata with their harnesses and equipment. σεσαγματωμένα can hardly mean "loaded up" at this stage, but refers rather to the harness — they are "fully harnessed", i.e. with their sagmata or pack-saddles: see (C) 122 and (C) 341.

(C) 83 ἐνθόματα ... κέντουκλα: cf. Lat. centunculus; Du Cange 634 s. v. κέντουκλα; Sophocles s. v. κεντήκλα; see Maurice, Strat. I 2, 37; I 2, 50; XI 2, 29; Niceph., Praec. 1, 23; 11, 16; Leo, Tact. V 4; VI 8; 13; and see on (C) 173 infra. Note Ed. Dioec. 7, 52. 53; and Comm. 239; and A. Hug, Art. Stickerei. RE III/2 A (1929) 2490—2495; and Lexikographie, Steiner 155.

(C) 83 στρατοῦρα: cf. (C) 118; mod. Cypriot ὁ στρατουρᾶς; Lat. stratum (sterno), med. Lat. stratura (cf. Latham, MLW s. v.); Du Cange 1464 s. v. στρατοῦρα.

(C) 83 μετὰ σωκαρίων φορτωμάτων: lasso; cf. (C) 135; cf. Malalas 619, σοκκεύω/-ίζω; Du Cange 1512 s. v. Cf. Maurice, Strat. I 2, 42 (Leo, Tact. V 4; VI 10); Du Cange 837: λωρόσοκκον.

(C) 83—84 κεκαλιγωμένα (καλιγόω): Lat. caliga/caligatus. Cf. (C) 400: τὰ καλιγώματα; (C) 632: ἐκαλίγον; cf. καλλιγώνειν, Du Cange 550: to shoe horses; to wrap with bindings/leggings.

(C) 84 σεληναία: see (C) 132; they were made of iron or bronze, and were crescent or half-moon in shape. See Du Cange 1348; Sophocles 983; and cf. Leo, Tact. V 4: πέδιλα σεληναία σιδηρὰ μετὰ καρφίων αὐτῶν.
(C) 84 τῶν καπιστρῶν: see (C) 128, 400. Lat. capistrum, cf. mod. Greek τό καπίστρι. See on (C) 400 below; and KRIARAS III 342; ZILLIACUS, Lehnwort 336; STEPHANUS 947; DU CANGE 586 s. v.; note Ed. DIOC. 10, 4. 7; Comm. 248.

(C) 86—89: see (A) 6sq. above.

(C) 90 ὁ δρογγάριος τοῦ πλοῖου: see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 340 and literature; AHRWEILER, Mer, passim; this officer was commander of the imperial fleet based at Constantinople. Both the forms πλώμος/-on and πλόμος/-on are regularly found. Cf. DAI 29, 98.100; 42, 31; 46, 50. 54; 51 passim; and BURY, Administrative System 108, for example.

(C) 91 ὁ ἕξκούβιτος; ὁ ἱκανότος: see HALDON, Praetorians 290 ff.; 295 ff. They were commanders of two of the tagmata at Constantinople.

(C) 91 ὁ νοῦμερος καὶ ὁ τεχιωτής: see HALDON, Praetorians 256 ff. These officers commanded the units of the Walls and the Nourmera, based in or around the imperial palace.

(C) 92 ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ὀπτιμάτων: see HALDON, Praetorians 205—227: commander of the logistical support and transport corps of Optimatoi who served the tagmata and the imperial column. They were quartered in the Anatolian district directly opposite the capital.

(C) 92 ὁ μοῦ νή': the named stratēgoi provide 15 mules; the stratēgos of Seleukeia and the tagmatic officers provide a further 12; making a total of 27. Out of the total of 58, therefore, 31 mules are provided by the remaining stratēgoi of East and West, who provide 2 mules each. This suggests that 15 (or possibly 16) themata are unnamed. But this can be generally true only for the reign of Basil I, since there are more than 15 or 16 themata other than those named here during the reigns of Leo VI and Constantine VII. Themata which had been created and which might otherwise be expected to figure would be: Mesopotamia (c. 899—901/911); Sebastea (c. 911); Lykandos (908—916); Leontokômē/Tephrıkē (908—911; thema 934—944); Nikopolis (before 901); Strymôn (c. 899); Samos (by 899); for Basil I's time, the themata which are unnamed may have included: Kappadokia, Charsianon, Kolôeia, Paphlagonia, Thrace,
Macedonia, Chaldia, the Kibyrrhaĩotai, Aigaion Pelagos; and the more distant Peloponnēsos, Hellas, Langobardia, Kephallēnia, Thessalonikē, Dyrrachion and Cherson; that is, 9 plus 7 = 16. But this does not really help us to date this section of the document more closely: in the first place, many of the themata were too far removed to have provided assistance of this sort directly; in the second place, themata created after Basil I’s time may have contributed where they were geographically placed to do so; if we take the expression “the remaining stratēgoi of East and West” literally, of course, then we are left with the figure of 15 or 16 themata not named over the whole empire, which would place the list in Basil’s reign. But this seems unlikely, given the points raised above. Intervention by Constantine in an effort to update his information must also be borne in mind. For the list of themata and literature, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 348—353.

(C) 93 Διὰ τῶν ὀφειλόμενον καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν: Lat. officialis, member of an officium. In the ninth century, the term referred specifically to the higher officers or functionaries in the palatine sekreta and the tagmata: see, for example, Klet. Phil. 107, 3; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 106, n. 61; 288.

(C) 94 ὁ ἐπαρχὸς: (also ἐπαρχὸς) the Prefect (Eparch) of the City. See on (B) 59—62 above.

(C) 94 ὁ γειναχὸς: the γειναχὸς λογοθέτης, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 313 with literature; Hendy, Studies 410—414; idem, Administrative Basis 134f.

(C) 95 ὁ κωνστατωρ: the late Roman quaestor sacri palatii, a judicial official presiding over a tribunal dealing with appeals from the City and provinces. He had also certain police functions in the City, in particular over visiting provincials. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 321 and literature for a survey of his functions.

(C) 95 ὁ τὸῦ σακελλίου: the chartoularios or praepositos in charge of the imperial (public) treasury; previously a subordinate of the sakellarios. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 314—315 for literature.

(C) 95 ὁ τὸῦ βεστιαρίου: the chartoularios of the public vestiarion, originally the sacrum vestiarium, a sub-department of the comitiva
sacrarum largitionum, see Hendy, Studies 412 and n. 175. The vestiarion was a special warehouse and store for naval and military equipment and for precious metals and coin — it had on its staff the ἅρχων τῆς χαραγής, who seems to have been responsible for the Constantinopolitan mint. See Klet. Phil. 121, 20 and (C) 794 infra; and Bury, Administrative System 96–97; Oikonomides, Préséance 316 and literature. This public vestiarion is not to be confused with the imperial private vestiarion, under the supervision of the prōtovestiaros. See on (B) 48 supra.

(C) 96 οἱ δύο κουράτορες: that is, the megas kourator, in charge of imperial estates in the provinces (Oikonomides, Préséance 318) and the kourator tōn Magganōn, established by Basil I, with similar functions (Oikonomides, Préséance, loc. cit.). Their estates provided supplies for the imperial household on such undertakings as these, as well as in Constantinople. See (C) 145.

(C) 96 ὁ κτηματιώς: difficult to identify. Bury, Administrative System 100–103, followed by Oikonomides, Préséance 318, n. 180, regarded him as the equivalent of the κουράτορες τῶν κτημάτων under the two kouratores already referred to.

(C) 96–97 οἱ δύο πρωτονοταρίοι: the two prōtonotarioi of the kouratores at (C) 96 above. See Oikonomides, Préséance 318 (mistakenly listed as more than one for each kouratoreia) and Klet. Phil. 123, 12.

(C) 97 ὁ ζυγοστάτης: an official of the sakellion, responsible, it is usually assumed, for coin. See Oikonomides, Préséance 315; but also Hendy, Studies 427.

(C) 98: for the eidikos, see on (B) 104 above.

(C) 98 ὁ παραθαλασσίτης: an official with supervisory authority over merchant marine activity in the ports of Constantinople; he belonged to the department of the Prefect of the City. See Oikonomides, Préséance 321; he had also certain judicial responsibilities in this connection.

(C) 98 ὁ βαρβαρος: an official in charge of what had been the late Roman scrinium barbarorum, now attached to the sekretos of the Dromos (originally part of the establishment of the magister offi-
ciorum). See BURY, Administrative System 93; GUILLAND, Logothètes 36—37; mistakenly identified by REISKE, Comm. 860, followed by OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 327, n. 237, as the head of the ethniki in the Hetaireia. But see P. KARLIN-HAYTER, L’Hétérialque. JÖB 23 (1974) 101—143; AHRWEILER, Recherches 27.

(C) 99 ὁ σύμπονος: aide to the City Eparch, with judicial authority over commercial affairs. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 320.

(C) 99 ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ πραιτωρίου: in charge of the civic militia under the Eparch’s authority, and of the urban prison(s) under the Eparch. He may also have had a limited jurisdiction within the City. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 320.

(C) 99—100 τὸ σέχρετον τοῦ γενικοῦ: the whole staff of the general logothesion were jointly to provide 3 mules. For the sekreton, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 313—314 and literature.

(C) 100 τὸ σέχρετον τοῦ σακελλίου: the same applied to the staff of the sakellion as to that of the genikon: see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 315, for literature.

(C) 100—101 τὸ σέχρετον τοῦ βεστιαρίου: for this bureau, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 316.

(C) 101 ὁμοὶ ἐμφατία εἰ: 25 mules; in fact, the total reaches only 24; possibly the Eparch should provide two; or the symponos and logothètes of the praitōrion should provide one each ([C] 99).

(C) 101—102 ὁμοὶ διὰ τῶν ἁμφοτέρων μωλαρίων ξενάλια πῦ: that is, those from the officials listed at (C) 94—101, together with those of the stratēgoi listed at (C) 86—92: 58 + 25 = 83 (or 82!).

(C) 102 ξενάλια: gifts or provisions in the form of (customary) gifts. See DAI 7, 9; 43, 40. 46; and (C) 353, 537, 597, 598. There appears to be a difference assumed between those animals rendered as synētheiai and those offered as xenalia.

(C) 104—105 μωλαρία νῆ τῶν πεντηκονταδύο ἁρχιεπισκόπων: the diatyposis attributed to Nikolaos I and dated to c.901—907 (during Nikolaos’ first patriarchate: cf. GRUMEL, Regestes 598; BECK, Kirche 151) lists 51 archbishoprics and 51 metropolitanates (omitting
the archbishop of Alania, created in 901—902), although the surviving tradition may not represent the original complete list. Cf. Darrouzès, Notitiae 56ff.; 70—74; 78. By the 930s, in contrast, there were a number of new archbishoprics and metropolitanates (Darrouzès, Notitiae 83ff.; Beck, Kirche 151). The reference to 52 archbishops and 52 metropolitans would therefore suggest a date earlier than the time at which Constantine edited and compiled his material. But the unreliability of the Notitiae and the lack of exact evidence for the creation of new metropolitanates in the later ninth century makes a more specific date impossible. At least, the reference here appears to confirm Constantine’s use of material from the time of Basil I or Leo VI (the references to the various stratēgoi at [C] 86sq. may be from a source or sources of similar date). It might suggest that there were already 51 or 52 metropolitanates and archbishoprics (including that of Illyricum, for example) before Leo VI succeeded in 886 (see Darrouzès, Notitiae 71—74), but probably after the Council of 879 (Darrouzès, Notitiae 72ff.).

It was quite usual for the Church to provide animals for the army and for imperial expeditions. See DAI 52 and Comm. 204—205. The levy, or ἀπαίτησις in the De administrando imperio was double the usual figure, however, presumably (as Jenkins—Moravcsik, DAI, Comm., loc. cit., suggest), because the military personnel had themselves opted out of military service. For monastic exemptions from providing horses and mules, although from a slightly later period, see JGR I 616 (a. 1044); Lavra I, nos. 33, 83 (a. 1060); 38, 32; 48, 30; MM VI 2; 20; 22; 27; 47 etc. These were not cavalry mounts, however, but pack-animals — the ἅπαρια of DAI 52 are equivalent to the μωλάρια of (C) 104.

(C) 105—106 τὰ ρδ’ σεσαγματωμένα ... καὶ κεκαλυγωμένα: in other words, they should be furnished already equipped with pack-saddles etc. This seems to have been a usual demand: cf. DAI 51, 203—204: ἅπαρια χίλια ἑστρωμένα καὶ καλυγωμένα.

(C) 108 προμοσέλλα: the imperial baggage-train: cf. (C) 313. 332. 404. 409—410, 584; and Theoph. 473, 27; V. Philareti 113, 8—9: ἵπποι καὶ ἡμίόνοι τῆς προμοσέλλας αὑτοῦ ...; from Lat. promo (distribute) + sella (?). Cf. Du Cange 1245 s.v.
(C) 108—109 ὀμοῦ τὸ τῶν ... μωλάρια φπε': a total of 585 molaria is given for the beasts provided as xenalia, i.e. the xenalia listed at (C) 86—92 (58); those listed at (C) 94—102 (25); the 104 of the archbishops and metropolitans; the 200 molaria and 200 hipparia from the mitata = a grand total of 585. It should, in fact, be 587; but 585 may well be the correct total, if the figure at (C) 101 is incorrect (according to the list given there should be only 24, not 25, animals); and if the figure of 58 at (C) 92 is an error for 57.

(C) 108 ἀμφότεροι: = πάντες; see Reiske, Comm. 500—501.

(C) 110 διὰ τῶν εὐαγγ. μοναστηρίων ἱππάρια ρ': for these monasteries, and those at DAI 52, 8—10, see E. Herman, Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine. OCP 6 (1940) 293—375, see 348ff.

(C) 111—113 τὰ παρασυρόμενα ... κελεύει: these animals are also classed as xenalia; see on (C) 101—102 supra. They were drawn up in processional files in front of the emperor, and were available to be granted as gifts to whomsoever the emperor ordered. See on (B) 54—57, (C) 405—407; and cf. (B) 108—109, (C) 125sq., 490—491; note also on (C) 583—586; and (C) 605.

For the parasyromenena see on (C) 65 (iv) supra; and cf. συρτά, παρασυρτά, spare mounts, led pack-animals. See (C) 390—391; and Niceph., Praec. 5, 13; 13, 1; 14, 27—31; Dig. Akr. 152, 167; and cf. Lat. ad dextram/ ἀδέστρατον (Maurice, Strat. I 2, 96; V 2, 1—9 etc. and Leo, Tact. X 7; 12). By the tenth century, the original sense of the latter term had been forgotten as Leo, Tact. X 12 (confusion of aedrestra with sagmaria) demonstrates.

(C) 113 ἔξοδον: (ἔξοδιάξω/ἔξοδάω) an outgoing or payment. Cf. Kekau- menos 49, 16 (Litavrin 216, 15): here used in the sense of a grant or gift. Cf. De Cer. 658, 21; 671, 18—19; 677, 15; and (C) 140 etc.

(C) 114—115 ὁμολως δὲ ... φοσσάτων: these xenalia must be different from those already enumerated, consisting presumably of animals given as gifts to the emperor en route. See on (C) 126—127 infra.

(C) 116 εἰς ἔξοδον: for expenses (for equipping the pack-animals). The eidikon was the source of funds for special expenditure: see on (B) 104; and cf. (C) 140 infra.
(C) 117—118 τὸ κελλάριον τὸ βασιλικόν: the storehouse attached to the imperial stables at Constantinople, under the ἀποθήτη τοῦ κελλαρίου. See on (B) 53; and cf. (C) 381—382, 397.

(C) 118 καβαλλοχιλία: Lat. caballum + cilicium, cf. Du Cange 654; cf. also med. Lat. ciliçium, horse-blanket; and De Cer. 614, 16; 675, 11; and (C) 176. Cf. Ed. Diocl. 8, 11; Comm. 244f. and V. Andreae Sali 660C—D.

(C) 118—119 ἀπὸ Λυδίας ἐκ τῆς κουρατορείας τῶν Τρυγίνων: probably an imperial estate producing goat’s wool on a large scale for state/imperial use; it would have been under the authority of either the megas kourator or the kourator tôn Magganôn, and part of the emperor’s household revenue; or under the ἐπὶ τῆς κουρατορείας, in the sekretón of the general logothete (Klet. Phil. 113, 34; OIKONOMIDÉS, Préséance 313). See on (C) 96 supra. This may also have been connected with the late Roman weaving establishments in Anatolia — see Jones, LRE 836 — in which case it will have come originally under the comes sacrarum largitionum. For a mitaton in Lydia, see V. Ioannicii 368A; Haldon, Praetorians, n. 988.

(C) 119—120 σαγματοπασμαγάδια: σάγμα + πασμαγάδιον, cf. Reiske, Comm. 501—503, Turk. bagmak; cf. Du Cange 1125 s. v. παζμάκζης, an equivalent for σάγματα + καλυγώματα, horse-shoes or leggings: cf. Clauson 382—383; Tarama Sözlüğü I. Ankara 1963, 448f.: the word is attested in Turkish from the thirteenth century, and seems originally to have designated a low or flat shoe for human wear. Its appearance here may suggest a Chazar or possibly Magyar origin. Here it may also apply to the rest of the harness of the animals as well. Cf., for example, (C) 82—84, 104—105; and also (C) 399—401: ὁ δὲ ἐπείκτης παρίσταται εἰς τὰς ταγάς ... καὶ εἰς τὰ καλυγώματα καὶ εἰς τὰ καπίστρα καὶ ... σαγίσματα; note also (C) 122—123 and (C) 631—633.

(C) 119—121: the figures here are accurate: 200 sets from the mitata; 104 from the archbishops and metropolitans; there then remain a further 281 sets to be found — 200 for the animals from the mitata not yet provided for; plus 83 (according to the totals given, but in fact only 81) from the stratēgoi and ophphikialioi — see on (C) 108—109 supra.
(C) 121—123 καὶ πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν . . . σπα' : here, the number of packs to be provided is correctly reckoned at 281, see above. Note that στρατοῦρᾳ and σαγίσματα are needed, to be procured and made up, confirming that sagamatopasmagadion = sagma + (pasmagadion = stratourai + kapistria + kaligōmata) other items of necessary equipment.

(C) 124 ῥασικά ἀμάλια: cf. Maurice, Strat. I 2, 48: ῥάσσα, rough material; see Lampe s.v. ῥασόν; Lat. rarus, mod. Greek ῥασόν, rag(s) = cassock; see also Sym. Mag. 720, 21; and De Cer. 674, 7: ὑπὲρ ἀγοράς τῶν πανίων τῶν ῥασιακῶν; 674, 11: πανίων ῥασικῶν, cloth for sail-making; 675, 7. The term refers therefore to any rough or rough-woven cloth; see Kahane, Abendland und Byzanz 385.

(C) 124 ἀμάλια: ἀμαλλος, without nap or hair, cf. Lampe s.v.; Reiske, Comm. 503; Du Cange 56; cf. Th. Cont. 318, 16: ἀμάλια λινά ψυλα διακόσια (and n. b. 318, 15: λινομαλοτάριο). See Georgacas, Flax and Linen 255. These are therefore rough-woven lengths of napless material to be made up into finished items.

(C) 124 ἀληθινά: true or real purple. See on (B) 108—109 above; and Koukoulès, BBP VI 281; DAI Comm. 14; 15 (on 6, 9).

(C) 124 σαγίσματα καὶ βορξάδια: sagismata are not the same as sagma, see on (B) 50 supra; from this context both sagismata and borkadia seem to be types of covering — sagisma refers probably to a saddle-blanket or saddle-cloth. βορξάδια seem to be ceremonial head-pieces for the horses: Reiske, Comm. 491, derives the term from the Arab. burqu'/burqa'at-i; note, however, that this is a four-radical noun, which may suggest a non-Arabic origin. See Cowan 54 (veil/head-cover). But a Latin origin is not to be excluded: from broco/broccatus, cf. brocca, needle; i.e. brocaded or embroidered (cf. Du Cange 780; Niermeyer 106; Maigne d'Arnis 358). These are therefore brocaded head-covers of some sort for ceremonial/proces-sional wear: see (C) 491. Finally, note that fodder could be carried beneath the sagismata, confirming their identity as blankets or covers: (C) 548—553.

(C) 125—126 τὰ μὲν φ' . . . βασιλέως: that is, those provided by the monasteries, not branded (see [C] 111sq.) equipped as above; note
that they are σεσαγισμένα as opposed to σαγματωμένα, i.e. fitted out with blankets, not with pack-saddles: (C) 583.

(C) 126—127 τὰ δὲ λ’ ... ἵππαρρων: 30 imperial "saddle-horses", i.e. for riding, accompanied the expedition, taken from the imperial stables in Constantinople: see (B) 110; and cf. (C) 347, 392sq., 605—606. They are of superior quality to the ordinary pack-animals — see (C) 398—399 and on (C) 65 supra, see (ii).

(C) 127 καὶ τάγιστρα: see Du Cange 1523; Reiske, Comm. 504; and Theoph. 319, 9; and (C) 396sq., 550 (cf. De Vel. Bell. 194, 16 [Dennis 6, 8; Dagron—Mihăescu VI 5]). These are nose-bags or fodder-containers. On ταγι, see Du Cange 1522; and see Dagron, Phocas 188, n. 30.

(C) 128—129 βυρσάρια ... φτ’: hides, strips of hide/leather: cf. Suidas II 577, 19; DAI 53, 531; Niceph., Praec. 11, 20; Ep. Bibl. XIV 1—2; Du Cange 232 s.v.; and De Cer. 659, 13; also Ed. Diocl. 8.


(C) 129 λόγω κεδραίας: cf. Ep. Bibl. XIII 1: κεδρίας; De Cer. 673, 4: κεδρέα μαγαρικά (cf. 677, 11); and mod. Greek ἦ κεδρία, tar. Note also Du Cange, App. 206 s.v., a type of resin-based potion or salve. Here it refers probably to cedar-oil or resin for applying to wounds or to hooves of animals. Cf. Ed. Diocl. 36, 35—36 and Comm. 283.

(C) 129 ἀσχία: cf. anc. Greek ὁ ἀσχός.

(C) 129—130 λόγω τῶν περιοδίων τῶν ἀλόγων: medical treatment. Cf. Koukoulès, EEBΣ 19 (1949) 88 and n. 1; note that Constantine himself showed considerable interest in the subject of veterinary medicine, and supervised the collection of a corpus hippiatricorum graecorum. A wide range of ancient texts were available in the tenth century, and Byzantine veterinary theory (and to some extent practice) must have been based to a large extent on Hellenistic and classical antecedents. See, for a summary and further literature

(C) 130 ἄξινορύγα: cf. Maurice, Strat. XII B 6, 5; De Cer. 670, 16; 671, 4; Syll. Tact. XXXVIII 12; Leo, Tact. VI 27 and cf. V 6: a widebladed pick-axe.

(C) 130 πλατυλίσσα: a spade or mattock.

(C) 130 πτυάρια στιβάρα: cf. Maurice, Strat. XII B 6, 5 and De Cer. 670, 18.

(C) 130—131 διὰ τοὺς πότζους: cf. Lat. putea, Ital. pozza, hole or puddle, here almost certainly in the sense of a well or watering hole. All the items listed at (C) 127—131 come from the storehouse of the imperial stables in Constantinople, and may be assumed to have to do with the care of the animals. For other lists of tools, see De Cer. 670, 16—671, 5; and for a survey of Byzantine agricultural tools, in which many of the items figured in these lists occur, see A. A. M. BRYER, Byzantine Agricultural Implements: the Evidence of Medieval Illustrations of Hesiod’s Works and Days. Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens 81 (1986) 45—80.

(C) 131—132 ἐκ δὲ ... ν’ λιτραξ: the state vestiarion as opposed to the οἰκειαξον βασιλικὸν βεστιάριον, see on (B) 48 and (C) 95 above. On the various functions of this department in providing military and other equipment and supplies, see HALDON, Praetorians 318—323 and notes.

(C) 132 σελίναίων: see on (C) 84; although 50 litrai of iron does not seem sufficient for both horse-shoes (if that is what selinaiai are) as well as bits.

(C) 132 μασσήματα ἐλαφρά: cf. Dig. Akr. 96, 379. The number mentioned, 150, would confirm that there should be one for each animal (see the 150 animals mentioned at [C] 125—127).

(C) 133 ἑτίνα: Lat. retina/retinaculum, rein, halter; cf. DU CANGE 1290 s. v.
(C) 133 καπιτζάλικα: cf. Lat. capitalis, Ital. cavezza: bridle/headpiece; cf. later Lat. capistellum; Ed. Diocl. 10, 6: capistrum, and Comm. 248.

(C) 133—134 τῆς κανάβεως: cf. Ep. Bibl. XIII 1; De Cer. 673, 5; 677, 9; and cf. Goitêin, Med. Soc. I 105—106 and references for ropemakers.

(C) 135 σωκάρια: see on (C) 83 supra.

(C) 136: this heading begins the list of requirements for each element of the imperial household service.

(C) 137—139 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ... τραπέζης: on these officials and the administration of the household service, see on (B) 117 supra. It is probable that the ὀικειακὸς βασιλικὸς κελλάριος listed here is not to be identified with the ἀποθέτης τοῦ κελλαρίου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στάβλου. The latter is always explicitly named as such, except when grouped with other officials of the stable (when a more specific title would be superfluous), see (C) 397. He is responsible for the equipment and so forth of the animals and for their provisioning, along with other officers of the stables; but he has no connection at all with the imperial table, which is what this passage is concerned with. Furthermore, the κελλάριος in this passage is described as ὀικειάκος, i.e. personal, like the ὀικειακὸς βασιλικὸς πρωτοβεστιάριος. I suggest that this κελλάριος is in fact the πιγκέρνης, or one of his subordinates, known also as the ἀποθηκάριος (see [C] 141—142), responsible for the supply of imperial wine, and with an imperial ὀίνοχος under his authority — see (C) 602; and see Οἰκονομίδης, Préséance 306 and 339, who does not distinguish between the two, however. Possibly the title listed here was dropped and replaced by that of πιγκέρνης under Leo VI. Note that this κελλάριος is grouped with ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ύπουργίας and the ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης for the whole section (to [C] 161). See (C) 153, 160; as is the ὀίνοχος at (C) 602. Cf. Guillaud, Institutions I 242f.

(C) 140 λογαρίον: a cash sum, cf. λογαρίξω; with the sense of an estimate submitted, approved by the eidikon. See Du Cange 818—819 s.v.; Hendy, Studies 253; 268; 316; DAI 51, 203.
(C) 141 οίναριν δεσποτικῶν ... ζυγάς τ΄: i.e. imperial wine and wine for the *magistroi* and *patrikoi* as well; 48 measures for imperial consumption, 100 for the *magistroi*. For the ζυγοφλάσσια, i.e. sets of paired flasks, see KOUKOULÈS, BBP II/2, 108; *EEBΣ 19* (1949) 101; and on wine in general see André, L’Alimentation 162—174. Note also Suidas IV 280, 25; and Koder–Weber, Liutprand 76ff.

(C) 143 σκορτζήδια: Lat. scortesus, of leather, cf. scortium/scortidium: leather bottles or containers; cf. Ed. Diocl. 10, 2. 16 and Comm. 248; 249.

(C) 144 φακάγι: lentils; cf. Ed. Diocl. 1, 11; Comm. 215; KOUKOULÈS, *EEBΣ 17* (1941) 72—73. For the two *kouratorikia* see on (C) 96, 118—119. Note that the πάλαι suggests that these estates no longer supplied these items — again suggesting that Constantine is here using documents of his grandfather Basil’s time.


(C) 146 ἀπόκτιν: salted meat: see KOUKOULÈS, *EEBΣ 17* (1941) 38—39; *idem, EEBΣ 19* (1949) 100; KRIARAS ΠΙΙ 149 s.v.; cf. mod. Cypriot ἀπόχτιν (see PHARMAKIDÈS 7).

(C) 146 σφακτά: livestock for slaughter — the meat could not be transported already butchered, of course. Whether it was lamb or pork or goat is uncertain. Cf. Du Cange 1496 s.v.; KOUKOULÈS, *EEBΣ 17* (1941) 22—23; see also (C) 599, where sphakton seems to be equivalent to ἀγελάδιον, or cow; and the Will of Kalē Pakourianē, who leaves two *sphakta* each to her servants (cited by Hendy, Studies 210).

(C) 146—147 πρόβατα οὐπαρνα, ἀγελάδια οὕτων αὐτῶν: presumably for the milk of the adult animals, as well as the meat of the lambs and calves.

(C) 147 οἶνον ἐγχώριον: in contrast to the οίναριν δεσποτικῶν at (C) 141.

(C) 147 οἱ πρωτοντάριοι: see on (B) 103 above. These officers were responsible for the provisioning of troops passing through their district. See Haldon, Praetorians 314—316; 585—588 and literature.
(C) 147—148 βερζίτικον δὲ καὶ νεῦρον: for the former, see MORAVCSIK, Byzantino-turcica II 89; DAI, Comm. 156 and literature; GEORGACAS, Ichthyological Terms 122—129: a Bulgarian word for a type of salted fish, probably sturgeon, from the Maiotis region. Cf. Prod. III 180; Tzetzes, Hist. 466, 85. — νεῦρον: according to KOUKOLES, EEBΣ 17 (1941) 40 and notes, this is a type of boiled or dried meat or sausage, possibly also tripe — cf. Du CANGE 993 — sinew: νευρικόν. But the word seems in fact to refer to a type of sea-food, possibly squid, and occurs in other lists with shell-fish etc. See, for example Pantokratōr Typikon 476: ἐὰν ὀστρεῖτον καὶ μυδίων καὶ νεῦρον; Prod. III 277—278: μετὰ ὀστρειδομυδίται καὶ μετὰ νεῦρον (Ms. H); and Ep. Bibl. XIII 1: κρέας, ἱχθύας τεταρτευμένας, νεῦρον . . . . Whereas in a different context the term clearly was used of dried meat or boiled leather (see, for example, Niceph., Praec. 11, 17; Leo, Tact. XIX 13 etc.) it clearly refers here and in the examples quoted to a type of sea-food.

(C) 149 ἀρβυλίμα: an unidentified type of fresh-water fish (since listed together with carp), perhaps a colloquialism for either minnows, a small fish of the carp family, which teem in great numbers after hatching (Phloxinus phloxinus) (like carp, they were also farmed in medieval times. See G. STERBA, Freshwater Fishes of the World. London 1962, 246); or eels (Anguilla anguilla), which might also merit this description and were a Byzantine delicacy. For some aspects of Byzantine fish consumption, see F. TINNENFELD, Zur kulinarischen Qualität byzantinischer Speisefische, in: Studies in the Mediterranean World. Collected Papers presented to Kin-ichi Watanabe. Tokyo 1988, 155—176; see 161.

(C) 151 ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις αὐτοῦ: that is, of the domestikos of the household service.

(C) 156—157 καυκοπινάκια: καύκος + πινάκιον, drinking bowls or pitchers: cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 1104—1105; cf. ΔΕΜΕΤΡΑΚΟΣ s. v. These are presumably for the members of the expedition — or are they intended for the captured fowl? See VOLK, Gesundheitswesen 156, n. 505.

(C) 158 τῆς κομπίνας αὐτῶν: Lat. combina, anc. Greek σύνθημα, also κομβίνα = tractoria, originally a warrant issued by the praetorian
prefect for the use of animals of the public post; by extension, applied to the teams of animals themselves. Cf. Jones, LRE 830—831; Daremberg–Saglio I 1371—1372; Lexikographie 166f. (Steiner); Du Cange 689—690 s.v. κομβίνα; Reiske, Comm. 308. It refers thus also to the teams of chariot-horses of the Blues, Greens and other racing clubs, cf. De Cer. 333, 23; 339, 16, 19, and to the order for such races to take place, cf. De Cer. 304, 1; as well as to the programme of the races. Cf. κομβινογράφος, De Cer. 313, 1—2. 17. See Vogt, Cér. Comm. II 134; and Kahane, Western Impact 133. The use of the term here — to mean team or train of animals — nicely supports Hendy’s hypothesis, Studies 610—611, that the mitata from which a large number of these animals were drawn were in origin stock-breeding farms for the cursus publicus or dromos. Cf. (C) 333—335; and Kahane, Abendland und Byzanz 521.

(C) 158—159 καὶ ὅσα σαχμάρια στρέψει ὁ μινσουράτωρ: that is, those animals no longer required by the minsouratōr once the emperor has entered Syria. See on (C) 178—180. For the minsouratōr, see on (B) 48 and (B) 117 supra.

(C) 164 ἀνάδιπλα: the tents are in two ζυγαί, cf. line 165.

(C) 165 ὅμμανία: see Dölger, BES 77.

(C) 168—169 σκαμνία ... ἄνδρες γ': cf. Koukoules, BBP II/2, 78: Lat. scamnum, cf. Du Cange 1380 s.v.

(C) 170 μεσάλια καὶ μανθιλα: Lat. mensalia (Du Cange 905; Th. Cont. 661, 8); and Lat. mantele (Du Cange 868; cf. Sophocles s.v. μανθήλιον).


For φούντατα, tufted/tassled, see Du Cange 1696 s.v. φούντα; and for a variety of suggested derivations, Reiske, Comm. 510—516. Cf. mod. Greek φούντα, tassel; φουντωτό, tassled; and note Pontic
φούντα = βαλάντιον, purse or pouch. Cf. De Cer. 575, 3: τὰ χλανίδια τὰ φούνδατα; also 575, 6. 13—14. 22—23: τὰ φούνδατα ἀλλὰ ἐξῆς; ibid. 577, 13; 641, 12. 14. 16; and see EBERSOLT, Mélanges 55; Ps.-Cod. (VERPEAUX) IV 53. For tufted in the sense of thick or dense, see KOUKOULES, BBP II/2, 86; and Lat. fundata; cf. B. MEINERSMANN, Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri. Leipzig 1927, 64.

(C) 171 τὰ εἰς χαμόκουμβα ἐνεργοῦντα: anc. Greek χαμιαλ, later χαμιό; cf. χαμαίκλινής, later χαμοκλίνης, etc.; + ἀκουμβεῖν/ἀκουμβῆσεν, Lat. accumbere; cf. ἀκκούσβιτον/accubare; and cf. EBERSOLT, Mélanges 81, n. 7.

(C) 173 πιλωτά: cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 915; 921. Compare πιλέω, make firm/compact; and note Suidas IV 131, 15. 17: πίλος/πιλία, το κέντουκλον/τα κέντουκλα; DU CANGE 1169 s. v. πίλος/πιλωτάριον; see also line 175 below; and (C) 524. See REISEK, Comm. 571; KOUKOULES, BBP II/2, 71; DEMETRAKOS vol. 7, 5819 s. v.; and, for example, ΘΕΟΧΑΡΙΔΗΣ, Δωδηχή 20, 58: πιλωτά ... μετὰ προσκεφαλαίων. From Pantokratōr Typikon 921ff, it is clear that the proskephalaia are filled with wool; the pilota would appear to be blankets or quilts. While the exact application of the term may have changed over the intervening two centuries, a form of quilted or filled cover which could be used either as a cushion or a mattress seems to be meant in both cases. See VOLK, Gesundheitswesen 137—138, n. 404 and further references. Note also ibid. n. 405.

(C) 173 διβλάττα: see GUILLAND, REG 62 (1949) 333—346; KAHAKE, Abendland und Byzanz 386. The term blatta (Gr. βλάττα) designated originally the common cockroach (blatta orientalis), but was also applied to the beetle coccus ilicus (mistakenly taken in antiquity for a berry, coccus tinctorius), which fed on the kermes oak, indigenous to southern Europe, N. Africa and parts of Asia Minor and which, when collected, was crushed to produce a bright red dye (see MAINGE D’ARNIS 328 s. v.; Oxford Lat. Dict. I 236; DU CANGE, Gloss. Lat. 701; R. P. MULTHAUF, art. Dyes and Dyeing. Dictionary of the Middle Ages 4 [1984] 325—329). It was imported in large quantities into Italy from the first century A.D. for use in the flourishing weaving and dyeing industry there, and in the West came to replace almost entirely the Tyrian dye imported from the
East and extracted from the *murex* (see CEHE II 360). The term *blatta* was used of the dye obtained through the processing of these insects, and also of cloth dyed with it. The exact origins of the term are unclear. Similar processes for obtaining dyestuffs existed elsewhere. In the medieval period Polish texts describe a similar process, in which a certain insect was collected, pulverised after being dried, and exported as a dye via the Black Sea. The dye was referred to in Polish as *czierwic* or *crvac*, in German as *Johannis Blut*. See S. RADOJČIĆ, Crvac. *Zograf* 2 (1967) 30—31. The use of the term "blood" to describe deep red dyes seems to have been widespread — cf. Ep. Bibl. VIII (usually explained through Pliny's identification of the juice of the *murex* with blood, see, for example, LOPEZ, Silk Industry 15, n. 1). Note that *blatta* or *blattea* also meant a clot of blood (see LEWIS—SHORT, s.v.); but whether the Lat. *blatta* is related etymologically to the medieval German *Blut* is unclear. For Lat. *blatta/sericoblatta* as (purple-dyed) silks, see LP LIII.X; LXVI.IV (Duchesne I 271; 312); CTh. X 20, 13; note also Ed. Diocl. 24, 1a. 2. 3; 19, 9. 10. 14 b; Cass., Variae I 2, 6; XII 4, 4. While at first describing simply the colour, the term soon came to be applied to purple-dyed silks specifically, and then to silks *tout court*, replacing the older general term *sērikon*. Thus in Diocletian's Edict on prices, *blatta* still refers to the colour purple in general; *σηριακόν* or *μέταξα* is used of silk; other red or purple dyes are specified, for example, *πορφύρα* (from the mollusc, *murex trunculus*), *ίσγενη* (archil, *rocella tinctoria*, extracted from lichens) and *κοκκηρά* (kermes itself), and so on. Cf. Ed. Diocl. 22—24 passim; Comm. 270—272. See GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 337, n. 1. So *όλοσηριον* gives way to *όλοβλαττον*. In Byzantine texts, therefore, the word *blattion* is often qualified by an adjective of colour, see GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 335—337; and Dig. Akr. 58, 259; 80, 237: *πράσινον, ρόδινον βλαττίν ...; 130, 919; 122, 795 etc. In the *De caerimoniiis*, in this text, and in others from the ninth century and later, *blattion* signifies pure silk, silk garments, or pieces of silk embroidered onto other cloths or garments. Thus a *διβετήσιον τριβλάττιον* signifies a *divitēsion* with three *blattia* attached, probably in the form of edging or borders; but also in the form of squares or bands of silk sewn onto the garment — see GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 339—345. Garments with two *blattia* sewn on, and those with only one *blattion*, are thus referred to as *diblattia* and *lita*: see, for example, (C) 501sq. etc.; and cf. the
Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos 1725: βλαττία δζυκάστορα; 1728: βλαττίν τριβλάττιον. For the contrast between garments of pure silk, unmixed, and those of mixed or less than pure quality, see on (C) 300sq. infra. On purple and purple production in general, see K. Schneider, Art. Purpura. RE XXIII/1 (1959) 2000—2020; Darremberg—Saglio IV/1, 769—778, esp. 773f. on blatta; and St. Mrozek, Le prix de la pourpre en histoire romaine, in: Les dévaluations à Rome (Colloques de l’École française à Rome 37). Rome 1980, 235—242. On the production of silk clothing, see Oikonomides, Préséance 317, and the archontes tou blattiou, in charge of the silk workshops of the eidikon; also Hendy, Studies 630; and for a detailed, if rather dated survey of silk production in the empire, see LoPez, Silk Industry; also F. Michel, Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication et l’usage des étoffes de soie, d’or et d’argent. Paris 1852; D. Simon, Die byzantinischen Seidenzünfte. BZ 68 (1975) 23—46; A. Muthesius, A Practical Approach to the History of Byzantine Silk-Weaving. JÖB 34 (1984) 235—254; cf. also Goitein, Med. Soc. I 103 and notes; 104; CEHE II 103—105; 107f. For some examples of different medieval silks of this period, see Marielle Martinian-Reber, Lyon, Musée historique des tissus. Soieries sassanides, coptes et byzantines V—XI siècles (Inventaires des Collections Publiques Françaises 30). Paris 1986.


(C) 175 ἐτερα πιλωτὰ ... λιτρῶν λ’: λινοβέντα: blue flax/linen; cf. λινόχρυσα, Koukoulès, BBP II/2, 23; Georgacas, Flax and Linen 256. — ἐχοντα μαλὸν κτενιστῶν: with the pile or nap brushed or combed up (where μαλὸν/μαλλόν is used in the general sense rather than the specific sense of “wool”). — ἀνὰ λιτρῶν λ’: each weighing thirty pounds. These were clearly large, filled cushions, of the type still in use throughout the Balkans and east Mediterranean area today, upon which one could recline in comfort. See (C) 524—525. On the Byzantine litra, see Schilbach, Metrologie 172—181, esp. 174.

(C) 176 τοὺς κλητορευομένους φίλους: see Du Cange 665—666 s.v. κλητόριον/κλητορεύειν: also Oikonomides, Préséance 27, n. 29; Ebersolt, Mélanges 80—81 and notes; and (C) 284 infra.
(C) 176—177 κιλίκια . . . φιλα: see on (C) 118; note the clear distinction between the cushions and mats provided for the emperor’s guests (linen cushions and goats’ wool rugs) and those which are provided for the emperor himself (deep-piled rugs, fluffy cushions). See (C) 213—214.

(C) 178—180: here the list of items to be provided by the minsourator is interrupted by a comment on the fate of the extra equipment carried, once the expedition leaves the empire; see (C) 512sq., for comparison.

(C) 179—180 ὀ κατὰ τὸν τόπον πρωτονοτάριος: that is, of the thema from which the expedition exits into enemy territory.

(C) 180—181 λουτρόν Τουρκικόν, ἕγουν Σκυθικόν τζεργά: Turk. çärgä and Hung. čerge, tent/stall/canopy/framework of wood; cf. Reiske, Comm. 516—517; Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II 312; Hendy, Studies 306: “probably Magyar”.

(C) 181 ἀπὸ ἄδημιῶν: see Koukoulès, BBP IV 403; Reiske, Comm. 517—517; probably related to Arabic ʿadīm, tanned leather or hide; and cf. (C) 246 infra: ὀποδήματα ἄδημινα.

(C) 182 κουκούμια: Lat. cucum, pitcher, cauldron; presumably for the water for the steam bath. Cf. Lampe s.v.; Kahane, Abendland und Byzanz 390—391.

(C) 182 πυρομάχια: fire-bricks or grates for the hearth, cf. mod. Greek πυριάχιος/πυρομάχιος, fire-dog. They numbered twelve, presumably one for each koukoumion. Cf. also Epirot κακαβομάχια, grate/rest for a kettle/cauldron: Koukoulès, EEBΣ 19 (1949) 101; and esp. Theocharides, Διαβήκη 23, 109: πυρομάχοι (but interpreted as “tongs”).

(C) 182 βίσαλα: Lat. besselis/bessalium; cf. Du Cange 197 s.v.; DAI 29, 246; 42, 36: βίσαλα. See Lampe s.v. βίσαλον; and note Narratio de Sancta Sophia 92, 2sq.; 107, 2.

(C) 183 καμίνιον: furnace or hearth; cf. Du Cange 562 s.v.; note that the καμινοβιγλάτορες of De Vel. Bell. 188, 4—12 (Dennis 2, 2sq.; Dagron—Mihăescu II 2sq.) have no connection with a system of beacons. The kamino-element derives here from Lat. caminus, road,
rather than, as in the case of *kaminion*, hearth etc., from Lat. *caminus*, hearth. See *Dagron*, Phocas 246—247.

(C) 183 κραβάττια: cf. *Du Cange* 749—750.

(C) 183 ἐκκλησίαν βασιλικήν: see *Reiske’s* note, Comm. 518—520.

(C) 185—186 διὰ . . . τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοίτῶνος διδομένων: i.e. those from the imperial bedchamber attached or seconded to the private imperial vestiarion. On the koitōn, see *Oikonomidès*, Préséance 305.

(C) 188 ἁμφίασις: “wardrobe”, see on (B) 35 supra.

(C) 189 τομάριων: cf. τομάρη, *Du Cange* 1582; cf. De Cer. 658, 10.

(C) 189 χαρταλαμίων: cf. *Reiske*, Comm. 521, for an attempt to resolve the term. He suggests Lat. *charta* + *lamina/lamina* (cf. LSJ s. v. χάρτα; note that the *eidikon* issued lead in χάρτα or sheets, De Cer. 671, 8; 676, 13—14), so that the word signifies laminated leather grips or handles, polished up. In fact, the term seems to have been common in the fifth and sixth centuries as a word for belt or girdle: see Lydus, De Mag. 69, 20—22, who explains that it is of Celtic origin. Cf. Miracula S. Artemii 20, 16, where τὸ χαρταλάμιν is an item of clothing, a belt or waistband; *Du Cange* 596 s. v.; and esp. C. Wessely, Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde 20. Leipzig 1921, Nr. 133, for P. Erzherzog Rainer gr. 2132 (347), an early seventh-century Fayum papyrus listing the delivery to the local garrison of “Bulgarian belts”, βουλγαρικοὶ χαρταλαμίνοι. See Gy. Moravcsik, Der Name der Bulgaren in einem griechischen Papyrus. *Körösi Csoma-Archivum* 1/2 (1936) 119—128, see 123f.

(C) 190 ψυχριστάρια: cf. ψυχριστήριον.

(C) 191 οἰνάνθην: anc. Greek vine blossom; here, spiced wine: cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 1104; and *Du Cange* 1034 s. v. See *Koukoulès*, BBP IV 348.

(C) 191 ροδόσταγμα: cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 172; 1147; Theotokos Kecharitōmenē Typikon 1602; LSJ s. v.; *Du Cange* 1304. *Oinanthē* and *rhodostagma* are μυριστικά: De Cer. 586, 2—3. Cf. Attaleiatēs in: *Sathas*, MB I 9; Kekaumenos 49, 6 (Litavrin 216, 5).
(C) 193 βεδουρία: see Reiske, Comm. 522; Koukoules, BBP II/2, 101; cf. Slav. vedro.

(C) 193 ἀσκοδάβλια: see Koukoules, BBP II/2, 110, n. 5; idem, EEBΣ 19 (1949) 100; Dēmētrakos s.v.; Du Cange s.v. 141.

(C) 194 δίκην μαγαρικῶν: cf. Koukoules, BBP II/2, 104—105; cf. Schilbach, Metrologie 100—101: the magarikon was also a liquid measure equal to the value of one pitcher.

(C) 196—198 βιβλία...καστρομαχίας: see Leo, Tact. XX 136. Exactly which texts were taken along is impossible to say. There was clearly a wide variety available, see Leo’s remarks, Tact. proem. 676 B. Cod. Par. suppl. gr. 607, dating to c. 900—950, and constituting one of the oldest collections of Constantinian stratēgika, is in fact devoted entirely to poliorcetic works (including, for example, Athenaeus, De machinis; Biton, De constructione machinarum; and texts of Heron and Apollodorus on missile weapons and siege techniques). It is quite probable that Constantine was thinking of this, or a similar, compilation. Note that this particular codex contains also works of Polyaeus. See Dain, Stratégistes 347—349; 380—381; Hunger, Profane Lit. II 324—326; 329—335.

(C) 198—199 Πολύαινων: see Hunger, Profane Lit. II 325—326. Polyaeus was a military compiler of the second century A.D. — see Dain, Stratégistes 333—335 — popular in the tenth-century compilations (see Dain, Stratégistes 348; 371; 381; idem, Les cinq adaptations byzantines des “Stratagèmes” de Polyen. Revue des Études Anciennes 33 [1931] 321—345).

(C) 199 Σωριανών: see Hunger, Profane Lit. II 327. Syrianos magi-stros, a sixth-century writer; known to have produced a text on naval warfare which is included in cod. Ambr. B 119 sup. (see Introduction, p. 37) dated to 959—963, and in the Tactica of the general Nicephorus Uranus. See Dain, Stratégistes 342; 371. The reference to βιβλία ἰστορικά refers to the fact that both Polyaeus and Syrianos include a number of illustrations drawn from past history — in the case of Polyaeus, for example, from Herodotos, Thucydides and others. Cf. Suidas s.n. Polyainos, who composed τακτικὰ βιβλία γ’ καὶ ἔλλα. See Dain, Stratégistes 334. On the tenth-century
compilations and their antecedents and tradition, see also DAGRON, Phocas 139ff.

(C) 199 τὸν Ὁνειροφρώτην: almost certainly a reference to Artemidoros, see BECK, Volksliteratur 203—204; HUNGER, Profane Lit. II 223—224; KOUKOULÈS, BBP I/2, 183—184. The use of such books seems to have been widespread; Eustathios Boilas left one in his will: Testament d’ Eustathios Boilas 160; and see G. CALOFONOS, Dream Interpretation: a Byzantinist Superstition? BMGS 9 (1984/85) 215—220.

(C) 199 βιβλίον Συναντηματικόν: a book of chances and occurrences and how to interpret them. See KOUKOULÈS, BBP I/2, 213—214; note that Leo, Tact. XX 78 stresses the importance of being able to produce counter-interpretations to encourage the troops from being misled by popular anxieties and misapprehensions (but see also Tact. XX 80). Note also the tenth-century compilation De obsidione toleranda, c. 10 (p. 47), which advises the commander of a town preparing for a siege to make use of, among others, ἀστρονόμους πρὸς διάγνωσιν συντελούντας ύδατων καὶ ἀνέμων φοράν . . .; and cf. the account of a type of hippomanteia described by Harun b. Yahya 163 (VASI-LIEV).

(C) 200—202 βιβλίον . . . οἱ πλευστικοί: see HUNGER, Profane Lit. II 234—235; 242 and n. 33; KOUKOULÈS, BBP I/2, 124—125; 218ff.; 224. All these traditions were firmly rooted in Byzantine cultural tradition and at all levels of society. That the emperor should also possess or make use of such books should not surprise — see HUNGER, Profane Lit. II 239.

(C) 202—204 ἵστεον δὲ . . . Ὄρωμαίων: Constantine had made or commissioned his own compilation of natural climatic phenomena and their interpretation, part of his wider activities as a literary encyclopaedist: see TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 575ff.; HUNGER, Profane Lit. II 239; and see above, Introduction, p. 38. One of these works is still extant, a meteorological guide for sailors: ed. S. LAMPROS, Τρία κείμενα συμβάλλοντα εἰς τὴν ἴστοριαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Βυζαντινοῖς. Νέος Ἐλληνομνήμων 9 (1912) 162—177, text 171—173. Note the title: Οἱ παρὰ τῶν πλευστικωτέρων Μαρδατίων ὁρθῶς παρατηρούμενοι καροί τε καὶ ἄστερες, ὁπόταν ζάλην ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τρικύμιους εἰώθασιν ἐμποιεῖν.
εξ ὤν συμβαίνουσι τὰ ναυάγια καὶ πάλιν νηνεμίας τε καὶ εὐδίας, δι᾽ ὄν κατορθοῦνται τὰ ταξιέδια. For an English translation and commentary, see R. H. Dolley, Meteorology in the Byzantine Navy. Mariner's Mirror 37 (1951) 5—16.

(C) 207 θηριάκην: corr. θηριακήν, see Pantokratôr Typikon 1115; an antidote against venom or poison, see Miller, Spice Trade 2.

(C) 207 ἰνίτζες: σαγαπηνίτζιον/σαγάπηνον; the juice of the plant sacope- nium (Ferula persica) related to fennel. See Miller, Spice Trade 100; André, L'Alimentation 206; cf. also Reiske, Comm. 525; Du Cange 1368 s. v. σικωνίβης/σικωπήνης; and LSJ s. v. σαγάπηνον.

(C) 207—208 σκευαστὰ καὶ μονοεδή: i.e. mixed (prepared) and simple (unprepared). Cf. Pantokratôr Typikon 1114—1115: βοηθήματα, ἐμ- πλαστα, σκευασία; and ibid. 1084. The division into prepared and unprepared (and a number of other categories) echoes classical and Roman medical theory and practice. See, for example, J. Stan- nard, Byzantine Botanical Lexicography. Episteme 5 (1971) 168—187; E. JeanSelme, Sur un aide-mémoire de thérapeutique byzant- tine, in: Mélanges Ch. Diehl, vol. I. Paris 1930, 147 ff.; and for the classical division of plants and herbs into simplicia and composita, see the survey of J. Stannard, Aspects of Byzantine Materia me- dica. DOP 38 (1984) 205—211, see 208—210; and in particular the discussion of J. Scarbrough, Early Byzantine Pharmacology. DOP 38 (1984) 213—232. The terms employed in our text suggest a familiarity with the classical tradition as exemplified in later Byzantine redactions of Galen, Oribasius, Aetius of Amida, Alexander of Tralles and others. See the discussion of Scarbrough, art. cit. In general on later Roman and Byzantine medical knowledge and theory, see also O. Temkin, Byzantine Medicine: Tradition and Empiricism. DOP 16 (1962) 97—115; J. A. M. Sondekamp, Theo- phanes Nonnus: Medicine in the Circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. DOP 38 (1984) 29—41; Scarbrough, Roman Medicine, esp. 66—75; CMH IV/2, 290—294 with literature at 459—463; and the survey in Hunger, Profane Lit. II 287—320, esp. 304—306. See the general introduction in DOP 38 (1984) by J. Scarbrough, to the "Symposium on Byzantine Medicine", IX—XVI, with literature, along with the other contributions not cited here.
(C) 208 πανδέκται: all-purpose containers, cf. Κουκουλές, BBP ΙΙ/2, 84; Ρέιςκ, Comm. 526; and see Scarborough, Roman Medicine 86—87.

(C) 209 ἐμπλάστρων καὶ ἄλειφῶν καὶ ἄλειμμάτων: note on (C) 207—208 above; and Volk, Gesundheitswesen 152, n. 482.

(C) 211 σιτλολέκανα: λεκάνη/λεκάνιον + σίτιλα/σίτιλον: Lat. situla. Cf. Κουκουλές, BBP ΙΙ/2, 64; Κανάνε, Abendland und Byzanz 454f.

(C) 211 ἐπιχύτρια: ἐπιχέω/ἐπιχύτης; Du Cange 431 s. v. ἐπιχύτης; and Κουκουλές, BBP IV 28; 447.

(C) 212 ἀσπρόχαλκα: cf. De Cer. 570, 17—18; 571, 18: ἀλυσίδια ἀσπρό-χαλκα; see Reiske, Comm. 526: bronze with a high tin content; or more probably tinned bronze or copper.

(C) 214 σελλία: refers normally to a seat or throne (as opposed to sella, saddle), see Guillard, REG 58 (1945) 202, n. 7 and references; note also Volk, Gesundheitswesen 214, n. 784 and references.

(C) 214—216 σελλία τοῦ κουκουμιλίου ... χρέας: see Guillard, REG 58 (1945) 201ff. For κουκουμιλίων, cf. Lat. cucumella, pot or vase; and for το χρέας as (in this case) portable or travelling latrines, see Miracula S. Artemii 56, 12—13. 17. See Du Cange 1759 s. v.; Κουκουλές, BBP IV 310. These are constructed from chairs, pierced through the centre and equipped with covers. For ὀλόκανα, cf. ὀλος + Lat. canus, base/grey metal: in this case, gilded (diachrysa); cf. De Cer. 574, 21—22: τὰ χρυσόκανα σπαθία; see Guillard, REG 58 (1945) 203—204; Οἰκονομίδης, Préséance 91, n. 36; Guillard, Institutions I 283; Du Cange 574 s. v. καῦκον; and cf. Meursius, Gloss. graecobarb. s. v.

(C) 217 ἄργυροπαστάκλειστα: see Reiske, Comm. 527.

(C) 217 καυκία ... χαλίνζια: cups of χαλίνζια type, i.e. goblets; for χαλίνζια, κάλυξ/κάλυτζια deriving from calix, κόλυς, cf. Du Cange 558; Reiske, Comm. 528. The word is probably derived via a Balkan Latin substitution of an affricative for a dental plosive before a front vowel: κάλυς — καλύκιον — καλίντζιν, with a change from a palatal x to a glottalised χ.
219 παραμήριον: see HALDON, Milit. Technology 31 and literature.

220 σάχαρ: not cane sugar, introduced only from the eighth century; but a silicon accretion collected from the knots on certain bamboos, used chiefly for medicinal purposes; imported from India from Hellenistic times; also known as tabasir. See for discussion and literature, ANDRÉ, L’Alimentation 186 and n. 2; and note VOLK, Gesundheitswesen 157 and n. 510 with literature.

220 μόσχον: cf. HEMMERDINGER, Noms communs grecs 25.

220 ξυπαρ: imported from the Arabian peninsula, cf. KOUKOLÉS, BBP II/1, 205.

220—221 ξυλαλογήν ύγραν καὶ ξηράν: wood or bitter aloes, moist or dry, used to change the colour and flavour of wine, along with saffron and cinnamon, also listed here: see ANDRÉ, L’Alimentation 164; 167; cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 173; Theotokos Kecharitōmenē Typikon 1602; Symeon Seth 72, 15. On all the spices and perfumes listed here, see MILLER, Spice Trade esp. 34—35; 65—67; 119ff.; and note KOUKOLÉS, BBP II/2, 205—206; and Theoph. 322, 3—6; Ep. Bibl. X 1; 2; further, ANDRÉ, L’Alimentation, loc. cit. and 204ff.; and E. JEANSELME, Sels médicamenteux et aromatiques pris par les Byzantins au cours des repas. Bull. de la Société française de l’Histoire de la Médecine (1922) 324—334. Cf. the list in Ed. Diocl. 32, 35ff.

222 σεβδές: silk cloths or sheets — see on (C) 739—740 infra; and cf. Th. Cont. 318, 13; De Cer. 576, 21—22; the term originally denoted silk from Sidon, whence the name, cf. KOUKOLÉS, BBP II/2, 6; EBERSOLT, Mélanges 54, n. 5; mod. Greek τὸ σεβόνι. Cf. KAHANE, Abendland und Byzanz 385 (Persian sundus).

222 λινομαλωτάρια: linen (see GEORGACAS, Flax and Linen 255, n. 5) and μαλωτάριον/μηλωτάριον, originally cloth (garment) of sheep’s wool, by derivation cloth or garment tout court. See GEORGACAS, Flax and Linen 256; 265, n. 46; K. AMANTOS, Μαλακοτόν—μαλακοτάριον. EEBΣ 2 (1925) 278ff. Cf. Th. Cont. 318, 15; KOUKOLÉS, BBP II/2, 22—23; DU CANGE 858, and s. v. μηλωτή, 923—924.

222 σάβανα: linen broadcloth or towelling; F. OLCHEK, Art. Flachs.
RE VI (1909) 2435—2484; A. Hugo, Art. Sabanum. RE I A (1920) 1532—1533. Cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 391; 1057; Th. Cont. 199, 22; 661, 7; and De Cer. 215, 5, 8; note also De Cer. 100, 23; 255, 16; 574, 11 where σαβάνικα are a type of tunic; note also Achmes, Oneirocriticon, ed. F. Drexl, Leipzig 1925, 115, 4—5, where a σάβανον is a type of ἀναβόλιον or mantle. In Ep. Bibl. IX 7, οἱ τὰ σάβανα ἐργαζόμενοι were permitted to sell their wares only on certain days, and not from permanent stalls. For the tenth-century use of the term as “towel(s)”, see O. Kresten, Die „Häretikerin“ Simplikia. Ep. CXV des Basleios von Kaisareia in Wiener griechischen Handschriften. Codices manuscripti 6 (1980) 41—58, see 43. For the term in the seventh century, see Miracula S. Artemii 12, 1 3; V. Andreae Sali 745B (shroud); and H. Delehaye, Narratio Sergiae de translatione sanctae Olympiadiis. Analecta Bollandiana 16 (1897) 44—51, see 47, 27 (shroud) (see Beck, Kirche 461); V. Theod. Syk. 157, 52 with commentary, 261; and note the seals of officials connected with the imperial baths, where towels of this material were used: Zacos-Veglery, nos. 2232, of a βασιλικός ἀσάβανος; 2931, of an ἀδεσάβανος; 2796, of an adsabanis, all of the later sixth or seventh century (with the note of Zacos-Veglery). The origins of the word may be north African; cf. Ed. Diocl. 28, 57—65 (linen towels, in three categories), Lat. sabanum (see LSJ s. v. σάβανον), and Comm. 276f. Cf. Arab. saban, the thickest type of linen, possibly named after the area of Saban in the Maghreb — see Lisan al-'Arab II 93; and cf. mod. Spanish sabana, sheet. See also Du Cange 1313—1314; Koukoulès, BBP IV 447; Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 116; and cf. mod Greek σάβανον, shroud or winding-sheet; also Volk, Gesundheitswesen 151 and n. 475.

(C) 222 σινδόνια: fine cotton/muslin cloth; cf. Ed. Diocl. 28, 16. 31 (three types according to quality), used of bed-linen/sheets. Cf. mod. Greek σινθόνη/σίνθων.


(C) 222—223 κατωτικά: “western” or possibly “Greek”: cf. Theoph. 429, 24: ἐκ τῶν νήσων καί Ἑλλάδος καί τῶν κατωτικῶν μερῶν . . .; 465, 4:
épi tā katwiktā méρη ἐνὸς Σικελίας. Cf. Du Cange 624 s.v.; but note also De Cer. 393, 4; and esp. Reiske, Comm. 379—381, who argues that anō and katō denoted south(wards) and north(wards) respectively (with an axis running through Constantinople from Italy and the Balkans down to the Syrian frontier. Thus “lower” regions, from the point of view of an army marching towards Syria, would have meant “back down” towards Constantinople and the West or North). See K. Amantos, Katwiktā = Ἐλλάς. Ἑλληνικά 1 (1928) 244, who adduces further evidence; and idem, Katwiktā — Κάτω Μέρη. Ἑλληνικά 8 (1935) 28. Alternatively, the term may be applied literally, and mean something like “low quality” — although this seems less likely.

(C) 224 ἀφραφίων: see Reiske, Comm. 530—533; Guillard, REG 62 (1949) 328ff., who shows that ἀφραφία are opposed to ἐφραμμένα (see on [C] 233 infra): the former were garments without decorations or added pieces of cloth sewn on; the latter were so decorated (ἐμφιεσμένα) having a single piece or border (and consequently described as λιτά) of silk, or a double or triple piece or border of silk (διβλάττια/τριβλάττια).

(C) 224 λόγῳ ξενίων: as goodwill presents; compare this list with that of the gifts sent to Hugh during the reign of Romanos I, at De Cer. 661, 13—662, 11. For ἤξενια in general, see De Cer. 405, 9.

(C) 225 σκαραμάγγια: a long undergarment, slashed and with vents at front and back (see on [C] 234 infra), gathered at the waist, and falling to the ankles. For the etymology, see Hemmerdinger, Noms communs grecs 25—26; P. A. Phourikēs, Περὶ τοῦ ἑτομοῦ τῶν λέξεων σκαραμάγγιων, καββάδιων σκαραμάγγιον. Λεξικογραφικόν Ἀρχείον τῆς μέσης καὶ νέας Ἑλληνικῆς 6 (1923) 444—463; for the garment itself, see Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 29 and literature; Kahane, Abendland und Byzanz 387; Wessel, Insignien 420—422; Oikonomidēs, Préséance 166, n. 140 and n. 144; Ebersolt, Mélanges 57—59; the skaramaggion was worn under the chlamys/chlanidion, a sleeveless mantle or cape fastened by a clasp (Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 30) and the sagion (Lat. sagum, the short “military” tunic: see Ebersolt, Mélanges 53, n. 3; 56—57 and notes; Kουκουλές, BBP II/2, 75). The skaramaggion was normally of silk, and was valuable enough to be employed as a hanging during triumphal processions in Constantinople — see on (C) 739—740 infra.
(C) 225 ἡχεμπλίων: Lat. exemplum, pattern; cf. Du Cange 402 s. v. ἡχεμπλιῶτος; KOUKOUΛES, BBP II/2, 41; Guilland, REG 58 (1945) 200; cf. De Cer. 578, 1—2: ἐξαστος πρὸς τὸ ὕδιον τῆς χροῖς καὶ τοῦ ἡχεμπλίου σκαφαμάγγιον.

(C) 225 δίασπρα: either with the colours cross-woven, one shade warp, one shade weft; or died twice (cf. Ed. Diocl. 24, 6: διβάφου). Note that dibratton, tribratton may not necessarily refer to the number of times the cloth has been dyed: see Guilland, REG 62 (1949) 339—348 and on (C) 173 supra. Note KOUKOUΛES, BBP II/2, 40—41; Kahane, Abendland und Byzanz 385—386.

(C) 226 κολοβία: a sleeveless tunic or under-tunic, often richly embroidered: cf. De Cer. 80, 11—12; Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 113; Du Cange 684 s. v.; KOUKOUΛES, BBP VI 269—270; also (C) 749—750 and (C) 836sq., where kolobion is used of an epilorikon (q. v.).

(C) 226 μεγαλόζηλα (and cf. μεσόζηλα, lines [C] 227sq.): according to Reiske, Comm. 534—539, these adjectives describe the relative sizes of the garments in question; according to KOUKOUΛES, BBP II/2, 27, the term describes their value. But neither seems right. If the words relate to value, it is hard to see what the difference is between the (ιμάτια) μεσόζηλα δισχιστα μανακάτα ἀμφιεσμένα ἀπὸ διβλαττίων ([C] 235—236), and the ιμάτια λεπτόζηλα ἐκ τῶν κατ’ ὁλίκους πρόκριτα καὶ καθαρά ἀμφιεσμένα ἀπὸ τριβλαττίων καὶ διβλαττίων ἐξέως . . . δισχιστα ([C] 250—252), and why, therefore, these adjectives are not applied to all the garments of different types listed. Where value is important, it is clearly specified using obvious terms, e. g. διαφόρων ποιοτήτων ([C] 243); διαφόρων τιμῶν καὶ ποιοτήτων ([C] 295); πρόκριτα καὶ δεύτερα ([C] 250, 253). See on (C) 289—290 infra: δεκάλια. If, on the other hand, it refers to size, the latter point is equally valid — why are such descriptive terms not applied to all types of clothing? Further, why is the selection of clothes for, for example, thematic turmarchs, thus limited? Were they all short? (cf. [C] 253—254: ιμάτια . . . λεπτόζηλα . . . διὰ τοὺς θεματικοὺς . . .). The terms are applied to a variety of types of garment: see Ep. Bibl. IV 1; VIII 1—2; De Cer. 661, 20; 677, 16; (C) 235—237, 250sq. But neither size nor value seems to be reflected in these terms.
There does seem to be a connection between these terms, however, and the adjectives δεκάπωλον, δωδεκάπωλον, ἕξαπωλον which appear in the Book of the Prefect (e.g. Ep. Bibl. VIII 2). These terms, derived from πόλος, a strand or piece/length of cloth, made up from a given number of threads, refer to the number of seams present in a particular garment; the greater the number of pieces out of which the item is constructed, the greater the number of seams, and hence the lower the value (see Koukoules, BBP VI 282; idem, EEBΣ 19 [1949] 109; Oikonomides, Préséance 126, n. 80; Nicole, at Ep. Bibl. 96. Note that polos had a technical significance in liturgical vestments also, referring to the crosses or circles sewn onto or embroidered into an omophorion: see P. Johnstone, The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery. London 1967, 18; 104 with literature; and note in general Maria S. Theocharís, Ἐκκλησιαστικά Χρυσοκέντητα. Athens 1986).

Thus the garments with the greater number of seams (δωδεκάπωλα, δεκάπωλα) are exempted in the Eparchikon biblion (VIII 2) from the category of κεκωλυμένα, and can be manufactured by ordinary persons without a special licence. These terms — ἕξαπωλα, δεκάπωλα, δωδεκάπωλα — thus have nothing directly to do with their value either (when the Eparchikon biblion wishes to specify value, i.e. monetary worth or market value, it does so explicitlyː cf. VIII 1: τὰ ὑπὲρ δέκα τιμώμενα νομίσματα ιμάτια, or with the terms ἕξαλα, δεκάλα etc. — see [C] 289—290 infra), pace Hendy, Studies 310; but rather with their composition. See also Kahane, Abendland und Byzanz 418: ἕξαπωλον.

Now it is significant that the less valuable of the precious garments, described as δεκάπωλα and δωδεκάπωλα, could also be described as λεπτόζηλα (Ep. Bibl. VIII 2), suggesting a correlation between the less valuable silks and the term λεπτόζηλον, and the more valuable silks and the terms μεσόζηλον, μεγαλόζηλον. But this does not, as has been made clear already, reflect a direct market-exchange valuation; it seems rather to be connected with the fineness of the cloth on the one hand, and more significantly, with the degree of demand for the cloth or item of clothing. I would connect it, therefore, with ζηλος (cf. κριτζηλος) and suggest that it relates to the degree to which the silks in question were in demand or, alternatively, prohibited to public production or use. The most precious, or highest in demand, were thus μεγαλόζηλα, those less sought after
were μεσοζηλα, and those least in demand of the precious cloths were λεπτοζηλα. See LSJ s.v. ζηλος. This explanation fits in well with the use of the terms in the texts, and in particular the fact that where a direct valuation is expressed, a directly applicable term, but not one of those discussed here, is employed. For the prohibited cloths, see Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes 50ff.; and see Ep. Bibl. IV 1; 8; VIII 1; 2.

(C) 226 ἐκ τῶν κατ' οίκους: that is, produced in imperial workshops as opposed to purchased on the market: see (C) 289—290: ίματια ἐξ ἀγοράς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου etc. Such garments were worked up in imperial ergodosia under the archontes in charge, within the competence of the bureau of the eidikon. See Oikonomides, Préseance 317; Laurent, Corpus II 323ff.; 325ff. See also A. Muthesius, art. cit. (see on [C] 173 above).

(C) 226 ἐσωφόρια: unspecified inner- or under-garments; cf., for example, De Cer. 677, 16: ήματια ἐσωφόρια μεγαλοζηλα.

(C) 229 ἀσπρομύναια: from ἀσπρον with μύη/μυνάμαι, i.e. false or off-white.


(C) 229 ἱαστά: from λαζω/λός/λωδής; cf. Demetrakos s.v. λός (3); Testament d'Eustathios Boilas 130—131: ἐτερον (σκαραμάγγων) ... ἱαστόν. See on (B) 108—109 supra. This short list alone makes it clear that a very wide range of shades and dyes was available. For a comparison, see Goitein, Med. Soc. I 106—107, on the division of labour within the dyeing industry represented in the Geniza archive.

(C) 229 λωρωτά: cf. e.g. De Cer. 678, 3. 7: τουβία λωρωτά; Koukoulès, BBP II/2, 41; Guilland, REG 62 (1949) 347, n. 4. For the loros, a long wrap, see Oikonomides, Préseance 201, n. 219; and notes 221; 222; also Grierson, DOC III/1, 120—125 and literature; Wessell, Insignien 428—444.

(C) 229 τρίμιτα: according to Reiske, Comm. 539, three-banded or
three-coloured/striped; according to Koukoulès, BBP II/2, 203, of three-threaded warp. As Guillaud notes, the term (as well as others like it) is the equivalent of Lat. trilex/bilex etc., and means twilled of three (or two etc.) threads. Since these might also be of different colours, this description will also have applied to the pattern as well as the thickness of the cloth (cf. Ed. Diocl. 19, 28). See Guillaud, REG 62 (1949) 344—345 and notes 1 and 2; note also V. Theod. Syk. 28, 3: λωρίκιον τρίμιτον; Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos 1733—1734: 'Ετέρα ἐνδυτῇ ... ἄσπρον ἔξάμιτον of an altar-cloth (i.e. mod. English samite, old French samit, etc., of six-threaded warp and therefore particularly rich and heavy); Prod. I 46 (dimiton, as a type of garment, cf. mod. English dimity). Examples could be multiplied — cf. Will of Kalē Pakourianē (quoted by Hendy, Studies 210): τὸ ἰμάτιον ... τὸ ἔξαμιτον τὸ κλήρινον. See Kahane, Abendland und Byzanz 384.

(C) 233 διὰ τῶν ἐφράμμενων: that is, garments with added pieces sewn on, as opposed to the simple garments already listed as ἀφράφια; see on (C) 224 supra.

(C) 234 διαχιστα: with vents, or split, at either side or at front and back; see Reiske, Comm. 540—543; Koukoulès, Epist. Ep. Phil. Schol. Pan. Ath. 5 (1954/55) 56 and notes 1—3; and cf. Niceph., Praec. 11, 21; Achmes, Oneirocriticon, ed. F. Drexl. Leipzig 1925, 115, 23—24, where men's ἰμάτια are described as διαχιστα. Cf. also De Cer. 209, 20: τὸ σχιστὸν βῆλον.

(C) 234 μανιακάτα: that is, with maniakion or collar/collar-piece. See Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 114; Koukoulès, BBP IV 387; Du Cange 869—870 s.v.; Hendy, Studies 308, prefers to read “the collar-pieces being separated”; but maniakata should be the adjectival “collared” and describes the garment; while διαχιστα can hardly mean “separated” — see the examples quoted above at (C) 226. On maniakion in its original sense of torque or neckband, see Grierson, DOC II/1, 123 (cf. μάνιξ/μανίκης; Oikonomides, Préséance 91, n. 33 and literature; cf. DAI 25, 81); Wessel, Insignien 417—420. Grierson argues that this is the only meaning for the term; in fact, it is clear from this description that the maniakia must be collar-pieces for the skaramaggia — cf. the maniakia decorated with precious stones and pearls, presumably sewn on, at De Cer. 584, 6. Maniak-
kion, collar or neck-piece, must not be confused with the various forms of μάνικα, μανίκια (Lat. manica), arm-covers or sleeves attached to various garments and forming also part of the store of imperial ceremonial vestments, ἀλλαξιματα (see on [C] 700—701 infra). Such vestments could be either long- or short-sleeved (ἀκρο-μάνικα, see De Cer. 528, 18; and κοντομάνικα, κονδομάνικα, κοντομανίκια, see Klet. Phil. 217, 27 and n. 256; De Cer. 294, 15—16; 296, 2—3; 575, 4—5; 578, 20; 590, 7; 641, 8sq.; and for μανίκια, Leo, Tact. VI 13; Niceph., Praec. 1, 17. 19; 11, 7. 12; sleeveless; see also Lydus, De Mag. 21, 21sq.); and could be worn either separately, with various other items of clothing; or — as suggested by De Cer. 641, 8—9 — together with a λόρος (see on λόροτα at [C] 229 supra), like the thōrakia listed in the same passage (and see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ, Pré- séance 200, n. 221). Ἐπιμανίκια, as worn by certain members of the clergy, were apparently also separate sleeves with embroidered decorations, worn for liturgical purposes: see WALTER, Art and Ritual 20—21 and literature.

(C) 234 ἀπὸ σκαραμαγγίων: i.e. selected from skaramaggia silks.

(C) 235 ἀμφιεσμένα ἀπὸ διβλαττίων: decorated with two pieces, or borders, of silk; see on (C) 173 supra.

(C) 237 λιτά: as opposed to τριβλάττια or διβλάττια, such garments were either dyed once or had one single blattion or silk decoration/ border; see on (C) 173 supra, and note REISKE, Comm. 544—545.

(C) 239 τουβία: leggings, cf. Lat. tubus/tibiale; Du Cange 1588; Guillaume, REG 62 (1949) 329, n. 2. 3; see De Cer. 439, 7: καμπάγια (see on [C] 783 infra) and καμπότουβα; and De Cer. 678, 7—8 for three different types: τουβία λωροτά Αἰγυπτικά, τουβία κονδουλάρικα, τουβία βαμβακερά; and cf. Dig. Ak. 80, 226: τουβία ... ἔξακουστα; and cf. Ps.-Cod. (VERPEAUX) VII 270, 7—10 (of a horse’s parade-leggings). MIHĂESCU, Terminologie 597.

(C) 240—241 ἀπὸ διβλαττίων ἄετων καὶ βασιλικῶν ἀμφιεσμένα: here, the garments of silk are decorated with embroidered eagles and imperial symbols; cf. De Cer. 578, 1—6: ἔκαστος πρὸς τὸ ἵδιον τῆς χροῖας καὶ τοῦ ἐξεμπλήν σκαραμάγγιον, ἤγγον οἱ τοὺς πρασινορόδινους ἄετους φοροῦντες ἐνθεν κάτειθεν, οἱ τοὺς ἁφόρους καὶ τοὺς πολυγύρους ἄετους, ὡμοίως οἱ τὰς
(C) 241 ἀπὸ βδελλίων: decorated with hornets or flies; cf. Reiske, Comm. 551; Guillaud, REG 62 (1949) 345; Du Cange 975 s. v. μύγα; Kriaras IV 85—86. Note the two different classes, προκριτώτερα, δεύτερα — see (C) 250, 253: πρόκριτα, δεύτερα.

(C) 241 σφιγκτούρια: according to KOUKOULÈS, BBP VI 293—294, a wide, long overgarment, tied in at the waist; more probably, these are undertunics or shirts of the type which could be tied or drawn in when worn. Cf. Lat. strictoria, a type of shirt/chemise (and clearly different from the shirt-types singilio and stichē, see Ed. Diocl. 19, 2. 11 etc.; 19, 47—49. 62), listed at Ed. Diocl. 7, 56; 22, 7; 29, 17. They are clearly not ties or laces for various items of clothing, pace Hendy, Studies 308. They could be issued in sets, like leggings (see on [C] 239 above), see (C) 295—296: σφιγκτούρια ἐκάστου ἰματίου πρὸς ἀναλογίαν; cf. Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos 1724: σφιγκτούρια τέσσαρα διὰ γραμμάτων χρυσών. For a κοντοσφιγκτόουρον, see Prod. II 34 (and cf. IV 12d: μεταξοσφιγκτούρατος); and see Narratio de Sancta Sophia 285, 9: τὸ σφιγκτούριον (a text probably of the later ninth century; see G. Dagron, Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des Patria. Paris 1984, 265ff., 298—309).

(C) 241 θάλασσα: cf. KOUKOULÈS, BBP II/2, 29, n. 9; 39; idem, EEBΣ 19 (1949) 104; but KOUKOULÈS is wrong in assuming that the thalassa was a chlaniōn died in sea-purple, from which came the name: there were, after all, a wide range of garments died with sea-purple, but they were not all called thalassai. See KOUKOULÈS, EEBΣ 13 (1937) 89ff.; idem, BBP VI 268. In fact, as the passage at De Cer. 578, 1—6 shows (see on [C] 240—241 above), the term referred to a pattern rather than a colour, probably the equivalent of the modern technical description “watered silk”, the effect obtained by a particular weave. Cf. Th. Cont. 19, 3—5: φοινικοβαφές θωμάτων κατά τι στρατιωτικόν ἔθος ἄξωστον ἐπημφίητο (ἐντὸν τούτο καλούσιν ἡ θάλασσαν οἱ περὶ ταύτα κομψοί) . . . . See also Prod. I 58. Alternatively, the term may refer to garments of “sea-wool” (ἐρέα θαλάσσα, cf. Ed. Diocl. 25, 6, for example), manufactured from the byssal threads produced by the marine mollusc pinna nobilis, the
fan-mussel, which had a particularly lustrous appearance. See SERJEANT, Islamic Textiles 10, 97; 15—16, 60; GOITÉIN, Med. Soc. I 106: cf. Proc., De Aedif. III 1, 19—20. Possibly the term describes a garment shot through with this material, or of similar appearance.

(C) 242 ἄβδια πλατύλωφα καὶ ἄβδια μασουρωτά: cf. Ep. Bibl. V 2: αὐδία; the term seems to derive from Arab. ʾabayeh, a wide robe with broad black bands or stripes, cf. Lisan al-ʿArab II 674; E. L. LANE, ed., Maddu-l-Kamoos, an Arabic-English Lexicon. Book I, 1—5. London 1863—1874, see 1933, Art. ʾ-b-ʾ and 1942, Art. ʾ-b-y. See REISKE, Comm. 553; Vogt, Cér. II 60, n. 1; and cf. De Cer. 607, 10. 12, where ἄβδια are associated with ἑσωφόρια λωρωτά Σαρακηνικά and with garments called μολχάμια, Arab. muḥamma. See SERJEANT, Islamic Textiles 9, 71. Byzantine terms and items of clothing were considerably influenced by Arabic styles and vocabulary — see Ep. Bibl. V 2: ἡ ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐρχομένη Σαρακηνική (sc. πραγματεία), εἴτε ἑσωφόρια εἶνες εἴτε αὐδία καὶ φουφούλια καὶ θάλασσα, φιλὰ τὲ χάμια καὶ βαγγατίκια. See De Cer. 255, 8; and Testament d’ Eustathios Boilas 130—131; note also CEHE II 92ff. The description of these garments as broad-striped confirms the identification — see KOUKULÈS, BBP II/2, 41. The ʾabayeh was normally of wool (as it is today). See in general SERJEANT, Islamic Textiles 10, 91ff., for the flourishing two-way trade in fabrics and clothing between the lands of the Caliphate and Byzantium.

(C) 242 μασουρωτά: “reeded”, i.e. with thin, reed-like stripes or bands; cf. Arab masura, pipe or tube; mod. Arab. bobbin (COWAN 889); and cf. mod. Greek τὸ μασοῦρι, a quill, reel, spool or bobbin. The alternative is that these garments, or this type and style of garment, came originally from Masoura in Pamphylia, see W. RUGE, Art. Masura. RE XIV/2 (1930) 2179, or were of a style named after this area. See DIETHART, Lexikalische Rara 13/5. For the Arabic connection, see also SERJEANT, Islamic Textiles 13—14, 93 and n. 38.

(C) 243 ὑποκαμισοβράχια: cf. Narratio de Sancta Sophia 285, 9. Shirt and breeches, probably of linen. They were divided into two categories at least, διαφορώτερα and δεύτερα, see De Cer. 678, 4—5. For ὑποκάμισον/ἐπικάμισον, cf. KOUKULÈS, BBP VI 102; 285; EBERSOLT, Mélanges 72, n. 4; and on kamision — a short, tunic-like shirt, see DU CANGE 563 s. v.; CH.-A. FABROT, Gloss. ad Cedrenum, in: Cedre-
nus II 907—908; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 166 and n. 139 with literature; Kahane, Western Impact 131. For brakia — Lat. bracciae, Celt. breac — cf. Du Cange 224 s. v. and Kriaras s. v.; Lexikographie 156 (Steiner). For both these elements in association, see also Miracula S. Artemii 23, 25. Note also Reiske’s discussion, Comm. 554; and see Ed. Diocl. 7, 46 with Comm. 239.

(C) 243 ἑπίφρυτταρια: hood or cowl; cf. Reiske, Comm. 555; Du Cange 424 s. v.; Oikonomides, Préséance 128, n. 86; and see Th. Cont. 385, 21; Scylitzes 200, 27.

(C) 243—244 ὀξεα ... τρίτα: three different classes of head wear; see on (B) 108—109 supra for the shade of purple; and cf. De Cer. 678, 6—7: διαφορώτερα, δεύτερα, τρίτα. The division of types of cloth and garment into a number of categories or classes — usually three — according to quality (of material and workmanship) was widespread and usual; cf. Ed. Diocl. 8, 1—2; 19, 17—18; 20, 5—6; 21, 3—6; 26, 1a—139 etc. It occurs throughout the De caerimoniiis also.

(C) 244 ζωστρία: cf. Koukoulès, BBP II/2, 51 for literature.

(C) 244 ψευδοξεα: “false” red purple — possibly a lighter shade; cf. for example, Ed. Diocl. 24, 3, where ὑποβλάττη appears to represent the same notion. Cf. also De Cer. 578, 20.

(C) 244—246: prices are given specifically for the three categories.

(C) 246 ἄδημινα: see on (C) 181 above. The reference suggests that this leather may have been especially tanned and dyed. Note that shoes and boots are also classified in three groups: cf. De Cer. 678, 9—10; Ed. Diocl. 9, 5a—25.

(C) 247 βουλγιδιως: Lat./Celt. bulga, sack; Du Cange 215—216 s. v.; Suidas III 178, 18—19; Lexikographie 161 (Steiner).

(C) 247 δισασσιος: Du Cange 314 s. v.

(C) 247—249 ταῦτα δέ ... ἀποστέλλεσθαι: the provision of gifts and presents to oil the wheels of diplomacy as well as to smooth the course of military expeditions was an important aspect of Byzantine relations with foreign powers, great and small. Cf. DAI proem. 17—18; 1, 18—20; 4, 9—10; Kekaumenos 12, 9sq. (Litvarin 140,
14sq.); see Lounghis, Les ambassades 255ff., and cf. the list of presents sent to Hugh along with the expedition to Lombardy in 913, De Cer. 661, 13—662, 11; and the comments of Hendy, Studies 268—270.

(C) 250 πρόχριτα, καθάρα: of first quality and "pure", i.e. of pure silk rather than a mixed yarn.


(C) 252 μετά περσίκων: with pockets or pouches (attached), cf. Reiske, Comm. 386; Kουκούλης, BBP II/2, 55; Du Cange 1158 s.v.; Guillaume, REG 62 (1949) 348—350. Hendy, Studies 308 and n. 255, has argued that these are in fact batons or processional insignia, presumably Persian in origin. But the only evidence for this meaning is of the sixth century, where τὸ περσίκων/τὰ περσίκα clearly are ceremonial insignia of some sort, see De Cer. 395, 7; 397, 8; 414, 10—11 (and compare with 700, 17—18, likewise from the sixth century); and Lydus, De Mag. 64, 16—17. Later references all seem to bear the meaning suggested here; see, for example, Prod. I 103; IV 33; Narratio de Sancta Sophia 285, 7; although the term, both as an adjective and as a substantive, could be used of both a colour (Ep. Bibl. IV; VIII) and a type of shoe (Suidas IV 115, 16—17).

(C) 257—260 σφυγκτοῦρια ... βαστάζοσθαι: this repeats information already given at (C) 241sq., but must apply specifically to the thematic tourmarchai, and to other "refugees".

(C) 261sq.: this section introduces material to be transported by the eidikon (see [C] 286sq.) before adding final details of materials carried by the vestiarion and the hypourgia ([C] 275sq.).

(C) 261 εἰς φιλοφρόνησιν τῶν ἄγωνιζόμενων: cash rewards, both before and after the completion of a campaign and battles, as well as rewards in kind — particularly in the form of richly-decorated clothing — were usual devices for ensuring good morale and loyalty. See Haldon, Praetorians 317—318 and notes 957—961; cf. De Cer. 668, 19sq. and (C) 501—511. Note also (B) 96—97; and on (C) 805—807 infra; Leo, Tact. XX 85.
(C) 262—263 κεντημάρια, μιλιαρίσια, σακχά: respectively sealed sums of gold nomismata and silver miliarésia in sacks, issued in units of 100 pounds or less. See HENDY, Coinage and Money 303—309; IDEM, Studies 338ff.; SCHILBACH, Metrologie 171; 184—185.

(C) 263 τοῖς φυλάσσουσι σχολαρίοις: the context suggests that the term scholarioi is used here in the wider sense of tagmatikoi, i.e. to mean soldiers from all of the tagmata (see on [B] 82 supra); see HALDON, Praetorians 549, n. 793; 602, n. 1001. In fact, soldiers of the Vigla itself are probably meant here.

(C) 263 εἰς τὴν βασιλικήν φίναν: Lat. finis, finem, perimeter/edge. See below on (C) 420 etc.; DU CANGE 1679 s. v. φίναι; REISKE, Comm. 557—558; see De Cer. 23, 19. 21. By extension it also meant the guards or sentries themselves: see (C) 542—543: δῦο φίναι κυκλοῦσιν τὴν βασιλικὴν κόρτην; also (C) 281—282; DAGRON, Phocas 91 and n. 5; 216.

(C) 263—264 τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἀγούροις: the group of young men — sons of imperial officers, of provincial notables etc. — sent to court to gain admission to imperial patronage and the palatine hierarchy through attendance on the emperor. Nicephorus I formed the original tagma of the Hikanatoi from such courtiers. See HALDON, Praetorians 245—246 and references. The βασιλικοὶ ἀγούροι seem to be the same group as the palatine corps of the ἀρχοντογενήματα (De Cer. 558, 5; 578, 16sq.; 693, 6). For a less formal use of the term agouroi, see Dig. Akr. 4, 47, where it refers to company or “esquires”.

(C) 264: for the Hetaireia, see HALDON, Praetorians 252 and n. 683; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 327—328 with literature. By the time of Basil I the Hetaireia was divided into at least two distinct groups, one under a μικρὸς ἑταίρειάρχης. By the early tenth century these sub-groups included also companies of Turkic mercenaries — Pharganoi and Chazars; see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 327 and n. 237 and references. The juxtapositioning of the imperial agouroi with those ἐπὶ τῆς ἑταίρειας (the usual description of members of this corps who had purchased their position in return for an imperial roga: cf. OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 176, n. 170 and references) suggests that these are not part of the active unit, but rather titular members of the corps; although later evidence suggests that the μεγάλη ἑταίρεια
which accompanied the emperor on such campaigns was an active unit. See Anon. Vári 5, 4; 7, 17 (Dennis 1, 99sq. 161sq.); Haldon, Praetorians 605, n. 1014.


(C) 268 κανδήλας: Lat. candela, oil lamp; cf. Koukoulès, BBP II/2, 93; and cf. Klet. Phil. 131, 6—7: τὸ δὲ ἐλαιὸν τοῦ πολυκανδήλου; ibid. 130, n. 90; and note Reiske, Comm. 656; Kahane, Abendland und Byzanz 526; Ed. Diocl. 36, 33 and Comm. 283.

(C) 268 τὸν κοιτῶνα: the imperial bedchamber, under the charge of the parakoimōmenos with his staff of koitōnītai. See Oikonomidès, Préséance 305 and notes 91—93; note also 301. There were twelve koitōnītai on this expedition — see (C) 376.

(C) 269 τὸ κουκουμίλαν: see on (C) 214—216: the privy.

(C) 269 τὸ παρακοιτωνάριον: the chamber of the parakoimōmenos (see above) and the koitōnītai. See (C) 274: ἐνθα οἱ κοιτωνίται μένουσιν.

(C) 270—271 ὁφείλει δὲ ... κοσκινωτῶν: these λάκκοι (there are several, cf. σκηνάζονται; and [C] 304: τοὺς λάκκους) appear to be troughs or large, flat-bottomed vats, in which the lamps and so forth can be set at night (cf. the alternative meaning for lakkos, a cistern, for example, Koukoulès, BBP IV 315—316; Du Cange 783 s. v.), rather than pits or holes in the ground, since they are apparently brought along with the rest of the equipment. See Reiske, Comm. 559.

(C) 272 πρὸς ἐν: see Reiske, Comm. 571; and cf. (C) 530, 655—656.
(C) 272 φανάρια: lanterns with sieve-like wind-guards or frames. For the illumination of the imperial pavilion, cf. Alexiad I 7, 5.

(C) 272 ὠρολόγιον: “clock”, possibly of the classical Roman klepsydra type; cf. Ebersolt, Mélanges 13; Kουkουlès, BBP II/2, 89—90; but see Reiske, Comm. 559—562, who prefers a mechanical (clockwork) device. While the latter seems unlikely, an alternative to both will have been the traditional marked candle within a frame or container; and in respect of convenience, this may be what is referred to here. For the fixed hórologia in Constantinople, see Janin, CPByz. 102—103; and for a discussion of water-clocks, see A. Diels, Antike Technik. Osnabrück 71965, 204—232; and A. Rehm, Art. Horologium. RE VIII (1913) 2416—2433, see 2428ff.

(C) 275 σκουτέλλια: Lat. scutella, plate.

(C) 275 μισσούρια: μισσούρια/ἀπαλαρέα; cf. Lat. mensura, measuring jug; cf. Oikonomidès, Préséance 275 and n. 43; Lexikographie 60 (Diethart) and 163 (Steiner); note also De Them. I 37—38, for sculpted silver jugs in the imperial vestiarion.

(C) 275—276 ὁθομύλια: τρύβλια, a cup or bowl; cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 354; Kουkουlès, Epist. Ep. Phil. Schol. Pan. Ath. 5 (1954/55) 57; Idem, BBP V 161. — These items, all of gold, are clearly for formal occasions only, as the texts make clear. Since they were to be used only on such occasions, they were carried by the vestiarion. See Ebersolt, Mélanges 82—83; and, for example, De Cer. 582, 19—22.

(C) 281 δόο φίνατι: i.e. two perimeter guards detachments. See on (C) 263 above.

(C) 282—283 οἱ δὲ μάχιστροι καὶ οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ οἱ ὁφρικάλλιοι: see on (B) 58 and (C) 93.

(C) 284 τοὺς ἀκλητους: i.e. at the regular meals, for which no invitation was required (κλητηρία), as opposed to the κλητήρια for invited guests. See Oikonomidès, Préséance 27 and n. 29; Ebersolt, Mélanges 80—81.

(C) 284—285 τοὺς πραισίστους: the title of praiositos was bestowed as a dignity (like those of patrikios and magistros) but was, in theory
at least, open only to eunuchs; although a dignity, it seems to have been fairly closely restricted to palatine personnel, and had certain functions in connection with imperial ceremonial and the imperial service attached. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔѢΣ, Préséance 300 and literature. The praipositoi were attached to the imperial kouboukleion (cubiculum), which meant, by the ninth century, service in the court and on the emperor’s person — the koitôn and its staff constituted the bedchamber proper. The kouboukleion and the praipositos/-oi are often associated with the silentiariori and the epi tês katastaseōs. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔѢΣ, Préséance 301; 298, n. 69; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur s.t.; and Klet. Phil. 129, 7—9 and notes 83—84. Note (C) 485sq.; and esp. (C) 798sq.

(C) 286 Διὰ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ σαμιάρια μοῦ·: from this point up to (C) 311 there follows a list of material to be transported by the bureau of the eidikon.

(C) 287 ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος: that is, from the treasury of the bedchamber; see DÖLGER, Finanzverwaltung 25, n. 3; DAI 50, 53 and note; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔѢΣ, Préséance 305.

(C) 287 χάραγμα: coined money. See DÖLGER, Finanzverwaltung 77.

(C) 289 εἰς τὴν φίλαν: in the sense of enclosure, imperial area. See on (C) 263 supra.

(C) 289—290 ἵματα ... δεκάλια ... ἔξαλια: REISKE, Comm. 562—563, suggests that this refers to the number of ounces of gold thread employed in the weaving of such garments — the greater the amount of gold the more valuable the item. KOUKOLEΣ, Epist. Ep. Phil. Schol. Pan. Ath. 5 (1954/55) 58, prefers the notion of the number or the fineness of the threads woven into the garment, relating this to the terms ἔξαπωλα, δεκάπωλα, δωδεκάπωλα (see on [C] 226 supra). While this explanation has some relevance for the latter, it does not fit with what is known of the former. Given the fact that the garments described as dekalia etc. are contrasted with those garments not purchased on the market; and the fact that they are otherwise similar to those already described (cf., e.g. [C] 253—254: ἵματα ... δισχίστα μανικάτα ...), the probability is that the terms dekalia/hexalnia describe their market- or sale value, that is, of ten
nomismata, of six nomismata, and so on. Note in addition that, in contrast to garments described as δεκάπωλον etc., those described as dekalia, ennalia, etc. increase in value as the number qualifying them increases; cf. Ep. Bibl. IX 6, where it is permitted to exchange only βλαττία ἔξαλα ἦ ἔλαττονα (described as τὰ ἐπιζητούμενα εἴδη) for Bulgar imports. The -alion/-ia ending here clearly relates to a monetary valuation.

(C) 290 ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου: in contrast to the garments produced "at home", i.e. in imperial workshops or by state commission. See on (C) 226 supra. These garments were purchased by the state in Constantinople through the various systēmata responsible.

(C) 290—291 λωρωτά μεταξωτά Αἰγυπτικά: either of Egyptian silk, or in Egyptian style, or of Egyptian provenance. Since they were bought on the market, the likelihood is that they were (expensive) imports — the fact that they were intended specifically as gifts for foreigners might support this. Note the τουβία λωρωτά Αἰγυπτικά at De Cer. 678, 7. Garments of varying types and styles were imported into the empire, apparently on a large scale: cf. Ep. Bibl. V 2, for example. See on (C) 242 above. Egyptian stuffs were particularly sought after: SERJEANT, Islamic Textiles 15—16, 88ff.

(C) 291 ἀληθινά ἑνθάδια: i.e. ἱμάτια . . . ἄληθινα . . .; of local (Byzantine) and not imported (e.g. Egyptian) production and style, purple-dyed.

(C) 294—295 βαμβακερά ἀληθινά ἑνθάδια καὶ πράσινα: see Ep. Bibl. IX 1 for the cotton merchants and the sources of cotton: the Pontos, Kerasous and the Strymōn region. Note that cotton was used by the vestiopratai to line silk garments — Ep. Bibl IX 1; and see REISKE, Comm. 564.

(C) 295—296, 297—298 σφιγκτούρια . . . πρός ἀναλογίαν, τουβία . . . πρός ἀναλογίαν: these are, therefore, matching sets of clothing, matched by colour and value, together with hoods, belts, boots and so on. See also De Cer. 677, 16—17.

(C) 298 σάβανα: see on (C) 222 above. This material was used for towels as well as for garments; here they are divided into three classes (note Ed. Diocl. 29, 57—65, where “Gallic” and other sabana
are likewise divided into three categories according to quality. Note ibid. 29, 63—64: “sabana . . . of coarse linen for the use of ordinary people”). What the “accompaniments” were is difficult to say; but if sabana is here to be interpreted as garments, then the accompanying items might consist of items such as described here in the text: leggings, belts etc. Note also Berger, Das Bad 119, n. 44.

(C) 300—301 τὰ μὲν βλαττία . . . τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ: the distinction is between those garments of superior quality and of pure silk, and those such as the striped lōrōtα, which were less pure. See on (C) 173 supra. Again, the garments and fittings of lesser value are packed in sacks, in contrast to the more luxurious packing provided for the valuable items. See (C) 230—232, 237sq., 246—247. The (tenth-century) Arab geographer Mukaddasi described remarkably similar packings for precious Egyptian cloths. See Serjeant, Islamic Textiles 13—14, 94—95.

(C) 302—308: this section repeats and augments, with slightly different details, information already given — see on (C) 267sq. above. This time two phanaria are specified (cf. [C] 272), but only two bronze oil-lamps (cf. [C] 268: three silver, three bronze) for τὰ βασιλικὰ πεντεξμένα (Lat. impedimentum: cf. Browning, Medieval and Modern Greek 71; and e.g. DAI 9, 56), that is to say, for the imperial baggage (meaning the tent, bedchamber and staff etc.). Where the deeper lakkos of two spans is concerned, this has two torches, two tapers and a bronze lantern; as opposed to three tapers and bronze lanterns (see [C] 272). For φάτλα ([C] 307, torch) see Pantokrator Typikon 1022; De Cer. 554, 9 (also as taper: De Cer. 349, 15; 439, 6; 440, 3. 7; 602, 21—22); Narratio de Sancta Sophia 101, 10; and Du Cange 1668 s.v.; 1673 — φητλόν; Ebersolt, Mélanges 90; and S. Fränkel, Orientalisches im Byzantinischen. BZ 3 (1894) 155. Cf. Arab. fatīl (see Lisan al-ʿArab II 1048; Cowan 695). The word comes back into Greek through Turkish fitil, from the Arabic, to mean “wick” (τὸ φυτοῦλι).

(C) 308 διὰ τὰς ἀναχυπτούσας χρείας τῇ νυκτί: see on (C) 214—216 above.

(C) 309 κηρούλια διόγκυα: candles were measured by weight, cf. Lat. uncia, an ounce (one twelfth of a silver pound). On the gradual replacement of oil lamps by candles for day-to-day use, see

(C) 309 ὀ δρομογάρμος: i.e. τῆς βίγλης, in charge of camp security. See on (B) 119—120 and (C) 420 infra.

(C) 310 τὸ κέρκετον: the watch/patrol; see V. Andreae Sali 649A—B for the street patrol of Constantinople; and Anon. Vāri 10, 8sq. (Dennis 3, 35sq.): τὰ κέρκιτα; 12, 15 (Dennis 4, 26): κερκίτενωνται; Niceph., Praec. 20, 7. See Dagron, Phocas 215, n. 1.

(C) 312sq.: The text now returns to a more detailed version of the procedures already described at (B) 80sq., and which commenced at (C) 54.

(C) 312 εἰς Πύλαι: situated at Çiftlik Köyü, 4.5 km east of Yalova, on the southern shore of the Gulf of İzmit. See Janin, Grands centres 100; and C. Mango, review of Janin, Grands centres, in: BZ 71 (1978) 113—116, see 115. Cf. De Them. IV 11; Pertusi, at De Them. 129; Ramsay 187. It was the main disembarkation point for imperial expeditions into Anatolia, as well as being an entrepôt for trade in crops and livestock. See Hendy, Studies 55.

(C) 313 τὴν προμοσέλλαν: see on (C) 108 above.

(C) 313—314 τὸν διμέστικον τὸν ὁπτιμάτων: see (C) 92 above.

(C) 315—316 δὺο βασιλικοῦς: see on (B) 109—110 above; and Haldon, Praetorians 296—297 and notes; Oikonomidès, Préséance 328.

(C) 316—317 καὶ εἰς τὸν Λευκάτην ... πρὸς τὸν Λευκάτην: Cape Leukatēs (Yelkenkaya Burnu) at the entrance to the Gulf of Nikomēdeia, on the northern side. Ships following the northern coast from Constantinople or Chalcedon would pass close to the Cape on their way to Pylai, which was situated more or less diagonally opposite, to the South-East. Unless the account here is garbled, and the second
mention of Leukatēs should read Pylai, it suggests that the first basilikos went to Pylai to supervise the disembarkation of the troops and equipment there, before sailing to Leukatēs, where he could supervise the return of the vessels (? to Constantinople). Leukatēs produced cherries for the market in Constantinople during the twelfth century — and presumably before (see Prod. II 65b); it was also the site of the supposed massacre by Justinian II of Slav families in 692/693: παρὰ τῷ λεγομένῳ Λευκάτῃ, τόπῳ κρημνώδει καὶ παραθαλάσσιῳ κατὰ τὸν Νικομηδειάσιον κόλπον κειμένῳ ... (Theoph. 366, 22—23); and the monasteries of Nikētiatēs and Pelekanos were situated in the vicinity. See JANIN, Églises et monastères 94—95; 425; and maps, ibid, 82 and opp. p. 1.

(C) 318 eἰς Σάγγαρον καὶ eἰς τὸν Ἑγίου Σαβίνον: the river Saggarios (mod. Sakarya) flowing down from the central plateau into the Black Sea to the East of Kefken, curving past Nikaia and Nikomēdeia. The bridge built by Justinian over the river was famous. See De Them. V 17sq., and PERTUSI, at De Them. 133 and literature; also M. WHITBY, Justinian’s Bridge over the Sangarios and the Date of Procopius’ De Aedificiis. JHS 105 (1985) 129—148. The localisation of Agios Sabinos is difficult — possibly on the road to Malagina. Note that there were imperial xenodocheia at both Pylai and Sangarios, as well as at Nikomēdeia (cf. OIKONOMIDēS, Préséance 318; and Klet. Phil. 123, 17—19) and that the first two were on the imperial route from Pylai, via Nikaia, to the first aplēktôn at Malagina. See HENDY, Studies, map 24. Agios Sabinos may therefore be another, otherwise unattested imperial xenodocheion, possibly near Nikaia. The imperial official referred to here is sent ahead to make sure that each establishment is prepared for the emperor’s arrival. See JANIN, Grands centres 108 (map) with text. It is just possible that Ἐγίου Σαβίνος is a copyist’s error for the monastery τὰ Εὐσέβιον: see JANIN, Grands centres 93; and C. MANGO, The Pilgrimage Centre of St. Michael at Germia. JÖB 36 (1986) 117—132, see 124, n. 11.

(C) 318—319 προαποστέλλει ... eἰς Πύλας: that is, the remaining imperial officers, along with the Constantinopolitan officials and soldiers. See on (B) 82 above.

(C) 319—321 καὶ μαγιστροὺς ... μετ’ αὐτῶν: selected higher officials — commanders of the tagmata, chiefs of the various palatine logothē-
sia and sekreta, who accompanied him on the expedition, and so on. See on (B) 81, 110–111 supra; and for the various bureaus and others accompanying the emperor, see on (B) 107. For magistroi and patrikioi in general, see OIKONOMIDES, Préséance 294—295.

(C) 321 τὰ δρομώνα: see DAI 51, Comm. and esp. 195—196; AHRWEILER, Mer 411ff. Basil I used such warships for longer journeys and progresses, and there existed a standing flotilla of ten vessels, as well as imperial barges, distinct from the imperial fleet, or βασιλικοπλώι-μον, assigned to the emperor’s personal use. Leo VI’s reign saw a number of changes, including the commissioning of two dromόνia used as pleasure ships for both longer and shorter journeys and progresses.

(C) 321—324 καὶ ἀπὸ ἱκανοῦ διαστήματος... σώτως: cf. (B) 91 supra. For κατασφραγίζειν, see Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 52—53; Theoph. 162, 3; V. Theod. Syk. 91, 11 and commentary 230; LAMPE s. v. κατασφραγίζειν (4b); and for an explanation as to why the emperor should be looking East when facing Constantinople, see REISKE, Comm. 565 (who argues that the emperor departs from a port such as Rhegion, for example, which would permit this). Alternatively, of course — and the text would not contradict this — the emperor may first have prayed, while facing East, before blessing the City, which he turned to face after his address to God.

(C) 322 χράββατον: REISKE, Comm. 565, thought the term referred to the ship’s cabin or captain’s quarters. In view of the verb used — ἐγείρεται — this seems unlikely. Couch or divan seems just as probable.

(C) 324—331 «Κύριε Ἡσυχ Χριστέ... ἁμήν»: many of the concerns mentioned here are repeated from (B) 84sq. Note the similar sentiments expressed in an undated inscription near to the Rhegion Gate (see JANIN, CPByz. 279): Χριστέ, ὁ Θεός, ἀτάραχον καὶ ἀπολέμητον φυλαττεῖ τὸν τῆν πόλιν σου, νῆπιος δείκτης τούτων βασιλεύσιν ἡμῖν. The prayer is reminiscent of certain liturgical texts, and may be taken from such a context. See PANAGIOTAKIS, at Theodosios Diakonos 154, comm. to 66; and the text; and cf., for example, MATEOS, Typikon II 202, 6—11. Compare Heraclius’ prayer and commendation of the City to God and the Virgin on his departure in 622,
recorded in the homily attributed to Theodore Synkellos: Περὶ τῶν ἀδέων Ἀβάρων ... ἀναχωρήσεως, in: A. Mai, Nova Patrum Bibliotheca VI. Rome 1853, 423—437, see 426. Cf. 2 Cor. 1, 9—11.

(C) 332—333 τὰ τε παρίπτεια καὶ τὰ μωλάρια: this is the equivalent of lines (C) 334—335: τὰ τε σαγμάρια καὶ τὰ παρίπτεια, i.e. σαγμάρια = μωλάρια (and other pack-animals), while παρίπτεια = horses. See on (C) 65 supra; and note Reiske, Comm. 565—566.

(C) 333—334 διατάσσεται ... χαρτουλαρίω: see on (B) 53 supra; the chartularios in question is presumably that of the stables in Constantinople rather than of those at Malagina.

(C) 334 κομπινεύσῃ: see on (C) 158. The verb means “to team up”.

(C) 335sq.: the Optimatoi constituted a support unit for the tagmata and the imperial baggage; they were commanded by a low-ranking domestikos, equivalent to the thematic domestikoi under their stratēgoi, and organised along similar lines to the tagmata proper, although with elements of thematic provincial administrative organisation — as the presence of a kaqkellarios on the staff of the domestikos suggests. See Haldon, Praetorians 223—225 and notes. Note the reference to the record of name and village, emphasising the “thematic” aspect of their organisation.

(C) 338 τὰς σφραγίδας: each load was apparently given an official seal which had to be handed in as proof of safe, and untampered with, delivery.

(C) 339—340 κατὰ δέκα σαγμάρια ... Μαλαγίνων: i.e. experienced stablehands from Malagina (there were also syntrophoi from the stables at Constantinople, see De Cer. 698, 22) to check harness, loads etc. of the pack-animals. The Optimatoi themselves were essentially “unskilled” labourers in this context. There were forty such syntrophoi in all. See (C) 384.

(C) 341 τὰ γομάρια: cf. γόμος; Ed. Diocl. 14, 9—11 and Comm. 253; Du Cange s. v. 255—256; see Schilbach, Metrologie 170: the gomos was reckoned at 12 modioi, or 96 kg.

(C) 342—343 ὁ σαφραμεντάριος: responsible with the chartularios of Malagina for pasturing the animals. See on (C) 71 above.
(C) 345 τὸ βούκινον: Lat. bucinum. Cf. Maurice, Strat. II 17, 1ff.; Anon. Vári 6, 1 (Dennis 1, 120); Niceph., Praec. 15, 23 etc.

(C) 349—349 ἀμα τῶ ἱελλαρίῳ: i.e. the kellarios of the stable. See on (B) 53 and (C) 117—118, 137 above.

(C) 349—350 ἐκ τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου τοῦ θέματος: as well as providing for the personnel of the expedition, of course (see [C] 533sq., and De Cer. 658, 8—16; 659, 12—14), the thematic prōtonotarios was also responsible for provisioning their animals. He was notified in advance and deposited the required fodder at the appropriate aplēkta, according to the route followed by the expedition. See on (B) 103 above. Note that according to De Cer. 659, 7sq. an imperial official might also be sent out to raise extra supplies or organise the transportation of such supplies for the army or for a particular expedition. See also Haldon, Praetorians 314—316 and esp. n. 951. For normal thematic expeditions, the stratēgos and his staff were expected to ensure the availability of adequate supplies, replacement mounts, and so forth, without central assistance. See, for example, Leo, Tact. XX 63.

(C) 353sq.: the count of the stable took charge of the fodder delivered by the prōtonotarios, noting down, together with the eidikos logothetēs and the notarioi, the amount. The thematic prōtonotarios and chartoularios later submitted a claim, which was checked against the sums noted down by the eidikos, so that the thema in question was exempted from state obligations in proportion to the value or amount of the materials supplied to the expedition. It is unclear whether the chartoularios in question belonged to the stable at Malagina (see on [B] 53 supra) or to the thema from which the fodder was supplied. The probability is that he belonged to the stables. See Haldon, Praetorians 315f. and literature. For the thematic chartoularioi, see Ahrweiler, Recherches 43 and literature; Okonomides, Préséance 314; 341. Like the chartoularioi of the tagmata, they were under the general authority of the logothetēs tou stratiōtikou, and their duties were concerned with, in the words of Leo VI (Tact. IV 31): τὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ καταγραφὴν τε καὶ ἀναζήτησιν. See Haldon, Praetorians 552, n. 810; and for a full account, R. Guilland, Chartulaire et grand chartulaire. Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes 9 (1971) 405—426, see 408ff. (= idem, Titres et fonctions XVIII).
(C) 353 ξενάλω: meaning gifts in only the loosest possible sense; these are clearly standard requirements for expeditions, for which the *thema* is given relief in subsequent fiscal periods.

(C) 354 ἐν καταγραφῇ: see (C) 336; and Klet. Phil. 113, 24: this was standard technical usage for a departmental record or log-book.

(C) 356 καταστόλιον: καταστέλλω/καταστολή, see Reiske, Comm. 567; and (C) 439: with the sense of a “standing down” of the expedition; or the withdrawal of the expedition back to its quarters. Cf. Kekau-menos 18, 25 (Litavrin 154, 3).

(C) 360—361 διὰ τοῦ κόμητος ... ὑπουργίας: there were a number of *komites* under the authority of the *domestikos* of the *Optimatoi* and his *topotērētēs*, cf. Klet. Phil. 119, 25; and on (C) 335sq. supra. This one, with his detachment of 200 men, was seconded to the baggage-train of the imperial household service.

(C) 362—363 ἐν καταγραφῇ ... παρασυρμένων: again, the *Optimatoi* are recorded. These 100 horses are provided by the monasteries, see on (C) 110 supra.

(C) 365: for the 80 pack-animals, see (C) 137. The remaining 20 followed, to keep the packs in place. See on the *syntrophoi* of Malagina at (C) 339—340 and cf. (C) 526—528.

(C) 374—375 τῶν ἐβδομαρίων: officials of the *eidikon*, organised in groups or “weeks” after their duty roster. See Οἰκονομίδες, Pré-séance 130 and n. 89 with literature; Klet. Phil. 123, 9; Οἰκονομίδες, ibid. 318, surmises that they guarded precious objects carried by the *eidikon*. See also (C) 538.

(C) 376—377 τῶν σαράκοντα τῶν παρισταμένων τῇ τραπέζῃ: see on (B) 117 above.

(C) 382—383 διὰ τοῦ σταβλοκόμητος ... σταβλοκομῆτων: three officials subordinate to the imperial *prōtostratōr* (cf. Klet. Phil. 121, 29—32), in charge of the imperial riding and processional horses. One was apparently based in Constantinople, the other two probably at Malagina. Cf. Theoph. 473, 24—27; and infra on (C) 580.

(C) 383 πολιτικὰ ἱππάρια: imperial riding horses from the stables at
Constantinople (cf. πολιτικοὶ κριταὶ as opposed to θεματικοὶ κριταὶ); cf. OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 322, n. 203; and cf. De Cer. 105, 23: τῆς πολιτικῆς τὸ μέρος τῶν πρακτικῶν; and 106, 3. 8. 10 etc. in contrast to ὁ περατικὸς δῆμος (105, 19 etc.).

(C) 387—388 διὰ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ ... σαγμάρια δύο: for the transporting of the military kôdikes or muster-rolls. See Haldon, Praetorians 498, n. 573; 577, n. 929. See also 220 and notes; and on the stratiôtikôn logothesion, OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 314.

(C) 388 διὰ τοῦ δεκάνου: the dekanos was an official in the bureau of the prótoasêkrêtês. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 310—311; Klet. Phil. 123, 4. He probably served as expeditionary notary or secretary, in particular for the issue and validation of imperial edicts, grants, exemptions and so forth during the emperor’s absence from Constantinople.

(C) 389 διὰ τῶν δ’ παπάδων: to serve in the imperial chapel which accompanied the expedition, carried by the vestiarion, and to otherwise minister to the emperor’s personal liturgical and spiritual needs. See on (C) 183 above.

(C) 389 ὡμοῖοι ... ὑπῆργον: the figures actually add up to 481 and not 482; probably the 2 stablokomêtes should have 2 sagmaria, and the text should read ἀνὰ σαγμάριον α’.

(C) 392 φερ’: but 581 if the above suggestion is incorrect.

(C) 392 τὰ παρίππια τὰ κομπινευθέντα υ’: in fact, the total listed comes to 378, excluding the missing quota for the 200 soldiers of the Hetaireia (line [C] 378) who should, according to the example of the ἐθνικοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐταιρείας ([C] 378—379) have 200 parippia. Reiske, in accordance with the total given in the text, supplies these 200 men with the missing number of animals, although he gives 24 instead of 22. While this fits the grand total given here, it seems an unusually small number of pack-animals for such a large numer of men.

(C) 392—394 ἵππαρια ... ἀπὸ: i.e. including the led horses, the total amounts to 1086, made up as follows: (a) 482 sagmaria; (b) 100 sagmaria; (c) 400 hipparia; (d) 104 sagmaria.
Taking the figures given in the text at face-value, groups (a), (b) and (c) are listed at (C) 389, 391, 392 and total 982 animals. The remaining group of 104 animals (d) must therefore be made up of those provided by the metropolitans and bishops, see (C) 104—105. These are specified as mōlaria. Group (b), of 100 sagmaria, must therefore be the animals provided by the monasteries, see (C) 362—363 and (C) 110 supra. They are specified as hippocaria in these references, but at (C) 390—391 simply as sagmaria. There are in addition to all of these a further 30 imperial saddle horses from the Constantinopolitan stable (see on [C] 126—127 above) and 20 horses brought as gifts to the emperor during the expedition: see (C) 126—127; and (C) 394 for the 30 saddle horses.

(C) 395—398 καὶ ὅσα . . . ἀλογα: see (C) 347sq.

(C) 399 διτάγων: double fodder allowance (or two feeds per day).

(C) 399 τριτάγων: triple fodder allowance, or three feeds per day. The sellaria are clearly the more valuable animals (see on [C] 65 above).

(C) 399 ὁ δὲ ἐπείκτης: on the staff of the komēs of the stable. See Οἰκονομιδῆς, Préséance 339 and notes; and on (B) 53 above.

(C) 400 τὰ κατίστρια: to be understood as “harness” in the wider sense, possibly in contrast to κατιτζάλα ([C] 133 supra; see on [C] 84 above).

(C) 402 θέσπισμα . . . βασιλικόν: cf. Dölger—Karayannopoulos, Urkundenlehre 75; 80ff.; 109 and n. 3. From the context, this sounds like an official ruling or rescriptum issued to cover certain specific administrative problems. Cf. also Dölger, Byz. Diplomatik 48; 121ff.; and Theoph. 399, 24; 360, 4; 180, 18 etc. and esp. Klet. Phil. 235, 2. On the rescript, see L. Wenger, Die Quellen des römischen Rechts. Wien 1953, 426ff.; 463—464.

(C) 402—403 χαριστικήν: a gift, cf. χαρίζω; DAI 13, 53: to grant as a gift (as a result of one’s generosity). The term also bore a more technical meaning, of course, with regard to the granting of Church and monastic property in usufructu. Cf. Ostrogorsky, Geschichte 307—308 and notes 3 and 4; Ahrweiler, Charisticariat; Lemerele, Charisticaires; Kaplan, Monastères, esp. 71—73 with literature.
(C) 407—410: the point being that persons with branded animals could profit at the expense of the *promosella* by illegally palming old and unfit animals off in return for younger, fitter, beasts.

(C) 411—414 ὥθελε δὲ ... ἐπιτυγχάνα ταύτα: the maximum load of 8 *modioi* was imposed to prevent the animals being overburdened (and consequently unable to complete the journey) and to prevent the carrying of excessive amounts of unnecessary baggage. The implication is that the extra loads were the personal property of the members of the force. Compare Anon. Vári 26, 1sq. (Dennis 15, 2sq.); 27, 18sq. (Dennis 17, 2sq.).

(C) 416—417 περιτατεύ̂ν ... ὐτω̂ς: this to ensure that all was prepared for the emperor well in advance of his arrival — note (C) 162sq. The procedure was clearly seen as optional — ἐκν χελεύ̂ει ὅ βασιλεύ̂ς — and was possible only inside imperial territory, that is, when the expeditionary force still had the appearance of a ceremonial progress through the provinces, rather than a fully-fledged military undertaking.

(C) 420 Περὶ τῶν κερκέτων: Lat. *circitum*, cf. Du Cange 639 s. v. The term is an equivalent for ἡ βίγλα, Lat. *vigilia*, watch, and by extension, guard, patrol, picket. The night-patrol in Constantinople was thus called (Haldon, Praetorians 541, n. 769; and supra on [C] 310). In this context, it refers to the sentries and patrols or rounds made by the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla*. For a thorough and systematic account of the descriptions of Byzantine military camps of this period, and of the sources dealing with the subject, see Kolias, Περὶ ἀπλήκτου 161—177; Toynbee, Const. Porph. 307—311; and on this passage in particular, Kolias, Περὶ ἀπλήκτου 162—163; Toynbee, Const. Porph. 310—311; and see Dagraon, Phocas 215, n. 1.

(C) 422 φατλίον: see on (C) 302—308 above.

(C) 422 οἱ ρ' σχολάριοι, ὅς ἑξει: see on (C) 263, 281 above.

(C) 422—423 τὴν φίναν τὴν ἑξω ... φίναν ἑσω: see on (C) 263 above.

(C) 426 τῶν Ἀρχιστράτηγον: the archangel Michael. Cf. Th. Cont. 145, 6; 340, 21; Michael was an important figure in imperial symbolism. Note that there were two *bêmata* in the palace grounds constructed
during the reign of Theophilus, dedicated to the Virgin and to Michael (Th. Cont., loc. cit.) and a chapel of the Archistratēgos, i.e. Michael, in the palace itself (Theoph. 471, 1—2). At a later date an imperial banner bore his image: see on (C) 734—735 infra. For the important pilgrimage centre dedicated to the arch-general, see C. Mango, The Pilgrimage Centre of St. Michael at Germia. JÖB 36 (1986) 117—132, and especially P. Magdalino, Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I. JÖB 37 (1987) 51—64, see 56 and n. 1; and see the detailed survey of R. Janin, Les sanctuaires byzantins de saint Michel (Constantinople et banlieu). Échos d’Orient 33 (1934) 28—52, note esp. 29—30 (nos. 2 and 3).

(C) 426—427 τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τῶν στρατηλάτων: see Reiske, Comm. 567; and Th. Cont. 324, 18—19. Saints Theodore (stratêlatês) and Theodore (Tiro), Démêtrios, Merkourios and George are the best-known; but saint Prokopios, as Reiske notes, was also important. See H. Delehaye, Les légendes grecques des saints militaires. Paris 1909, 2—8; and cf. Haldon, Praetorians 568—569 and literature. Note also R. Janin, Les églises byzantines des saints militaires (Constantinople et banlieu). Échos d’Orient 33 (1934) 163—180 (I. Églises Saint-Georges), 331—342 (II. Églises Saint-Démétrius. III. Églises Saint-Ménas); 34 (1935) 56—70 (IV. Les églises Saint-Théodore. V. Les églises des Quarante-Martyrs de Sébaste).

(C) 428 ἐπιστάτας: patrols of soldiers, lit. “supervisors/superintendents”; see Reiske, Comm. 567—568.

(C) 430—431 ἕξω τῶν σκούταρίων εἰσελθεῖν: τὰ σκούτάρια was the normal term for shields; but it was also applied to the rank and file of the Vigla, under the drouggarios, who provided the 100 scholarioi here on guard duty. See Haldon, Praetorians 241 and notes. In this context it is again an equivalent of ἡ φίνα. Note εἰσελθεῖν in the sense of “pass through”.

(C) 432—433 ἐλθῇ εἰς τὸν δρουγγάριον: see also lines (C) 436—437: ὁπότεν αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει ὁ δρουγγάριος. The drouggarios was clearly responsible for accompanying such persons to an exit point and for ensuring that they returned according to the prescribed manner.

(C) 438 τῶν πεδητούρων: see Reiske, Comm. 568; Haldon, Praetorians 541—542.
(C) 443 διερχομένου δὲ ... θέματω: i. e. once he has left the district of Optimaton and entered the military provinces. Note the similarity between this usage and Theophanes’ anachronistic reference to Heraclius’ entry into the “region of the themes”, Theoph. 303, 10. For literature and discussion, see Haldon, Recruitment 30ff.; Lilie, Die byz. Reaktion 287ff., see 294, n. 18; Idem, Die zweihundertjährige Reform. Zu den Anfängen der Themenorganisation im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert. Bsl 45 (1984) 27—39; 190—201.

(C) 446—448 ὁ τε στρατηγὸς ... ὁ δομέστικος τοῦ θεματος: the chief military and administrative officers of the thema, except for the krites. See on (B) 100 supra. For the form ἀρμαρχεῖ, found here and in many other texts, see Oikonomides, Préséance 55.

(C) 448 δέξιον: see Reiske, Comm. 568; Ebersolt, Mélanges 89; Vogt, Cér. Comm. II 97ff. Cf. Oikonomides, Préséance 217, 18 and note 255 with literature. The word meant formal reception in the most general sense; of the emperor by the army; or by the demes and populace of the City; or, by extension, of the granting of games and accordingly of festivities to the populace of the City by the emperor in the Hippodrome. See (C) 873sq. infra. For the related term δοχή see Reiske, Comm. 83—84; Ebersolt, Mélanges 45; and on (B) 122 above. See also R. Guillard, Autour du Livre des Cérémonies. Ἑλληνικά 16 (1958) 77—94, see 81 and n. 1.

(C) 449—450 πίπτουσι ... καβαλλάριοι: the honour accorded by the emperor to the soldiers is emphasised in these ceremonial receptions. See (B) 124sq.

(C) 451 το προσκυνήσαι: for the different “grades” of proskynēsis see Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 29—30; Treitinger, Reichsidee 84—90.

(C) 453—454 «πῶς ἔχετε ... τὰ παιδία;»: the emperor as “father” of his people, defender of their families, patron of their children, was a common motif. Cf. Ahrweiler, Un discours 401—402; Vári, Exzerptenwerk c. 4, 1; cf. Haldon, Praetorians 606, n. 1016 and references. Cf. Leo, Tact. IV 1: τὸν ἡμέτερον συστρατιώτην (οὗτος γὰρ ἐγὼ καλῶ τὸν ἀριστεύον μέλλοντα ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας ...); Vári, Exzerptenwerk c. 5, 2—3: συνιππότας, συνοπλίτας, συστρατιώτας (of Constantine VII and Romanus being companions-in-arms of their soldiers); also Leo, Tact. XX 5: πατρικὴν σε ἔχειν στοργὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
(of the _stratēgos_ for his soldiers); XX 72; Logos nouthētētikos (incerti scriptoris de officiis regii libellus, in: Kekaumenos 93—104) 97, 29—98, 1 (Litavrin 284, 8—10); note Th. Cont. 456, 12—14 (of Constantine VII). The terms occur regularly in the harangues attributed to Leo and Nicephorus Phocas by Leo the Deacon: cf. Leo Diac. 12, 21; 20, 13—14; 42, 1; cf. Th. Cont. 478, 7—8; and Theodosios Diakonos II 140. Note also DAGRON, Phocas 162 and n. 6; 285 and n. 29; and for the closely-related notion of _pronoia_ or forethought, exercised by the emperor as father of his subjects, see the anonymous sixth-century _De scientia politica_, discussed in E. BARKER, Social and Political Thought in Byzantium. Oxford 1957, 71f.; and HUNGER, Prooimion 84—94, esp. 93—94.

(C) 454—455 κάκειναι ... ύμαίνομεν: cf. REISKE, Comm. 569; Leo, Tact. epilog. 4: ἐν αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ Θεῷ) ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν; and cf. DAI proem.

(C) 457 ὅρλει: see on (B) 58 above.

(C) 458 καβαλλικεύσαι: see DUCANGE 526 s. v.

(C) 458—459 ἀπελθεῖν ... τάξιν: the wording suggests that there existed a formal parade-order for the reception of an emperor or a similar high-ranking visitor. See (C) 444.

(C) 461—462 εἴτε ἐν ... Καισάρειαν: see on (A) 3—5 and (A) 13 above.

(C) 466—473 ἀγωνισθεῖν ... ἐνδειξηταί: cf. AHRWEILER, Un discours 401—402 and text, 398, 28—30 etc. Note the stress on right belief and loyalty to the emperor, on the one hand; and on the other, of the rewards to be gained. See Haldon, Praetorians 317—318 and notes; and 606, n. 1016; REISKE, Comm. 569—570. This short harangue should be included among those which AHRWEILER, loc. cit., suggests need further analysis as a genre. Cf. those of Nicephorus and Leo Phocas, very similar in content, reported by Leo the Deacon: Leo Diac. 12, 4—13, 10; 20, 13—21, 23; and Th. Cont. 478, 17—18 (and cf. ibid. 459, 16—20); together with those cited by AHRWEILER, Un discours 393, n. 5. The military harangues had long been a favourite topos of historians, as is demonstrated by the circulation of the collection Περὶ δημιουργίων (in Rhetorica militaris) and various selected δημιουργίων, the first preserved in both the
Laurentianus Plut. 55, 4 (ff. 216—230) and the Ambrosianus B 119 supp. (ff. 135—140), of the tenth century; the second in the Ambrosianus codex only (ff. 141—161), and including harangues extracted from ancient, Roman and Byzantine historians. See DAIN, Straté-gistes 343—344; 364 (with 384—385) and literature; LEMERLE, Premier humanisme 272—273; and DAGRON, Modèle islamique 226ff. and 235, n. 71 with literature. See also DAGRON, Phocas 126, n. 6; 162 and n. 6.

(C) 474 ὁπιθὲν τοῦ δρογγαρίων: the druggarios of the Vigla appears generally separated from his own unit, being placed in charge of camp security and with the Hetaireia in attendance. See above on (C) 420.

(C) 475—478 καὶ ὅτε ... τὰ θέματα: see on (B) 112—113, 114—115 supra. Note that the redactor or copyist has wrongly supplied ὁ ἰκανάτως for ὁ ἰκανάτων, on a false analogy with the unit ὁ ἱστήμως. The usual nominalisation of unit commanders’ titles has misled him; cf. for example ὁ ἐξοχοῦτος for ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ἐξοχοῦτων, or ὁ Ἀνατολι-κός for ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, and so on. See (C) 648sq.

(C) 480 οἱ βασιλικοὶ εὐνοῦχοι: i.e. those court officers bearing titles assigned only to eunuchs (in theory, at least) — including praipositoi and koubikouarioi. See OIKONOMIDÉS, Préséance 300—301; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 66.

(C) 480 εὐθὺς καὶ παρ’ αὐτά: see DU CANGE s. v. πάραυτα = παραυτίκα, 1118.

(C) 483 ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης: see on (B) 48, 117 above.

(C) 484—485 οἱ ... πρωτοσπαθάριοι: bearers of the dignity of the same name. See OIKONOMIDÉS, Préséance 297; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur s. t.; HALDON, Praetorians 184.

(C) 486 τὸ κούβοκάλιον: Lat. cubiculum, the imperial bedchamber and its attendant dignities. By this time the koitōn was the bedchamber proper (see [C] 480 and on [C] 268 above), the term kouboukleion signifying collectively the group of dignities originally associated with the cubiculum — praipositoi and koubikouarioi in particular.
See OIKONOMIDĚS, Préséance 300; 301f. and esp. n. 89; and 305, parakoimōnēnemos. See also Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 15—16.

(C) 487 τὰ τίμια καὶ ζωοταῖα ξύλα: cf. De Cer. 124, 22—127, 15; and 161, 2—4sq. See Reiske, Comm. 570; these are pieces of the True Cross, carried in a reliquary. Cf. DAI 46, 60; note Klet. Phil. 129, 25sq. and 130, n. 88; and see De Cer. 538, 14—541, 10 for the celebration and procession of the True Cross. These were paraded together with the great bejewelled cross, various other imperial standards and banners, as well as military standards, on specific ceremonial occasions. See on (C) 489, 734—735 and 785—787 infra. Note the relics of the Passion sent to the troops by Constantine VII. on the occasion of a campaign: VÁRI, Exzerptenwerk c. 8, 23—29. For the liturgical exaltation of the Cross, see MATEOS, Typicon I 28, 11—32, 25.

(C) 489 σιγνοφόρος: there were signophoroi in the exkoubiton (see Haldon, Praetorians 293 and notes; and cf. ibid. 287—288 and n. 828), but not in other tagmata. On the other hand, the term might be less a title than a description, of one of the basilikoi bearing an imperial signon; unless an officer of the exkoubiton was seconded to this task. See on (C) 734—735 below.

(C) 489 σταυρόν χρυσοῦ διάλιθον: cf. (C) 786—787. One of the many ceremonial symbols stored in the precincts of the palace in various chapels and churches, including in particular military insignia. There were two such processional crosses in the tenth century, one attributed to Constantine I, one constructed on the orders of Constantine VII (see De Cer. 640, 3—4. 17—18) stored in the palatine chapels of St. Stephen in the Daphnē (see Janin, CPByz. 112—113; idem, Êglises et monastères 473—474) and of the Virgin of Pharos (Janin, CPByz. 409; idem, Êglises et monastères 232—236) respectively. The great cross of Constantine I is mentioned in several processions from the fifth century on (see De Cer. 414, 11 — accession of Leo I; [C] 785sq. — triumphal entry of Basil I; cf. infra on [C] 724sq.; [C] 861 — entry of Theophilus; cf. infra on [C] 808sq.; De Cer. 439, 8—9 — entry into Constantinople of Nicephorus II Phocas in 963). It (or its companion cross) was sent by the Patriarch Nikolaos I and the empress Zoë and others to the palace to the great drouggarios Romanos Lekapēnos upon their invitation to him to
assume the protection of Constantine VII in 919 (see Ostrogorsky, Geschichte 220; G. Mon. Cont. 886, 14—15). It was also regularly paraded in palatine processions and ceremonies — see, for example, De Cer. 15, 5—6; 591, 8 etc. The present passage confirms that it was probably taken on campaign with the emperor, as recounted by Skoutariōtēs 404, 24—405, 4 for Constantine I. It was probably this cross, or the similar version produced under Constantine VII, that was lost at Myriokephalon and later recovered (see Nik. Choniatēs I 179—180), and again by Isaac II in 1190 (Akropolitēs XI 19, 25—20, 7). On the other hand, gilded and bejewelled crosses were also carried on expeditions where the emperor was not present, and this particular passage may refer to such a cross. See Leo Diac. 61, 2sq., where Nicephorus II recaptures a number of such crosses. According to both Skoutariōtēs and Akropolitēs (locc. cit.) the cross taken in 1190 was an elaborate affair, containing as its centre-piece a set of reliquaries from the wood of the True Cross, containing such items as milk from the Virgin, a part of her girdle, relics of saints, and other items. This was supposedly the processional cross of Constantine I; and even if it was not, it suggests at least the form that the cross of Constantine and similar crosses may have taken. Compare the procession of John Tzimiskēs recorded at Leo Diac. 128, 1—129, 8.

A third cross, presumably used also for ceremonial purposes, is also mentioned, along with the other two: cf. De Cer. 549, 2—550, 21; and cf. De Cer. 8, 9—10. Such ceremonial crosses appear to have formed a regular part of the insignia taken on campaign: cf. Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos 1681: σταυρὸς ἁργυρὸς στρατηγικὸς διὰ λίθων κοκκίνων. See in general Grabar, L’empereur 32—39 with literature; and N. Thierry, Le culte de la croix dans l’empire byzantin du VIIe siècle au Xe dans ses rapports avec la guerre contre l’infidèle. Nouveaux témoignages archéologiques. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi 1 (1981) (Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi) 205—218; also J. Moorhead, Iconoclasme, the Cross and the Imperial Image. Byz 55 (1985) 165—179, see 171ff. for the central role of the cross as a symbol of victory (and note ibid. 175, notes 54—56). But note the critical remarks of P. Speck, in: Byz 56 (1986) 520ff. The best detailed analysis of both the form and the uses of such crosses is to be found in J. Deeer, Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz. Ein Beitrag zur politischen Theologie des früheren Mittelalters. Schweiz. Beiträge
zur allg. Geschichte 13 (1955) 48—110 (repr. in: idem, Byzanz und das abendländische Herrscherturn 125ff.). The central place of the cross in imperial military ideology is demonstrated by the Byzantine battle-cry "the cross has conquered”. See J. Gaëtè, Σταυρός νικοτικτός. La victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien. Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses (Année 1935) 370—400. See also Haldon, Praetorians 555, n. 829; 558—559, n. 843; Oikonomidès, Préséance 132, n. 97; and cf. De Cer. 591, 6—10; also Ebersolt, Mélanges 43, n. 4; and see on (C) 734—735 and (C) 785—787 infra. Note also Wessel, Insignien 398—410; and esp. A. Frolow, La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le déveoppement d'un culte (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 7). Paris 1961, esp. 183.

(C) 489—491 ἐμπροσθεν τὸν διόνυσον: see (B) 108—109, (C) 111—112; and (C) 125 (horses provided by the monasteries, remaining unbranded).

(C) 492 κανδιδάτοι ... σπαθάριοι: see Haldon, Praetorians 155—160; 182; 190; Oikonomidès, Préséance 297—298; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur s. t.

(C) 493 μετὰ σκουταρίων: cf. Lat. scutum, Du Cange 1398—1399 s. v.; and see on (C) 430—431 above.

(C) 496 τὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δεήσεων: the late Roman magister memoriae, under the authority of the quaestor; by the ninth century (and probably from the later seventh) an independent official, responsible for receiving petitions and passing relevant documents and pleas on to the emperor. See Bury, Administrative System 77—78; and Oikonomidès, Préséance 322 and literature. Cf. Du Cange 274 s. v. δεησεις. For a detailed account, see R. Guillaud, Maître des Requêtes. Byz 35 (1965) 97—118 (= idem, Titres et fonctions XXII).

(C) 497—498 ἐνθα ... κόριτη: i. e. the imperial tent sent on ahead. See (C) 164 sq. and (C) 416.

(C) 499 ἀνθυπατοπατρικίους: anthypatos designated an imperial dignity introduced during the reign of Theophilus, generally awarded to officers of patrikios rank — as here. See Oikonomidès, Préséance 294; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur s. t.
(C) 499—500 κλεισουράρχης: commanders of kleisourai or frontier districts controlling passes (Lat. clisura) into the empire. See J. Ferluga, Niže vojno-administrativne jedinice tematskog ure- čenja. ZRVI 2 (1953) 63—98, see 76—85; Ahrweiler, Recherches 81—82 and literature; also Oikonomidès, Préséance 342; idem, Organisation 285—286. At this time (c. 867—886) there were some three or four kleisourai in Anatolia: Charsianon (certainly by 863, but a theme by 873; originally a tourma of the Armeniakon which became a kleisoura during the first half of the ninth century. See Pertusi, at De Them. 123—124; Oikonomidès, Préséance 348); Sebasteia (before 908; a theme by 911; see Pertusi, De Them. 142—143; Oikonomidès, Préséance 349 and n. 352 with literature; TIB II 84); Seleukeia (from the first half of the ninth century; raised to the status of a theme under Romanus I, c. 927—934; see Pertusi, De Them. 147—148; Oikonomidès, Préséance 350 and n. 354 and literature; also ibid. 54, n. 35); Leontokómeni/Tephriké (taken under Basil I in 879, a theme between 934 and 944; see Oikonomidès, Préséance 350 and n. 355 with literature; TIB II 84). While the kleisourai of Charsianon and Seleukeia were certainly in existence during Basil I’s reign, the date of the establishment of Sebasteia is less certain. The text(s) on which Constantine based this account seem to derive material from the period of Basil I’s campaigns against Tephriké and Melitenë (from 871/872) (see Ostrogorsky, Geschichte 197—198; Honigmann, Ostgrenze 58ff.; TIB II 81—83 with literature). Leontokómeni/Tephriké may well not have been formally incorporated as a kleisoura until the reign of Leo VI — after which time it is clearly named. See Oikonomidès, Organisation 286 and n. 4. See (C) 86—89; and the references at (A) 6sq. above. On the tenth-century frontier, see Dagron, Phocas 239—257.

(C) 501 το ἀπληρῖτον: see on (A) 2 above. While the word can mean the “official” marching camps or thematic base camps, it can also be used more generally, as in this instance, of a military camp tout court.

(C) 502—511: presentations of gifts to officers and soldiers alike was a traditional method of encouragement and of re-affirming the support and loyalty of the armies. See (C) 281sq.
(C) 503—511 τριβλαττίων ... ἕγοραξομένων: for the various technical terms here, see on (C) 226, (C) 233, (C) 237, (C) 240—241 and (C) 289—290 above.

(C) 504 τῷ μεράρχῃ: in the official terminology of Maurice's Stratēgikon, the merarchēs was the commander of a division or meros made up of several (usually three) moirai, or brigades, each under a moirarchēs. Each moira consisted of a group of banda or tagmata. See Maurice, Strat. I 3, 12—15; 4, 8—15. Thus the meros is the equivalent of the later tourma, and the moira of the later drouggos. See, for example, Leo, Tact. IV 8—9 (in fact, meros/merarchēs, moira/moirarchēs seem to have had only a very limited currency, and were replaced in popular and official usage already in the seventh century by tourma/tourmarchēs, drouggos/drouggarios and terms such as chiliarchia/chiliarchēs or doux; or even taxiarchia/taxiarchēs: see, for example, Maurice, Strat. I 3, 13—14; 4, 11—13 and so on. See Haldon, Praetorians 110—112, esp. 111, n. 103 and literature; idem, Recruitment 31—32 and notes 36—37). By the ninth/tenth centuries, as Oikonomidēs, Préséance 108, n. 65, has pointed out, the title seems to have had a different connotation: the highest-ranking of the tourmarchai, the aide-de-camp to the stratēgos, or second-in-command (see Leo, Tact. IV 8. 43; XII 77; XVII 52) equivalent to ὑποστράτηγος; although it also appears as a rank slightly lower than tourmarchēs here; and as a separate officer, with his own bandon, at De Cer. 663, 18. At De Cer. 662, 18—20 and 663, 4 the merarchēs is classed together with the tourmarchai, thematic chartoularioi, the komēs tēs kortēs and the domestikos of the thema (as also in this text — see [C] 509; note also De Cer. 622, 9—10). Merarchs might also have administrative authority over a particular region, like a tourmarchēs, as a seal of a merarchēs of Knossos (Schlumberger, Sig. 201, cited by Oikonomidēs, Préséance 108, n. 65) might suggest. Note also Testament d'Eustathios Boilas 278.

The most probable solution to these apparently contradictory statements in the sources, is that the merarch was in fact the commander of the tourma of the stratēgos, that is, of the district in which the thematic headquarters was established. Note that the stratēgos of the Thrakēsion thema in 949 has three tourmarchai and one merarchēs (De Cer. 663, 3—4 and note 663, 20: the plurals at 663, 3 and 4 seem to be errors); but that one of these, the tourmar-
chēs of the Biktores, was left behind to guard the coast. Yet the stratēgos still sailed “with his three tourmarchai”, suggesting that the mer(i)archēs counted as a tourmarchēs. See De Cer. 666, 17. This would accord with Leo’s remarks, with the fact that the merarchēs is distinguished from the other tourmarchai, and with the fact that he is classed with the administrative officers of the thematic establishment. The fact that mention is made at De Cer. 663, 18 of the bandon of the merarchēs does not mean that he commanded a bandon as such; reference is also made to the bandon of the tourma of the Theodosiakoï (a tourma of the Thrakēsion) from which the komēs of the bandon, four adjutants (proagetai), the prōtomandator and the domestikos of the tourmarchēs are selected to accompany the tourmarchēs himself to Crete. The same number of officers (and, from the context, the same officials) are selected from the bandon of the merarchēs (of the Thrakēsion). The bandon of the merarchēs or of the tourmarchēs is thus simply the headquarters unit of the tourma in question. See De Cer. 663, 1sq.

The slightly lower rank of the merarchēs (at least in terms of the gifts he receives according to this text, although this is not the case at De Cer. 662, 19 and 663, 4; see also 669, 5—8) may be a reflection of his position on the immediate staff of the stratēgos. The implication is that he counts also among the proeleusimaioi — see Leo, Tact. IV 30, although this is nowhere made explicit. Cf. AHRWEILER, Recherches 40 and n. 5; and 66 with notes 3—5. See also Klet. Phil. 109, 19. It is perhaps worth remarking that modern western notions of the rigid stratification of ranks and the division of responsibilities associated with military forces may not be entirely adequate to describing the structure of the medieval Byzantine military organisation. Some anomalies and contradictions are thus only from the contemporary perspective, and may have been part and parcel of the Byzantine establishment.

(C) 504—505 τῶ χαρτουλαρίῳ: see on (C) 353sq. above.

(C) 505 τῶ δομεστίκῳ τοῦ θέματος: an official on the staff of the stratēgos; he numbered among the proeleusimaioi, and functioned probably as an adjutant. This domestikos is not a tagmatic officer, pace OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 341. See HALDON, Praetorians 223f.; and n. 564; AHRWEILER, Recherches 37. See Leo, Tact. IV 30.
(C) 506 ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς θέμασι: in opposition to the Ἀρμενιακά θέματα, (C) 507. See on (A) 13 above with literature. But the Armeniak themata mentioned here are probably the new themata created during the tenth century, rather than the themata established from the territory of the original Armeniakon. Since these newer themata did not exist in Basil I’s time, Constantine has clearly added more recent material to this part of his treatise to bring it up to date. On the organisation of these new circumscriptions, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Organisation 297ff.; Préséance 345—346; IDÉM, L’Épopée de Digénis et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles. TM 7 (1979) 375—397, see 383; see also TIB II 45 and notes; and DAGRON, Phocas 239ff.

(C) 510 δεκαλίου: see on (C) 289—290 above.

(C) 514 πτωχά ἁλογα: note Reiske’s comments, Comm. 570—571.

(C) 521 ἐσταβλισμένα: Lat. stabulum/stabulo, cf. Du Cange 1430 s. v.

(C) 526 οἱ βασιλικοὶ μάγειροι: from the βασιλικῶν μαγειρῶν ([C] 531) attached to the imperial table. See on (B) 117 supra.

(C) 533—535 ὄφελει λαβεῖν ... χειλάρια ρ.’: see (B) 101sq.; and (C) 146sq.

(C) 536—537 λαμβάνοντον μαζουμάδα ἐκ τῶν δεκαλίων: the importance of the customary “gifts” to the imperial cortège is made explicit in this passage. See also on (B) 102 above.

(C) 537 οἱ κορινθάριοι: those in the service of the komês tēs kōrēs, see on (B) 96, 117; see also (C) 570—573.

(C) 548—553: the difference between the riding horses and the pack-animals is emphasised by their different loads: parippia and sagmaria, the basic beasts of burden, must carry ten modii each of barley; although even ridden horses must carry four modii. See on (C) 65 above. For the loads and fodder requirements of pack-animals (in the sixth/seventh centuries, for example) see T. Reekmans, A sixth-Century Account of Hay (P. Lond. Inv. 653) (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 1). Bruxelles 1962, chapt. three; and L. S. B. MacCoull, An Account of Fodder for Pack-Horses. Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 25 (1977) 155—158. Reekmans discusses the types of
fodder and hay, seasonal variations in feeding and nutritional requirements, differences between green and dry fodder, average loads and capacities of various types of pack-animal, and so forth.

(C) 554—555 ἔξουσιστος ... δικτών: cf. Lat. excusatus. This technical term generally described all those exempted from all but the standard regular public taxes (dēmosia) on account of their obligations to the state in respect of either military or some other form of specific service, such as the maintenance of the horses and other animals for the public post, the post-stations themselves, and so on. See AHRWEILER, Recherches 7; 12; 19 and n. 2; HALDON, Recruitment 51ff.; and see 54, n. 94; 60, n. 104; 73, n. 129; HENDY, Studies 608ff.; 612. In this case it is unclear on what grounds these fishermen are exkoussatoi, although they are under the (temporary) authority of the epi tēs trapezēs. The probability is that they are indeed exkoussatoi tou dromou, since one of the functions of such groups was to provide food for those residing at the various mitata or mansiones. The speciality of this community seems to have been (fresh-water) fishing, hence their employment in this instance. For the village τοῦ Τέμβρη, in the Opsikion, situated near Dorylaion in the valley of the river Tembris (Porsuk su) see RAMSAY 177—178; 213, who identifies it with the imperial estate of Eudokias named in Hieroklēs.

(C) 556 εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τῆς ἐρήμου: that is, of the deserted lands between Romania and Syria. See on (B) 128 supra.

(C) 559 ἄγγαρίδια: ἄγγαρεῖον, Lat. munera. For a general analysis, see A. STAVRlDOU-ZAPHRlKA, 'Ἡ ἄγγαρεια στὸ Βυζάντιο. Βυζαντινά 11 (1982) 32—54.

(C) 560 ἐκπροσώπῳ αὐτῶν ὁ ἰκανάτος: see HALDON, Praetorians 295—296. The four tagmata often appear bracketed in pairs: Scholai and Exkoubiton, Vigla|Arithmos and Hikanatoi. See HALDON, Praetorians 269—270; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 332. The Hikanatoi were usually paired with the Vigla, and the domestikos of the Hikanatoi stood in for the drougarios of the Vigla where necessary. See R. GUILLAND, Le drongaire et le grand drongaire de la Veille. BZ 43 (1950) 340—365 (repr. in ΙΔΕΜ, Institutions I 563—587).

(C) 564—569 προφυλάττουσι ... ἡμέρα: see (B) 134sq.
(C) 574—575 ἔχει ... βεστιαρίου: see (C) 309—311, 420sq.

(C) 574—575 καὶ μάνδαταρας: see on lines (C) 576—579 below.

(C) 576 τὰς πεδητούρας ... τὰ ἐξωβίγλια: see on (C) 438 above; and for the φίλας τὴν ἐξω/ἐσω, cf. (C) 263 and (C) 422sq.; and Anon. Vári 11, 17 (Dennis 4, 4): τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἔθους ἐξώβιγλα ... ἐσώβιγλα, for a description of how these sentries were posted. See on (C) 263 literature cited; and note Leo, Tact. XIV 34.

(C) 576—579 ἀν εὐρη ... τῷ βασιλεί: on the powers of summary punishment of the drouggarios of the Vigla, see GuilLanD, Institutions I 567; HalDon, Praetorians 294—295, n.872. The mandatores at (C) 574—575 almost certainly will have belonged to the staff of the drouggarios of the Vigla — see HalDon, loc. cit.

(C) 580 ὁ δὲ πρωτοστράτωρ ... βασιλίκων: the head of the stratores or esquires attendant upon the imperial stables at Constantinople; under his authority were the stratores tou stratōrikou (as opposed to simple titular bearers of the dignity), the ἁμοφύλακες (in charge of imperial processional chariots) and stablokomētes. See on (C) 382—383 above. See also Bury, Administrative System 117—118; GuilLanD, Institutions I 478—497; Oikonomiēs, Préséance 337—338 with literature.

(C) 581 ἄμα τῷ κόμητι τοῦ στάβλου: not to be confused with the three σταβλοχώμητες, one of whom is present here ([C] 585).

(C) 581—582 παραμόνια: cf. (C) 543: ὁσι ... παραμένουσιν τῷ βασιλεί. Cf. Reiske, Comm. 572.

(C) 582 ὁπισθεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πύργου: according to Reiske, the imperial pavilion (Comm. 572). Presumably the presence of these officers is to enable a rapid escape by the emperor should the need arise — the arrangement was made only while in hostile territory. On ceremonial occasions, however, the emperor might also be accompanied by three richly-caparisoned horses: cf. Harūn b. Yahya 391.

(C) 583—586 τὰ δὲ ἱππάρια ... ἀυτῶν: these are the animals normally paraded in front of the imperial column; but for safety in enemy lands the order of march is changed. See (B) 108sq.; and (C) 392—393, 489—491.
(C) 587—590 ὅτε δὲ ἀπόληται ... καταδικάζεται: cf. (C) 337sq. and Leo, Tact. VIII 9 (= Maurice, Strat. I 6, 9); Leg. Mil. (ASHBURNER), c. 50 (JGR II 79); (KORŻENSKY) c. 13, 89—91. See Haldon, Praetorians 573—574 and note 915; and P. E. Pielę, in: Hunger, Profane Lit. II 443—444 and literature (notes 147—150).

(C) 591—596 ἵστεον ... τὸ ἀγελάδιν τὸ α’: see (C) 539sq.; see also (C) 145sq.

(C) 592 οἱ πρωτοσπαθάριοι ὀφρικάλιοι: i.e. officials in active posts in Constantinopolitan bureaux, of prōtospatharios rank. See on (C) 93 supra.

(C) 594 τὸ δὲ χῶμα τοῦ λαοῦ: in the sense of the “mass” or the “rest” of the troops. See Reiske, Comm. 204; and cf. Niceph., Praec. 16, 34—35: οἱ χυδαῖοι ήτοι οἱ σχολάριοι ... (and cf. 5, 17, 20 ibid.).

(C) 596—598 ὅτε δὲ ... πρωτονοτάριοι: see (C) 536—539; and see also (C) 145sq.

(C) 599—604 ὅ δὲ ... Ῥωμανίας: the wine and oil from Nikaia, along with the “imperial” wine, are contrasted with that provided by the prōtonotarioi (see on [C] 141sq.); this may well have come from imperial estates, possibly those of the two imperial kouratores, see on (C) 96 and (C) 118—119, 144. For Nikaia, and more generally Bithynia, as a fertile source of wine and oil, see Hendy, Studies 49.

(C) 602 ὅ τοῦ βασιλέως οἶνοχόος: see on (C) 137 supra.

(C) 605—606 ὅτι τὰ ἰππάρια ... φίνας: these are the thirty imperial saddle horses which precede the emperor: see (C) 392—393, 126. They may also include the 20 horses given as a gift to the emperor — see (C) 126—127.

(C) 607—614: see on (C) 8—53 above with references and literature.

(C) 607 νυὲ πολυέραστε: cf. DAI 13, 195.

(C) 618—630 ἵστεον ... Ἀδέξεντίου: the list of signal-fires has been fully discussed elsewhere. It occurs also at Th. Cont. 197, 12—21 and Sym. Mag. 682, 10—15 (and cf. Cedrenus II 174, 10—20), and is the same except for the fifth beacon (ὁ Ἡλυμπός, but ὁ Μάμας at Th.
Cont. 197, 17 and Sym. Mag. 682, 12; cf. Cedrenus II 174, 14—15).
See HILD, Straßensystem 53; V. ASCHOFF, Über den byzantinischen
Feuertelegraphen und Leo den Mathematiker. Abh. und Berichte des
299; P. PATTENDEN, The Byzantine Early Warning System. Byz 53
(1983) 258—299. For Loulon (Lu’lu’a, between mod. Çanakçı and
Gedelli) see TIB II 223—224; PATTENDEN, art. cit. 263—266; for
Argeas Bounos, TIB II 135—137; 149 (Argaios [2]) (according to
HILD, it is to be identified with mod. Keçikalesi, Arab. al-agrahrib, a
fortress on the promontory of the Hasan Daği; PATTENDEN thinks
that the Mt. Argaios above Caesarea in Cappadocia is more likely,
mod. Erciyas Daği: PATTENDEN, art. cit. 267—268); Mt. Samos
(Isamos) is probably situated somewhere north of lake Tatta (RAM-
SAY 353; PATTENDEN 268); Aigilon is to be found probably in the
hills south of the river Tembris near Dorylaion (RAMSAY 353; PAT-
TENDEN 268); Mt. Mamas (Bithynian Olympos) is probably one of
the hills to the south of Prousa — see RAMSAY 187; Mt. Kyrizos
should be identified with one of the peaks between the Gulf of Kios
and the lake of Nikaia — see JANIN, Grands centres 155; and see
153, n. 7; RAMSAY 187 suggests the Katerli Daği, followed by PAT-
TENDEN 268; Mt. Mokilos is above Pylai on the southern shore of the
Gulf of Nikomedea (İzmit); according to RAMSAY 187 (and PAT-
TENDEN 268) it is the Samanlı Daği; finally, Mt. St. Auxentios, or
Skopos, is the mod. Kayışdağ, c. 12 km. to the South-East of Chal-
cedon (Kadıköy); cf. JANIN, Grands centres 43—44 and map at 62;
RAMSAY 20; 189, 65.

(C) 637 συστάμενα: see REISKE, Comm. 573: συνιστάμενα

(C) 639—646 ἱστέον ... φανοῦς: the famous story of Michael III’s
frivolous termination of the beacon system is most probably a
fabrication designed to show Michael in a worse light than that of
Constantine’s grandfather Basil I. See also Th. Cont. 197, 22—198,
12; Sym. Mag. 682, 15—18; Cedrenus II 174, 21—175, 20; and on the
denigration of Michael III by writers under the auspices of Constan-
tine VII, see TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 582ff.; HUNGER, Profane Lit.
I 341ff.; 351ff.; E. KISLINGER, Michael III. — Image und Realität.
Eos 75 (1987) 390—401. For the district of Agios Mamas (mod.
Beşiktaş) and its hippodrome, see JANIN, CPByz. 195—196.
(C) 647—652 ἵστεον ... χρόνω: the question of the quadrennial cycle of thematic payments and its origins — in the combined payment of commuted *annonae* and *capitus* with accessional and quinquennial donatives from the sixth century, and their gradual evolution into a devolved cycle — has been thoroughly treated by HENDY, Studies 646—651 with literature; also ibid. 183—184; and see HALDON, Praetorians 583, n. 945. Note that this list is the same as that at Klet. Phil. 101, 5—17, which dates it to between 899 (the date of the composition of the *Kleitorologion*) and some time before 873 (first mention of the thema of Charsianon, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 348). Furthermore, the list of *themata* here and in the *Kleitorologion* covers the area originally forming the older praetorian prefecture of Oriens; and parallels also — with the exception of the newer, eastern *themata* — the list of *rogai* of *stratēgoi* at De Cer. 696, 13—697, 2 (HENDY, Studies 650f.). The meeting point of eastern with western *themata* is, in each of these cases, the same as the former boundary between the original dioceses of Macedonia (praetorian prefecture of Illyricum) and Thrace (praetorian prefecture of Oriens). Thus the differences in method of payment as between eastern *themata* (*rogai*) and western *themata* (from local funds) reflects an original late Roman administrative difference between the two *praefecturae*. See HENDY, Studies 651.

(C) 653—659 δέον ... αὐτοῦ: cf. Leo, Tact. V 6; 9; VI 27; 28 (and cf. Maurice, Strat. XII B 6).

(C) 654 δρογγαρωκόμηται: usually, *komētes* commanded *banda* and *drouggarioroi* commanded *drouggoi*. But in the later ninth and tenth centuries the term *drouggarokomēs* appears, suggesting a reduction in the status of the rank of *drouggarios*, and possibly a reduction in the size of the units they commanded. In contrast to their earlier position as reflected in Leo’s *Tactica*, for example — see on (C) 504 above; and see HALDON, Praetorians 331 and n. 1021 — which itself reflected older tradition, *drouggarioroi* from the earlier tenth century seem to have been only slightly superior to *komētes*. The older *themata*, in contrast to the newer “Armenian” *themata* (see on [C] 506 above), retained their traditional organisation — they continued to have *tourmarchai*, *drouggarioroi* and *komētes*, but no “greater” or “lesser” *tourmarchai* — with slight modifications. Thus
the Thrakēsion *thema* in 949 had a *stratēgos*, 4 *tourmarchai* and their staffs, but with 64 *drouggarokomētes*, some with 2 and some with 3 soldiers as assistants; together with a *chartoularios*, *komēs tēs kortēs*, *domestikos tou thematos*. The staff of the *stratēgos* included a *prōtomanndatōr*, *prōtokagkellarios*, *prōtobandophoros*, 6 *prōtodomestikoi*, 6 *prōtokentarchoi*, and 100 soldiers (see De Cer. 663, 1—18; 666, 16—20; note that ὁ τουρμάρχης τῶν Βαστόρων at 663, 3 is corrected to ὁ τουρμάρχης at 663, 20; there was probably only one *tourmarchēs tēs paralīas* — see 663, 4; and for the thematic staff, see Klet. Phil. 109, 18—110, 5). Significantly, the *drouggarokomētes* of 663, 6 are described as *drouggarioi kai komētes* at 666, 19—20, and are clearly of more or less the same rank as one another. Their high number — 64 — makes it certain that they were not commanders of *drouggoi* in the older sense — brigades of several *banda*, each under its own *komēs* — but rather commanders of individual *banda* themselves. The ranks of *drouggarios* and *komēs* thus seem by this time to have been regarded in practice as effectively equivalents. The text here makes it quite clear that a *drouggarokomēs* commanded a *bandon*. The reasons for the change or evolution remain unclear. But one contributory element may have been the fact that whereas *komētes* had always had authority, like the much higher-ranking *tourmarchai*, over a specific territorial area — a *bandon* or *topotēresia* — the position of *drouggarios* had always been a purely tactical command, without regional authority. *Drouggarioi* were on the permanent staffs of their *tourmarchai* or *stratēgoi*, and were involved in recruitment, in the *adnounion* or muster, in maintaining discipline, and in other purely military administrative capacities (see Haldon–Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 103; Haldon, Recruitment 75f.; 79 and n. 145). But there is no evidence at all to suggest that they ever had a territorial jurisdiction. Note that DAI 50, 91—110 makes no reference to *drouggoi* at all, assuming rather that each *tourma* was made up of a number of *banda* or *topotēresiai* (the number varied — *tourmai* of three and of seven *banda* are mentioned). The same assumption is made in our text: the *tourmarchai* pass on orders to the *drouggarokomētes*, who command the *banda*. It is therefore probable that the position of *drouggarios* declined in value and status as the forces which originally occupied the districts to which they gave their names — the *themata* — became increasingly territory-orientated for administrative and other purposes. This may have been
the case especially in the smaller themata, where an intermediate tactical command structure was less important (and for the local bandon or topotērēsia, see DAI Comm. 189; AHRWEILER, Recherches 80—81). The evolved drouggarokomēs could fulfill both the administrative functions of the komēs and the tactical and military-administrative functions of the drouggarios. How generalised this system became is difficult to say. The naval themata in 949 still seem to have maintained a clear distinction between komētes and drouggarioi, for example: see De Cer. 662, 15, where drouggarioi receive 20 nomismata, komētes 6 nomismata, a difference which demonstrates a considerable difference in status. But this may reflect the functional requirements of the naval themata themselves and the command structure of the fleet and their ships. In 899, when the Klētorologion of Philotheos was drawn up, drouggarioi preceded komētes immediately, there being apparently no great difference in status (Klet. Phil. 157, 9—11); they are classed effectively together (Klet. Phil. 109, 23—24: δρουγγάριοι τῶν βάνδων, κόμητες ὁμολογ. . . .; note again that drouggarioi are seen as commanders of banda). Naval themata had exactly the same establishment (with the addition of kentarchoi and πρῶτοκαραβοί, see Klet. Phil. 111, 20—23), however, so this tells us little about actual differences in roga or in jurisdiction or authority. But the reference to drouggarioi of the banda is suggestive of the dissappearance or irrelevance of a real middle-grade drouggaratōn and its assimilation to the rank and duties of komēs. Already in 911 this assimilation is evident in the structure of the recently-formed thema of Sebasteia (which was not, however, one of the new, small “Armenian” themata — contrast with the structure of such a thema, that of Charpezikion, in 949 at De Cer. 662, 18—22), whose drouggaroi, numbering 10, and komētes, numbering 8, received respectively 6 and 5 nomismata — it is clear that by this time drouggarioi were effectively little more than higher-ranking bandon commanders. The appearance in the sources of the rank drouggarokomēs illustrates the last stages of this process, a process which seems already to have been well under way during the reign of Basil I: see De Cer. 622, 10—11, where the drouggarokomētes of the themata of Armeniakon and Kappadokia are mentioned. By the later eleventh century, the rank and position of κόμης δρουγγάριος was unexceptional: see Logos nouthethētikos (in: Kekaumenos 93—104; see on [C] 453—454 above) 103, 1 (Litavrin 294, 22); and cf. (C) 447.
(C) 655 τὸν κωμοδρόμον: a mobile smithy. Cf. Du Cange 776 s. v.; Theoph. 224, 16 (and note DAI 50, 106—107).


(C) 659—664 τὴν αὐτὴν ... ἐφαγαλεῖα: see on these units and their establishment Haldon, Praetorians 282—296; and see on (B) 112—113 above.

(C) 665—706: this account of an imperial return to the Capital and the various ways in which the emperor is to be received is clearly based on sixth-century material, possibly from documents attributable to Peter the Patrician, as titles such as tribunus praesentalis and the presence of the seven Constantinopolitan scholae with their officers shows. See the remarks of Bury, Ceremonial Book 439, n. 57, on this particular document. For the triumphal procession which follows, see Ebersolt, Mélanges 40—50; and for a list and analysis of the ceremonial routes through the City, see Guillard, Topographie I 217—248; also Mango, Brazen House 73ff. In general on imperial triumphal entries, see MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity 73—78; 84—89, with an analysis of such adventus-ceremonies and their symbolic-ideological structure; and especially 17ff. on the classical/pagan antecedents and later Christian evolution of the triumphal entry. See also McCormick, Eternal Victory 189ff., for a detailed critical analysis of Byzantine triumphs; and W. Ehlers, Art. Triumphus. RE VII A (1939) 493—511, for the classical/Roman triumph.

(C) 665 ἐξπεδίτου: Lat. expeditio, cf. Du Cange 407 s. v.


(C) 669—670 ὁ μὲν τριβόδων πραυσεντάλιος: the comes or tribunus of the schola on duty in the City, to whom the security of the City was entrusted during the emperor’s absence. See Haldon, Praetorians 125—126; 128 and notes; and cf. De Cer. 415, 14—17 (accession of Leo I, in 457): ἀπαντήση ὁ αὐτὴ καὶ οἱ κόμητες τῶν σχολῶν οἱ φυλάξαντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ παλάτιον (δει γὰρ τινας αὐτῶν ἀπομεῖναι καὶ φυλάξαι τὸ παλάτιον μέχρι οὗ ὑποστρέφει ὁ γενόμενος βασιλεὺς) . . . .
(C) 670—671 μετὰ ... ἁυτόμενον: the *sagion*, Lat. *sagum*, or *mantion* (μαντίνιος) was a short tunic or cloak, originally of wool, worn on ceremonial occasions by both emperors and imperial officials, and in particular by military officers. It was in origin a military garment. See EBERSOLT, Mélanges 56—57 and n. 5; 73; Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 30; KOUKOULES, BBP VI 289 f.; (C) 225 supra; and BOAK, The Master 120. For the common term ἄυτόμενον (Lat. *russus*) as red-brown in earlier papyri, see J.-M. DiETHART, Neue Papyri zur Realien-kunde. Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 64 (1986) 75—81, see 77, 10.

(C) 671 τὸ κατάβασις: cf. τὸ διάβασις (Prod. III 109); and καταβάσιμον/καταβάσιον, Du CANGE 289 s. v.; = ἡ κατάβασις; see REISKE, Comm. 574.

(C) 673 οἱ δὲ χώριται κοινοστοριανοὶ καὶ θριβοῦντοι: the *consistorium* was originally an active council of state and "high court", descended from the earlier *consilium* of the Princiate, made up of the chief civil and military officers of state: *quaestor*, *magister officiorum*, *comes sacrarum largitionum*, *comes rei privatae*, the praetorian prefects *in comitatu*, the palatine guards commanders and the *magistri militum praesentales* — known jointly as *comites consistoriani*. By the sixth century its role in government had been curtailed as it was replaced by an "inner cabinet"; but its members continued to fulfill certain ceremonial functions together, as here. See JONES, LRE 333—341; STEIN, Bas-Empire I 111 f.; 219 f.; and 470, n. 80; 560, n. 1; GUILLAND, Topographie I 56.

The *tribuni* in question appear to be the *tribuni praetoriani et notarii*, the members of the secretariat of the consistory (see below on [C] 675—676), important officials close to the emperor and the affairs of state. By the sixth century their posts could be bought and sold, and were often filled by wealthy persons who were effectively titular holders. See JONES, LRE 572 ff., and note STEIN, Bas-Empire I 113 and n. 89 (470).

(C) 674 πάντες λευχειμονοῦντες: for white clothing and uniforms, see EBERSOLT, Mélanges 55 and n. 1; McMULLEN, Some Pictures 446—447 and notes 65—66; GUILLAND, Candidat 210.

(C) 675 σπευντιάριος: the *schola silentiariorum* numbered 30 silentiarii under 3 *decuriones*, and came under the authority of the *praepositus*
sacri cubiculi; they were closely related in origin to the cubicularii, likewise under the praepositus. Their duties were chiefly those of chamberlains and ushers in the emperor’s presence, to maintain order, silence and the preservation of the imperial dignity. As officials close to the emperor, they invariably came to be entrusted with various missions from time to time; see Jones, LRE 401; 387; and in general, Stein, Bas-Empire I 111 and n. 79 (470); II 430, n. 1; see also Jones, LRE 571—572 and notes. Silentiaries continued to function into the tenth century, under the authority of the praepositos (see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 300 and literature; and cf. De Cer. 441, 14—15, for example) and of the epi tês katastaseós (Klet. Phil. 125, 11), the title signifying both a dignity and a function. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 296 and literature; Winkelmann, Rang- und Ämterstruktur s. t. for the titular dignity in the eighth and ninth centuries.

(C) 675—676 φύλαρχος ... πραίτωρίου: i.e. the praesental tribune, comites consistoriani, and the tribuni et notarii. This ceremonial announcement, couched in such archaizing terms, reflects possibly the genuine ancient ritual address. For phylarchos = tribunus, see Lydus, De Mag. 81, 26; and see W. Ensslin, Art. Tribunus. RE VI A (1937) 2432—2492; F. Gschnitzer, Art. Phylarchos. RE Suppl. XI (1968) 1067—1090, see 1070ff.; 1086ff.

(C) 676 ὃ δὲ ἐπαρχος τῆς πόλεως: see Stein, Bas-Empire I 145; 492, n. 89; Jones, LRE 689ff.; and 692; see also 375 and 481—492. For the later prefect, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 319—320 and literature; and on (B) 59—62 above.

(C) 676 οἱ ὑπατικοὶ: consulares; active, honorary and ex-consular members of the senate. See Jones, LRE 106—107; 379; 531—533; Stein, Bas-Empire I 121; II 68—69; 461—462; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 296 and literature.

(C) 677 πατρίκιος: the context and the ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ suggests that this text refers not to patrikioi in general, who from the time of Justinian were fairly numerous, but to a more restricted group. The title was revived by Constantine I and awarded as a personal distinction; by Zeno’s time it was still restricted to those who held or had held consular or praefectural rank (although this restriction was abol-
ished under Justinian). See Jones, LRE 528; 534; Stein, Bas-Empire I 121; II 430; and Oikonomidès, Préséance 294 and literature. It might here refer to the (prōto)patrikios or most senior member of the senate — see Stein, Bas-Empire II 44 and n. 2 with literature; ibid. 788—790. See also Boak, The Master 118; and cf. De Cer. 414, 11—12: the prōtos patrikios accompanies the newly-acclaimed Leo I in his chariot. Note R. Guilland, Patrices des IVe et Vᵉ siècles. EEBΣ 34 (1965) 139—174, see 141f. (= idem, Titres et fonctions VII).

(C) 678 καὶ δέχεται αὐτοῦς ... ἀπὸ στόματος: see also (C) 682, 730; and De Cer. 415, 19 — contrasted with “kiss” at De Cer. 415, 18—19: καὶ φιλούσιν τους πόδας (sc. τοῦ βασιλέως), καὶ δέχεται αὐτούς ἀπὸ στόματος. On the aspasmos of the emperor by court dignitaries at a later period, although still relevant for comparative purposes, see the comments of Verpeaux at Ps.-Cod. I 140, n. 3.

(C) 679 εἰς Ἦρωκλείαν: mod. Ereğli in Thrace; a stage further on from Constantinople than Rhegion; on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmara.

(C) 680 οἱ δὲ συγκλητικοὶ: the members of the senate: see Jones, LRE 329—333; 506—507; 525—532; Stein, Bas-Empire I 127; 220.

(C) 681 εἰς τὸ Ἐβδομον: see Janin, CPByz. 446—449: a suburb of the City, situated at the seventh mile to the West of the Constantinian city, mod. Bakirköy. See Guilland, Topographie II 62 and literature.

(C) 681 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Νηπίων: dedicated to the children martyred with St. Babylas, this church belonged to the monastic foundation of the same name, in the Hebdomon. See Janin, Églises et monastères 366.

(C) 686 ὁ ἀπομοιονεῦς: the tribunus praesentalis or a similar representative during the emperor’s absence. See on (C) 669—670 above.

(C) 687 μέχρι τῆς πόρτης: i.e. of the City. Probably the Golden Gate is meant. The processional route out of the City to the Hebdomon was generally through the Golden Gate. Cf., for example, Mateos, Typicon I 306ff. + Index (III) s.v.; Guilland, Topographie II
72—75; see on (C) 721 infra; and for further references, Matheos, Typicon, Index (III) s. v.


(C) 695—696 τῷ Φόρῳ Θεοδοσίου τῷ καλουμένῳ Ταύρῳ: situated in the seventh region of the City. See Janin, CPByz. 64—68; Guillard, Topographie II 56—59; Mango, Constantinople 28 (and see plan II ibid.); 43—45; and R. Neumann, Neue Beobachtungen am Theodosiusbogen und Forum Tauri in Istanbul. Istanbululer Mitteilungen 27 (1976) 117—141.

(C) 696 στεφάνους: for the difference between the στέφανος and the στέμμα, which replaced it after the sixth century, see Ebersolt, Mélanges 67—68 and notes; Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 25. But J. Deir, Der Ursprung der Kaiserkrone. Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte 8 (1950) 51—87, see 79 and n. 131 (repr. in: Idem, Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschaftern 11ff.), rejects this difference in technical meaning attributed by Ebersolt. Stephanoi were offered on many occasions to emperors, particularly upon their return from outside the City and, of course, upon their return from war. See (C) 772, for example. But the use of such crowns or diadems was not limited to members of the imperial family — note Oikonomides, Préséance 97, n. 51. Victory crowns of the sort proffered to emperors on their return from campaign (see, for example, [C] 847sq.; Th. Cont. 271, 3. 10; 284, 4) played a similar role to the votive crowns offered to the patron saints of many churches in the City, and were used, like the lamps of these churches, to decorate the City and its streets on such festive occasions. See on (C) 737sq.; also Ebersolt, Les arts somptuaires 32. See especially MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity 173ff., for a discussion of the Roman tradition of wreath-giving and its early Byzantine development; and Wessel, Insignien 373—397; Christophilopoulos, Stemmata 280ff.; McCormick, Eternal Victory 211—212.

(C) 700—701 μεσάλλαγον: ἄλλαγή/ἄλλαξιμα/ἄλλασσειν: see Ebersolt, Mélanges 51; Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 24; Koukoules, BBP II/2, 21:
IDEM, EEBΣ 19 (1949) 78; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, Préséance 131, n. 96; 191, n. 195; similar technical terms were applied in the case of liturgical vestments, see ΜΑΤΕΟΣ, Typicon, Index (V) ἀλλάσσειν (ii), 280—281; and cf. V. Theod. Syk. 159, 71 and commentary, 263.

(C) 701 ἐν τῷ Σατύρῳ: a port by the modern Kücükyazı, on the Asian shore of the Sea of Marmara, 2 km. east of Bostancı; cf. JANIN, CPByz. 505 and map XIII.

(C) 701 ἐν τῷ Πολεμικῷ: a small port, probably to be identified with modern Bostancı. See JANIN, CPByz. 503 and map XIII.

(C) 701 ἐν Ἰτωνίακῳ: a small port, with an imperial residence, at mod. Caddebozta, 4 km. from Chalcedon/Kadiköy. See JANIN, CPByz. 504—505 and map XIII.

(C) 702 ἐν τῇ Ἰερείᾳ: the site of an imperial palace and small port or harbour; mod. Fenerbahçe (Phanaraki). See JANIN, CPByz. 149—150; 498—499 and map XII. Certain ceremonies were enacted there; and it became an imperial picnic-place during the reign of Constantine VII. See De Cer. 373, 15—375, 18; Th. Cont. 451, 17sq.

(C) 702 (τὸν φόρον) τοῦ Στρατηγίου: in the fifth region of the City; see GUILLAND, Topographie II 55—56; JANIN, CPByz. 431—432. It was originally a parade-ground for troops.

(C) 707—723: this entry has been examined by several scholars, see D. SERRUY, À propos d’un triumpe de Justinien. REG 20 (1907) 240—244; Ch. MARTROYE, De la date d’une entrée solennelle de Justinien. Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France 69 (1909) 17—41; STEIN, Bas-Empire II, excursus O, 818—819. The latter, who had apparently not seen the Lipsiensis and relied therefore entirely upon REiske’s text, demonstrated that the reading ἐτοις ζαγ’ i.e. 6033, was in all likelihood an error of the copyist for ἐτοις λγ’, i.e. the 33rd year of the reign of the emperor, whereby the sign ζ, which occurs also as the abbreviation for ἐτοις (see STEIN, Bas-Empire II 819 and n. 3) had been misread as part of the date. STEIN shows that this makes the more dubious explanatory attempts of Serruy and especially of Martroye superfluous: the ceremony took place on Monday 11th August 559, after Justinian had dealt with Zabangan and the Kutrigurs — see STEIN, Bas-
Empire II 539—540. But Stein's argument is itself unnecessary, correct though his conclusion is! A glance at the Lipsiensis shows that the whole debate has been based upon an unnecessary emendation by Reiske. The manuscript itself states quite clearly ἔτους λί, i.e. the 33rd year. There is no possibility of a misreading here, and still less so by Reiske. Indeed, a glance at his commentary (574D7) makes it plain that he supplied the extra figure himself, because he had been unable to make sense of the date as it stood in the manuscript. As Stein notes, loc. cit., in a text such as this, clearly based on a sixth-century official or semi-official source, one would expect to find the date entered according to the regnal year of the ruler, following the prescription of Justinian's novel 47 (which led Stein to his correct hypothesis). But Reiske was not aware of this, and emended the text, unjustifiably, and quite misleadingly: "non solent eorum (sc. graecorum) historici annos imperii alicuius Imperatoris sic nude citare", he says.

(C) 708—709 διὰ τῆς πόρτης τῶν Χαρίσιων: the Adrianople gate, in the walls at the Blachernai quarter, and the exit at the end of the second branch of the Mesē. See Mango, Brazen House 80 and n. 35; Janin, CPByz. 281—282. For the anomalous processional route of this entry, due to earthquake damage incurred in 557 to the Mesē and the Great Church, see McCormick, Eternal Victory 209.

(C) 710 ἐπὶ τὸ Δεύτερον: the greater part of the suburb between the Constantinian and the Theodosian walls — see Janin, CPByz. 336—340; Mango, Constantinople 33 and n. 58.

(C) 710—711 ἐν τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις: the church of the Holy Apostles on the second branch of the Mesē, leading to the gate τῶν Χαρίσιων; see Mango, Brazen House 80; Dagon, Naissance 401—409; Janin, CPByz. 281; idem, Églises et monastères 41—50; Mango, Constantinople 27.

(C) 711 εἰς τὸ μνήμα τῆς δεσποίνης: at the tomb of Theodora (d. 548); not of the Virgin, as Stein correctly pointed out (Bas-Empire II 540; 818). Cf. De Cer. 644, 5—7.

(C) 711—712 ἐπὶ τὸ Κατηχτώλιον: the point beyond the forum of Constantine at which the Mesē divides, one branch going on to the Golden Gate, the other, via the church of the Holy Apostles, to the
Charisios gate. See Mango, Brazen House 80; idem, Constantinople 30; Guillaud, Topographie II 75; Janin, CPByz. 174—176. It represents the modern quarter of Şahzade.

(C) 712 εἰς τὴν Μέσην: the chief thoroughfare of the City, from the Chalkē of the palace to the forum of Constantine, and on to the Golden Gate. See Guillaud, Topographie II 69—79; Mango, Brazen House 78—81; idem, Constantinople 27—28; Janin, CPByz. 88. Strictly speaking, the Mesē went only as far as the forum of Constantine and a little beyond, this section being known as the 'Πραγία, but the term was extended and applied to both branches which continued to the Golden Gate and the Charisios gate. See above.

(C) 713 αἱ ἑπτὰ σχολαὶ . . . κώμητες: the seven scholae based in the East; there had been twelve, including five in the West; Justinian added four supernumerary scholae, which were later disbanded. See Haldon, Praetorians 119 and literature. Elements of each schola served on a rotational basis in Constantinople; for particular ceremonies — possibly including this one — all the members of the units in question might be involved.

(C) 715 μακιστριάνοι: members of the scrinium of the magister officiorum (on whom see Boak, The Master 24—58; Bury, Administrative System 29—31; Jones, LRE 103; 368f.; 575—587; Stein, Bas-Empire I 113f.; Clauss, Magister 40—45). The term often referred specifically to the agentes in rebus, see DAI Comm. 79 (22, 15); Boak, The Master 73.

(C) 715 φαβρικήσιοι: the fabricenses came under the authority of the magister officiorum; see Jones, LRE 834—837; 671; O. Seeck, Art. Fabricenses. RE VI (1909) 1925—1930, see 1925f.; Grosse, Militär-geschichte 97f.; see Haldon, Praetorians 114f. and literature. Those referred to here are most probably the barbaricarii who produced gold- and silver-decorated parade armour.

(C) 715 τὰξις τῶν ἐπάρχων καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου: i.e. of the praetorian prefects and the Eparche of the City. On the former, see Jones, LRE 586—592; on the latter, ibid. 592—593.

(C) 715—716 ἀργυροπράται . . . σώστημα: i.e. of all the craft and trad-
ing bodies under the City Eparch's authority. The *argyropratai* (argentarii) were not simply silversmiths, but functioned also as bankers, arranging loans, transfers and deposits. See *Jones*, LRE 863—864; *Hendy*, Studies 242—253.

*(C) 717* μέχρι τῆς Χαλκῆς τοῦ παλατίου: the Chalkē, the brazen gate of the palace. See *Janin*, CPByz. 110—111; and esp. *Mango*, Brazen House 97ff. It was situated at the end of the Mesē, at the eastern end of the south side of the Augousteion, facing the Great Church.

*(C) 718—719* ὁ ἀδιμισσιωνάλιος: the *comes admissionum*, under the overall authority of the *magister officiorum*. The post was by Justinian's time normally awarded to the senior decurion of the *ordo silentiariorum*: see *Ostrogorsky–Stein*, Krönungsordnungen 206—210; *Jones*, LRE 582; *Guillard*, Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. Le silentiare. "Ὁ Σιλεντιάριος, in: Χαριστήριον ἐξ Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον IV. Athens 1967—1968, 33—46, see 39f. (= *idem*, Titres et fonctions XVII). This *comes admissionum/admissionalios* must not be confused with the later official similarly titled: it is generally assumed that the later *admissionalios* who appears in the *De caerimoninis* in ceremonies of the eighth century and later is the earlier *comes dispositionum* (Bury, Administrative System 119; *Boak*, The Master 66—67, followed by *Oikonomides*, Préséance 309). In fact, as *Ostrogorsky–Stein*, Krönungsordnungen, loc. cit., made clear, it is the earlier *comes admissionum* who becomes the *epi tēs katastaseōs* (during the eighth century), the later *admissionalios* being the older secundicerius or proximus of the admissionales: the *epi tēs katastaseōs* has the silentiariori under his authority, and the *admissionalios* is clearly also subordinate to him, see De Cer. 269, 14sq. and cf. De Cer. 23, 7—8; 238, 2sq. The *scrinium dispositionum* and its *comes*, always of relatively low status, seem to disappear during the sixth century — possibly merging with another palatine *scrinium*. As *Ostrogorsky–Stein*, Krönungsordnungen 206, point out the duties of the *scrinium dispositionum* in fact had little in common with those of the later *epi tēs katastaseōs* and the silentiarii, which did, however, carry on the duties of the admissionales. See also *Jones*, LRE 578; note also F. Dölger, review of *Ostrogorsky–Stein*, Krönungsordnungen, in: *BZ* 36 (1936) 154.
(C) 719 τὸν προτίκτωρα: the corps of *protectores* was merged by this time into that of the *protectores domestici* under the *comes domesticorum*. The title *protector* was awarded as an honour to deserving soldiers and to non-commissioned officers, but could also designate membership of the palatine corps of *protectores* and *protectores domestici*. They were originally an elite group of officers, but by the middle of the sixth century had become a ceremonial and parade-ground guard only. See Jones, LRE 636ff.; 657—658; Haldon, Praetorians 130—134. The officer named here is almost certainly the *comes* of the *scholae* of *domestici protectores* — the custom of referring to the commander of a corps by the nominativised name of the corps he commanded was usual: cf. ὁ ἔξονοβιτος, ὁ ἰανάτος etc. and Oikonomides, Préséance 332—333; and supra on (C) 475—478.

(C) 719 τὸν θριαμβευτὴν: see Reiske, Comm. 598; 717—719. The identity of this "official" is unclear. Possibly the *comes dispositi-num* — see on *admissionalios* above. Or he might also be equivalent to the deme *melistēs*, first attested in 562 — see Cameron, Circus Factions 260. He was responsible probably for the recitation of the *thriambeutalion* or triumphal acclamation, although in this example it is declined by the *admissionalios*.

(C) 720 ὁ μάγιστρος: the *magister officiorum*. See on (C) 715 above.

(C) 721 τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης: the Golden Gate in the Theodosian walls, at the end of the first branch of the Mesē; the original Golden Gate of the walls of Constantine was known simply as the "old gate" or the "old gate of St. John the Baptist", being near to the church of the same name built by Constantine I. See Guilland, Topographie II 62—63; Janin, CPByz. 263—264 and esp. 269—273 and 330; Mango, Constantinople 24—25.

(C) 722 οἱ κουμπικουλάριοι: under the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, the eunuch *cubicularii* of the sacred bedchamber were in close attendance upon the emperor. See Jones, LRE 566—570; Guilland, Institutions I 269—282; Bury, Administrative System 120. See on (C) 284—285 supra for the later *praipositos*.

(C) 724sq.: this triumph dates from 878: while the Paulicians had been defeated and Chrysocheir killed in the battle near Bathys
Ryax in 872, there is no evidence that Tephrikē itself was taken until 878/879, the date at which Germanikeia fell (see Honigmann, Ostgrenze 61—63; TIB II 82—83; Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes II/1, 82—94 (M. Canard), and Th. Cont. 280, 11ff.), as evidenced in this heading. While the date of the capture of Tephrikē is debated (see, for example, Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes II/2, 34—35; 47—49 (M. Canard)) the heading here does suggest that Οἰκονομίδης is right in arguing for a later date for the fall of Tephrikē rather than the traditionally accepted 872 (see, for example, Vogt, Basile 361—363). See Οἰκονομίδης, Préséance 350 and n. 355 with literature; and note Th. Cont. 284, 3—5. It cannot be later than 879, if only because Basil’s son Constantine died shortly after their return from the campaign. See below on (C) 732; and as Lemerle has convincingly shown, it must actually have occurred in 878, and not 879, as suggested by Οἰκονομίδης, Préséance, loc. cit. See P. Lemerle, L’Histoire des Pauliciens d’Asie Mineure d’après les sources grecques. TM 5 (1973) 1—144; also McCormick, Eternal Victory 154 and n. 84. For Germanikeia (Mar’caš), see TIB II 82—83; Honigmann, Ostgrenze 84—86. For a contemporary miniature of Basil together with Constantine, Leo and Alexander (in cod. Par. gr. 510, dated to 879) see Spatharakis, Portrait 96—99 and fig. 62; and esp. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, The Portrait of Basil I in Paris gr. 510. JÖB 27 (1978) 19—24.

For the structure of the triumph, see McCormick, Eternal Victory 155—157; idem, Ceremonies 18—19 and note also 4, n. 11.

(C) 727 τὴν 'Ιερείαν (τὰ 'Ηριά, schol. ἱεριᾶς L): cf. Th. Cont. 451, 17: τὰ 'Ηριά; 452, 47: Ἡ 'Ηριά; see also (C) 743. Hierieia, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus. See on (C) 702 above, and De Cer. 373, 15sq. There seems to have been a wide variety of alternative spellings. For the origins of the name, alternative spellings and a detailed discussion, see Pertusi, in: G. Pisid., De Exp. Pers. I 157 and Comm. 144—147.

(C) 727—729 ὑπαντησάσης ... κατεσχευμένων: cf. the similar reception (although at Hierieia itself) prepared for Heraclius after his return from the Persian war in 626: Theoph. 328, 2—6; see also MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity 84—89; McCormick, Eternal Victory 70—72.

(C) 729 ἡ σύγκλητος πᾶσα: it is difficult to know in exactly what sense
sygklétos should be taken here: the senate proper, made up of the chief officers of the civil and military administration in Constantinople, together with others selected by the emperors according to their personal preference; or the "formal" senate, that is, all those holding dignities of "senatorial" status: dishypatoi, hypatoi, vestitores, silentiariori, apo eparchōn, stratēlatai (see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 288; 295—296; BECK, Senat und Volk 57—58; OSTROGORSKY, Geschichte 204; and in general Ai. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, Ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ Βυζαντινὸν κράτος. Athens 1949). In addition, the term συγκλητικός also described functional officers under the authority of the various sekreta — see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 108, n. 64; 124, n. 73; also 99, n. 57. In this instance, the senate proper seems to be intended. See MCCORMICK, Eternal Victory 200ff.; and Ai. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, Silention. BZ 44 (1951) 79—85.

(C) 731 ἐν τῷ τοῦ Προδρόμου ναῶ: situated in the Hebdomon region, see JANIN, CPByz. 139—140; 446—447; IDEM, Églises et monastères 413—415.


(C) 733 ἐν τῷ ναῶ ... Άβραμιτῶν: JANIN, CPByz. 455; IDEM Églises et monastères 4—6. The church was situated outside the City, in the Triton region, near to the Golden Gate.

(C) 734—735 ἀμα καὶ φλαμούλων τινῶν λιτῶν: (military) standards, processional insignia, seemingly with no special adornment or decoration, which belonged either to the ordinary troops with whom Basil and Constantine had campaigned, or to the populace and the organised guilds or systēmata. For λιτῶς as simple or plain (in particular of titles and dignities) see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 290 and notes. The term was also applied to religious processions; and it is
not impossible that in this example banners bearing religious motifs — icons, extracts from the scriptures and so forth — are meant. See on (C) 781 infra. In palaeographical context λιτός (λιτογραφία) designates the majuscule script; see B. Atsalos, La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l’époque byzantine. 1ère partie: Termes désignant le livre-manuscrit et l’écriture (‘Ελληνικά, παράρτ. 21). Thessalonike 1971, 217—229.

These phlamoula are in contrast to the much more elaborate standards paraded for foreign visitors (on whom see on [C] 737 infra): the gold-embroidered silk imperial banner carried by soldiers of the great Hetaireia, for example (De Cer. 576, 21—22), or the simple imperial gold standards (De Cer. 577, 1—2. 4). These are again different from the various military standards kept for ceremonial occasions and paraded by the tagmatic troops, the Hetaireia and other parade-soldiers: see De Cer. 575, 16—20, for standards of this type which were stored in particular churches and chapels of the palace precincts (see on [C] 489 above); and also different from the ordinary standards of the parade regiments and active units of the tagmata and related corps: cf. De Cer. 579, 16—17. 21. The standards and insignia are referred to by a variety of more-or-less technical terms: φλάμουλα, square or rectangular silk banners attached to a spear, with or without an embroidered motif. Imperial phlamoula were surmounted by a cross, and two of these at least were of gold, while another was of gold-embroidered silk (De Cer. 576, 21; 577, 1—5; 579, 16. 21; and 608, 14—16; 609, 10). Φλάμουλον was also a generic term, of course, and could designate “standard” or “banner” in general, particularly in a military context: note the parading of captured phlamoula at (C) 744—745; and cf. De Cer. 613, 1. 6—7. 10. 21—22; 614, 10; 615, 2. 5—6. 13; and cf. Anon. Vári 3, 15. 17—18. 20 (Dennis 1, 64. 66. 69); and De Cer. 305, 7; Niceph., Praec. 14, 28. 30; 18, 30—31. Note that the Anon. Vári (3, 12 [Dennis, 1, 62]) refers to the βασιλικόν φλάμουλον present with the emperor.

Apart from phlamoula, there are the so-called ‘Ρωμαϊκά σκῆπτρα, possibly of labarum-like form (see below, and De Cer. 210, 24—25), divided into those called βῆλα (Lat. vela) and those termed simply σκῆπτρα (see De Cer. 11, 18—19), used regularly on ceremonial occasions (De Cer. 15, 2. 4; 194, 15; 205, 11—12; 210, 24; 211, 13; 218, 21; 575, 16; 585, 1—2; 591, 8—9; 593, 11—12; 620, 3). Twelve
of the skēptrα were stored in the church of the Lord, three more in
the palatine chapel of St. Stephen of Daphnē. The original twelve
may be those represented on the base of the column of Arcadius
— see Grabar, L’empereur 75; the later Pseudo-Codinus (IV 195,
29—196, 12) refers to two groups of six imperial standards, each
with a different image upon it: the Archistratēgos (Michael, see on [C]
426 above); the Fathers of the Church; a cross with saints Demē-
trios, Prokopios and the two Theodores; St. George; a dragon; and
the mounted figure of the emperor.

Distinct from these are the εὐτυχία or πτυχία, usually separated
from the skēptrα, sometimes referred to as τὰ ἔτερα σκῆπτρα (De Cer.
11, 19; and 585, 1—2). From the name it is probable that they bore
a representation of the figure of Victory or some such related image;
and from their classification with the skēptrα or as “the other
skēptrα”, they were probably also of traditional labarum-like form
(see De Cer. 15, 4; 575, 16; 591, 9; 593, 12). Seven of the latter were
kept in the chapel of St. Stephen of Daphnē.

Finally, a group of standards or insignia often referred to by
name, sometimes simply as “the other insignia” — λάβουρα, καμπη-
diktoúria, σίγνα, δραχντία, βάνδα. These are all military in origin.
Whether the laboura are actually in the form of such, i.e. as de-
scribed by Eusebius for Constantine’s original labarum (see Euse-
bius, Vita Constantini I 30–31) is difficult to say, although there is
no particular reason for doubting that they were at least similar.
The καμπηδικτούρια seem to be descended from the batons or ensigns
of the older Roman campiductores, field-officers responsible for pa-
rade- and marching-order from the fourth century at least. See
Haldon, Praetorians 108ff.; 121 and literature. Σίγνα, δραχντία and
βάνδα are again all military standards, the last two (and probably
the first) all involving a banner of some sort attached to a spear; the
drakontia either in the form of a dragon, as described by Ammianus
Marcellinus, or with a representation of a dragon. See in general
R. Grosse, Die Fahnen in der römisch-byzantinischen Armee des
4.—10. Jahrhunderts. BZ 24 (1924) 359–372; and Haldon, Prae-
torians 555–556 with notes. Signa seem also to have been referred
to by their Greek name, σημεῖα.

Generically all these standards were referred to as σχέων; see De
Cer. 11, 20–22; 194, 15—16; 205, 11—12; 210, 25; 211, 13—14; 218,
21—22; 575, 18—19; 593, 12; 620, 4. A number were kept in the
church of the Lord — see above; and Janin, Églises et monastères 511—512: 5 kampidiktouria, 5 laboura, 12 signa, 12 drakontia, 8 banda, along with 18 σχευοφοριά, probably ensign-holders or belts. For military standards and flags, see also G. T. Dennis, Byzantine Battle Flags. Byz. Forschungen 8 (1982) 51—59 with illustrations and further references. These latter insignia were paraded by special officers from the tagmata, or by the sailors of the imperial fleet, at least in the tenth century. Thus the protiktores, eutychophoroi and skëptrophoroi in the Scholai; the skëuophoroi and signrophoroi in the Exkoubiton; bandophoroi, labourësioi and sëmeiophoroi in the Vigla; and bandophoroi and sëmeiophoroi in the Hikanatoi were responsible for parading the various ensigns of the same name: see Haldon, Praetorians 287—296 and notes. It is unclear whether these were actually taken on campaign, however, or were reserved for imperial ceremonial use and kept otherwise in the imperial chapels referred to — see De Cer. 591, 9—10, for example. If, as seems likely, they were all ancient standards handed down over the years, then the latter is the more probable. That such insignia were associated with the emperor’s presence in particular is suggested by a passage in Anna Komnënë (Alexiad VI 11, 2), where the presence of certain σμαίας τε και σκὴπτρα ἄργυριολα sent by Alexios deceived the Turks into withdrawing from a siege on the assumption that the emperor and his troops must have been present in the invested city. See also ibid. V 5, 7.

Other groups of palatine guardsmen could also parade these ensigns, as well as those of the tagmata and fleet, however. The kandidatoi (De Cer. 575, 17; 585, 3) or the great Hetaireia (e.g. De Cer. 576, 21), the crews of the imperial dromons (De Cer. 577, 1—5) or the prōtostratōr (De Cer. 608, 13—16; 609, 10) are all mentioned in this context. Distinct from all these insignia, of course, were the ceremonial crosses (see on [C] 489 above), and other imperial signa, such as the golden lance referred to at De Cer. 500, 11—12 and 505, 18, for example. The exact form of these devices — as well as of the smaller, hand-held insignia such as the golden akakia (successor to the older senatorial mappa) — has been much debated, particularly with reference to the evidence of numismatic representations. See most recently Grierson, DOC III 133—134; 138—141 and accompanying literature; also Haldon, Praetorians, loc. cit. Note that while the labarum-type of ensign may first have been re-introduced
under Theophilus, officers of this name probably existed continuously from the late Roman period in the relevant palatine units. For a detailed discussion of the imagery and form of some of these, see Grabar, L’empereur 74—77; and note Ebersolt, Mélanges 42—43; and Wessel, Insignien 398—410.

The importance of all these devices as symbols of both imperial power and of heavenly support for the Roman state is not to be underestimated. See, for example, the references in Haldon, Praetorians 556, and the honoured position accorded to the ensigns in the various ceremonies referenced above. Those that were taken on campaign, whether imperial or regimental ensigns, were accorded a position of honour on the battlefield and on the march. See Dennis, art. cit. 56—57. For a general discussion, see A. Pertusi, Insegne del potere sovrano a Bisanzio e nei paesi di influenza bizantina, in: Simboli e simbologia nell’alto medioevo (Sett. Stud. Centro Ital. Stud. Alto Medioevo XXIII). Spoleto 1976, 481—563.

(C) 737 ὁ δὲ ἐπαρχος; he was responsible, together with the praipositos, epi tês katastaseos, the silentiarioi and the palatine dignitaries of the kouboukleion, for the preparation of the City and the palace to receive the emperor or visiting potentates (see [C] 795sq.). The description here is paralleled in much greater detail by those given for the receptions for the embassies from Tarsos (31st May 946) (De Cer. 570, 11; 582, 22), from the Emir of Amida, the Buwayhids and Saif ad-Daulah of Aleppo (30th Aug. 946) (De Cer. 593, 1; 594, 14) and from Olga of Russia (9th Sept. 957) (De Cer. 594, 15; 598, 12); the descriptions here provide a vast wealth of detail and supplement the rather brief descriptions in this text. For a commentary see Toynbee, Const. Porph. 499—504; and cf. Ebersolt, Mélanges 78—83; and note that the frequent decoration of the City with flowers recalls its alternative name (or one of them) ἡ Ἀνθοφόρα: See G. Pisid., Bell. Av., Comm. at 212 to line 66, with literature. The tradition was ancient, of course; see esp. R. Turcan, Les guirlandes dans l’antiquité classique. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 14 (1971) 92—139, see 108ff.

(C) 739 μερασμής; note Koukoulès, EEBΣ 19 (1949) 75, see e. g. De Cer. 574, 1. For the use of laurel as a sign of victory, see Reiske, Comm. 578—583; and note Harun b. Yahya’s account of an impe-
rial triumph, which corroborates much of the detail in this text: see, for example, 389; and cf. 383ff.

(C) 739—740 ἀπὸ σκαραμαγγίων διαφόρων: skaramaggia occur in similar contexts as decorations, hung up along with precious silks and other weaves to decorate processionial routes. See (C) 833; and on skaramaggia and sendes, see (C) 225 and (C) 222 above. See also De Cer. 571, 9sq.; 572, 2—21; 573, 6—7. 11. 16—17 etc. Note that differently-embroidered skaramaggia, kept in the palace especially for such occasions, were also employed: see De Cer. 571, 10—11 and 580, 19—581, 8. Along with sendes and vēla, these cloths were all used as hangings — see, for example, De Cer. 573, 13. Note also that skaramaggia which were actually worn were also used in the same way as those used as hangings, but as a form of tableau vivant: see on (C) 240—241 supra; and cf. Harūn b. Yahya 389. The term skaramaggion seems also to have been used adjectivally, of any richly-decorated silks, such as, for example, an altar-cloth: see Attaleiatēs, Diataxis 1303; Testament d'Eustathios Boilas 130. This seems also to be the case with some of the examples cited from the De caerimoniiis here.

(C) 740 πολυκανδήλαων: the hanging of lamps, both precious and less valuable, was also a common element on these occasions — see on (C) 833 infra; and compare the preparations made for the arrival of the envoys from Tarsos, De Cer. 570, 11sq., in which the lamps from the various churches and chapels of the City were employed: from Sts. Sergios and Bacchos, from the Nea Ekklēsia of Basil I, from the Blachernai churches, the church of the Virgin at the Pharos, and so on (De Cer., loc. cit.). See the comments with further illustrations at McCormick, Eternal Victory 208. On polykandēla, see Gautier, at Pantokrator Typikon 38 and n. 30. Lamps were also a regular part of liturgical processions; and indeed the similarities between the triumphal processions described here, with their regular halts for prayer and visits to churches along the route, the singing and acclamations of the demes and others, and many other features, with the public processions of the Church, are numerous. See Mateos, Typicon, Index (V) λατή (ii), 304 and references; cf. for example, ibid. I 324, 1sq.; and see D. R. D'Enty, The Use of Lights in Christian Worship. London 1959, 1—16; 72ff.; and G. Galavaris,

(C) 742 ἐν δὲ τῷ λιβαδίῳ ... τένταί: the meadow outside the walls of Theodosius, by the Golden Gate, and in the Triton district (*Janin*, CPByz. 455), used as indicated here for parades of booty and so forth, and where the imperial household and guard established a temporary encampment. Cf. (C) 829: the emperor waited until the prisoners and the booty had arrived before entering Constantinople in triumph. This meadow is not to be confused with the district τὸ Λιβαδια, outside the Theodosian walls and near the gate of Kalgrou. It incorporated the church of the Pēgē. See *Janin*, CPByz. 381 and references; *idem*, Églises et monastères 223–228. On the Triton, and with a different view from *Janin*, see *Mango*, Constantinople 33 and n. 58.

(C) 743—747 τοὺς εὐγενεῖς ... Πόρτης: see, for example, Th. Cont. 271, 1sq. for a shorter account; and Th. Cont. 284, 2–5. This was a standard procedure in victory celebrations: booty, weapons and military equipment, together with captured banners and standards, were shown off to the populace; gifts were handed out to senate and court; chariot-races were held, preceded by a second parading of booty and captives. See on (C) 808sq. infra; and compare the description of victory parades and games in the hippodrome, and the accompanying acclamations and hymns, at De Cer. 607, 16–612, 17; and 612, 19–615, 15, whose details parallel those of the two triumphs described here — of Basil and Theophilus — very closely. On Theophilus’ triumph, see below on (C) 808sq. and cf. Sym. Mag. 634, 13–22. For similar triumphs see, for example, Theoph. 433, 10sq. (of Constantine V) and De Cer. 438, 4sq. (Nicephorus II in 963). Note also Leo Diaec. 28, 15sq.; and see Markopoulos, Témoignage 113 (cod. Vat. gr. 163, c.21, 6–8); note also Yahya’s account of the triumph of Basil the parakoimomenos in 958, in Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes II/2, 98 (M. Canard); cf. Harun b. Yahya 383ff. On θραξιμβος/θραξιμβεύω see Reiske’s note, Comm. 717–719 with references; and on (C) 767 infra.

(C) 747 ἀνοιγεῖσιν ... Πόρτης: the Golden Gate had three gates: a central “golden” gate, flanked by two lesser gates: see *Janin,*
CPByz. 272 and literature; and cf. (C) 769—770 — the opening of this middle gate seems to have occurred only on such ceremonial occasions.

(C) 749—750 ιμάτιον ἐπιλώρικον: a garment worn over a lōrikion, or mail coat, was described as an epilōrikion. This was a long padded jacket which could serve as a defence in itself, but was intended to be worn over the actual mail coat. See Leo, Tact. V 3; Syll. Tact. XXXIX 1; Niceph., Praec. 11, 10sq.; and cf. De Cer. 670, 3; De Obsid. Toleranda 48, 5—6. See Haldon, Milit. Technology 34—37. The ιμάτιον ἐπιλώρικον is clearly not a piece of defensive equipment, however, but rather a silk coat, richly decorated, worn over the emperor’s cuirass or lōrikion. See on (C) 837—838 infra; and cf. Dig. Akr. 58, 258sq.: ἐπιλωρίκον λευκοτριβλαττόν; 206, 736: ἐπιλώρικον ὀλόσηρον καστόριν. On καστόριν, see on (B) 108—109 above; and Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos 1723: ἐπιλωρίκα βασιλικά ὀξυκάστορα. For imperial ceremonial costume in general, on which a great deal of work is still to be done, see Grierson, DOC II/1, 70—88; idem, DOC III/1, 117—141; and M. F. HenDy, in: DOC IV (forthcoming); A. Alföldi, Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser. Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, Röm. Abt. 50 (1935) 1—171; G. P. Galavaris, The Symbolism of Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins. Museum Notes (Amer. Numismatic Soc.) 8 (1958) 99—117; A. Hofmeister, Von der Trabea Triumphalis des römischen Kaisers über das byzantinische Lorum zur Stola der abendländischen Herrscher, in: Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik, ed. P. E. Schramm, vol. I. Stuttgart 1955, 25—50. Note also Ebersolt, Mélanges 64 and n. 3; and Reiske, Comm. 583; Wessel, Insignien 369—498, for analysis, description and reference to visual representations. For further analysis of imperial insignia, see J. Deér, Der Globus des spätrömischen und des byzantinischen Kaisers. BZ 54 (1961) 53—85; 291—318 (repr. in: idem, Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum 70ff.); together with further work of the same, cited in the notes below.

(C) 750 καγχελλωτῶν: cf. Lat. cancelli, grating; Du Cange, s. v. 531.

(C) 751—752 σπαθίν ζωστίκιν: in contrast to a sword slung from a belt worn over the shoulder, κατὰ τὴν Ἀρματίκην τάξιν, cf. Leo, Tact. VI 2; Syll. Tact. XXXIX 2. The sword slung from a waist-belt may be a sabre, introduced from the steppes during the eighth or ninth century, described also as a παραμέριον (but not to be confused with the classical and later short swords thus described — see, for example, Just., Nov. 85, 4). The characteristics of the Byzantine paramērion: worn from the waist, single-edged, clearly distinguish it from earlier swords or long knives so described. Cf. Leo, Tact. VI 2; Syll. Tact. XXXVIII 5; XXXIX 2. But whether the spathia worn from a belt at (C) 751—752, 838, 842 and Niceph., Praec. 1, 24; 2, 11; 11, 32 are to be identified as such paramēria or sabres is impossible to say. Given the influence of steppe military technology and the presence of Turkic mercenaries in the Hetaireia (and possibly other units too) at this time and later, it is not impossible. See Haldon, Milit. Technology 31. The sword referred to here was presumably a purely ceremonial sword, similar to that described as τῆς προσευσίως at (C) 218—219; and see De Cer. 80, 12—13: καὶ σπαθίν ὑποίκως χρυσοῦν διὰ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων ἠμφιεσμένον. For the sword as an element of the imperial insignia, see Wessel, Insignien 412ff.

(C) 752 κασάρικιν: a gold circlet, the older stephanos, which had become the insignia of a Caesar: see Ebersolt, Mélanges 67—68 and 67, n. 7. The text makes it clear, however, that kaisarikion described the type of diadem rather than its function, at this time: in the same way that kamēlaukion describes a type of headgear (in this case, an enclosed hemispherical head-dress: see Reiske, Comm. 652ff., and J. Deéer, Der Ursprung der Kaiserkrone. Schweizer Bei-träge zur allgemeinen Geschichte 8 [1950] 51—87, see 69—81; note Oikonomidès, Préséance 98, n. 53). Cf. Guillard, Institutions II 37; also De Cer. 522, 7—8: τὸν στέφανον τὸ λεγόμενον κασάρικιόν; 634, 16—17; and note 218, 24—219, 1. For general comments, see Grierson, DOC III/1, 127ff.; Oikonomidès, Préséance loc. cit.; Wessel, Insignien 373—397; Christophilopoulou, Stemmata 281, n. 9.

(C) 753 κλιβάνιον: a lamellar cuirass (usually of interlocked iron, bronze or boiled leather plates or petala), in this case of gold, sleeveless, waist-length, and either enclosing the trunk entirely, or of plain leather at the back and of interlinked plates at the front. See
Leo, Tact. V 3; VI 4; Syll. Tact. XXXVIII 4, 7; XXXIX 1; and cf. ibid. XXX 2 and XXXI 1; Leo, Tact. VI 30; 34; Niceph., Praec. 11, 20 sq. See Haldon, Milit. Technology 34—35 and notes 121, 122 for illustrations. One of the best-known and clearest examples is that worn by Basil II triumphing over his foes in the Psalter under his name. See I. Ševčenko, The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II. DOP 16 (1962) 243—276, see pl. 17 (cod. Marc. gr. 17, fol. 3v).

(C) 753 ποδόψελλα: cf., for example, Leo, Tact. VI 25; Haldon, Milit. Technology 37 and n. 126. For armour as part of the insignia, Wessel, Insignien 412—417. On the lance (and shield) as elements in both imperial coronation and processional insignia, see J. Deér, Byzanz und die Herrschaftszeichen des Abendlandes. BZ 50 (1957) 405—436, see 427f. with literature (repr. in: idem, Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschafturn 62ff.).

(C) 755 φακιόλιν δίκην προπολωματος: the propoloma was a turban-like head-dress worn by women — originally patricians, later associated in particular with the empress; the phakiolion was a similar head-dress for men. See De Cer. 214, 12—13; 258, 18; 259, 9; 623, 11; 624, 6—7; and cf. Vogt, Cér. II 21, 26 and 22, n. 1; Reiske, Comm. 584—586; Ebersolt, Mélanges 74, n. 1; Ps.-Cod. II 159, n. 1. See also Deér, Byzanz und die Herrschaftszeichen des Abendlandes (cited at [C] 753 above), see 420—427. Cf. Narratio de Sancta Sophia 285, 9—10 (where the phakiolion was unwound); note V. Theod. Syk. 157, 54 and commentary 261.

(C) 756 ἔχων ... χρυσοφάντων: see Reiske, Comm. 586.

(C) 757 χιώμασιν: see also (C) 839, 843; and De Cer. 188, 24; 190, 7; 191, 20: a richly decorated caparison for the horse’s hindquarters; see Du Cange 1724 s. v. χιώματα; Ebersolt, Mélanges 44; Ps.-Cod. VII 270, 3—7 (but meaning harness).

(C) 758 τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τὰ δύο μέρη: the leading officers of the Blue and Green hippodrome “clubs” or factions. They were organised like the other systēmata or collegia of the City under the authority of the Eparche. As official clubs supporting the chariot-racing teams of the hippodrome they were divided into City and peratic groups
— politikoi and peratikoi: see Cameron, Circus Factions 93—94. By the ninth century, although the process begins in the sixth century, they had been fully incorporated into imperial ceremonial and ritual. There is an immense literature: see Oikonomides, Préséance 326—327 for their organisation; Guillard, Topographie I 420—441; Cameron, Circus Factions 230—270 for their history and development. For the role of the “guilds” on such occasions, see McCormick, Eternal Victory 204—205 with notes 74—77.

(C) 759 χαμίσια: see on (C) 243 supra.

(C) 759 στεφάνια σημεντέεια: Lat. segmentata, cf. Du Cange 1362 s. v.; Reiske, Comm. 586; Ebersolt, Mélanges 69 and n. 1; cf. De Cer. 276, 19; 589, 12.

(C) 761 ἐγχείρια: see De Cer. 577, 12; 589, 13; and note De Cer. 621, 17sq. Such kerchiefs were used also to collect the trimmed hair of imperial infants. See Ebersolt, Mélanges 13; Reiske, Comm. 586. On the encheirion as a curtain or hanging associated with an icon, see V. Nunn, The Encheirion as Adjunct to the Icon in the Middle Byzantine Period. BMGS 10 (1986) 73—102.

(C) 762 τὰ νικητικὰ ... σαγία: for sagion see on (C) 225, 670—671 above. These were special garments worn presumably only for such special victory or triumphant celebrations. Special sets of clothing for a wide range of occasions were kept in the palace and elsewhere for all those involved in such public events, both the civil administrative officials, the heads of sekreta as well as their staffs, and military officers, members of the senate, and so on. The generic term for such garments was ἀλλαξίματα; although in its narrower sense it is applied specifically to garments for the emperors and their immediate retinue. See on (C) 700—701 above; and Oikonomides, Préséance 131, n. 96; 191, n. 195; Diethart, Lexikalische Rara 12/5 with literature.

(C) 762 καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν: i.e. the various personnel of the two factions: see Oikonomides, Préséance 326—327 and literature: deuterouontes, chartoularioi and notarioi, poets and melistai or composers, geitoniarchai, archontes, hēniochoi (phaktionarioi and mikroparntai, charioteers).

(C) 767 νικητικὰ . . . ἀπελατικοὶ στρατηγικοὶ: see on (C) 850: ἐπινίκια; and see (C) 868. The nikētika or epinikia were victory hymns. A sample of such, introduced by their first line, is given at De Cer. 609, 4—7; and for victory acclamations of the soldiers, see De Cer. 372, 1—373, 13. Cf. Th. Cont. 271, 6—7: τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νικητικὰς ἐκβοήσεις καὶ εὐφημίας; 284, 4—5: παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τὰς ἐπινικίους φωνὰς. For the various types of apelatikoi or processional chants, see the note of Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 80—81; and note Reiske, Comm. 350—351. Note also Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 78—79; and see J. Handschin, Das Zeremonienwerk Kaiser Konstantins und die sangbare Dichtung (Rektoratsprogramm der Universität Basel für die Jahre 1940 und 1941). Basel 1942, 8f.; 108; P. Maas, Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner. BZ 21 (1912) 28—51; Beck, Volksliteratur 25—26; O. Kresten, Pallida mors Sarracenorum. Zur Wanderung eines literarischen Topos von Liudprand von Cremona bis Otto von Freising und zu seiner byzantinischen Vorlage. Römische Historische Mitteilungen 17 (1975) 23—75, esp. 38ff., and Wellesz, Music and Hymnography 87—106, for a detailed account within the wider context of Byzantine music. Note also Cameron, Circus Factions 246ff.; and E. Jammers, Abendland und Byzanz. Kirchenmusik. Byzanz und die abendländische Musik. RB A I, fasc. 3 (1969) 169—227. For the pre-Christian Roman tradition, see W. Ehlers, Art. Triumphus. RE VII/1 A (1939) 493—511, see 509—510. On the alternative meaning of epinikia, as announcements or bulletins of victory, see McCormick, Eternal Victory, Index, 425; and literature.

(C) 771 τῶν ἀπομονών: see on (C) 686 above and (B) 58 above. On this occasion the emperor’s appointee was Baanês, the patrikios, praipositos and sakellarios. See (B) 48 above; and for Baanês, R. Gulland, Patrices des règnes de Basile Ier et de Léon VI. BZ 63 (1970) 300—317, see 301 (=idem, Titres et fonctions XI).

(C) 772 στεφανὸν χρυσοῦν: see on (C) 696 supra; and Reiske, Comm. 587. The "old style" manifestly relates to the sixth-century ceremony preceding this one in the text. See Th. Cont. 271, 4—5: Basil enters and celebrates a triumph ὡς πάλαι.
III. Notes

(C) 776—778 ἐν τῷ Στύματι... τῷ Φόρω: i.e. the length of the branch of the Mesē from the Golden Gate as far as the Forum of Constantine. Note that, following the ancient tradition, the emperor dismounts at the entrance to the original city, near the Forum of Constantine — see REISKE's note, Comm. 588. See GUILLAND, Topographie II 75—76; and on (C) 711—712 supra. See JANIN, CPByz., map I; and for the various points named along the Mesē, GUILLAND, Topographie II 50. For the places named here:
the Sigma: JANIN, CPByz. 424—425 (not to be confused with the hall of the same name in the great palace; see JANIN, loc. cit.; GUILLAND, Topographie I 94—119).
the Exakionion: JANIN, CPByz. 351—352; GUILLAND, Topographie II 62—65; MANGO, Constantinople 47.
the Xërolophos: the seventh hill of the City, on which the Forum of Arcadius was constructed. See JANIN, CPByz. 71—72; 439—440; GUILLAND, Topographie II 59—61; MANGO, Constantinople 28.
the Bous: the forum bovis, so called after the large bronze ox-head statue, brought originally from Pergamon. See JANIN, CPByz. 69—70; MANGO, Constantinople 28.
the Capitol: see on (C) 711—712 above.
the Philadelphion: see JANIN, CPByz. 410; MANGO, Constantinople 28—30 and plan I: it was near the present-day mosque of Lâleli, not that of Şehzade.
the Tauros: the Forum of Theodosius, see on (C) 695—696 above.
the Artopoulion: the district of the bakeries or bread-shops; see JANIN, CPByz. 95—96; 315; MANGO, Constantinople 31 and n. 52.
the Forum: that is, of Constantine: see JANIN, CPByz. 62—64. On the chief ceremonial routes from the palace through the City, see below, and MCCORMICK, Eternal Victory 214ff.; and for the positions at which the demes were stationed to acclaim the emperor, see (C) 850 infra with the scholion to (C) 778.

(C) 779—780 τὸν ναὸν τῆς υπεραγίας Θεοτόκου: one of the two churches in the Forum of Constantine, the other being the oratory of the emperor Constantine himself. See JANIN, CPByz. 62; 64; 412; IDÉM, Églises et monastères 236—237.

(C) 781 μετὰ λιτῆς: see DU CANGE 817 s.v.; LAMPE s.v. λιτή (2);
Ebersolt, Mélanges 41 and n. 1; 92; and cf. De Cer. 607, 16—17; 614, 21—22. See especially Mateos, Typikon, Index (V) λυτή (ii), 304—305 with references. The term was used both of chants/troparia and of liturgical processions. Cf. the verb λυτανεύω (Mateos, loc. cit.).

(C) 781 τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας: see Janin, Églises et monastères 455—470.

(C) 781—782 τοῦ πραποσίτου: see on (C) 284—285 above.

(C) 782 ἡ στρατηγικά: see on (C) 749—750 above.


(C) 783 καμπαγια: Lat. campagacus, military boot/sandal; often worn together with καμπότοβα, see De Cer. 439, 7; 442, 22sq.; see Reiske, Comm. 419—424; Ebersolt, Mélanges 64 and n. 3; Koukoules, BBP IV 412—413; Boak, The Master 118—119; Lexikographie 156 (Steiner). Cf. for example, Lydus, De Mag. 22, 9—11; and also Ed. Diocl. 9, 11 (with Comm. 246); and see Wessel, Insignien 447—448.

(C) 784 τῆς Μέσης τοῦ Φόρου: i.e. that part of the Mesē leading through and out of the Forum of Constantine: see Guillaud, Topographie II 72 and n. 38; and cf. Mango, Brazen House 75.

(C) 785—787 τῶν σχευῶν ... διαλίθου: the various imperial insignia: see on (C) 734—735 above; and (C) 489 above. See De Cer. 591, 6—10.

(C) 787—788 ἐως τοῦ Μιλίου ... Ὀρολόγιον: see Janin, CPByz. 103—104; Guillaud, Topographie I 226—232; II 28—31; Mango, Brazen House 47—48 (for the Milion); and Janin, CPByz. 102—103; Guillaud, Topographie I 220—226; II 45f.; Mango, Brazen House 73ff. (for the Horologion); idem, Constantinople 26—27.

(C) 788—789 ἐν τῷ ... μετατωρίῳ: the metatôrion was a “changing station”, an imperial changing room on the right side of the Great Church, in which the emperor might change one set of vestments for another, according to the occasion. See Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 61:
Mango, Brazen House 64; 72 and n. 198 with literature; Oikonomides, Préséance 166, n. 138; Guilland, Topographie II 15f.; Janin, Églises et monastères 461. Other churches in the City also served the same function on such occasions, see (C) 780—782. For the ʿΩφαια Πύλη, see Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 58—59; Guilland, Topographie II 128; Janin, Églises et monastères 462. This was the main entrance to the Great Church, from the exōnarthex to the esōnarthex, leading also into the mētatōrion. Cf. De Cer. 440, 1; and Scylitzes 185, 25. See also Mateos, Typicon II 85, n. 2; 89 and n. 3. For the rôle of the Agia Sophia in imperial ceremonial, see Janin, Églises et monastères 468—469; and the references assembled in Mateos, Typicon, Index (III) 268—269: Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία.

(C) 791—792 ἡ εἰσόδος ... προελεύσεως: for the sense of ἐμπρατος, as used of officials and dignities, see Oikonomides, Préséance 290; here with the sense of “formal” or “official”; cf. (C) 850 and Reiske, Comm. 245. For the formal processional routes from the palace to the Great Church and back, see Guilland, Topographie I 220—226; Mango, Brazen House 73ff.

(C) 793 χλητόριον: see on (C) 284.

(C) 793 τῷ Ἰουστινιανῶν τρικλίνῳ: the great triclinium constructed by Justinian II in 694. See Janin, CPByz. 116; Guilland, Topographie I 153—154; and Oikonomides, Préséance 182, n. 178.

(C) 794 βεστομυλαρήσια: i.e. coins (miliarēsia) from the vestiarion. See on (C) 95 supra; and Hendy, Studies 412 and n. 175.

(C) 796 ὁ ἐπαρχός: the decoration and preparation of the City was the responsibility of the Eparch: see above (B) 58sq.; (C) 737; and De Cer. 572, 14. 20; 573, 5. 16.

(C) 798—799 ὁ πραιτόσιτος ... παντός: for the praipositos, see on (C) 284—285 above. The responsibility for the procession itself, the acclamations and receptions etc. fell within the competence of the palace. See also on the ἐπὶ τῆς katastaseōs ([C] 718—719) and the kouboukleion ([C] 486) above.

(C) 799—800 τοῦ μαγιστροῦ: see on (B) 58 and (C) 26—27 above.
(C) 801—802 καθώς ... ἐδοκεῖ: with reference to the tradition of leaving a representative or ἐκ προσόπου in the City. The reference here is probably Constantine's own gloss to the text at (C) 669—670 and with reference to the practice of his own time.

(C) 805—807 ἀντιλήψεις ... ἐδιδόντο: the distribution of largess and of the captured booty was expected of the victorious returning general or emperor: see, for example, (C) 877sq. At the same time, the granting of imperial dignities and titles was an important part of the ceremonial, intended to emphasise both imperial generosity and the imperial authority as the source of all worldly authority. See, for example, Klet. Phil. 85, 27—86, 11; 97, 10; 99, 9—10; 189, 11sq.; 221, 20—24. Similarly, the rewarding of soldiers and officers — through promotion to higher commands or rank, or the bestowal of insignia and marks of honour etc. — was important. See Haldon, Praetorians 606, n. 1016; and Ahrweiler, Un discours 399, 87—93. Cf. Th. Cont. 271, 1—2; 283, 23—284, 1 (from the Vita Basilii Iunioris by Constantine). See also on (C) 261 above. For the terms ἀντιλήψεις and ἀναβίβασμα, see Klet. Phil. 96—97, n. 50; and Dagron, Phocas 234, n. 55; and for ἀντιλήψεις as "aid"/"assistance" both spiritual and material, see V. Theod. Syk. 2, 7 and commentary, 168—169.

(C) 808sq. Ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ φοσσάτου ... χιλιάδας Χ': this triumph is traditionally dated to 831: cf. Bury, ERE 127—128; Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes I 193ff.; Rosser, Theophilus the Unlucky 155ff.; TIB II 77—78; see Th. Cont. 114, 17sq.; but see W. Treadgold, The Chronological Accuracy of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the years 813—845. DOP 33 (1979) 159—197, see 172; 178, for a re-dating to 837. Theophilus' expedition was directed against Cilicia, although other Byzantine forces defeated Muslim troops at the same time near Charsianon. Tarsus (Tarsos), al-Massisah (Mopsuestia), Adhanah (Adana), (Eirēnopolis) and ʿAin Zarbāh (Anabarza) were among the main fortresses of Muslim Cilicia. See Honigmann, Ostgrenze 42—44; Haldon—Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 106—109; for the problem of locating Eirēnopolis, see Oikonomidès, Organisation 289 with n. 23; and esp. E. Honigmann, Neronias—Ireneopolis in Eastern Cilicia. Byz 20 (1955) 39—61; note also Reiske, Comm. 590. It seems to have been very close
to the Muslim fortress town of Harūniyah, cf. Haldon-Kennedy, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 108; Honigmann, Ostgrenze 42—43.

(C) 812—813 τῶν ... Ἀγαρηνῶν: in the previous year (according to the traditional dating) 830 the Caliph al-Ma’mūn had invaded the thema of Kappadokia from Tarsos, capturing and destroying Koron, the headquarters of the stratēgos. Several other fortresses were attacked and taken; while the Caliph’s son ʿAbbās attacked the district of Melitēnē and Adata. See Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes I 101—102. 208; TIB II 77; with literature and sources.


(C) 815 ὁ δήπως: i.e. the ek prosōpou of the emperor, usually the praipositos (see on [C] 798 above), see Boak, The Master 53—54, 97; but possibly the magistros, q. v.

(C) 816—817 παρεᾶσαντες ... πνέων: not all the tagmata accompanied the emperor on military expeditions. In addition, the permanent garrison units, the Noumera and the Walls regiment, may also be meant: see Haldon, Praetorians 534, n. 743.

(C) 819—820 ἐνδον τοῦ καγκέλου τοῦ καμαίρων: kagkellon was the usual term for “railing”: see Mango, Brazen House 74; 85; and Du Cange 530—531 s. v. κάγκηκελος/-ον. The “low” triklinos was part of the palace of Hieries (see Janin, CPByz. 148—150). Note also the existence of a katō triklinos, possibly in the Blachernai palace or the palace τῶν Καριανοῦ, cf. Klet. Phil. 219, 27 and n. 262; Janin, CPByz. 125 and n. 1.
(C) 825—826 τῶν ἁγιῶν Μάμαντα: in the district of Ἀγιος Μάμας, mod. Beşiktaş, north of the Golden Horn and on the European shore of the Bosphorus; it was the site of an imperial palace, a small port and a hippodrome, constructed by Leo I after 469. See Janin, CPByz. 141; 473—474 and map XI.

(C) 827 ἐν Βλαχέρναις: the quarter of Blachernai, first enclosed within the walls by Heraclius, with extensions and improvements under Leo V and Manuel I (Janin, CPByz. 265—266). It was also the site of the later imperial residence, from the twelfth century. Before this time it was the site of a sanctuary of the veil of the Virgin, constructed under Pulcheria and Marcian, and the accompanying imperial apartments. There was also a small port attached to this complex. See Janin, CPByz. 123ff.; and for the walls, ibid. 283ff.; and Speck, Bellum Avaricum 34ff.

(C) 827—828 διὰ τοῦ ἔξω τεῖχους: this was the exterior rampart of the Theodosian walls, also called the πρωτεῖχισμα or μικρὸν τεῖχος, originally with 92 small towers, as opposed to the 96 larger towers of the main wall, the ἔσω or μέγα τεῖχος. Between the two ramparts was a peribolos with a military road. Rather than follow this road to the meadow outside the Golden Gate, it is more likely that Theophilus followed the outer road, that is, along the outside of the outer wall, and outside the great defensive ditch. See Janin, CPByz. 266—267 with literature.

(C) 829 ἐν τῷ λιβαδίῳ τοῦ κομβινοστασίων: see on (C) 742 above; and (C) 158 for κομπινα/κομπινεῦω. The κομβινοστάσιον was the point at which the “teams” of pack-animals or processional animals might be assembled. It was also the site at which the chariot racing teams tried out and selected their racing horses, for the programme (κομπινα) of the races; see Vogt, Cér. Comm. II 117; 134. Στάσιον/στασίδιον meant a “post” or “emplacement”, see, for example, De Vel. Bell. 187, 4; 188, 2 (Dennis, 1, 15. 35); and Dagon, Phocas 246.

(C) 830 ἐν Χρυσοπόλει: mod. Üsküdar (Scutari) on the Asian side of the Bosphorus; its port was Damalis (mod. Kizkule). See Janin, CPByz. 237; 494—495.

(C) 831—834 ὂ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπαρχος ... Ἑλκυῆ: see (C) 796 supra.
III. Notes

(C) 832—833 δίκην νυμφικῶν παστάδων: cf. Reiske, Comm. 590—591. Note the scholion to (C) 740. The decking-out of the City on the one hand, and specific rooms or buildings on the other, described in this fashion, was not unusual: cf. for example, De Cer. 573, 17sq. and 571, 8. The παστοποιοί were responsible for such decorations in the palace itself; cf. Leo Diaec. 158, 16—20. The relationship between Constantinople and the Virgin, and the attendant symbolism, will also have been relevant in this context. See the discussion and literature in Averil Cameron, The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: a City finds its Symbol. JThS 29 (1978) 79—108.

(C) 833 πολυφώτων: lamps were hung at specific points all along the processional route; see on (C) 740 and De Cer. 580, 2—3: ἐκρεμάσθησαν ὀλόφωτα; Theotokos Kecharitōmenē Typikon 1592—1593: πολυκάνδηλα τὰ πολύφωτα.

(C) 837—838 χιτῶνα ... ἐπιλόφικον: the term chiton was used often in the general sense of tunic — whether long or short — to describe other garments such as the sticharion (a long robe) or the divitēsion (see on [C] 783 above). See Ebersolt, Mélanges 61 and n. 2; 64; 72; see also on (C) 749—750 above; and Wessel, Insignien 420ff. Cf. Klet. Phil. 127, 20—21.

(C) 838 τὸν ῥοδόβωτρον: note the scholion to (C) 749 supra, where a fuller description of this garment is given; and note De Cer. 80, 11—12: καλόβιον τριβλάττιον χρυσοσωλυκόντητον, διὰ λίθων καὶ μαργαρί-ρων ἁμφιεσμένον, δ καὶ βότρυς καλείται ...; and De Cer. 86, 4. See Ebersolt, Mélanges 64, n. 3.

(C) 838 τιάραν: see Reiske, Comm. 591—592, and the scholion: τιάραν. The term is Persian in origin, and here represents a circlet bearing a plume of feathers. See Ebersolt, Mélanges 68; Grierson, DOC Π/1, 74—75; ΠΙ/1, 129—130; and cf. De Cer. 188, 10; Wessel, Insignien 373—397.

(C) 839 χιώματι: see on (C) 757 above.

(C) 840 σκῆπτρον: not the large, labarum-like skêptra carried as military and imperial standards (see on [C] 734—735 and [C] 489 above) but the older consular sceptre (also referred to as σκηπτήων, cf. De Cer. 62, 16; 187, 15 and note 639, 9sq.). See Du Cange
1388—1389; EBERSOLT, Mélanges 66; GRIERSON, DOC III/1, 138—141 and table 15. See also OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 330; Klet. Phil. 201, 14—15 and n. 220; and WESSEL, Insignien 398—410.

(C) 840 ὁ δὲ καίσαρ: Alexios Mousele, son-in-law of Theophilus. See R. GUILLAND, Patrices des règnes de Théophile et de Michel III. Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes 8 (1970) 593—610, see 596—597 (repr. in: DEM, Titres et fonctions X); and ROSSER, Theophilus the Unlucky 155—156 and n. 5.

(C) 841 μανικέλλιον: arm-guards for the fore-arm, also called χειροµάνικα, cf. Leo Tact. VI 25; and cf. VI 3; Syll. Tact. XXXVIII 5: χειρόψελλα . . ., ἀ δὴ καὶ μανικέλλα λέγονται; cf. ibid. XXXIX 2; NICEPH., Praec. 11, 7—8; and see De Cer. 669, 18; 672, 5; 674, 5. For ποδόψελλα see on (C) 753 above.

(C) 842 σὺν περικεφαλαίᾳ χρυσῇ: equivalent to kaisarikion, see on (C) 752 above; and see EBERSOLT, Mélanges 67, n. 7; Theoph. 444, 4.

(C) 847—848 χρυσοῦν . . . πουλτίμων: see above on (C) 696.

(C) 849 ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ βραχίονος: worn in the same way as the late Roman armillae, a tradition adopted from Sassanian practice. See DEÉR, Byzanz und die Herrschaftszeichen des Abendlandes (cited at [C] 753 above) 419.

(C) 850 ὡς ἐπὶ ἐφτασίμων προκένσων: see on (C) 767 above and on prokenson, (B) 107 above. The progresses with which this one is compared are those which took place on days of great festivals — of the Annunciation, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, of the Transfiguration, Christmas, Epiphany and so on — when the demes and members of court and clergy, as well as the population of the City and the collegia or systēmata, addressed the emperor at various stations — στάσεις — or receptions — δοχαλὶ — with a variety of formal acclamations. The demes played a central role on these occasions: note the scholion at (C) 778 above. For a detailed analysis, see GUILLAND, Topographie I 217—248; EBERSOLT, Mélanges 90—91; CAMERON, Circus Factions 251ff.; and MCCORMICK, Eternal Victory 220.

(C) 851—852 τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄγιον Μόχιον: from the Sigma the imperial
cortège turned left in the direction of St. Mŏkios before rejoining the main route of the Mesē at the Xērolophos, probably at the Forum of Arcadius. See Janin, CPByz. 38—39; and for St. Mŏkios, ibid. 393; and Janin, Églises et monastères 354—358. The route has been commented upon by Mango, Brazen House 83—84; Guilland, Topographie II 50; Mango, Constantinople 47; and see McCormick, Eternal Victory 146ff.; 209ff.

(C) 852 μέχρι του Μιλίου: the great tetrastyle arch outside the Augoustaion, between the palace and the Hagia Sophia, and the departure point of the main thoroughfare out of the City. See Janin, CPByz. 103—104; Guilland, Topographie II 28—31; Mango, Brazen House 47—48; and for the Augoustaion, Janin, CPByz. 59—62; 73—77; 155—156; Guilland, Topographie II 40—54; Mango, Brazen House 42—47. See on (C) 787—788 supra.

(C) 853 διρήγεσσα: see Ebersolt, Mélanges 41 and n. 4, who notes that the two verbs διρήγεσσα and ὑψικεύω are used of those elements of the procession preceding the emperor. Contrast with the liturgical λυτάκειμα, see on (C) 781 above.

(C) 853—854 ἐως τοῦ φρέατος τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας: the Holy Well, part of the complex of the Great Church. See Guilland, Topographie II 19—27; and Mango, Brazen House 60—72.

(C) 854—855 πλην ... ἔφιπποι: those who had participated in the campaign continue on horseback. Cf. De Cer. 610, 8—14.

(C) 855 κονταρίων: cf. Lat. contus, see Du Cange 707 s. v.

(C) 857 ἀπὸ ὅργυμιν πέντε: there were three different ὅργυμι in use during the Byzantine period, two of which (of approx. 2,10 m. and 2,16 m.) were official measures (used for field-surveying, for example) and are probably not meant here. The third, used for day-to-day purposes, was of approx. 1,87 m. in length. 5 orgüma would therefore be about 9,30 m. See Schilbach, Metrologie 22—27.

(C) 858 σπαθοβουλίων: cf. for example, De Cer. 72, 18; 82, 4. 10 etc.; these were ceremonial weapons carried by protospatharioi, both eunuch and non-eunuch. See Reiske, Comm. 174—175; from spatha
and baculum, these were probably long batons tipped with a two-edged bronze or iron blade. See also Vogt, Cér. Comm. I 106.

(C) 859 πούλπιτον = βημα, cf. Reiske, Comm. 592; Ebersolt, Palais 34 and n. 7; Guillard, Topographie I 88.

(C) 859—860 τὸ χρυσοῦν ... πρωτόθαιμα: up to the reign of Michael III the court possessed only one gilded organ; while the demes also possessed two, silvered, organs. But the golden organ was reportedly melted down by Michael III (see Th. Cont. 257, 5—6; and Scylitzes 97, 49; 132, 36). At some time after this two more golden organs seem to have been constructed for ceremonial functions, referred to in various other contexts either singly or as a pair: see, for example. De Cér. 571, 4 (one organ); 580, 5 (two organs) for the year 946 A. D. They were used on a variety of such occasions, and seem to have been portative. See Reiske, Comm. 137—138; Ebersolt, Mélanges 90—91; and Wellesz, Music and Hymnography 94—98. Note Harūn b. Yahya 388 for an early tenth-century description.

(C) 860 κένζου: Lat. sessus, cf. Du Cange s. v. σέσσος, 1356; Reiske, Comm. 224—225; Ebersolt, Mélanges 34 and references; also Oikonomidès, Préséance 274, n. 32.

(C) 861 ὁ χρυσοῦς ... μέγας: one of the ceremonial crosses stored in the palace. See De Cér. 640, 17, and on (C) 489 above. Cf. also (C) 786—787.

(C) 865 εἰς ἄγιος: Reiske, Comm. 593, suggests that an alternative reading might be εἰς ἄγιος, addressed to the emperor; cf. De Cér. 253, 3; 348, 23; 350, 5—6. 8. 12; 351, 23; 366, 19. For the form εἰς(α/ε), see Browning, Medieval and Modern Greek 70 and n. 7, for example.

(C) 865—867 προσήνεγκαν ... αὐτοῦ: see on (C) 696 above, and cf. (C) 847—848.

(C) 865 τὸ πολίτευμα: usually represented by the factions or demes and their officers. See, for example, Cameron, Circus Factions 264 ff.

(C) 867 δημηγορήσας: on imperial orations after victories, see Ahrweiler, Un discours 393 and n. 5; 401 ff.
(C) 869—873 διὰ τῶν διαβατικῶν ... παλατίω: for the diabatika (colonnade/cloister) of Achilles, which ran along the Mesē to the left, from the Chalkē, see MANGO, Brazen House 84 and literature. The Zeuxippos baths, originally constructed under Septimius Severus and rebuilt after the Nika riot by Justinian, were the largest and most sumptuous baths of the City, until the later seventh/early eighth century, when a part of them was converted into a prison and barracks, later known as the Nouméra: see JANIN, CPByz. 222—224; MANGO, Brazen House 37—42; idem, Constantinople 26.

(C) 870—871 τον ἀσκέπαστον ἱππόδρομον: this was the great hippodrome of Constantinople: see JANIN, CPByz. 183—194; GUILLAND, Topographie I 371—395 and literature. On the κάθεσμα, the imperial lodge in the centre of the east side of the hippodrome, and on the palace of the kathisma behind the lodge, see GUILLAND, Topographie I 462—498; JANIN, CPByz. 188—189; and on the palace of Daphnē, within the great palace, see JANIN, CPByz. 112—113; for the covered hippodrome, see GUILLAND, Topographie I 165—210; JANIN, CPByz. 119—120; 194; and for the Skyla, GUILLAND, Topographie I 151—164; JANIN, CPByz. 108; 116; 119.

(C) 873 αὐτησις δεξιμον: cf. De Cer. 631, 19—632, 2; and cf. REISKE, Comm. 593. It was usual for the populace to make a formal request for games to be held (see [C] 877) and for largesses to be distributed on such occasions. For δεξιμον/δοχή, see on (C) 448 above; and see EBERSOLT, Mélanges 89.

(C) 874—877 προετέθησαν ἀντιλήψεις ... ἐδόθησαν: see on (C) 805—807 above. For the issue of the various ἀξίας, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 281ff.; and for the dignities themselves, ibid. 292 (table); 293—301.


(C) 876 τὸις πολιτάρχαις: that is, the demarchs and their staffs; see on (C) 758 above.

(C) 880—881 πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου ... φοσσάτων: possibly 837 A.D. See Sym. Mag. 634, 13—22; G. Mon. Cont. 798, 24—799, 4; and on the campaign and triumph, ROSSER, Theophilus the Unlucky 196—201
with literature; McCormick, Eternal Victory 149f. It is difficult to be sure of the date of this return and triumph. Theophilus was forced to march to Cappadocia shortly after the triumph traditionally ascribed to 831 to oppose al-Ma'mūn's son 'Abbās, but was outmanoeuvred; similarly in 832 Theophilus attempted unsuccessfully to relieve Loulon (see Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes I 110ff.; 117f.). His only success came in 837, when he was able to take Sōzopetra, raid the area around Melitēnē, and destroy Arsamosata (Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes I 138—141; TIB II 78). While this victory was followed, of course, by the expedition of al-Mu'tasīm against Amorion, in which Theophilus was heavily defeated (see TIB II 78—79 and literature), it does provide a probable date for the second triumph.
IV.
Introductory note:

In view of the wide range of technical and specialised terms which occur in the three texts edited here, the following index is presented in two sections. Index A lists names and terms in the three texts (A), (B) and (C) only, and by line number of the respective text. Words which appear either transliterated or in their Greek form in Index B also are marked thus Ω. Index B lists names and terms which appear in the Introduction, Translation and Notes, and by page number. No subject index is included, since the technical terms themselves constitute such, and since the discussion in the Notes is in addition also internally cross-referenced. By looking up a word in the indices, therefore, it is possible to locate all occurrences in the texts, and all items and discussion in the Notes pertaining to the subject or term in question.
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APPENDIX

In addition to the literature cited in the Notes, two further publications whose results I have not been able fully to take into account in the analysis of technical terms should be noted. The first deals with Byzantine weaponry and military equipment, arms and armour in particular: see T. KOLIAS, Byzantinische Waffen. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur lateinischen Eroberung (Byzantina Vindobonensia 17). Wien 1988. This was unfortunately not available to me until the bulk of the Notes had gone to press. KOLIAS’ work provides a valuable analytical catalogue of the Byzantine military-technical vocabulary, which will supplement the information given in these Notes. Among the terms which may be found discussed in greater detail are the following: ἐπιλόρικον, ἐπιλωρίκον, ζωστίκον (σπαθίον), κάσσις/κασίδα, κέντουχλον, κλυβάνιον, λόγχη, λωρίκον, μανικέλλια, παραμήριον, περικεφαλαία, ποδόψελλα, σκουτάριον, σπαθίον, σπαθοβαξίλλιον, χειρομάνηκον.

The second publication is still in preparation, but deals in great detail with Byzantine silk weaving and the technology of weaving in general, as well as with many of the technical terms connected with clothing and silks which appear in our text (C). I am especially grateful to its author, Dr. Anna MUTHESIUS (Cambridge), for much valuable discussion on these matters. Much of the commentary in the present volume dealing with these matters will undoubtedly need to be amended or modified in the light of Dr. MUTHESIUS’ detailed research, and users of this edition who wish to pursue these items should refer to the forthcoming work, entitled “History of the Byzantine Silk Industry”.

Finally, a suggestion regarding one item of technical vocabulary which I do not believe I have adequately been able to decipher, namely the term βδέλλιον. I should like to thank Dr. Ursula TREU (East Berlin), who has been most helpful in respect of the interpretation of a number of technical terms, for the suggestion that (following LSJ) “drops” or “droplets”, rather than “hornets”, provides a more satisfactory translation. βδέλλιον referred originally to
the gum or resin exuding from a certain plant. By derivation, it seems not unlikely that the droplets which this exudation formed gave rise to a secondary meaning of the term, and the one which is most likely to describe a woven decoration in our text (C).

Birmingham, January 1990