Mainz Young Academics – Roundtables 1

Languages of Power and Authority in Byzantium and Beyond

João Vicente de Medeiros Publio Dias
Antje Franz-Steinert
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Languages of Power and Authority in Byzantium and Beyond – Preface

This volume is the first in a series of publications prepared by the Young Academics Network Byzantium Mainz/Frankfurt. These small volumes reflect the discussions conducted in one of our »round tables«, a format that we established in 2019 to bring together young scholars in Byzantine Studies in order to share their work and to discuss current topics of research in our disciplines. On the basis of the presented papers, the round tables provide a space for intense exchange between the researchers and offer the possibility to jointly develop new thoughts and perspectives of research[1].

The present publication »Languages of Power and Authority in Byzantium and Beyond« contains the papers and discussion resulting from our second round table held on-line on 26 October 2020. The choice of topic results from common interests of the organizers/editors, who all touched on questions of communication and social negotiation of power and authority while working on our projects. Though we are concerned with different areas within Byzantine studies, from the transmission of ancient science to various forms of socio-political and military hierarchies to pictorial representations in provincial sacred architecture, our source material is full of direct or reported acts of communication that, in one way or the other, represent, construct, maintain and challenge social power and authority[2].

In this sense, the topic touches very much on a core aspect of Byzantine and Medieval studies. Communication and representation in the context of social and political power has been a vibrant topic for decades. Particularly the study of ritual and performance has received much attention since J. Austin developed his ground-breaking concept of performativity in the 1950s and 60s. Austin pointed towards an understanding of language not as purely reflective, but as »making a difference« in the world[3]. Highlighting the decisive significance of socio-cultural settings for the perception and effects of communicative acts, the concept called for approaches that focused on the frameworks of communication no less than on the actual semantic content.

In Medieval studies, ritual and performance became a focus of attention from the 1980s and 90s onwards, when historians took inspiration from their anthropologist colleagues and applied their theories to better understand the meaning and social functions of performative and symbolic communication. Their activities entailed intense discussion about the parallel significance of written and oral, verbal and non-verbal communication in Medieval societies. In Germany, Gerd Althoff's work received a broad reception and helped to move the attention from the previous focus on legal principles to unwritten norms, customs and communicative practices[4].

Byzantine studies did not remain untouched by these developments. Although the intensity of the discussion is not comparable to western Medieval studies, research on performative communication received constant attention. Ample research was dedicated to the rich material on Constantinopolitan court ceremonial[5]. In the 1980s, Michael McCormick approached the complex challenge of reconstructing imperial ceremony in the context of a fragmentary and very selective source base, the major result of which was an extensive study on expressions of victory in Ancient Rome, Byzantium and the Medieval West[6]. The time from 2000 onwards was especially busy in investigating topics related to languages of power. It is no surprise that Istanbul itself was the place of several symposia and subsequent volumes dealing with the language of power that characterized Constantinople, the empire's socio-political centre, for centuries[7].

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1 The board of the Leibniz Science Campus Mainz/Frankfurt »Byzantium between Orient and Occident« has generously and continuously supported our endeavours as a group of young researchers and in particular the organization of the round tables. We would especially like to thank Dr Benjamin Fourlas for his untiring help and advice.
2 Following the definition by Neville, Authority 1, we define authority as »the ability to effect change in a given situation through any form of persuasion, manipulation, or coercion«.
3 See Austin, Things, which then was systematized by John Searle. See, Loxley, Performativity 1-3.
4 See Beihammer, Approaches 2. 5; Martschukat/Patzold, Geschichtswissenschaft 13; Althoff, Spielregeln; Althoff, Macht der Rituale.
5 See, most prominently, the important sources » De Cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae« (10th c.), newly edited recently (Const. VII., De cerim.) and the fourteenth-century »Pseudo-Codinus (Ps.-Codin.«.
6 See McCormick, Ceremonies; McCormick, Eternal Victory.
7 See Neçipoglu, Constantinople and Ödekan/Neçipoglu/Akyürek, Court.

In the wider context of Byzantine studies, courts were a focal point of Byzantinists' interest in performance and ritual. The volume by A. Beihammer, S. Constantinou and M. Parani on »Court Ceremonies and rituals of Power in Byzantium« (2010) is particularly noteworthy. Despite the developments in the previous years, the editors remarked on the continuing dominance of western Medieval studies in the field. Their broad and comparative focus on the Middle East as well as the »Latin West« contributed to connecting and integrating Byzantine ritual studies into the activities of neighbouring disciplines[8]. Also beyond the imperial court, the construction, maintenance and criticism of power and authority has played a significant role in recent scholarship of Byzantium. Be it in the form of negotiating authority on an everyday base within the empire's provinces[9], in the church, trade, among intellectuals[10], or in the often subtle and occasionally very outspoken challenge of authority in literature and poetry[11]. Different forms of performative communication always played a significant part.

The performative take on languages of power and authority is only one of many possible ways to tackle the topic. An area that is at least as important is the impact of language itself in constructing and expressing ideas and perceptions which, in turn, interact with social power structures. With Goffman's work »Forms of Talk« (1981) at the latest, scholars recognized language as a basic instrument of social interaction and identity construction, both of which are strongly connected with and shaped by structures of power and authority[12]. This connection was of course the crucial topic of Michel Foucault's work on discourse analysis, which has been widely received and debated. In most of his work, Foucault emphasized the ability of social and administrative structures to shape subjects and identities[13]. On that basis, and partly in reaction to his work, scholars have discussed the degree of power that individuals possess vis-à-vis the social and discursive structures they live(d) in.

Stuart Hall, for instance, stressed that identity construction is not a result of discursive constraint alone, but that individuals themselves have the possibility to choose between discourses, and shape them according to their needs[14]. For the Byzantinist J. Haldon, this process of shaping and negotiating (power) discourses largely works through narrative. According to him, narratives are the »means of identifying the individual self within a social and cultural context, of providing a reality – they answer the question ›who am I?‹«[15]. People use narrative to construct their identity in ways that either confirm or challenge power structures[16]. The undulation between the two poles of confirmation and challenge has very much informed the discussions of the present round table that gravitated around two thematic nexuses: the places where power and authority were performed, and the polyphony of languages of power.

Power and authority were performed and negotiated in multiple places in Byzantium. The first to come to mind is the hippodrome in Constantinople. It was a venue of public gatherings and imperial acclamations[17]. Scholarly discussion revolves around the relationship between pre-arranged performance and spontaneous popular manifestations at these events: on the one hand, the performances, as they are preserved to us in the sources, followed clear patterns. But there was always room for exceptions, especially when participants did not »play by the rules«. This uncertainty occasionally caused unexpected outcomes, or even a complete loss of control by the authorities, as we can see for instance in the famous Nika Riot in 532[18].

The hippodrome was only one of many locations where power and authority were performed in the Byzantine capital. In the first of the three contributions collected in this volume, **Nora-Sophie Toaspern** deals with the ceremonies related to the nomination of the eparch, the city prefect of Constantinople, and the granting of his insignia in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The ceremonies took place between the Hagia Sophia and the imperial palace and included a procession through the city streets. Toaspern points out how the props used on these occasions, both the clothing and the insignia, symbolized the characteristic aspects of the eparch's authority, namely his legal jurisdiction and his semi-imperial status within the limits of the capital.

From the Middle Byzantine period on, appointment ceremonies of imperial officials were translocated from more public spaces almost exclusively to the Imperial Palace and the Hagia Sophia. The development towards a »closed-doors« ceremonial might have been an attempt by the imperial palace to leash or exclude social actors that were hard to control, such as the Constantinopolitan masses. These played an important, though inconstant role during Byzantine history. It was only until the end of the sixth century that they had a clear institutional place in politics through officially organized unions, the so-called demes, and an official venue to express their grievances and praises: the hippodrome. Later on, popular participation in appointments and imperial decision making became less prominent, as the hippodrome lost its central function as a popular political venue[19]. This development was

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8   See Beihammer/Constantinou/Parani, Ceremonies. See also Pomerantz/Vitz, Presence.
9   See Neville, Authority.
10 See Armstrong, Authority.
11 See Angelov/Saxby, Power.
12 See Goffman, Forms; Wetherell, Field 13-14.
13 See Foucault, Archéologie, passim. In later works, Foucault admitted the possibility of individual action, cf. Foucault, volonté.

14 Hall, Identity 5-6; Wetherell, Field 17.
15 Haldon, Callinicos 7.
16 Cf. Salzmann, Negotiating Power 17-18.
17 About the Hippodrome of Constantinople as a political setting see Beck, Senat und Volk 13-14. 18; Beck, Konstantinopel 41-42; Cameron, Circus Factions 271-296; Pfeilschifter, Kaiser, passim.
18 See Greatrex, Nika Riot 60-86.
19 Kaldellis, Republic 118-164; Hunger, Rhetorik 105.

connected with the transformation of the demes from political actors to »just« another legitimating element that was part of the palace ceremonial.

Imperial triumphs, by contrast, were still performed publicly in later periods. **Roman Shliakhtin** discusses one example of such a procession that John II Comnenus celebrated after the capture of the city of Kastamon in Asia Minor in 1132. Shliakhtin focuses particularly on the names of the captive Turkish princes and soldiers who were paraded during the triumph, as they appear in the poem by the famous court orator Theodore Prodromus, composed on occasion of the triumph. At a first glance, the names of these notables evidently aimed at the glorification of the ruler in front of the Constantinopolitan audience, demonstrating the »barbarians'« defeat. By analysing the choice of names in the Great Seljuk and Danishmendid socio-political context, however, Shliakhtin reveals the ideologies and claims at the basis of the naming patterns within the Turkish realms that were indicative for alliances, competition and claims of authority.

This double-perspective on messages during an imperial triumph and in the wider context of name giving in the Turkish polities east of the Byzantine empire points to the geographic dimension of narratives of power and authority. While most of the Byzantine material is centred on the capital in Constantinople, it is necessary to contrast it with testimonies that reflect more localized perspectives on authority[20]. The thirteenth-century Archbishop of Ohrid Demetrios Chomatenos, who left an important collection of legal case files, gives unique insight into the negotiation of the authority of justice in the province after the central authority in Constantinople had collapsed[21]. The epic of Digenis Akrites renders another impression of a provincial view on local and imperial authority. However, though based on oral traditions that go back at least to the ninth century, the surviving text is itself a result of a reworking through a Constantinopolitan court perspective[22]. Texts such as these have to be taken into account when examining power narratives in the empire.

Despite the imperial dominance over the empire's power narratives, other social and political actors played important roles as well, often cooperating in shaping discourses and developing narratives. Examples of such cooperation are the imperial panegyrics. While the emperor at first glance seems to have exercised an overwhelming dominance over this discourse, the round table discussion concentrated on cases in which imperial control was anything but absolute. The authors of court oratory not only reproduced, but they were in a position to shape the image of the emperor through praise, advice and admonition, all the while placing themselves close to the ruler on whom they depended. In this context, **Nadine Viermann** presented George of Pisidia's remodelling of the imperial image of Emperor Heraclius I. In contrast to his immediate predecessors who were firmly settled in Constantinople and rarely left the capital, Heraclius led military campaigns in person, attracting criticism from the urban elite. George's attempts to reinterpret the ideal of the emperor as warrior, which was highly in tune with contemporary ideals of holy men, can be seen as a reaction to the critical discourses on Heraclius' deviation from the established imperial ideal[23]. Supporting his ruler, the panegyrist himself significantly shaped the imperial discourse of his time.

Evidence for narratives that openly deviated from the official imperial line, by contrast, is rare. Our discussion consequently focused on indications for places that, in contrast to the official ceremonial, hosted the distribution of alternative narratives. Examples are the aristocratic *theatra* from the twelfth century onwards as well as pieces of literature commissioned by members of the social elite. They provided an environment for narratives that, without openly subverting imperial authority, placed more emphasis on aristocratic self-representation and -promotion, adding to the complex and by no means homogeneous discursive net[24]. But even at court, satirical poems were read out and performed, as part of the court culture and as an important outlet where criticism could be uttered in public, but always in a controlled way that channelled displeasure and allowed the imperial authority to respond on its own terms[25].

At the same time, the signs and symbols used to represent power were always ambiguous and their messages contested. Examples are the imperial insignia that marked the claims of usurpers on many occasions. On the other hand, some high Byzantine functionaries were authorized to carry these insignia as well, but they were clearly meant as an extension of the emperor's power, and not meant as a challenge to his authority[26]. The differences were largely determined by the context of use. Whereas usurpers questioned the current ruler's legitimacy by appropriating signs and symbols of imperial authority, the imperial functionaries were granted their insignia on the basis of a mutual acknowledgement: they represented the emperor's permission to act in his name with all the rights and duties that it entailed; accepting them, however, meant acknowledging the emperor as the legitimate source of authority. The narratives and symbols of power and authority were always ambiguous, their meaning could change drastically depending on where, when and by whom they were used.

The same narrative ambiguity is found in the textual evidence. An obvious example of context-related narrative is the work of Procopius, who supplemented his historiographical works on the reign of Justinian I, published during the latter's reign, with his infamous Secret History / Anekdota, a highly critical invective against the imperial couple that clearly subverts

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20 For authority in the Byzantine Province, see Neville, Authority.

21 See Dem. Chom..

22 See Beaton, Medieval Greek Romance 46-47; Dig. Akrit., lvi-lvii.

23 The paper presented at the round table is not included in this publication, as the topic was already about to be published. See Viermann, Supreme Commander 379-402.

24 For aristocratic self-promotion in literature see Sinclair, War Writing 267-318; Frankopan, Family Narratives 317-335. For criticism in encomia, see Mullett, Laudandus 247-262.

25 See Angelov, Power 13-14.

26 See Nora Sophie Toaspern's contribution in this volume.

the ruler's authority displayed in the other works[27]. The importance of the change of historical circumstances for the political message and subtext of a text is also evident from Nicetas Choniates' Histories (12th-13th c.), the various versions of which differ crucially according to the socio-political situation, regime and the patron's demands during their time of composition[28].

The problem of ambiguity grows when historical sources are read with contemporary preoccupations (or even agendas). **Marina Díaz Bourgeal** demonstrates in her contribution to this volume how modern scholars interpreted the sources on and from the reign of the emperor Julian (361-363) through the lens of an open struggle between Christians and Pagans. The Paganism of the circles of Julian's supporters was interpreted as the ideological motivation

for the opposition to the Christian emperors who preceded him, ignoring the much more complex divisions at court that did not follow clear-cut lines between social and religious groups. They were involved in their own negotiations of power, which have no connection with the polarized religious interpretation favoured by the modern discourse.

Our speakers' contributions touched on manifold aspects of power, authority and their negotiation. With this publication, we hope to share some of these perspectives that might spark new discussions concerning the multi-layered topic of languages of power and authority in Byzantium and beyond. We kindly thank all of the workshop's participants, the speakers as well as the attendees, without whom this inspiring day could not have been realized.

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27 For Procopius, see Rosenqvist, Die Byzantinische Literatur 13-15. For the dating of the Anekdota (550/551), see Kaldellis, The Date 585-616.

28 See Simpson, Before and After.

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Roman Shliakhtin

Ten Participants in a Byzantine Triumph:
the List of Danishmendid Notables in the
»Poem on the Capture of Kastamon« by Theodore Prodromus

The dynasty of the Danishmendids ruled the territories of North-Western Asia Minor in the eleventh and twelfth centuries[1]. The first ruler of this dynasty, a certain Danishmend, occupied lands in the vicinity of Neocaesarea and Trebizond in the years after the battle of Manzikert (1070-1084). His son Gumushtegin (r. 1094-1104) took part in the wars with the Crusaders, defeated Bohemond I of Antioch in 1101 and captured the city of Malatya from its Armenian garrison, solidifying his position among the other rulers of Eastern Asia Minor. His son Amīr Ghazi Gumushtegin (r. 1104-1134) continued his father's policy. On coins he stylized himself as μέγας ἀμηρας, »great amīr«, a position that implied command over a significant body of people[2]. In the 1120s, the Danishmendids became a dominant power in Western Asia Minor. Amīr Ghazi effectively controlled the transition of power in the neighbouring sultanate of Rum and together with Leo of Armenia defeated prince Bohemond II of Antioch. In the 1130s, he competed with the Byzantine emperor John II Comnenus (r. 1118-1143) over the influence in Northern Asia Minor[3]. These active politics brought Amīr Ghazi the recognition of the caliph of Baghdad and sultan of the Great Seljuks, who proclaimed him *malik* in 1134, and thus raised the status of his polity, which became a legitimate, if only symbolical, part of the Great Seljuk realm[4]. Amīr Ghazi Gumushtegin's son, Malik Muhammad (r. 1134-1142), repelled a major expedition by John II Comnenus in 1136. After Malik's death, his sons and brothers divided the realm between themselves and gradually became

allies of Byzantium[5]. After the battle of Myriokephalon (1176), the sultan of Iconium Kilic Arslan II incorporated all of the Danishmendid domains into the sultanate of Rum, and thus ended the Danishmendid rule in north-Eastern Asia Minor, creating the basis for the further flourishment of the sultanate[6].

The history of the Danishmendids largely remains a marginal story in the historical works dedicated to Medieval Asia Minor. The written sources about this polity were in many cases created by authors hostile to the Danishmendids, while the only source written by a Danishmendid subject, a certain Michael the Syrian, is not free of various biases[7]. An epic poem eponymous with the founder of the polity , the *Danishmendnameh*, survives in some versions, although its dating is problematic[8]. As for modern scholarship, Nikolaos Oikonomides' article on the coins and seals of the later Danishmendid rulers (1140s-1160s) remain the only work dedicated specifically to the Danishmendids[9]. Maximilian Lau's recent monograph presents a compelling analysis of the Byzantine-Danishmendid conflict[10] The recent dissertation of Ali Mıynat investigates their early coins and compares the limited Danishmendid coinage in institutional collections with coins of other polities in the region, primarily with those of Syria[11]. The present article aims to fill part of the gap in the earlier history of the Danishmendids and focuses on a list of Danishmendid-associated names found in a poem by the twelfth-century Byzantine poet Theodore Prodromus that received a special side note in the *Byzantinoturcica*

1 I would like to thank Dimitry Korobeinikov and Zara Pogossian for their suggestions on earlier versions of this article.
2 The literal meaning of this Arabic word is »commander«. For the title and its evolution see Duri, Amīr in EI online. For the Greek coin of Amīr Ghazi in which he clearly differentiates between the title and the name component see Mıynat, Cultural and Socio-Economic relations 115.
3 According to Michael the Syrian, the reason for the conflict was the desertion of the Byzantine governor of Cappadocia, Kassianos, to the Danishmendids. See Mich. Syr. Chron. III, 227.
4 Note the absence of this narrative in Byzantine sources. See Mich. Syr. Chron. III, 237.
5 For a non-Byzantine view of this campaign see Mich. Syr. Chron. III, 249.
6 See Korobeinikov, Byzantium and Turks 81-84.

7 See Weltecke, The World Chronicle 21-30.
8 According to the latest studies by Andrew Peacock, the manuscript dates to the Early Ottoman era. While some details of the poem (names and toponyms) have some resemblance to the eleventh-century context, other topoi speak for a later time. According to Sara Nur Yildiz, the surviving version is of late Seljuk extraction and is preserved in an Ottoman version. Despite some coincidence in topography and names, one can hardly use it as a source on the Danishmendids. See Vryonis, The Decline,115; Sara Nur Yildiz, personal communication on 12.12.2021.
9 Oikonomides, Les Danishmendides 200-205.
10 Lau, Emperor John II Komnenos 160-190.
11 Mıynat, Cultural and Socio-Economic relations 96-154.

of Gyula Moravcsik[12]. The aim of this article is to contextualize the names in twelfth-century Asia Minor and to connect them with data present in Byzantine and Seljuk texts of the era. This will create a basis for the reconstruction of Danishmendid prosopography that remains a desideratum.

The Context of the Poem. The History behind the List of Names in Theodore Prodromus' Work

Theodore Prodromus was one of the most prolific poets in Comnenian Byzantium. Active in the age of John II Comnenus, Prodromus created many different types of poetical works and, according to Nikolaos Zagklas , »triggered a shift for Byzantine poetry in terms of techniques, functions, and literary patronage«[13]. Prodromus was a jack-of-many-trades who produced poems of various genres for different members of the Comnenian family, including epigrams, poems to weddings and funerals as well as to some ecclesiastical occasions. At the peak of his activity, Prodromus produced poems on many major events in the history of the Byzantine state/elite. However, some events attracted his attention more than others.

The poem that contains the list of captured enemy leaders (number IV in Hörandner's edition) is part of a whole cycle of poems, the so-called Cycle of Castamon. The historical context for this cycle of poems is the long war that John II waged against the third Danishmendid ruler Amĭr Ghazi Gumushtegin in Northern Anatolia. According to Michael the Syrian, the pretext for the war was the loss of the fortresses in Pontos to the Danishmendids and the defection of a certain Kassianos to Danishmendid service in 1129-1130[14]. John II answered with an expedition against the castles of Paphlagonia, during which one of the emperor's brothers, Isaac, defected to the enemy and, if we are to believe Michael the Syrian, ruined the Byzantine campaign. In 1132, John II captured Castamon after a protracted campaign[15]. After the capture of the city the emperor organized a full-scale triumph in Constantinople, which Theodore Prodromus described in four poems (nos III, IV, V and VI in the main edition).

As Paul Magdalino has argued, the triumph was supposed to demonstrate the unity[16] of the empire after a series of military setbacks and the discontent caused by the defection of

John II's important relative[17]. These circumstances demanded a very specific triumph, which proceeded from the quay on the Northern shore of present-day Sarayburnu to the Hippodrome and Hagia Sophia[18]. All four poems describe the triumph in great detail and mention prisoners brought to the city. Poem number IV was written for the declamation of the demes, who had originally been circus fractions, but in the twelfth century were rather members of city guilds who performed public acclamations at imperial processions and thus suggested an interpretation of the Comnenian triumph for the wider audience. This poem for the demes included ten names of the emperor's defeated enemies that are the subject of this article. It is worth quoting the list in full.

See, oh Roman city, your newest slaves
Observe them that you could not count,
See important satraps and the chosen among them
See Tughril from Amaseia and besides others
Alpsaros from Gangra, *amīr* Prahimos
Eleldos, Elpegkos, Chuk and Inal;
Together with these you should number many others:
Kallinoglanes, Aitougdenos, Ausararis, -myriads[19]

The list of names is exceptional for Prodromus' corpus of poems. In his other poems, Theodore Prodromus did use some foreign names, but they are not many and never in such abundance as in poem IV. Prodromus reproduced foreign names without any crucial alterations. The German Emperor Konrad, for example, is Κονραδος ('Konrados'), and the *malik* Muhammad's name is presented without much corrections (Μουχούμετ).

In this particular case, the accumulation of foreign names (ten) is exceptional. It is possible that Prodromus used the names from some list provided by the organizers of the triumphal procession. The question remains why the list is present in the poem at all, and why it is placed in this poem, and not in all the others.

Prodromus' aim in poem IV was to glorify John II and his exploits – and in Byzantine (and Roman) tradition this implied the demonstration of the defeated enemies in all their barbarity. Prodromus positioned one foreign name after another, creating a sequence of ten names,

12 Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica I, 525.
13 Zagklas, Poetry 243. – Lau, Emperor John II Komnenos, 16-18.
14 Information on this event is absent in Byzantine sources. See Mich. Syr. Chron. III, 227. For other members of the family with the same surname see Cheynet, Povoir et Contestation 104-105.
15 On this see Beihammer, Defection across the Border 619-621.
16 Lau, Emperor John II Komnenos 180-181.
17 Magdalino, Triumph of 1133 64.
18 The route is not very clear, but it seems likely that the ruins of the peristyle on the present-day shore of Sarayburnu next to the statue of Atatürk might be the starting point. See Magdalino, Triumph of 1133. – Lau, Emperor John II Komnenos 181.

19 Theodor. Prodrom. carm. hist. no. 4, 207, ll. 229-235:
Ἴδε σου, πόλις Ῥωμαῖς, τοὺς νεωνήτους δούλους,
καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἔασον, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀριθμεῖται,
τοὺς δὲ σατράπας μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς ἐκκρίτους ὅρα·
ὅρα τὸν Ἀμασειανὸν πρὸ τῶν λοιπῶν Τογκρίλην,
τὸν ἀπὸ Γάγγρας Ἀλψαροῦς, τὸν ἀμηρᾶν Πραχίμην,
τὸν Ἐλελδῆν, τὸν Ἐλπεγκοῦς, τὸν Τζυκῆν, τὸν Ἰνάλην.
ἔχεις πρὸς τούτοις ἀριθμεῖν καί τινας ἄλλους πλείους,
Καλλινογλῆν, Ἀϊτουγδῆν, Αὐσάραριν, μυρίους.

and a rhythm of foreign sounds and sound combinations, based on the groupings of consonants (-gk-, -br- ,-ld-,-gk-, -chk-, -gl-). These allegedly »foreign« sounds supported the basic message of the imperial victory over the barbarians by amplifying their (probable) Otherness. One may also deduce that Prodromus introduced the names into the poem for the demes so that the participants would repeat them in the procession. If the latter is correct, then the organizers of the ceremony used representatives of the demes as a kind of loud speakers. This may have created a feeling of awe among the crowd and the captives themselves, who could probably hear their titles and names repeated by the crowd. One might also suggest that many people could hear the repeated sounds due to the position of the city centre on the promontory that dominates the landscape. It would be useful to imagine who could actually see and hear the procession, but unfortunately there is no information about its route.

The combination of »foreign« sounds added another dimension to the message about the multitude of the defeated enemies, who became the newest slaves of Constantinople. This multitude of foreigners is confirmed by the word »μυρίους« that once more highlights their numbers. This focus on the numbers of the defeated enemies and the repetition of their names might deflect the actual futility of the Byzantine conquests in Paphlagonia, where the empire managed to install a modicum of respect only after a long struggle and did not conquer many territories[20]. The organizers of the triumph had to compensate for these shortcomings with what they had at hand, namely the Danishmendid leaders under Byzantine arrest. The question whether they were actual Danishmendids or »people in costumes« present in the procession remains open, but I tend to believe that they were actual members of the ruling family and/or sub-rulers of the territory who were either defeated or came to Constantinople as part of some exchange or treaty[21].

Prodromus presents the captives in a certain order divided into two groups. The first group includes »satraps and the most prominent«, who have either a territorial affiliation or a title attached to their name. This group includes Tughril of Amasya »in front of the rest«, Alpsaros (Alp Sari) from Gangra and Amīr Ibrahim. Then come leaders[22] known only by their personal names. These are Ilaldi, Ali Beg, Chuk and Inal. They do not have titles or territories, but Prodromus still lists them as separate individuals. The second group includes three men who are mentioned after the line that invites the audience to gaze at the »many others« who are mentioned together with the first group but are still different from it in some way. They

are Kallinoglu, Aitoughdi and Ausarar. It is possible that these are field commanders of lower status. Thus, the poem describes a sequence of people who passed in front of the audience in a certain order, with enemy rulers brought forward first, followed by the less prominent commanders and then by lesser officers, but in greater numbers. We will analyze these groups in the order introduced by the author.

The Satraps. Danishmendid Leaders in Prodromus' Poem

To denote the captive leaders, Prodromus used the term σατράπαι. In the Byzantine discourse of the twelfth century this term denoted the members of the Seljuk elite, who came to Byzantium from the territory of Persia and thus were Persians of a sort[23]. In this particular poem, Prodromus mentioned Xerxes as a prototype of the Eastern ruler and a paragon of oppressive power[24]. Since the poem dates to 1133, this comparison makes sense. »Xerxes« (absent from the procession) is Amīr Ghazi (r. 1104-1134). »The satraps« are his subordinates and members of the Danishmendid power system. Prodromus confirms this explanation by mentioning the areas that some of them ruled – the Danishmendid domains Amasya and Gangrae. Since in the polity of the Danishmendids, cities were usually bestowed upon blood relatives, it seems logical to suggest that the men on Prodromus' list might be Danishmendids.

The first name in the list is Τογκρίλης, Tughril of Amasya. There is no information on him in any source other than Prodromus, but his very name is interesting enough. The name »Tughril« in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had a regal status in the house of the Great Seljuks and was connected with the founder of the dynasty, Tughril Beg (r.1037-1061. His son Alp Arslan (r. 1063-1072), grandson Malik Shah (r. 1072-1092) and great-grandson Muhammad Tapar (r. 1105-1118) of the Great Seljuks each had sons named Tughril. In the time close to the writing of the poem, the last of those sons, Tughril II, ruled in Baghdad (1132)[25]. Interestingly, this name was not frequent among the Seljuks of Rum. Neither Sulaiman ibn Qutlamish nor his descendants in Nicaea and Konya (who claimed the title of *sultan*) used it for their sons. The situation could be different among the Danishmendids. The question is, who this Tughril mentioned by Prodromus was. In 1134, the position of Tughril in the important city of Amasya hints at his high princely status in the polity of the Danishmendids. It

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20 Another hint at the compensatory character of this triumph lies in a rare proclamation of future conquests that Prodromos introduced into the same poem. See Shliakhtin, Master of Castamon 430-434.

21 Magdalino, Triumph of 1133 55; cf. Nic. Chon. Hist. 15.

22 Lau, Emperor John II Komnenos 182.

23 I interpret the term »Persians« as a socio-geographic label that the Byzantines developed to denote the elite of the Seljuks of Anatolia. See Shliakhtin, Huns into Persians, 61-68. For the alternative, strictly geographic interpretation, see Shukurov, Byzantine Turks, 33-42.

24 On the Achaemenid rulers as role models see Shliakhtin, From Huns to Persians 144-148.

25 Peacock, Great Seljuk Empire 95.

seems likely that Tughril could be a son or nephew of Amīr Ghazi Gumushtegin[26]. If he was indeed, at least one Danishmendid leader chose for his son a name that belonged to the symbolic arsenal of the Great Seljuks. Another detail that hints to this assumption is the name of another son of Amīr Ghazi, Muhammad, who ruled after his death. This name was also popular among the Great Seljuks. Both Malik Shah I and Muhammad Tapar had sons of that name. If this hypothesis is correct, then in naming his sons Amīr Ghazi might have imitated the naming patterns of these two sultans.

This would suit the politics of the day, since Amīr Ghazi Gumushtegin struggled to secure his position in competition with the Sultanate of Iconium. While the sultans of Iconium were distant relatives of the Great Seljuks and regularly sent their sons as hostages to their court, the Danishmendids lacked this privilege and had to struggle for status between the two centres of symbolic power, namely the caliph of Baghdad and the sultans of the Great Seljuks. In 1130, Amīr Ghazi sent the head of the captured Crusader prince Bohemond II to the caliph of Baghdad and received presents in return[27]. The imitation of the Great Seljuk naming patterns could be a way to attract the Great Seljuks' attention to the upstarts in Paphlagonia. It is seductive to think that this name might have stimulated John II wish to parade this man before all the others. The question remains *how* Tughril came to Constantinople. Did he surrender to the emperor in the field or did he (like Isaac Comnenus) defect from his family's case and was therefore especially suitable to head the procession? The list does not provide any answer to this question.

The second person in the list is from Gangra and his direct name Ἀλψαροῦς (turk. alp sarı), means »brave blonde man«. His personal name is missing and it is hard to say anything about him, besides the fact that his name suits the context of the first half of the twelfth-century. During the first years of John II Comnenus, his *megas domestikos* John Axouchos undertook an expedition against the Turks of the Meander valley and evicted a certain Alpihara (probably Alp Quara, »brave dark man«) from Laodicea[28]. Since both »brave men« are depicted as leaders of bands associated with certain cities, this may form a naming pattern.

The next person in the list is more interesting, because he has a name that begins with a title: amīr Ibrahim (τὸν ἀμηρᾶν Πραχίμην). The term *amīr* (»commander«) has a long and interesting history in Byzantine texts, but Prodromus did not use it very often[29]. Poem IV is the only text in which he uses the term, and as with the names, we can suppose that it was

not invented or generic. In his analysis of the early Danishmendid coins Ali Mıynat demonstrated that the Danishmendid ruler and head of the state used the title of ἀμηρας in his coinage and also in his personal name. Maybe the organizers of the triumph were aware of this and specifically mentioned the rank of the captive in the procession to demonstrate his importance and his connection with the leader of the enemy polity, Amīr Ghazi. The personal name Ibrahim does not come from the repertoire of regal names in Western Asia Minor, but seems to have had a Great Seljuk connection. In the eleventh century, the sultan of the Great Seljuks Tughril Beg had a brother called Ibrahim Inal. He attempted to capture the throne but Tughril took over and personally strangled him in Isfahan[30]. It is not clear if the Ibrahim from the poem was a relative of Tughril's, but he was a person of similar status and, like Tughril, might have had a connection to Amīr Ghazi Gumushtegin.

The next name in this group is Ἐλελδήν, which I suggest to read as »Il-Aldi«. The name has no Great Seljuk analogues, but a direct analogue in the dynasty of the rulers of Diyar Bakr, the Inalids. The name of their ruler in the beginning of the eleventh century was Inal, while the ruler in the 1120s was called Inaloğlu Abu Mansur Ilaldi[31]. He was famous mostly for his restoration of the Great Mosque of Diyar Bakr and was an influential neighbour and ally of the Danishmendids in the south-east of their domains. His connections with the family may explain the appearance of his name in Prodromus' list. It is hard to believe that the Il-Aldi from the poem is Il-Aldi from Diyar Bakr himself, but he might well have been one of the ruler's relatives or a person of his household who fought with the Danishmendids against the Byzantines. Another possibility is the imitation of naming pattern, when the Danishmendids named one of their scions after the neighbouring ruler to demonstrate a degree of respect. Both explanations demand additional argumentation, but the presence of this name in the list is hardly occasional.

The rest of the names of the supreme leaders requires further investigation. Ἐλπεγκοῦς is very general and might be anything from Ili Beg (leader of »Il«, a certain area) to Ali Beg or even Alp Kus (»brave bird man«)[32]. Τζυκῆν, »Chukas« is similar to Anna Comnene's Τζάχας (Chaka), who was active in Western Asia Minor immediately before the first Crusade[33]. The meaning of the name is evasive: Shukurov suggests something connected with the fire-place, but the question needs a separate discussion[34]. What is interesting here is, again, a certain similarity in the naming patterns between the Turkic leaders in the Meander valley (Chakan)

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26 Michael the Syrian reports the existence of two other brothers – Yaghan and Dawla – who were often in tumultuous relations with their superiors. One wonders if this »Yaghan« is identical with the son of Amīr Ghazi, Yaghisiyan, who ruled Sivas after the death of Malik Muhammad. See Mich. Syr. Chron. III, 238.
27 Mich. Syr. Chron. III, 227.
28 Nic. Chon. Hist. 12.
29 On the many different *amīrs* in the Byzantine texts of the twelfth century, see Shliakhtin, Huns into Persians 152-154.
30 Peacock, Great Seljuk Empire 132-134.

31 See Parla, Diyarbakır Surları 68.
32 Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 123.
33 Anna Comn. Alex., VII. 8 222.
34 The name was popular and eventually became a Byzantine surname: in the beginning of the thirteenth century, a certain »lord John Chukas« was a dux of Milasa and Melanoudion and assisted officials of Theodore I Laskaris in settling local disputes. Acta Monasterii Latri, document 1 line 28.

and the Turkic leaders in the domains of the Danishmendids (Chukas). The last name in the list, Inal (Ἰνάλ), is again reminiscent of the Great Seljuks. Interestingly, Claude Cahen knew a coin of a certain Inal that identified him as a son of Amīr Ghazi[35]. If this is correct, then the triumphal procession in Constantinople in 1136 might have included another member of the Danishmendid family, Inal, brother of Tughril. This hypothesis would explain why John II Comnenus (and with him Prodromus) focused the audience's attention on the two captives, who were sons of the main enemy, and let the demes pronounce their names loudly as the first in the list and the procession. Could the captives themselves hear these names? We do not know.

Lesser Commanders in Prodromus' List

What follows are names of lesser commanders. They are harder to interpret than the names from the first group, but still convey a sense of collective meaning. The first name, Καλλινογλῆς, offers at least two (if not three) interpretative options. The first and most obvious suggests a combination of the Turkish roots *kalın* and *oğlan/oğlu* with the later reading suggested by Moravcsik[36]. The meaning of this would be either *kalın oğlan*, »a fat man« or alternatively *kalın oğlu* (»son of the fat man«). However, the presence of double lambda in the name points to another possible reading that suggests joining the Greek root *kall-* with the Turkish postfix *oğlu* (»son of Kall…«). A possible candidate is Καλλίνικος (*Kallinikos*), a male name usually associated with bishops and monks. The eponymous saint preached in the third century in Ankyra and was martyred in Gangra, the city captured by John II Comnenus in the expedition of 1132 and directly mentioned in the poem some lines before. Prodromus knew about this saint, because he mentioned the martyr Kallinikos in his calendar of saints – as well as other monks of the same name[37]. Was Kallinoglēs a son of a local Greek noble with the name Kallinikos and should we then read this name as »descendant of Kallinikos«? Or was he just a »son of a fat man«? Prodromus' panegyric does not allow us to give a definitive answer.

The second name in the list – Ἀϊτουγδῆς – is not very clear. Moravcsik suspected »Ai Toghdi« but did not give the exact meaning of this[38]. It seems likely that the first part of the name might be connected with the moon (*ay*) and could indicate some bodily feature. Another possibility is to read it as Il Toghdi, a personal name similar to the name of a Great Seljuk potentate mentioned by Anthony Peacock in his book on Great Seljuks in the middle

of the twelfth century[39]. This would once again imply some Great Seljuk connections. The third name in the list – Αὐσάραρις – is the most problematic and presents many options of interpretation. *Ausararios* may be a Byzantine rendering of *Avsar-ari*, a person connected with a Seljuk semi-nomadic group called Avsar[40]. However, another reading is also possible. Very much like Kallinoglan, Ausarar might come from a background other than Turkish or Persian. It could be an Armenian loanword. If this is correct, then this name presents many reading options. The name might come from *osarar* (man from Oshin in Eastern Asia Minor), *hastarar* ('peace-maker') or finally *hašuarar* ('educated man')[41]. This hypothesis makes sense if one takes into account that the Danishmendids ruled over former Armenian domains in Eastern Asia Minor and were the allies of the Armenian princes in Cilicia. As Magdalino noted, in Byzantine discourse the Danishmendids indeed were associated with the Armenians, if not outright connected with them[42].

Thus, in this second group, Prodromus uses three names, two of which might imply some transcultural connections (Greek-Turkic and Armenian-Turkic respectively), while the third name looks »Turkish«. The question of who these individuals were remains open, but one can say that the whole group of names conveys some message of the people who lived and moved between the different cultures of the region, and who were defeated and brought to Constantinople. It reflected the diversity of the captives and demonstrated the imperial mastery over the people who lived in Asia Minor at that time.

The Collection of Names: a Message

The list of names presents a rare possibility to gain some insight into the name patterns of the Danishmendid elite and intercultural interactions in Eastern Asia Minor in the twelfth century. First, one may note that the list presents otherwise unknown members of the Danishmendid elite. It seems likely that some of the people in the list (Tughril, Alp Sara, Ibrahim, Inal) were members of the Danishmendid family. The name of the first person – Tughril – is a Seljuk regal name. Together with another attested Danishmendid leader name – Muhammad – it forms a group of names that might be a part of the legitimizing strategy of the Danishmendids aimed at the recognition of their authority by the Great Seljuks and caliphs of Baghdad, by way of imitation. They eventually succeeded in 1134, when the sultan of the Great Seljuks gave them the title of *malik* and the caliph sent them the flag and turban, thus delegating to

35 Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 20.
36 Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 147; Shukurov, Byzantine Turks 401.
37 See Theodor. Prodrom. calendar. 29 of July, 133; PBW, Kallinikos (05.06.2022). I thank Tristan Schmidt for this particular reference.
38 See Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 58.

39 See Peacock, Great Seljuk Empire, 115-116.
40 Peacock mentioned an *amīr* named »Avshin«, see Peacock, Great Seljuk Empire 143.
41 I would like to thank Zara Pogossian for the suggestion of these interpretations.
42 Magdalino, Triumph of 1133 64.

the Danishmendids a share of their power[43]. Due to Tughril's position in the list and Prodromus' attention, one may conjecture that he was a relative of Ghazi, maybe his cousin or son. The same holds true for Inal, who also occupies a position of prominence and whose coin Claude Cahen possibly identified. Thus, Prodromus' list brings forward unknown members of the ruling family. Their presence in the procession was probably all the more important due to the recent defection of the emperor's brother Isaac to the Turks. The parade of prisoners demonstrated the ability of the imperial army to reverse this problematic situation and capture (or even attract) this close relative of the enemy to whom Isaac had defected, very much like the campaign itself reversed the previous loss of Castamonu.

Another name from the same cluster – Il-Aldi – has direct similarities in the dynasties of the Danishmendid neighbours from the Artuqid and Inalid dynasties of South-Eastern Anatolia. This man could be a relative or a descendant of the Danishmendid neighbour. Another possibility is again the imitation of the naming pattern of the neighbouring dynasty. Whatever the interpretation, the name testifies to the additional connection between the Inalids and the Danishmendids. Another name from the first part of the list – Alp Sari – shows similarities with another Seljuk noble who was active in the Meander valley some 15 years before. This, together with the presence of a certain Chuk (who has a namesake in Anna Comnene's Chakan) hints at the existence of common practices of naming (or a common corpus of names) among all the Turks of Asia Minor.

The third cluster of names offers a rare glance at the names of lesser commanders. From their names, we may infer that they were members of local elites who sided with the Danishmendids and shared their roles in the triumphal parade of Constantinople. This holds true for Kallinoglēs (who could be of Turkish and/or Greek origin) and Ausarar (who could be of Turkish and/or Armenian origin). The presence of the names hints at the importance of inter-cultural communication in the polities of Asia Minor – and at John Comnenus' (and/or his triumph manager's) wish to include those people into the procession. Their inclusion would demonstrate to the citizens of Constantinople not only the emperor's ability to win battles against single potentates, but his success in bringing in prisoners from different cultural groups. The presence of many enemies of different cultures helped to demonstrate Byzantine superiority over the multi-ethnic military alliances in Northern Asia Minor and convey to the citizens of Constantinople the victory of their often-absent emperor over both external and internal enemies, a message that Prodromus highlighted in his later poems, too.

The Byzantine poet laureate Theodore Prodromus probably received some preliminary information about the procession, including the list of the names. He then gathered these names together in his poem and used them to amplify his message of imperial glory. This message had to include the defeat of the »barbarians« – and Prodromus expressed this defeat in ten names that might sound foreign to the Byzantine audience. However, this display of glory has another meaning for the modern reader that was probably completely unintended by the author. The very presence of the names demonstrates that the Byzantines in the twelfth century were ready to recognize their enemies as individuals, which was a great step forward from the image of barbaric and de-individualized Turks present in the works of eleventh-century authors. Prodromus' many poems contributed to the development of the Byzantine discourse on the Turks and influenced the later works of Anna Comnene, John Cinnamus and Nicetas Choniates.

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43   Michael the Syrian, Chronique III, 227.

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Marina Díaz Bourgeal

The Good old Days.
Secularist Approaches to the Reign of the Emperor Julian*

Flavius Claudius Iulianus, called the Apostate by some Christian authors[1], is probably one of the most renowned emperors and characters of all Roman history. The fact that we preserve a considerable amount of his written production has turned him into one of the most studied characters in Roman history[2]. From Late Antique authors to twenty-first century historians and philologists, many scholars have felt captivated by the story of the man who moved from being a solitary teenager concerned with philosophy to becoming a triumphant commander hailed as Augustus by his troops. In some publications, his brief reign as sole emperor (only two years long) is addressed as a short parenthesis in the apparently unstoppable triumph of Christianity[3]. His whole reign has sometimes been addressed as an attempt to »re-paganize« the Roman empire[4]. Therefore, his two years-reign constitutes one of the highlights of the so-called Pagan-Christian conflict, together with other key historical moments such as the removal of the Altar of Victory from the Senate House in Rome in 384 (sometimes referred as »Paganism's last battle«)[5] or the murder of Hypatia in 415. These three elements are included in a widespread narrative which reads the history of the Roman empire between the fourth and the sixth centuries against the backdrop of an earth-shaking conflict between »Paganism« and »Christianity«. In this narrative, Julian's reign has been often interpreted as one of the last attempts by the pagan elites to »strike back«. In relation to that, the relationships of the famous Antiochean rhetor Libanius with other prominent pagan members of the elite have sometimes been framed as evidence for the existence of a »pagan party«, which would have been trying to put Julian on the throne and put an end to »the ruin of civilization«[6]. This approach presents a series of problems (such as the use of absolute terms like »Paganism« and »Christianity« to represent very complex realities)[7] which draw from a secularist reading of our evidence for the period. In addition, this is the approach to Julian that we normally find in the modern artistic or literary re-readings of his figura, as well as in different popular for a dedicated to discussing Roman and Byzantine history[8].

Before we plunge into our topic, we should shed light on what we mean here by »secularist approaches«. In a few words, secularist views of history connect positive socioeconomic development to the reduction and/or disappearance of religion[9]. Once societies reach a certain level of »progress«, religion becomes obsolete. In this sense, the assessment of the period between Constantine's reign and the closing of the Athenian philosophy schools in 529 as decadent stems from an approach derived from Edward Gibbon's analysis of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The Gibbonian view assigns Christianity a dramatic influence in the decadence of the Roman empire, partly because of its power to undermine Roman civic virtue[10]. This is a common feature of secularist approaches to Julian. If secularist

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1   Greg. Naz. or. 4,1. For mentions in other authors, see Van Nuffelen, Christian Reception, 362-368.

2   As illustrated by the considerable number of biographies dedicated to his figure, from the classic one by J. Bidez to the most recent one, published in 2020 by A. J. Quiroga Puertas. To this we should add the very recent *Companion* edited by H.-U. Wiemer and S. Rebenich and published in 2020 along with the huge number of monographs and journal articles dedicated to different aspects of his life and literary works.

3   Nixey, Darkening Age 106-107.

4   Nesselrath, Repaganisierung 81-185.

5   Sheridan, Last Battle 186-206. For the many branches of the debate on the so-called paganism's last stand and paganism's revival see Cameron, Last Pagans and especially Lizzi, Strange Death.

6   τὴν φθορὰν τῆς οἰκουμένης (Lib. or. 18.21). For the hypothesis of the »pagan party«, see Petit, Libanius 204-205, Malosse, Alternances 252 and also Soler, Sacré 67-71. Critical with this approach are Drinkwater, Pagan Underground 348-387 and Sandwell, Religious Identity 213-239.

7   Or the expression »rise of Christianity«, which as noted by D. Boin, ignores the existence of political disagreement among the different Christian communities and »lumps together all »the Christians« into one undifferentiated group and presumes every one of them would have made the same political choices – that is, to outlaw other religious options and establish Christianity as the official worship of Rome as their faith allegedly required them to« (Boin, History 109).

8   Some examples would be G. Vidal's famous novel Julian the Apostate (1964), C. Fouquet's Julien ou la mort du monde antique (1985), M. C. Ford's Gods and Legions (2007) or the comic series Apostata (2009-2016), by Ken Broeders. On the internet we can find discussions on Julian on many different websites, but we may mention the Julian Society, which defines itself as »a non-denominational religious order dedicated to the advancement of Pagan religion« (www.juliansociety.org/, 17.01.2021).

9   Moniz, Secularização 81-89.

10   Gibbon, Decline and Fall 162.

theses normally assume that the most prominent writers and scholars of a given period will tend to reject religious dogmas, in this case this condition applies only to Christianity and not to henotheistic Neoplatonism or to the theurgic practices performed by many Byzantine intellectuals during Late Antiquity (including some philosophers in Julian's circle), which in turn are depicted as some kind of »enlightened« pagans, in the modern sense of the word[11]. This approach stems not so much from fourth-century debates, but eighteenth to twenty-first-century debates concerning religious intolerance, superstition and the separation between Church and State. It can lead to a series of interpretation problems derived from applying modern debates, categories and languages to premodern societies. Power games from the modern era, as well as their rhetoric regarding religion, have permeated our view of Late Antique power games and religious conflicts. Catherine Nixey's *The Darkening Age. The Christian Destruction of the Classical World* may serve as an example of this, leaving little space for nuances in a Mediterranean of the Late Antique, which seems to be divided between enlightened pagans and fanatic Christians whose destructive actions anticipate a medieval period characterized by ignorance and regression, opposed to the brightness of Greco-Roman Antiquity.

History will always have a subjective element. However, we may benefit from mapping the influence of this particular kind of subjectivity in our readings of the past, as well as from offering alternative approaches. We will now turn to some of the texts that have proved to be instrumental for the secularist narrative about Julian. All of them have been used to suggest the existence of some form of »pagan faction« around Julian trying to put him on the throne. The first group of texts comprises a series of references in Libanius' speeches and letters which are believed to allude to the existence of a pagan party around Julian, as first suggested by Paul Petit[12]. These texts include Libanius' Oration no. 14 *To Julian on behalf of Aristophanes* and a good number of his letters[13], in which some allusions to gatherings of certain religious groups focused on Julian during Constantius' reign are made. Isabella Sandwell has discussed in a recent study this reading at face value of Libanius' assertions on religious allegiance. In her view, in these passages Libanius is not necessarily describing the existence of a certain religious group, but rather trying to construct networks and his own public image, making religion a reason for a connection with somebody[14]. For Sandwell, interpreting these

passages as evidence for the meeting of pagans advocating for Julian's pagan restoration is problematic because »in each case we can see that Libanius had something to gain from representing these [meetings] as religious forms of social organization«[15]. That is the case in his already mentioned *Or.* 14, through which Libanius tried to convince Julian to recall his friend Aristophanes from exile by presenting him as a loyal subject to Julian, taking part in acts of resistance against the previous Christian emperor[16]. When analysing this speech, Sandwell notes that presenting Aristophanes taking part in these actions could have been a way to make him worthy of being recalled from exile, instead of being an actual description of rebellious actions against Constantius as a promoter of the Christian faith. Along the same lines, she argues that before Julian's accession to the throne, Libanius' letters were a good medium for him to promote his religious links with other prominent men from the eastern elite, now that it seemed probable that Julian would become emperor[17]. This does, however, not necessarily imply that Libanius and his correspondents were part of a pagan conspiracy planning to overthrow Constantius.

The second set of texts consists in two much discussed passages in Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*[18]. These two passages from the lives of the philosopher Maximus of Ephesus and the physician Oribasius of Pergamon again seem to suggest the existence of some kind of group, organized by pagan supporters of Julian and led by his physician Oribasius, with the objective of, as phrased by Eunapius, »abolishing the tyranny of Constantius« and putting Julian on the throne[19]:

»Then he [Julian] summoned the hierophant from Greece, and having with his aid performed certain rites known to them alone, he mustered up courage to abolish the tyranny of Constantius. His accomplices were Oribasius of Pergamon and a certain Euhemerus, a native of Libya, which the Romans in their native tongue call Africa«.

As scholars like Anthony Kaldellis have argued, there is nothing especially subversive in Eunapius' statements: we knew already about Julian's interest and inclination to the use of divination and auguries and we don't have evidence to assure that these rites were performed before Julian's usurpation in the year 360[20]. On the other hand, the exact meaning of the verb ἀπέδειξε here, which is the key to the passage in which Eunapius speaks about the role played by Oribasius in Julian's ascent to the throne is still discussed by scholars:

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11 Two excellent examples of this depiction of late antique »enlightened« pagan intellectuals are A. Amenábar's film *Ágora* (2009), in which we see the Neoplatonic philosopher Hypatia arbitrating between Christian and pagan fanatics or discovering the first of Kepler's laws of planetary motion, or Voltaire's approach to Julian, who, according to the French philosopher, only pretended to believe, forced by politics to choose between the Christian and pagan madness (Voltaire, Milord Bolingbroke 286-288).
12 Petit, Libanius 204-205.
13 Some examples would be Lib. epist. F493/B24, F661/B53, F1433 and F1473/N140.
14 Sandwell Religious Identity 234. But Libanius' letters also reveal that he established connections with Christians and Jews: Sandwell, Religious Identity 236-239.

15 Sandwell, Religious Identity 226.
16 Lib. or. 14.42. See Sandwell, Religious Identity 226-227.
17 Sandwell, Religious Identity 225-226, referring to Lib. epist. F661/B53.
18 Eun. vit. 7.35 and 21.4.
19 Eun. vit. 7.34-35: τὸν ἱεροφάντην μετακαλέσας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῳ τινὰ μόνοις ἐκείνοις γνώριμα δι-απραξάμενος, ἐπὶ τὴν καθαίρεσιν ἠγέρθη τῆς Κωνσταντίου τυραννίδος. ταῦτα δὲ συνήδεσαν Ὀρειβάσιος ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου, καί τις τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης, ἣν Ἀφρικὴν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὸ πάτριον τῆς γλώττης, Εὔημερος (translation W. C. Wright).
20 Kaldellis, Abolition 653-654.

»Since he won fame even from his earliest youth, Julian, when he was promoted to the rank of Caesar, carried him [Oribasius] away with him to practise his art; but he so excelled in every other excellence that he actually made Julian emperor«[21].

Nevertheless, in the absence of any additional information to complete Eunapius' insinuations[22], Wilmer Cave Wright's interpretation seems to be the most convincing for me: instead of Oribasius leading a conspiracy which placed Julian on the throne, he would have prepared young Julian for the imperial office by means of his virtuous teachings[23], an ability which would suit the kind of charisma ascribed to the philosophers and sophists discussed and praised by Eunapius. Instead of looking into the sources for the existence of a pagan plot seeking to make Julian emperor, I would suggest applying a different approach, similar to Isabella Sandwell's one on allusions to religious allegiance. Provided that Oribasius was closely acquainted with Eunapius and one of his sources of information for the years of Julian as Caesar and Augustus[24], maybe the latter wanted to underline Oribasius' role in Julian's accession to power and, in general, to create a solid link between Julian's reign and the milieu of the schools and *paideia*.

A good way to reach a better understanding of the complex nature of the social structure of the later Roman Empire might be combining Sandwell's proposal of a more nuanced approach towards various statements of religious allegiance in Late Antique literature with the use of Social Network Analysis. Adding a quantitative dimension to our analysis when looking into the fabric of social relations between the people who supported Julian may help to nuance the idea of a world divided in clear-cut social and religious groups[25]. For example, if we consider the high military officers around Julian from his acclamation in 360 onwards, we will find no mention of their religious allegiance in most cases, more specifically in 75 % of the cases (see **figs 1-2**)[26]. In the cases in which the sources refer to their religious allegiance, we are aware of one pagan officer and three Christians[27]. It is remarkable to find out that in many cases the sources do not pay any special attention to the religion of the high military officers of an emperor especially famous for his so-called pagan restoration. Among some of these individuals whose religion goes unmentioned in the sources or we find some of the best connected nodes of the network (see **fig. 1**)[28].
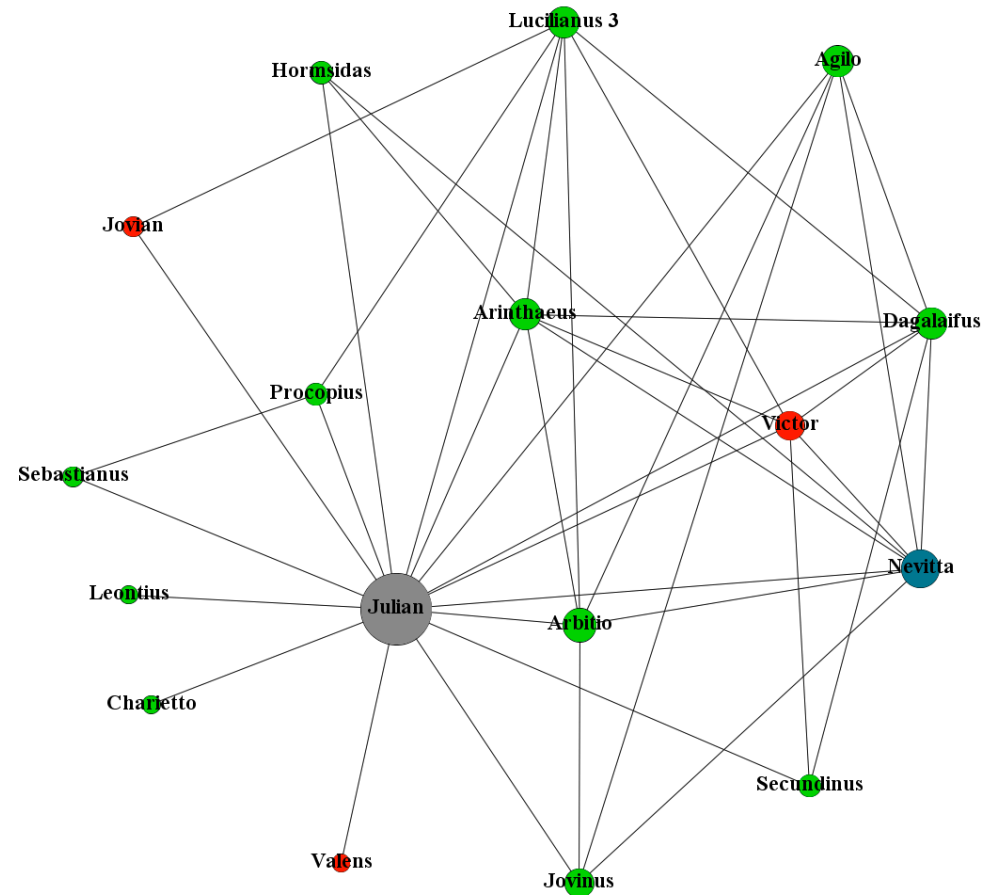

Fig. 1 Network of emperor Julian's high military officers (360-363), produced with Gephi 0.9.2. – (M. Díaz Bourgeal 2020).

21 Eun. vit. 21.4: ἐκ μειρακίου δὲ ἐπιφανὴς γενόμενος, Ἰουλιανὸν μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα προϊὼν συνήρπασεν ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπλεονέκτει ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς, ὥστε καὶ βασιλέα τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀπέδειξε (translation W. C. Wright)

22 In both passages, he refers the reader to his now lost *History* for more information.

23 Wright 1921, 338. See as well Baldwin, Oribasius, 89-94; Penella, Greek philosophers 21-23; Kaldellis, Abolition 654-655; see as well commentaries in Becker 2013, 527 and Goulet 2014, 276.

24 Eun. hist. fr. 15, where Eunapius refers how his friend offered him his *hypomnemata* about the time of Julian's reign and encouraged him to write on the topic.

25 Actually, Sandwell already pointed at the interest of applying network theory to study the social structure of the later Roman empire: Sandwell, Religious Identity 231-239 and Sandwell, Social Networks 133-147. Very recent examples of the application of Social Network Analysis to the study of the Ancient world can be found in the last volume (2020) of the Journal of Historical Network Research, devoted to ancient politics and network analysis.

26 The data for this graph comes from Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. res gestae), Julian's speeches and letters (Iul. or.; epist.), Libanius' speeches and letters (Lib. or; epist), Socrates Scholasticus (Sokr. hist. eccl.) and Zosimus (Zos. hist.). Nodes representing pagan individuals are colored in blue, Christians in red and those whose religious allegiance is not attested by the sources or is insecure, in green. In the third group I have included not only individuals whose religious allegiance is unknown, but also those cases in which the information we have is not conclusive, like in the case of Jovinus, whose date of conversion is not clear (see Haehling, Religionszugehörigkeit 250-251).

27 For more information about Julian's social networks not only with military officers but also with civilians at court and other sectors, see Díaz Bourgeal, Un enjambre.

28 If we consider the degree, or in other words the number of direct connections of a given node, Nevitta (a pagan) would be the best placed after Julian with a degree of 8, but right after him come others like Lucillianus and Arinthaeus, with a degree of 7 and whose religion is unknown, or the Christian Victor, with a degree of 6.
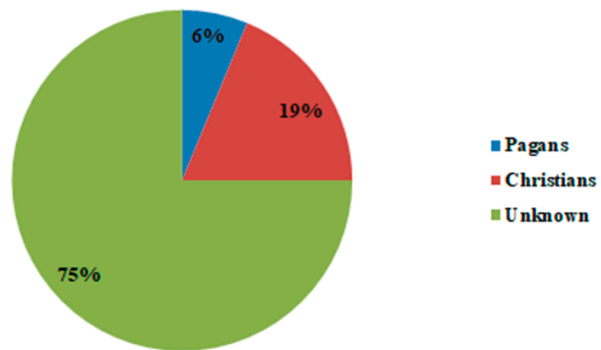
Fig. 2   Chart reflecting religious allegiance of emperor Julian's high military officers (360-363). – (M. Díaz Bourgeal 2020).

To conclude, I would like to point out the need to problematize this kind of discourses on the reign of Julian and generally on Late Antiquity, which treat categories such as »Christian« or »pagan« as if their meaning remained the same across different periods and social contexts, interpreting the Late Antique landscape against the backdrop of modern debates on faith and reason. We have seen how literal readings of statements on religious allegiance can lead to overlook the power of language when constructing social realities and inciting to different kinds of behaviour, like the construction of networks or of a particular public image. In order to avoid this black-and-white picture and understand the changes that the Roman society went through during this period, trying to reconstruct the inner logic of each source and properly contextualizing them would be a more enriching methodological approach.

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Nora Sophie Toaspern

The Representation of Authority in the Ceremonies and Insignia of the Eparch of Constantinople (10th/11th c.)

The office of the Eparch of Constantinople, ἔπαρχος or ὕπαρχος τῆς πόλεως or *praefectus urbis Constantinopolitanae*, was created by Emperor Constantius II (337-361) in 359 in imitation of the *praefectus urbis Romae*[1]. In the face of the constant growth of Constantinople, the emperor intended to establish administrative equality with the city of Rome and its urban prefect, whose office had existed since the time of Emperor Augustus (27 BC - AD 14)[2]. Like the Prefect of Rome, the Eparch of Constantinople was one of the highest-ranking office-holders of the empire, and his status endured throughout the Middle and into the beginning of the Late Byzantine period. Among the sources that inform us about the high status of the office is the *Eisagoge*, a law book probably promulgated in the last quarter of the ninth century[3]. The fourth chapter, dedicated entirely to the Eparch and his competencies, states that, within the city walls, he was ranked highest of all after the emperor[4]. In the treatise of Philotheus, dating from the end of the ninth century, the Eparch ranks eighteenth in the overall imperial hierarchy, with fourteen subordinate officers[5]. The eleventh-century scholar Michael Psellus describes the office as imperial, only without the purple[6].

The Eparch's sphere of action was limited to the city of Constantinople and its surrounding territory within a radius of 100 miles[7]. In the tenth century, his tribunal held the second highest civil and criminal jurisdiction in the town, his judgements could only be appealed before the emperor[8]. He also presided at the imperial tribunal in the emperor's absence[9]. Since one of his main duties was to secure law and order, the Eparch was the head of the city police and had jurisdiction over prisons, including his own prison at the *Praitorion*[10]. He regulated economic activities and controlled markets, trade, pricing and the guilds[11]. Moreover, he supervised public gatherings and spectacles and played an important role in the procedures that preceded major chariot races in the Hippodrome.

For the execution of the Eparch's vast duties and responsibilities, his authority had to be accepted among the elites and the wider population of the city. One way to reach this goal was to present his authority to a broad public by using various forms of verbal and non-verbal public communication[12]. In general, we can identify three crucial features that public communication must display in order to convey the authority of an individual or group. First, it must depict distinctively the various facets of the bestowed authority; second, it must reach a broad audience; and finally, the performative acts and signs must be repeatable and recognisable. Similar to other officials, the Eparch's authority was publicly communicated in oral and written form, performed, depicted in images, and displayed in objects[13]. Two non-verbal forms of public display stand out: the ceremonial acts[14] in which he took part and the insignia of his office[15]. The present paper will focus on this non-verbal communication.

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1 Guilland, Eparque 17. On the office of the Eparch, see for example Guilland, Eparque; Cheynet, Eparque; Koder, Eparchos; Thomov/Ilieva, Eparch; Brehier, Institutions.
2 Demandt, Spätantike 362.
3 Koder, Eparchos 85.
4 Eisagoge 4, 11: Ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχος ἐν τῇ πόλει μείζων πάντων ἐστὶ μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα […].
5 Philoth. Kletor. 101. 113.
6 Mich. Psell. Chron. II, 10: καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ ἐπάρχου ἀξίωμα ἀναχθεὶς (βασίλειος δὲ αὕτη ἀρχὴ· εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀπόρφυρος).
7 Koder, Authority 86.
8 Kazhdan, Eparch 705; Guilland, Eparque 18.
9 Guilland, Eparque 18.
10 Guilland, Eparque 18. – On the *Praitorion*, see n. 97.
11 Koder, Authority 86-98.

12 On the topic see for example Hattori, Communication; Stollberg-Rilinger, Kommunikation; Althoff, Kommunikation.
13 Hattori, Introduction 8.
14 Though some words were part of the ceremonies, this article focuses on the performative acts as their basic structure. Scholars have emphasized for some time that the importance and impact of performative acts on medieval societies cannot be overestimated. On this, see for instance Althoff, Kommunikation; Beihammer/Constantinou/Parani, Ceremonies; Bauer, Zeremoniell; Featherstone, Ceremony; Berger, Processions; Maguire, Ceremony; McCormick, Ceremonies.
15 The list of the Eparch's actual insignia is expanded here to include objects that might not have belonged to the insignia, but that nevertheless reflected distinctively on his authority; on insignia of high office-holders of the Late Roman empire recorded in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, see Berger, Insignia. On monarchical insignia with a focus on the Western Roman empire in the Middle Ages, see for example Petersohn, Insignien; the same, Herrschaftszeichen; Schramm, Herrschaftszeichen. On Byzantine imperial insignia, see for example Gioles, Insignia; Wessel/Piltz/Nicolescu, Insignien.

The paper assumes that performative acts do not merely represent, but constitute political agreements or decisions[16]. The effectiveness of these acts depends to a large extent on the composition and background of the receiving audience, as well as on the location, specific occasion, and time of the display. Insignia – characteristic emblems that identified an office-holder – were equally important. They expressed the social and political position of an individual or institution[17] and their message was intended to be distinctive and understandable even to a lay audience[18].

The ceremonies in which the Eparch took part and the insignia of his office followed a long-standing tradition. We must therefore assume that the audiences of the tenth and eleventh centuries understood this traditional representation of the Eparch well. Otherwise, it would be hard to explain why these ancient forms were maintained for such a long period. The paper will therefore ask in how far the Eparchical ceremonies and insignia were well-suited for the communication of the Eparch's authority to a broad public. To what extent did they meet the three above-mentioned criteria for public communication?

The Sources

The main normative source for most of the ceremonies that the Eparch took part in is the *Book of Ceremonies*, compiled by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959), and revised at least by one later redactor[19]. This heterogeneous compilation is very complex. When using this material, several factors must be borne in mind: the various stages of its compilation and of the production of the manuscripts known today, the diverse times of origin of the protocols gathered in the collection, and the question of which of these were actually still in use in the tenth century.

Most recently, Gilbert Dagron and Bernard Flusin, in the introduction to their new edition of the *Book of Ceremonies*, have undertaken an exhaustive analysis and summary of the discussions on these topics[20], which shall not be reproduced in detail here. According to this analysis, the archetype of the book consisted of the material that Constantine VII had collected himself and had intended for a ceremonial book[21]. Later, a further redactor, who was active during the reign of Nikephorus II Phocas (963-969), added certain protocols and entrusted the manuscript to copyists who, at a time after 963 but still in the tenth century, produced the two copies which are known today[22]. The protocols collected in the *Book of Ceremonies* originate from very diverse time periods ranging from the sixth to the tenth century. It is sometimes difficult to determine their time of origin or the various stages of their revision. For each protocol used in this article, I will therefore present a possible dating. Some protocols in the *Book of Ceremonies* had long fallen completely out of use and were incorporated solely on the basis of the authors' antiquarian interest. This interest has been taken into account in the choice of protocols to be analysed.

I have selected the ceremonies under examination here on the basis of various criteria. Firstly, the explicit mention of the Eparch in the actual protocol. This was mostly the case with secular ceremonies[23]. Secondly, since we focus on the representation of the Eparch's authority in the tenth and eleventh century, I selected those protocols that were clearly still in use in that period[24]. From among these ceremonies, I chose the ones in which the Eparch had an active and eminent role. Accordingly, the ceremonies selected for examination are:
- the Eparch's inauguration, which was without a fixed date,
- and other ceremonies in the order in which they took place during the Byzantine year, such as:
- the so-called festival of Lupercalia,
- the ceremony on Palm Sunday, in which the Eparch visited the Church of the Holy Martyr Romanos,
- the imperial banquets held in the weeks following Easter and Christmas and
- the festivities connected to the birthday of the city of Constantinople (May 11).

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16 Cf. Althoff, Turn 42.
17 Kazhdan, Insignia 999.
18 Petersohn, Insignien 54.
19 The edition of Gilbert Dagron and Bernard Flusin is used here: Const. VII., De cerim. I-III.
20 Dagron/Flusin in Const. VII., De cerim. I, 3*-168*.
21 Dagron/Flusin in Const. VII., De cerim. I, 70*, 75*.
22 Dagron/Flusin in Const. VII., De cerim. I, 168*. The calligraphically more elaborate Codex Rep. I, 17 (today in the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig) survives as a whole, whereas the other, probably simpler codex, survives only in palimpsest fragments in the Codex Chalcensis S. Trinitatis 133 (today in the Library of the Ecumenic Patriarchate in Istanbul) and the Codex 1003 of the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos (Featherstone/Gruskova/Kresten, Palimpsestfragmente 423).
23 Regarding the protocol for the procession that was carried out at the main church feasts such as Easter, Pentecost, Christmas and Epiphany for example, the Eparch is not mentioned explicitly. The preparations as well as the actual ceremonial envisaged for the procession are recorded in Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1,1; I, 6-61. Here, the Eparch is only mentioned explicitly as being in charge of preparing the route before the actual procession takes place (Const. VII., De cerim. lib 1,1; I,7: Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ ὑπάρχῳ τῆς πόλεως γνωρίζουσιν τοῦ εὐτρεπίσαι καὶ ἀνακαθᾶραι τὴν βασιλικὴν ἔξοδον […].)
It is assumed that he took part in the ceremony in the illustrious group of the *magistroi*, proconsuls, patricians, *strategoi* and other holders of high office – in short, the individuals holding senatorial rank, referred to as such repeatedly in the ongoing ceremony. After obeisance to the emperors at an early stage, this group followed them in the procession.
24 We left aside those protocols in the *Book of Ceremonies* that mention the Eparch, but which, according to scholars, were no longer in use by the tenth century, or for which there is less certainty that they were still in practice. For practical reasons, only one example shall be named here. Chapters 93-104 of the first book form a set of protocols which were taken from Peter the Patrician and thus date from the sixth century. The Eparch is mentioned in Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1,94; II, 371 on the investiture of an *augoustalios* and a proconsul. Dagron and Bury think that this chapter was added solely out of antiquarian interest and that it contained an obsolete ceremony (Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., IV.1, 483; Bury, Book II, 483).

Regarding the insignia, the *Notitia Dignitatum* stands out as a source that informs us precisely about the Late Antique insignia of certain holders of high office, amongst which were the Urban Prefect of Rome and the Eparch of Constantinople. According to its editor, Neira Faleiro, the text was finalised between 425 and 429[25]. Unfortunately, the pages describing the exact insignia of the Eparch of Constantinople are missing in all surviving copies of that source. The account of the Roman City Prefect's insignia, however, has survived[26]. Editors and commentators have repeatedly suggested that the insignia of the Urban Prefect of Rome were probably similar to those of his Constantinopolitan colleague[27]. Thus, we may draw analogies from the information on the insignia of the former for the Eparch[28].

A record of the exact insignia of the Eparch of the Middle Byzantine period does not exist. Therefore, additional information on the Eparch's insignia in this period has to be drawn from various other sources, including the aforementioned *Book of Ceremonies*. A detailed description of some of the insignia survives in a poem on the Eparch John of Amouda by the eleventh-century poet Christopher of Mitylene[29]. In addition, depictions that provably or conceivably represent the Eparch and his insignia are preserved in various manuscripts, such as the Codex VITR/26/2 (Skylitzes Matritensis) of the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid

(**fig. 1**)[30], the Codex Coislin 239 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (**figs 2** and **4b**) and the Codex 6 of the Panteleimon Monastery on Mount Athos (**figs 3** and **4a**)[31].

The Inauguration Ceremony and the Bestowal of the Insignia

The inauguration ceremony of the Eparch of Constantinople is a suitable starting point, as it stood at the beginning of his office tenure, and marked his first appearance before a wider audience. In this ceremony, the Eparch received the majority of the insignia belonging to his office.

The *Book of Ceremonies* records the inauguration ceremonial in two protocols that complement each other regarding the detailedness of the ceremony's various parts. The first protocol describes in detail the first parts of the ceremony in the Old Palace: The presentation of the Eparch to the City Administration and the bestowal of several of his insignia, but only very briefly the subsequent acclamation of the Eparch by the Demes and his visit to Hagia Sophia. The second protocol records the mentioned first parts only very

25 Not. Dign. I, 42.
26 According to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the insignia of the *praefectus urbis Romae* consisted of the following objects: a precious table with a two-layered, book-like ivory object that, in its inside, contained the diploma of appointment (*codicillus*); a receptacle for ink and pens of large dimension, fashioned of two oblong plates with portraits on them and resting on two feet, called *theke* or *kalamarion* by John Lydos (Ioann. Lyd. mag. II, 14); a carriage drawn by four horses and the typical attire, consisting probably of a *paenula*/*penolion*, worn with a tunic or a toga (Berger, Insignia fig. 48).
27 See for example Not. Dign. II, 176 or Demandt, Spätantike 362.
28 Evidence supporting this hypothesis can also be drawn from parallel sources. In the *Chronicon Paschale* for example, the carriage of the Eparch Monaxios is mentioned in 407 (Chron. Pasch. 571), and the Eparch Aëthius wears a *penolion* in 419 (see n. 62).
29 Christoph. Mitylen. carm. 30. The poet also gives an interpretation of the symbolic meaning of some of the parts of the insignia. The extent to which these interpretations represent his own view or that of a broader audience cannot be decided.
30 The production of the codex that contains an illuminated version of John Scylitzes' *Synopsis Historion* is assigned to the scriptorium of the Monastery of San Salvatore in Messina and dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century by Tsamakda, Skylitzes 18, 397. The text of Scylitzes' *Synopsis* is dated approximately to the decade between 1070 and 1080 (see Seibt, Skylitzes 84). Tsamakda hypothesizes that not long after that, an illuminated version was produced in a Constantinopolitan environment. She assumes that Codex VITR/26/2 is a copy of either this archetype or of an intermediate Byzantine copy (ibid. 371). **Fig. 1** illustrates the passage in which Emperor Theophilus (829-842) orders the Eparch, especially denoted as such in the depiction, to carry out the execution of the accomplices of Michael II (820-829) at the murder of Leon V (813-820). Tsamakda stresses that the illuminations in Codex VITR/26/2, and thus that of its model, are mainly based on stereotypical *formulae* used in a wide range of book illuminations produced in the Constantinopolitan area in the eleventh/twelfth centuries (ibid. 369). She identifies **fig. 1** as having been executed by a painter of a Byzantine group of artists that followed their model quite closely (ibid.). **Fig. 1** can, therefore, be seen as corresponding to a certain extent to the historical circumstances in eleventh- and even tenth-century Byzantium; however, it has a normative character.

31 Codex Coislin 239 and Codex Panteleimon 6 contain an illuminated version of the 16 Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus of the liturgical edition; Codex Coislin 239 also contains additional texts (Galavaris, Illustrations 246, 209). The production of both manuscripts is located in a Constantinopolitan environment and dated to the late eleventh century by Galavaris (ibid. 248, 212). Galavaris assumes that both manuscripts are copies of the same intermediate model that derived from an archetype (ibid. 187. 192-193). He suggests that this archetype had been produced in Constantinopolitan in the tenth century (ibid. 198). The official depicted in **figs. 2-4b** wears a costume that corresponds with the typical attire of the Eparch of Constantinople in the tenth/eleventh century. The official is the jurist Domitius Modestus, interrogating Basil the Great at the order of Emperor Valens (364-378) and afterwards reporting to the emperor. Modestus had been Eparch of Constantinople in 362-363 and again in 369; before April 370, however, he was promoted to *praefectus praetorio Orientis* (Gutsfeld, Modestus 316). The trial against Basil took place at the end of the year 370 (Gutsfeld, Prätorianerpräfekt 90) or 371 (May, Basilios 53), thus Modestus conducted the case as *praefectus praetorio Orientis*. I am aware of the source-critical problems this poses regarding the use of the depictions. Nevertheless, since the costume of Modestus corresponds very much to the typical attire of an Eparch of the tenth/eleventh century known from parallel sources, it is possible that the latter is depicted here. A reason for this ahistorical portrayal could be that the office of the *praefectus praetorio Orientis* did not exist anymore in the time of the painters; the office of the Eparch of Constantinople, in contrast, still existed and provided a contemporary model. Because the painters may have known that Modestus previously had been Eparch of Constantinople, it is possible that they adapted the illuminations to their time and painted him in the typical attire of the Constantinopolitan City Prefect. The illuminations in Codex Coislin 239 and Codex Panteleimon 6 that followed the ones of their model were painted according to common iconographic *formulae* of the Constantinopolitan school in the tenth/eleventh century (Galavaris, Illustrations 198). **Figs. 2-4b** can, therefore, also be seen as corresponding to a certain extent to the historical circumstances of that time, but have, as **fig. 1**, a normative character. – For the sake of completeness, at this point reference shall also be made to the Book of the Eparch (Eparch. bibl.), which is definitely an important source on the activity of the Eparch of Constantinople in the tenth century. However, it mainly contains the regulations for the guilds of the city of Constantinople and does not contain information on either the ceremonies in which the Eparch took part or his insignia, which is why its analysis has been left aside here.

briefly, but describes in much detail the acclamations of the Demes as well as the ceremonial in Hagia Sophia and at the *Praitorion*. J. B. Bury has suggested that the two protocols were taken from two different sources[32]. Their time of origin is still a subject of discussion. The first part does not contain any evidence for reliable dating[33]. A. Vogt and Dagron, however, stress that it is not necessarily anterior to the second part[34]. For the second protocol, Vogt and Dagron propose a time of origin in the Isaurian period (eighth century)[35]. According to Dagron, this protocol underwent extensive revision in the time of Constantine VII, adjusting, for example, the number of emperors named[36]. This revision of the second protocol strongly indicates that the ceremony described here was actually still in use in the tenth century[37].

According to the first protocol in the *Book of Ceremonies*, the emperor summoned the candidate for the office at the beginning of the inauguration ceremony, and ordered the *praipositos* to present him as the Eparch of the city. The *praipositos* received the newly elected Eparch, clothed him in a red s*agion* and ordered the city establishment to be summoned; first to the Consistory, from where they were later led to the *Onopodion*[38]. Then the *praipositos* and the Eparch went to the *Onopodion*, and the Eparch waited in front of the doors that led into it, while the *praipositos* went out alone to the waiting members of

the city establishment, where he gave a short address[39]. Then, the *praipositos* gave a command to the Master of Ceremonies to open the curtain and summoned the newly elected Eparch. When the latter appeared, the *praipositos* presented him as the new Eparch and father of the city[40].

In this passage, the Eparch is first clothed in a *sagion* in the colour of a pomegranate (*rhoa*). The *sagion* was a kind of cloak. It derived from the Ancient Roman *sagum*[41], a rectangular cloak of coarse wool that was fastened with a brooch or *fibula* in the front and usually reached down to the knees[42]. The *sagum* of the Roman Republic and Empire was mostly worn by soldiers, including high generals[43]; thus, it was closely associated with the military. However, servants, country workers and city dwellers often wore it, too[44], and in the first century the emperors also wore the *sagum*[45]. In the ninth and tenth century, the emperors and various officials at the Byzantine court still wore the *sagion.* Golden and purple (*porphyrous*) *sagia* were reserved for the emperors[46], and most of the *sagia* of the officials were in other shades of red. The colours mentioned most frequently are *alethinos* and *rhoes* or *rhoaios*, most probably ranked in this order[47]. It is unclear if the *sagion rhoes* of the Eparch belonged to his attire. We may assume, however, that it was only a ceremo-

32 Bury suggests that the second protocol derived from a collection of *acta* of the Demes, which was maintained separately from the main ceremony protocols and then, together with the latter, included by Constantine VII in his *Book of Ceremonies* (Bury, Book II, 436-437).

33 Dagron/Flusin in Const. VII., De cerim., I, 121*; Vogt, Commentaire 77; Bury, Book II, 432. Bury hypothesizes that this first part originates in the eighth century.

34 Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., IV.1, 413; Vogt, Commentaire 77-78.

35 Dagron/Flusin in Const. VII., De cerim., I, 120*-121*; Vogt, Commentaire 78.

36 Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., IV.1, 412-413. From the time of Michael II onwards there rarely was only one emperor. According to Dagron, the more frequent case of more than one emperor was given precedence in later revisions of the protocols in the *Book of Ceremonies* (Dagron/Flusin in Const. VII., De cerim. I, 84*). *Porphyrogennetoi* (purple-born children) are mentioned since the reign of Basil I (867-886) (ibid.). In the first part of the protocol for the inauguration of the Eparch, only one emperor is named. In the second part, however, multiple emperors, as well as *augoustai* and *porphyrogennetoi* are named, which points to a later revision of the protocol.

37 Several other factors also indicate its continued use. The origin or revision of chapter three of the second book of the *Book of Ceremonies* can almost certainly be dated to the time of Constantine VII himself (Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., IV.2, 651). It records the protocol for the appointment of the *domestikoi ton scholon* and other high officials by the emperor. After the description of the ceremonial, the end of the chapter states that this protocol had to be observed for the nomination of the above-named officials, but not of the Eparch. Subsequently, a part of the protocol for the inauguration of the Eparch is described in abridged form, which, with some details, repeats the inauguration ceremonial in Book I. More precisely, the chapter describes how the Eparch is guided to the *Onopodion* by the *praipositos*, where the latter entrusts the Eparch to the city administration as the father of the city (Const. VII., De cerim., 2.3; III, 35 […] καὶ παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ὕπαρχον καὶ πατέρα πόλεως). This largely corresponds to the inauguration described in Book I, suggesting that both protocols were contemporary to Constantine VII. Finally, the Eparch's insignia are named and depicted in various other sources of the tenth and eleventh centuries (these include, as stated above, the poem of Christopher of Mitylene on the Eparch John of Amouda, as well as depictions of the Eparch, for example in **fig. 1** reproduced here). Unless these insignia were handed to the Eparch informally, which seems unlikely, this indicates that the inauguration ceremonial, in which these insignia were handed over, was in fact still in use in the tenth century.

38 Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.61; II, 125: Προσκαλεῖται ὁ βασιλεὺς ὃν ἂν βούληται προβαλέσθαι ὕπαρχον, προσκαλεῖται καὶ τὸν πραιπόσιτον καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· »Ἄπελθε καὶ παράδος αὐτὸν ὕπαρχον πόλεως.« Παραλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ πραιπόσιτος, περιβάλλει αὐτὸν σαγίον ῥοῆς καὶ εὐθέως ἀποστέλλει σελεντιάριον προσκαλέσασθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν

κατάστασιν ἅπασαν ἐν τῷ Κονσιστωρίῳ. […] λαμβάνουσιν πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ σελεντιάριοι πρόσταξιν παρὰ τοῦ πραιποσίτου πρὸς τὸ ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ πολίτευμα εἰς τὸν Ὀνόποδα. On the *Onopodion*, which was an open space south of the Augusteus hall, reachable from there by passing through a porch called the Golden Hand, see Featherstone, Ceremony 592.

39 Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.61; II, 125: Καὶ ἐξέρχεται ὁ πραιπόσιτος μετὰ τοῦ ὑπάρχου διὰ τοῦ Λαυσιακοῦ καὶ τῶν σκαλίων, […] καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγουστέως, διέρχεται διὰ τοῦ Στενοῦ καὶ μένει ὁ ὕπαρχος ἔνδον τῆς πύλης τῆς ἐξαγούσης πρὸς τὸν Ὀνόποδα, ‹ὁ δὲ πραιπόσιτος› ἐξέρχεται μόνος, ἔνθα ἵσταται τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἃ ἐδιδάχθη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως νουθεσίας ἕνεκα καὶ νομίμων διακράτησιν.

40 Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.61; II, 125: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαλαλιὰν κελεύει ὁ πραιπόσιτος τῷ τῆς καταστάσεως ἀνοιγῆναι τὸ βῆλον καὶ προσκαλεῖται τὸν ὕπαρχον, κἀκείνου ἐξελθόντος, παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὁ πραιπόσιτος τῇ πολιτείᾳ ὕπαρχον καὶ πατέρα πόλεως.

41 Kazhdan, Sagion 1827; Cleland, Dress 164.

42 Cleland, Dress 164.

43 Cleland, Dress 164.

44 Croom, Clothing 52; Cleland, Dress 164.

45 This is evident, for example, from Trajans column, where many soldiers and high generals, as well as Trajan himself, are depicted with the cloak (DAI/Universität Köln, Traianus).

46 The emperors had the exclusive right to wear completely golden and gold bordered *sagia*, and *sagia* interwoven with gold (the emperor wore a complete golden *sagion*, for example, at Easter Sunday: Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.18, I, 133; he wore a gold bordered *sagion* and one interwoven with gold, for example, in the Daily Procession in the Great Palace: Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 2.1, III, 23-25), as well as a purple (*porphyrous*, denoting imperial murex purple) *sagion* (see for example Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.47, II, 3). Regarding the colour coding at the Byzantine court, imperial murex purple stood at its peak, immediately after that ranked imitation purples and shades of non-murex reds, indicating a delicate hierarchy (Muthesius, Colour 189).

47 *Alethinos* was a shade of purple as well, but strictly distinguished from imperial purple by way of its manufacturing process and shade (Dawson, Dress 23); *rhoes* and *rhoaios* designated the colour of the pomegranate which, in contrast to *alethinos*, was a more yellowish tone of red. Accordingly, at the Middle Byzantine court *sagia alethina* were worn by high- and mid-ranking office-holders and dignitaries; *sagia rhoes* or *rhoaioi*, on the other hand, were worn by some of the mentioned office and title-holders at more casual occasions, or by individuals holding lower-ranking offices and titles.

nial interims-garment which he wore until it was exchanged for his official attire later in the ceremony[48], and that it therefore did not form part of his insignia[49].

After being clothed in the *sagion*, the *praipositos* presented the Eparch to the city establishment as new office-holder and father of the city, selected and thus officially legitimised by the emperor. The presentation was underlined by the dramaturgical withdrawal of the curtain, which rendered it even more impressive. The audience of this performance, which appears in the protocol under the terms *politike katastasis*, *politeuma* and *politeia*, consisted of office-holders of the city administration in the fields that belonged to the responsibility of the Eparch[50]. Their acceptance of the Eparch was the goal of the ceremony.

In the following protocol of the ceremony, the Eparch received the first part of his insignia – more precisely, his typical attire. According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, the *praipositos* then turned back to the palace, while the Master of Ceremonies led the Eparch to the Consistory, clothed him, in exchange for the *sagion*, in his official attire which consisted of the *kamision*, the *pelonion* and the *loros*, and put on his shoes[51].

A *kamision* was a sort of tunic, probably a simpler form of a *chiton*. The *kamision* could either be worn independently or as an undergarment[52]. The use of the *kamision* in the Middle Byzantine period was quite common, to judge by its frequent mentioning in the *Book of Ceremonies* and in the treatise of Philotheus. At court, higher-ranking courtiers wore it occasionally[53], but it was mostly worn by mid-ranking courtiers[54] and the clergy[55]. The Eparch seems to have worn the *kamision* independently or with the *loros* or the *pelonion* over it. According to Christopher, who refers to the Eparch's tunic as a *chiton* in a literary flourish, it was white and black in colour[56]. The white colour corresponds to all the miniatures reproduced here (**figs 1-4b**). In **figure 1** a black rim as well as a red border are visible at the bottom of the *kamision*. The red border appears in **figures 2** and **4b**, too.

The *pelonion* was a kind of cape[57]. With some probability, it derived from the *paenula*, which was a heavy Roman woollen cape[58]. Originally, this was the garment of slaves and

Fig. 1 The Eparch of Constantinople (standing) taking orders from Emperor Theophilus (829-842) and executing them (on horseback). – (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Codex VITR/26/2, fol. 43ʳ).

Fig. 2 The *praefectus praetorio Orientis* Domitius Modestus reporting to Emperor Valens (364-378). – (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Codex Coislin 239, fol. 101ᵛ).

48 See below n. 51. It is not indicated here, however, if the Eparch kept the *sagion* after this exchange of clothes or not. In any case, the cloak does not appear any more in the ceremony.
49 Many other officials wore the *sagion rhoes*, too. It was thus no typical or unique garment of the Eparch.
50 Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., V, 79.
51 Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.61; II, 125: Καὶ εἰθούτως ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀνόποδος ὑποστρέφει ὁ πραιπόσιτος ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ, ὁ δὲ τῆς καταστάσεως μετὰ τῶν σελεντιαρίων λαμβάνει τὸν ὕπαρχον καὶ εἰσάγει αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Κονσιστωρίῳ καὶ ὑπαλλάσσει αὐτὸν τὴν τοῦ ὑπάρχου στολήν, ἤγουν τὸ καμίσιον καὶ τὸ πελώνιον καὶ τὸν λῶρον καὶ ὑποδύει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ καλίγιν.
52 That it could be worn as undergarment is illustrated in the *Book of Ceremonies*, where, by way of example, the *ostiarioi* or the Master of Ceremonies wore a *paragaudion* (upper garment) over the *kamision* (Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 2.2; III, 27), see also Ball, Dress 43.
53 At the festivities on Christmas day for example, 14 individuals, chosen amongst the *magistroi*, *praipositoi*, proconsuls, patricians, *strategoi* or other officials (personalities holding highest senatorial ranks or offices) were invited to the very table of the emperor at a banquet in Hagia Sophia; they were to attend the banquet in their *kamisia* (Philoth. Kletor. 167).
54 For example, the *koubikoularioi*, the *spatharokoubikoularioi* (Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.36; I, 273) and *ostiarioi* (Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 2.15; III, 111) appear as wearing a *kamision*.
55 For example, the *domestikoi* of the Hagia Sophia wore *kamisia* (Philoth. Kletor. 187).
56 Christoph. Mitylen. carm. 30: ὁ λευκὸς οὗτος καὶ μέλας χιτῶν ἅμα / ψήφων τὸ διττὸν εὐφυῶς ὑ<πογράφει> […].
57 Ševčenko, Phelonion 1647. Piltz mentions the term but does not classify it. Moreover, she states that the *pelonion* is worn exclusively by the Eparch (Piltz, Costume 46). Ball assumes that the *pelonion* was a tunic (Ball, Dress 40).
58 Cleland, Dress 135. The word experienced a metamorphosis. In Liddell/Scott/Jones, Lexicon 1912, the Latin *paenula* is given as equivalent of Greek φαινόλης, which, in turn, is equated here with φαιλόνης, having as its diminutive form φαιλόνιον/φελόνιον. This term, in turn, is equated with the term πελώνιον in Trapp, Lexikon 1911. A similar etymology is given in Reiske, Commentarius 284 and Vogt, Commentaire 80. – The exact form of the *paenula* is debated and might have varied over time. A very common form was semi-circular, with the two straight edges brought together in front and sewn together, it was put on over the head (Cleland, Dress 135; Croom, Clothing 54). This might have been the form worn by the Eparch. Wickham Legg states that there was another form of the *paenula* that was less common: it was open in front for the reason of putting it on more conveniently (Wickham Legg, Ornaments 24).

Fig. 3 The *praefectus praetorio Orientis* Domitius Modestus seated between protesting citizens of Kaisareia. – (After Pelekanidis, Panteleimon 182 fig. 308 = Panteleimon Monastery, Mount Athos, Codex 6, fol. 140ᵛ).

colleague wore the same garment. A second indication can be drawn from the *Chronicon Paschale*. It records that the Eparch Aëthius wore a *penolion* in 419[62].

Turning back to the tenth century: while the *Book of Ceremonies* explicitly mentions the Eparch's *pelonion*, Christopher's poem does not. Furthermore, only in one of the five depictions presented here the official wears a garment that could be identified with a *pelonion*[63]. In **figure 3**, traces of a dark-red piece of cloth can be seen around Modestus' neck, hanging over his shoulders and probably stretching further down. It is possible to identify this with the Eparch's *pelonion*, though we cannot be sure[64]. All in all, we can assume that the *pelonion* still formed part of the Eparch's attire in the tenth and eleventh century[65]. It represented his high status.

The *loros* constituted one of the central parts of the Eparch's insignia. The long, richly embroidered and decorated *loros* (from *lorion* – strip), worn by the emperors as well as by some high dignitaries, had presumably evolved from the Roman *trabea triumphalis* that was usually worn by the consuls[66]. The emperors wore the *loros* on high feast days such as Easter and Pentecost, in the presence of high ambassadors and at the promotion of high dignitaries[67]. Though the empresses and emperors wore the *loros* rarely, it dominates imperial portraiture of the Middle Byzantine period[68] and constituted one of the garments of imperial authority *par excellence*[69]. Office-holders and dignitaries besides the Eparch that wore the *loros* included, for example, the *kaisar*[70], the *zoste patrikia*[71] or *magistroi*, proconsuls and patricians[72]. Oikonomides identifies the *trachelou simikinthion* mentioned by Christopher of Mytilene with the Eparch's *loros*[73]. In **figure 1** the *loros* appears draped in a Y-shaped form, whereas in **figure 2** it is draped crosswise. The *loros* in **figures 1, 2** and **4b** is red in colour and shows rich embroidery, to which Christopher possibly hints in his poem[74]. With the *loros*, the Eparch wore a vestment that was linked more closely to imperial authority than almost any other garment. Wearing the *loros* made him part of a narrow circle of office-holders and dignitaries with high level authority.

peasants, but already in the first century BC it had become the dress of the higher social strata of the Roman Republic[59]. In the fourth and fifth centuries, high lay dignitaries as well as the clergy wore the *paenula*[60]. Whether the Eparch of Constantinople wore the *pelonion* in these early times is unclear. In the second depiction of the *praefectus urbis Romae* in the Munich codex containing the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the official does wear a cloak that can possibly be identified as a *paenula / pelonion*[61]. It is, therefore, not unlikely that his Constantinopolitan

59 Wickham Legg, Ornaments 24. In many cases it was worn with a tunic underneath, but it could also be worn with a *toga*.
60 Bernadakis, Ornements 131.
61 See Berger, Insignia fig. 48. The cloak is identified by Berger as a *chlamys* (Berger, Insignia 40), but already here she notices the fact that the typical *fibula* that normally fastened the *chlamys* is missing in this and all other depictions. The other three surviving depictions of the cloak of the Roman City Prefect also do not point to it being a *chlamys*.
62 Aëthius was attacked while visiting the Megalē Ekklesia (a previous building at the place of today's Hagia Sophia), at this occasion his toga and *penolion* were perforated by the dagger of the attacker (Chron. Pasch. 574: ὥστε τὸ πενόλιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τόγαν τρηθῆναι).
63 It is missing in **figs. 1, 2** and **4b.**; if the official wears a *pelonion* in **fig 4a** cannot be determined.
64 The colour of the cloak cannot be distinguished with precision from the illumination; it could have been a shade of (most probably non-murex) red that, as stated, ranked quite high in the hierarchy of colour coding in Byzantium. – In Codex VITR/26/2, apart from **fig. 1** two other depictions of the Eparch are extant (fols. 219v and 221r) that, according to Tsamakda, were executed by painters of the western group of artists. Interestingly, in both miniatures the Eparch wears a long red cape, which can likely be identified with the *pelonion*. Many other details in these two miniatures, however, differ

substantially from **fig. 1,** executed by the Byzantine painter, as well as from the description of the Eparch's insignia in the parallel sources of the eleventh century.
65 Apart from at the inauguration ceremonial, however, it cannot be determined how often and on what specific occasions it was worn.
66 Ball, Dress 12.
67 Here by way of example, on Easter Sunday: Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.18; I, 121.
68 Parani, Images 23.
69 Parani, Images 23; Ball, Dress 16.
70 Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.52; II, 57.
71 Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.59; II, 57, 115.
72 On Easter Sunday as well, see n. 67.
73 Christoph. Mitylen. carm. 30: τὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σιμικίνθιον δέ σοι / τί βούλεται, βέλτιστε, καὶ τί μηνύεις;, Oikonomides, Στολή 423.
74 Christoph. Mitylen. carm. 30: ἔοικε σειρὰ τῶν πόνων σου τυγχάνειν, δι' ἧς κατάγχεις καὶ δαμάζεις πᾶν πά<θος.>

The *Book of Ceremonies* does not record the colour of the Eparch's shoes. Christopher calls them orange (*kirros*)[75]. This corresponds with **figures 1** and **3**, in which the official wears shoes of a yellowish colour. The shoes were very probably part of the Eparch's insignia. A hat is mentioned neither in the *Book of Ceremonies* nor by Christopher. Nevertheless, in all five miniatures reproduced here, including the one that provably depicts the Eparch, the official wears the same typical white headgear. It must be assumed that, in the period in focus here, the hat formed part of the Eparch's attire, but it cannot be determined if it was counted among the insignia proper.

The following part of the ceremony, including the acclamations by the Demes, differs in the two surviving protocols. The second protocol describes it in much more detail, it might probably be the more accurate account[76].

After receiving his official attire the Eparch, escorted by the whole order of the *Praitorion*[77], first passed through the Long Hall (*makron*) of the Candidats, then probably through the *triklinos* of the *Exkoubitoi*[78], from where he continued along the passage of the *Kortinai* until the bronze door at its end. Still escorted by the order of the *Praitorion*, he passed through the *triklinos* of the Schools[79]. From there, he went on to the rotunda of the *Lychnoi*[80]. There, the members of the Blue Deme received him and recited an elaborate set of acclamations. Marching in front of him and completing their acclamations, the Blue Deme lead him up to the reception of the Green Deme. The latter received the Eparch back at the *triklinos* of the Schools and their acclamations took place in the same way as for the Blues[81].

In this part of the ceremony the Eparch, together with his staff of the *Praitorion*, took a ceremonial route through the military quarter of the Great Palace[82]. On his way, he received the acclamations of the two Demes, named after the colours of their racing teams the »Blues«

and the »Greens«[83]. According to Wiemer, from the early sixth century on the Blues and Greens played »the part of the populace« in the imperial ceremonial[84]. Wiemer ascribes these acclamations of the Demes a function in legitimating imperial power[85]. It might thus still have been the case at the inauguration of the Eparch in the tenth century that the acclamations by the Demes carried this legitimising aspect. Hereby, the important group of »the populace« showed its consent to the new office-holder, too.

After these acclamations, as is recorded in both protocols, the Eparch went to Hagia Sophia, more precisely to the Chapel of the Holy Well, where he lighted candles. Then the Patriarch prayed for him according to the custom for patricians[86]. Here, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the highest ecclesiastical authority in the Constantinopolitan church, showed his support of the new Eparch.

The second protocol records that, after the Patriarch's prayers, the Master of Ceremonies again handed the Eparch his *loros* and the *pelonion*. The latter made his way outside and went to the *Horologion*, where his white caparisoned horse as well as the *kalamarion* and the *taxaiotai* in their capes were waiting[87].

We can assume that the caparisoned white horse belonged to the equipment of the Eparch in the tenth century. The horse's colour, as recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies*, corresponds to the description by Christopher of Mytilene, as well as to the depiction in **figure 1**. Traces of the mentioned caparison (*chioma*) can be found in this miniature. The horse's bridle and its colour are not mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*[88]. In **figure 1**, the bridle and reins of the Eparch's horse are red. However, it cannot be determined if this is authentic, since evidence in parallel sources is missing. Similarities to imperial accessories

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75 Christoph. Mitylen. carm. 30: πέδιλα κιρρά, σφόδρα λαμπρὰ τὴν χρόαν, […].

76 Therefore, for the Eparch's way from the Consistory to the end of his acclamation by the Demes in the *triklinos* of the Schools the second protocol is followed; the deviations in the first protocol will be mentioned in the footnotes.

77 Oikonomides sees here subordinates of the logothete of the *Praitorion*, the latter himself being one of the 14 subordinates of the Eparch and officer in charge of the *Praitorion* with competencies in the sector of the police, control over the prisons and, possibly, judicial power (Oikonomides, Listes 320).

78 The Eparch passing through the *triklinos* of the *Exkoubitoi* is only mentioned in the first protocol: Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.61; II, 125: διέρχονται διά τε τῶν Ἐξκουβίτων καὶ τῶν Σχολῶν, [...].

79 Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.61; II, 127: καὶ ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὸν μάκρωνα τῶν Κανδιδάτων ὀφικευόμενος ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς τάξεως τοῦ Πραιτωρίου ἕως τῶν χαλκῶν πυλῶν τῶν Κορτινῶν. [...] Καὶ ἐξέρχεται ὁ ὕπαρχος καὶ διέρχεται διὰ τῶν Σχολῶν, ὀφικευόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων. – In contrast, the parallel passage of the first protocol records that the Eparch passed through the *triklinoi* of the *Exkoubitoi* and of the Schools escorted by the Master of Ceremonies, the city establishment and the members of the two Demes.

80 The Lychnoi were a round, vaulted structure situated in the Tribunal of the Old Palace's military quarter. It held its name because of the lamps or a chandelier hanging from the ceiling of the room (Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., V, 70).

81 Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.61; II, 127: Τὸ δὲ μέρος τῶν Βενέτων ἵσταται εἰς τοὺς Λύχνους, ἐκδεχόμενον τὸν ὕπαρχον, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ φθάσαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τοῦ Βενέτου δήμου λέγει ὁ δῆμος ποίημα δρομικόν, ἦχος δʹ· [...] Καὶ ἀποκινοῦντος τοῦ ὑπάρχου, ὀφικεύει ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ὁ δῆμος, λέγων τὸ δρομικὸν ποίημα ἦχος δʹ· [...] καὶ ἀπάγωσιν αὐτὸν ἕως τῆς δοχῆς τῶν Πρασίνων [...]. Καὶ δέχεται τοῦτον τὸ μέρος τῶν Πρασίνων εἰς τὰς Σχολὰς καὶ γίνεται ἡ ἀκολουθία [...] καθὼς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Βενέτων.

82 For a reconstructive map of the buildings and rooms of the Great Palace see for example Müller-Wiener, Topographie 232 fig. 263 or Westbrook, Palace 176 fig. 51.

83 The Demes or circus factions were supportive associations of the groups that competed in chariot races in the Hippodrome, named after the four colours Greens, Blues, Reds and Whites (McCormick, Factions 773). These factions already existed in the first century BC (Bell, Factions 495). In the late fifth century, as the spectacles in the Hippodrome with its broad audiences became the place of a developing imperial ceremonial, the importance of the Demes grew enormously as they became deeply involved in performing acclamations (McCormick, Factions 774).

84 Wiemer, Akklamationen 48.

85 Wiemer, Akklamationen 63.

86 Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.61; II, 131: Καὶ διέρχεται διὰ τοῦ χυτοῦ τῆς Χαλκῆς καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Φρέαρ καὶ ἅπτει κηροὺς ἱστέον ὅτι ὁ πατριάρχης εὐχὴν τοῦ ὑπάρχου ποιεῖ κατὰ τὸν εἰωθότα τύπον τῶν πατρικίων. Probably this means that the patriarch, at the appointment of the Eparch, recited prayers similar to the ones used at the appointment of a patrician..

87 Const. VII., De cerim. lib. 1.61; II, 131: Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ σκάμνον τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνδύει αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως τόν τε λῶρον καὶ τὸ πελώνιον καὶ ἐξέρχεται […] εἰς τὸ ὡρολόγιον, ἔνθα ἵσταται ὁ λευκὸς ἵππος μετὰ τοῦ χιώματος καὶ τὸ καλαμάριον καὶ οἱ ταξεῶται μετὰ τῶν πελωνίων αὐτῶν, […].

88 Christopher only speaks of the metal cheek-pieces of the bridle, which he says were of copper covered with gold (Christoph. Mitylen. carm. 30: Φάλαρα χαλκᾶ χρυσίῳ κεχρ<ωσμένα>).

are noticeable in this case as well. The emperor himself occasionally rode on a white horse. This is mentioned, for example, in the *Book of Ceremonies*[89], and can also be seen in several miniatures in Codex VITR/26/2[90]. Moreover, in various depictions in this codex, we observe that the emperor's horse often had a bridle and reins in a scarlet-red colour, whereas the horses of the accompanying individuals featured dark bridles[91].

It is unclear whether the Eparch's white horse belonged to his insignia in the strict sense. In Late Antiquity, the Eparch of Constantinople as well as the Prefect of Rome had a carriage drawn by horses which, in the case of the latter, is clearly depicted amongst his official insignia in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The white horse thus might have been a remnant of this horse-drawn carriage. Certainly, the fact that the Eparch had his own, caparisoned horse showed his high status. Its white colour once again provides a direct link to imperial authority. The colour of the bridle and reins of the Eparch's horse cannot be determined for sure, but the red colour in **figure 1** does suggest a further link to the imperial power, underlining the Eparch's great authority.

Let us next consider the nature of the mentioned *kalamarion*. In the commentary to his edition, J. J. Reiske interprets it as an actual pencil case (*theca calamorum*) and suggests that it might be a symbol of investiture of the Constantinopolitan Prefect, whose task it was to note down decisions[92]. Vogt and Dagron, by contrast, suggest that the term here refers to an officer of the pencil case[93]. The *Notitia Dignitatum* enumerates the *theca calamorum* or *kalamarion* as an insignium of the *praefectus urbis Romae*. It cannot be ruled out that the *kalamarion* mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies* is to be understood in the same way; in this context, however, it seems more likely that we have a reference to an officer of the pencil case[94].

According to the second protocol, the Eparch left Hagia Sophia at the end of the ceremony and went to the *Praitorion*, where he sat on his throne. There, the members of the order of the *Praitorion* and other citizens praised first the emperors and then acclaimed the Eparch. Afterwards the latter remounted his caparisoned horse and returned to his house, accompanied by the aforementioned entourage[95].

In this last part of the ceremony, the eparch was acclaimed by οἱ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς πόλεως, identified by Dagron as his staff, the members of the order of the *Praitorion*,

Fig. 4a-b The *praefectus praetorio Orientis* Domitius Modestus seated on a chair during the trial of Basil the Great. – (Photos a after Galvaris, Illustrations XXXI fig. 160 = Panteleimon Monastery, Mount Athos, Codex 6, fol. 140ʳ. – b Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Codex Coislin 239, fol. 104ᵛ).

89 On his return from the procession to the Church of St. Mokios on Mid-Pentecost, the emperor rode on a white horse, whose gilded saddle and bridle were decorated with precious stones, enamel pieces and pearls (Const. VII., De cerim. lib. 1.26; I, 195: […] καὶ ἱππεύει ἐκεῖσε ἐφ᾽ ἵππου λευκοῦ ἐστρωμένου ὑπὸ σελλοχαλίνου χρυσοῦ διαλίθου χειμευτοῦ, ἠμφιεσμένου ἀπὸ μαργάρων […]).

90 So for example on fols. 22ᵛ, 45ᵛ, 54ʳ, 55ᵛ (bottom), 86ʳ (top).

91 See for example fols. 54ʳ, 55ᵛ, 86ʳ (top). The scarlet-coloured bridle of the emperor's horse is also mentioned explicitly in the text of John Scylitzes' *Synopsis Historion* at the occasion of Basil's (later Basil I) recapturing of the Emperor Michael III's (842-867) horse that had escaped during a hunting trip (Io. Scyl. Syn. hist. Basileios I, 8: […] διὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐφεστρίδα καὶ τὸν κοκκοβαφῆ χαλινὸν […]).

92 Reiske, Commentarius 285.

93 Vogt, Commentaire 80.

94 This seems more likely because the *kalamarion* is mentioned here standing in a row with the *taxaiotai* (these latter, according to Dagron, being the guard of the *Praitorion* [Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., V, 329]).

95 Const. VII., De cerim. lib. 1.61; II, 131-133: καὶ καβαλικεύει ὁ ὕπαρχος καὶ ἀπέρχεται ἐν τῷ Πραιτωρίῳ, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνελθόντος καὶ καθεσθέντος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ θρόνου, λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς πόλεως· »Ἄξιος, ἄξιος, ἄξιος, πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων«, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς τῆς εὐφημίας· ἐν δὲ τῇ τελευταίᾳ λέγουσιν· »καὶ τοῦ προβληθέντος.« Καὶ εἰθούτως πάλιν καβαλικεύει τὸ χίωμα καὶ ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ὀψικευόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προρρηθέντων.

and city functionaries[96]. With the Eparch's own staff of the *Praitorion*, we have another important group that gave its consent to his nomination. The *Praitorion*[97] was the building in which the Eparch administered his judgements. In the building, which had an adjoining prison, stood the elevated throne of the Eparch mentioned in the passage above. Given the source-critical difficulties[98], we do not know if the chair depicted in **figures 3-4b** actually represents the eparchial throne. However, since it is possible that the painters of these illuminations adapted the attire of the Praetorian Prefect of the East, Domitius Modestus, to the typical costume of the eleventh-century Eparch of Constantinople, they possibly adapted his chair to this effect as well.

In all three figures, the chair is depicted with a semi-circular footrest (*suppedion*). In **figures 3** and **4b** it is red[99], in **figures 3** and **4a** the lower part of the *suppedion* features a border of what could be precious stones. Although this is purely hypothetical, the chair depicted in **figures 3-4b** could represent the eparchial throne of the *Praitorion* and a *suppedion* could have belonged to it. It is unclear if the throne was counted among the Eparch's insignia. As in the case of the horse, however, it was an object that distinctively reflected his authority. Sitting on a throne was an ancient symbol of elevated status, of high dignitaries as well as supreme rulers. The eparchial throne might have reminded contemporary viewers of the emperor's throne. If the Eparch really used a *suppedion*, which also belonged to the insignia of the Byzantine emperors[100], this would have underlined that impression and again would have connected the Eparch to imperial authority.

The inauguration ceremonial and the insignia handed over in it distinctively displayed and communicated the authority and the high status of the Eparch's office to the audience of the ceremony and, possibly, to spectators beyond it. The acclamation or further demonstration of support by various individuals and groups of major importance was an important display of consent. This might have carried the character of symbolic legitimation by these groups and demonstrated their support of the new Eparch. Several insignia and other objects worn or used by the Eparch reflected his authority and high status, and they constituted a close link to imperial authority and that of other high dignitaries from the past. Important among

these objects were the *pelonion* and the *loros* that probably belonged to the Eparch's official insignia. Other important symbolic objects, whose status as insignia remains unclear, were his official caparisoned white horse and the elevated throne in the *Praitorion*.

The Festival of Lupercalia

Another ceremony featuring the Eparch was the so-called butcher's festival or Lupercalia. It derived from the ancient Roman feast of Lupercalia that was celebrated on fifteenth February and dedicated to the god Faun. In the Christian tradition, these festivities, which took place in the Hippodrome and included several chariot races, were celebrated at approximately the same time of the year as the ancient ones; they marked the end of the season of chariot-racing prior to Lent[101]. The dating of the protocol describing the Lupercalia ceremonies is uncertain; Bury, McCormick and Dagron suggested an origin during the reign of Michael III. The latter two assume a revision under Constantine VII[102]. This last revision implies that the protocol was still enacted in the tenth century. Another indication that this and other ceremonies in the Hippodrome were continued, even though in a stylised and antiquarian form, is the fact that the imperial box in the Hippodrome, the *Kathisma,* as well as the Covered Hippodrome were included within the walls of the palace district, built by Emperor Nicephorus II[103].

According to the protocol for the Lupercalia, four chariot races were held in the Hippodrome with the emperor watching the spectacle from his tribune at the *Kathisma*[104]. After the third race, the members of the city administration (*politeuma*) entered the racing track to cheer to the emperor. Then, on a signal, the Eparch joined them and went with them to the *Stama*, a Pi-shaped area immediately in front of the imperial *Kathisma*. Here, all of them made obeisance to the emperor. The Eparch remained there while the members of the city administration left the *Stama*, cheering the emperor once more on their way out. After that, the Eparch himself, on receiving a signal, left the *Stama* and returned to his place[105]. In this

96 Const. VII., De cerim. lib. 1.61; II, 132 n. 18.
97 On the *Praitorion*, see Berger, Patria 738-740 and Janin, Constantinople 165-169. A first building, located near the *Dominu emboloi*, fell into ruins at some point after 407. The new *Praitorion,* first mentioned around 425 and still in use in the eleventh century, was located at the *Mese* between the Milion and the Forum (Berger, Patria 739).
98 See n. 31.
99 **Fig. 4a** has not been accessible in colour.
100 Wessel/Piltz/Nicolescu, Insignien 450.
101 On this festival see, for example, Duval, Lupercales.
102 Bury, Book II, 434; McCormick, De Cerimoniis 596; Dagron/Flusin in Const. VII., De cerim. I, 122*. Dagron hypothesizes that Constantin VII restored this ceremony, which before had not been carried out for some time (Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., IV.1, 458).

103 Berger, Space 10, which is supported by Featherstone (Featherstone, Palace 58).
104 The *Kathisma*, the »Palace of the Hippodrome« (Dagron, Deroulement 119), included the tribune of the emperor as well as various other rooms. On the *Kathisma*, see e.g. Dagron, Deroulement 118-120 or Guilland, Kathisma.
105 Const. VII., De cerim. lib. 1, 82; II, 317: ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου βαΐου νεύει ὁ ἀκτουάριος ἀπὸ κελεύσεως μετὰ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, κρατῶν ἐγχείριον, τὸ πολίτευμα, καὶ ἀποκινεῖ ἐκ τὸ Διίππιν διὰ δύο. […] Καὶ κατελθόντες μέχρι τῶν Πρασίνων καμπτοῦ, ἑνοῦνται ἀμφότεροι καὶ λέγουσιν ἀπελατικοὺς τρεῖς μέχρι τοῦ Καθίσματος· Κατέρχεται δὲ καὶ ὁ ὕπαρχος πόλεως ἀπὸ κελεύσεως καὶ ἑνοῦται τῷ πολιτεύματι εἰς τὸν Χαλκόν, συνεισερχόμενος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τοῦ Στάματος, καὶ ποιοῦσι προσκύνησιν ἅπαντες ἐν τῷ Στάματι. […] Καὶ ἀνέρχονται ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας εὐφημοῦντες τὸν βασιλέα, […]. Καὶ ἐξέρχονται. Ὁ δὲ ὕπαρχος λαβὼν νεῦμα ἀπὸ κελεύσεως παρὰ τοῦ ἀκτουαρίου, εὐθέως ἀπὸ τοῦ Στάματος ἀνέρχεται ὅθεν κατῆλθεν […].

ceremony, the Eparch acted as the head of the city administration. His vast professional, administrative authority was distinctively displayed and communicated to the rest of the individuals taking part in the ceremonial, as well as to other spectators in the Hippodrome.

The Ceremony of the Eparch's Visit to St Romanos

A ceremony preceding the Easter festivities took place on Palm Sunday at the beginning of Great Week. It evolved around the Eparch's visit to the Church of the Holy Martyr Romanos[106]. The time of origin of this protocol is uncertain; Dagron assumed that it stems from the ninth century, Vogt opted for the time of Romanus I Lacapenus (920-944) or Constantine VII[107]. As Vogt points out, the mention of more than one emperor fits the reign of Constantine VII, suggesting that it either originated or was revised at that time.

According to the text, the faction of the Blue Deme received the Eparch at the Arch of the Milion[108], where they formed a guard of honour through which the Eparch passed, while the members of the Deme acclaimed him[109]. In their chants and praises to the prefect, the members of the Deme referred to the resurrection of Lazarus celebrated on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. The chants expressed, among other things, the wish that God who saved Lazarus should save the Eparch and bring him prosperity[110]. Afterwards, the Green Deme received the Eparch at the Church of St John the Theologian, and the Blue Deme met him again at the *Praitorion*, where they recited similar acclamations[111]. After that, the Eparch departed for the Church of St Romanos. Given that in the chants of the Demes Lazarus' salvation is referred to in connection with God's protection of the Eparch, Dagron sees the latter occupying the role of Lazarus himself[112]. In any case, with these acclamations the Demes once again displayed their support for the Eparch.

Ceremonial at the Imperial Banquets after Easter and Christmas

Imperial banquets that were held in the weeks after the ecclesiastical celebrations of the high church feasts of Easter and Christmas also counted among the important ceremonies in which the Eparch took part. At these banquets, the emperor was to dine with the highest title- and office-holders of the empire, as well as with some special guests that were explicitly chosen and invited for each day. The Eparch of Constantinople belonged to these particular guests. The detailed protocol for both banquet series is recorded in the treatise of Philotheus, included in the *Book of Ceremonies*, and dated to 899. As Oikonomides has pointed out, Philotheus recorded ceremonies that were contemporary and carried out in his time[113]. Book I, chapter 24 of the *Book of Ceremonies* confirms that the banquet in Renewal Week was still being carried out under Constantine VII[114]. The Christmas banquets are not mentioned elsewhere in the *Book of Ceremonies*. According to Featherstone, they were also carried out in the time of Constantine VII[115].

Although the banquet series took place in different locations, similarities between the various meals regarding the dates and special guests at the emperor's table can be observed. In both cases, the Eparch was invited on the sixth day after the feast, hence, in Renewal Week, the Saturday after Easter; for Christmas there was obviously not a fixed day of the week. In both cases, the special guests that were invited to the emperor's table on the days preceding the Eparch's invitation were the leaders of the four elite regiments of the *tagmata*, the *domestikos ton Scholon*, the *domestikos ton Exkoubiton*, the *droungarios tes Biglas* and the *domestikos ton Hikanaton*, as well as the Patriarch of Constantinople.

At the banquet following Easter, which took place in the *Chrysotriklinos*[116], the emperor and his guests dined at a gilded table at which thirty persons could be seated. The Eparch was invited as a special guest on the day after the *droungarios tes Biglas* and the *domestikos ton Hikanaton*, who were invited at the same time[117]. At the banquet following Christmas, which

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106 The church indicated here is subject of discussion. While Dagron sees here the more distant Church of St Romanos, located in the quarter of *ta Elebichou*, close to the gate of St Romanos (Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., IV.1, 464), Vogt suggests the church of the Myrelaion monastery, which was also dedicated to St Romanos. The complex of the Myrelaion monastery, that had been reconstructed by Romanus I, was located in close walking distance to the *Praitorion* (Vogt, Commentaire 182).

107 Dagron/Flusin in Const. VII., De cerim. I, 122*; Vogt, Commentaire 182.

108 This arch was located in close proximity to the Old Palace buildings (see e. g. Berger, Space 6).

109 Const. VII., De cerim. lib. 1.88; II, 341: Δέχονται οἱ τοῦ μέρους τῶν Βενέτων ἐν τῇ καμάρᾳ τοῦ Μιλίου καὶ τοῦ ὑπάρχου διερχομένου, ἀκτολογοῦσι ταῦτα, δηλονότι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ προπορευόμενοι·

110 Const. VII., De cerim. lib. 1.88; II, 341: Ὁ ἐγείρας Λάζαρον ἐκ τάφου τετραήμερον σώσει καὶ κατευοδώσει καὶ ἐνδυ-ναμώσει σε, […].

111 Const. VII., De cerim. lib. 1.88; II, 341: Καὶ εἴθούτως δέχεται τὸ μέρος τῶν Πρασίνων εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν Θε-ολόγον καὶ ἀκτολογοῦσι τὰ ὅμοια […]. Καὶ πάλιν δέχεται τὸ μέρος τῶν Βενέτων ἐν τῷ Πραιτωρίῳ καὶ ἀκτολογοῦσι τὰ ὅμοια […].

112 Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., IV.1, 463.

113 Oikonomides, Listes 71.

114 This chapter contains the description of the procession and the respective banquet on Friday of Renewal Week. The final note confirms that this ceremonial applies to the Saturday of Renewal Week, too. McCormick and Dagron date the chapter to the time of Michael III. They both stress a revision under Constantine VII, to whom Dagron especially ascribes the revision of the aforementioned final note (Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., IV.1, 231).

115 Featherstone, Palace 58.

116 This octagonal hall was the interface between the public parts of the palace and the private apartments of the emperor. In the tenth century, it became the centre of court life because the emperors shifted their residence from the older buildings on the Upper Terrace to the newer ones closer to sea level (Featherstone, Chrysotriklinos 833).

117 Philoth. Kletor. 209: Τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς αὐτῆς δεξιώσεως […] γίνεται κλητόριον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τρικλίνῳ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης. Καὶ συγκαλοῦνται εἰς ἑστίασιν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως τῶν μαγίστρων καὶ πατρικίων σὺν τῷ ὑπάρχῳ τῆς Πόλεως […], εἰσάγονται δὲ καὶ ἐξάγονται μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτῶν ἀλλαξιμάτων καὶ χλανιδίων.

was held in the *Triklinos* of the nineteen couches[118] in the Old Palace, the Eparch was to dine with the emperor the day after the Patriarch[119]. The protocol on both occasions mentions the participants wearing their specific ceremonial dress (*allaxima*). It can be assumed that the Eparch wore his typical attire. The fact that the Eparch received an invitation as a chosen guest to the very table of the emperor, immediately following such high secular and ecclesiastic office-holders as the leaders of the *tagmata* regiments and the Patriarch of Constantinople, displayed closeness to the emperor and underlined the high status of his office once more.

Ceremonial for the Birthday of Constantinople

The Eparch is recorded as participating in the festivities for the birthday of Constantinople on May 11, which included chariot races in the Hippodrome. Dagron and Vogt suggested that the protocol originates during the reign of Michael III[120]. Again, the inclusion of the imperial *Kathisma* of the Hippodrome in the walls of the palace area, built by Nicephorus II, indicates that the ceremony was still in use in the time of that emperor. According to the protocol, the preparations were made in the Hippodrome on the day before the races. This time, the Eparch replaced the emperor and acted in his place[121]. Sitting in the *Kathisma*, the Eparch occupied the place where the *aktouarios* usually stood. The *aktouarios* was the head of the couriers[122] of the Hippodrome and is characterised by Dagron as the »real Master of Ceremonies« in the Hippodrome ceremonial[123]. He served as intermediary between the emperor and the charioteers or the Demes in various situations[124] and usually sat among his subordinates on the imperial tribune of the *Kathisma* in close proximity to the imperial throne[125].

After the two Demes had paraded their horses and cheered the Eparch, he left the *Kathisma* for the race track. He carried the urn with the balls that determined the race tracks for the teams, which the two factions examined closely. Then, in front of all onlookers, the Eparch sealed the urn and handed it to the Silentiary who would draw the lots on the

following day[126]. His role in this symbolic act and his place in the *Kathisma* once more distinctively displayed his closeness to imperial authority.

In all the mentioned ceremonies, the authority and high status of the Eparch of Constantinople were repeatedly depicted and communicated. The Eparch's closeness to the emperor, in some cases even shown through his replacement of the ruler, is a recurring feature. Moreover, the ceremonies clearly referred to the Eparch's role as high administrator, as shown during the Lupercalia festival, when he publicly acted as the head of the city administration.

Concluding Remarks

Let us review to what extent the Eparch's ceremonies and insignia fulfilled the three preliminary criteria of public display that we mentioned at the beginning of this paper, namely the ability to depict the many facets of the authority in question; to reach a broad audience; and the possibility of repeated use.

As has been shown, the Eparch's ceremonies and insignia fulfilled these criteria to a wide extent. Even though normative sources on the ceremonies and insignia do not necessarily represent real practice, they do show models that conceivably influenced the representation of the Eparch during the Byzantine year. The ceremonies and the insignia were clearly tailored to fulfil the three criteria just mentioned.

Firstly, several features of the ceremonies and the insignia showed the great authority and the high status of the Eparch's office in a distinct and impressive way. Important ceremonial displays were the acclamation and the ceremonial confirmation of consent to the new office-holder by various individuals and groups of major importance, as well as the portrayal of his judicial and administrative competencies. Moreover, an important display in many of these ceremonies was the Eparch's distinct closeness to the emperor, which culminated in the Eparch occasionally replacing the ruler altogether. Several insignia and other objects used by the Eparch served as further indicators of his authority and high status, since they had the

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118 The emperor's table here had seats for exactly twelve persons, reminiscent of the twelve disciples.

119 Philoth. Kletor. 179: Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας τῶν αὐτῶν ἀκκουβίτων δεῖ ὑμᾶς εὐτρεπίζειν εἰς συνεστίασιν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης ἀνθυπάτους, πατρικίους, στρατηγοὺς, ὀφφικιαλίους σὺν τῷ ὑπάρχῳ τῆς Πόλεως […], φίλους δύο καὶ δέκα, εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξάγειν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀλλαξιμάτων […].

120 Dagron/Flusin in Const. VII., De cerim. I, 121*; Vogt, Commentaire 161. McCormick suggests the late-seventh/early-eighth century, but with heavy revisions (McCormick, De Cerimoniis 596).

121 Const. VII., De cerim. lib. 1.80; II, 288 n. 9; Guilland, Kathisma 284.

122 The couriers (κούρσωρες) of the Hippodrome were in charge of transmitting messages within the Hippodrome during the races (Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., V, 23).

123 Dagron in Const. VII., De cerim., V, 23.

124 He was, for example, in charge of handing the awards to victorious charioteers on behalf of the emperor (e. g. a gold seal (φακτίων) or a special tunic, a silver helmet and a girdle, see Const. VII., De cerim., lib. 1.78, II, 243, 247.

125 Guilland, Kathisma 284.

126 Const. VII., De cerim. lib. 1.79; II, 267-269: Ὁ δὲ ὕπαρχος καθέζεται ἐπὶ σελλίου ἐν τῷ Καθίσματι, ἔνθα ὁ ἀκτουάριος ἵσταται. Μετὰ δὲ τῆς εὐφημίας τῶν δύο μερῶν, εὐφημοῦσιν οἱ τοῦ λογείου, καὶ ἀπαναχωροῦσιν οἱ ἵπποι, εἶτα κατέρχεται ὁ ὕπαρχος καὶ ἵσταται ἡ τέντα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ κριτάρια ἀπέναντι τοῦ τεταρτοθύρου· καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ἐκεῖσε τὰ ἀμφότερα μέρη, εἰσφέρει ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν τὴν ὄρναν καὶ βλέπονται παρὰ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων μερῶν τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ βόλια ἀκριβῶς, καὶ ἀσφαλισάμενος αὐτὰ ἐπὶ πάντων ὁ ὕπαρχος, παραδίδωσι σελεντιαρίῳ τῷ μέλλοντι τῇ ἑξῆς κυλίσαι.

same origins as or a strong resemblance to the imperial insignia, or derived from objects that had been used by high dignitaries in the past.

Secondly, the ceremonies as well as the insignia examined here had, at least in theory, a broad audience. The ceremonies were not only received by their participants but also by additional spectators from the whole city, for example in the streets and in the Hippodrome. The Eparch used his insignia not only during these ceremonies, but also in his everyday business. When administering justice, giving orders to the city administration or executing orders of the emperor, in short when attending to official matters of any kind, he wore his characteristic official attire. While executing legal matters, he sat on his throne in the *Praitorion*, and he probably often moved around on his horse while on duty. In these ways he exposed his insignia to a wide range of people.

Thirdly, the ceremonies and insignia could be and were used constantly or at least repeatedly, and they were easily recognizable. Every time the Eparch acted in an official capacity, he used his insignia and other important objects, above all his attire, his caparisoned horse and his throne. The ceremonies took place repeatedly during the year (with the exception of the inauguration, which was a one-time event for an office-holder). On all these occasions, the Eparch's multi-faceted authority was repeatedly depicted and communicated.

We may conclude in sum that the Eparch's ceremonies and insignia were very well suited for the communication of his authority to the public. They will have played a significant role in achieving and strengthening his authority with this audience.

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