

IN HONOREM

6

**ΑΝΤΙΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ
ΕΠΙΣΦΡΑΓΙΣΙΣ**

Юбилеен сборник

в чест на 70-годишнината

на проф. д.и.н. Иван Йорданов

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ШУМЕНСКИ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ
„ЕПИСКОП КОНСТАНТИН ПРЕСЛАВСКИ”
НАУЧЕН ЦЕНТЪР ПО ВИЗАНТИНИСТИКА

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ШУМЕН
2019



KONSTANTIN PRES LAVSKY
UNIVERSITY OF SHUMEN

CENTER FOR BYZANTINE STUDIES

IN HONOREM

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**ΑΝΤΙΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ
ΕΠΙΣΦΡΑΓΙΣΙΣ**

A tribute to Prof. Ivan Jordanov's

70th anniversary

SHUMEN
2019

СЪДЪРЖАНИЕ

CONTENTS

СЪКРАЩЕНИЯ.....	15
ABBREVIATIONS	15
СПИСЪК НА АВТОРИТЕ	17
LIST OF THE CONTRIBUTORS.....	17
<i>Женя ЖЕКОВА</i>	22
ПЪРВИТЕ 70!	
<i>Zhenya ZHEKOVA</i>	26
THE FIRST SEVENTY YEARS!	
<i>Камен АНДОНОВ</i>	30
ВИЗАНТИЙСКИТЕ ИМПЕРАТОРСКИ ПЕЧАТИ ОТ БЪЛГАРИЯ – ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛНАТА ЧАСТ ОТ БЪЛГАРСКАТА СФРАГИСТИЧНА КОЛЕКЦИЯ. ПРИНОСЪТ НА ИВАН ЙОРДАНОВ	
<i>Kamen ANDONOV</i>	30
BYZANTINE IMPERIAL SEALS FROM BULGARIA – THE REPRESENTATIVE PART OF THE BULGARIAN SPHRAGISTIC COLLECTION. THE CONTRIBUTION OF IVAN JORDANOV	
<i>Димчо МОМЧИЛОВ</i>	48
АКВЕ КАЛИДЕ, СРЕДНОВЕКОВНИТЕ ПЕЧАТИ И ИВАН ЙОРДАНОВ	
<i>Dimcho MOMCHILOV</i>	48
AQUAE CALIDAE, THE MEDIEVAL SEALS AND IVAN JORDANOV	
<i>Камен АНДОНОВ</i>	53
БИБЛИОГРАФИЯ НА ИВАН ЙОРДАНОВ	
<i>Kamen ANDONOV</i>	53
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF IVAN JORDANOV	
<i>Живко АЛАДЖОВ</i>	75
ОЩЕ ЕДИН ПЕЧАТ ОТ ОБЕКТ „УЛИЦА“ ВЪВ ВЕЛИКИ ПРЕСЛАВ	
<i>Zhivko ALADZHOV</i>	75
ONE MORE SEAL FROM “ULITSA SITE” IN VELIKI PRES LAV	

<i>Николай АЛЕКСЕЕНКО</i>	78
ТРИ ПЕРСОНАЖА ВИЗАНТИЙСКИХ ХРОНИК XI В. И НАХОДКИ ИХ МОЛИВДОВУЛОВ В БОЛГАРСКИХ ЗЕМЛЯХ	
<i>Nikolay ALEKSEYENKO</i>	78
THREE CHARACTERS OF ELEVENTH-CENTURY BYZANTINE CHRONICLES AND THE MOLYBDOBOULLA THEY FOUND IN BULGARIAN LANDS	
<i>Георги АТАНАСОВ</i>	91
БРОНЗОВА МАТРИЦА С АРХАНГЕЛ МИХАИЛ ОТ XI В. ДО КАТЕДРАЛНАТА ЦЪРКВА НА ДЪСТЪР/ СИЛИСТРА (КЪМ АРХАНГЕЛСКАТА ИКОНОГРАФИЯ)	
<i>Georgi ATANASOV</i>	91
BRONZE MATRIX WITH THE IMAGE OF ARCHANGEL MICHAEL OF 11 TH CENTURY FOUND NEAR THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF DRUSTAR / SILISTRA (ON ARCHANGEL'S ICONOGRAPHY)	
<i>Gert BOERSEMA und Alexandra-Kyriaki WASSILIOU-SEIBT</i>	108
SELTENE HEILIGE UND EINE BIBLISCHE SZENE AUF BYZANTINISCHEN SIEGELN EINER NIEDERLÄNDISCHEN PRIVATSAMMLUNG	
<i>Gert БОРСЕМА и Александра-Кириаки ВАСИЛИУ-ЗАЙБТ</i>	108
РЕДКИ ИЗОБРАЖЕНИЯ НА СВЕТЦИ И БИБЛЕЙСКА СЦЕНА ВЪРХУ ВИЗАНТИЙСКИ ПЕЧАТИ ОТ ХОЛАНДСКА ЧАСТНА КОЛЕКЦИЯ	
<i>Надежда БОТЕВА</i>	122
ОПИТ ЗА ИДЕНТИФИЦИРАНЕ НА ИМЕТО НА РАННО- ВИЗАНТИЙСКАТА КРЕПОСТ КРАЙ ГРАД СЕВЛИЕВО (ΑΣΓΙΖΟΥΣ , ΑΓΟΥΡΕΙΝΟΥ, ΑΓΡΙΖΙΝΟΥС, ИГРИЗИНУС)	
<i>Nadezhda BOTEVA</i>	122
AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY THE NAME OF THE EARLY BYZANTINE FORTRESS NEAR THE TOWN OF SEVLIEVO (ΑΣΓΙΖΟΥΣ , ΑΓΟΥΡΕΙΝΟΥ, AGRIZINUS, IGRIZINUS)	
<i>Vera BULGURLU</i>	129
A SELECTION OF UNPUBLISHED BYZANTINE LEAD SEALS FROM THE ADNAN ACI COLLECTION RELATED TO THE EAST	
<i>Vera БУЛГУРЛУ</i>	129
ПОДБРАНИ НЕПУБЛИКУВАНИ ВИЗАНТИЙСКИ ОЛОВНИ ПЕЧАТИ ОТ КОЛЕКЦИЯТА ADNAN ACI, СВЪРЗАНИ С ИЗТОКА	

<i>Дочка</i> ВЛАДИМИРОВА – АЛАДЖОВА	145
ОЛОВНИ ПЕЧАТИ ОТ АНТИЧНА СЕРДИКА (ОБЕКТ “ВЕСЛЕЦ” 13)	
<i>Dochka</i> VLADIMIROVA – ALADZHOVA	145
LEAD SEALS FROM ANCIENT SERDIKA (“VESLETS SITE” 13)	
<i>Pantelis</i> CHARALAMPAKIS	150
ΚΟΥΝΙΣΣΑ: Α ΝΑΡΑΧ ΤΕΝΤH-CENTURY IMPERIAL TITLE	
<i>Пантелис</i> ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΑΚΙΣ	150
ΚΟΥΝΙΣΣΑ: ΧΑΠΑΚС-ΙΜΠΕΡСКА ТИТЛА ОТ Х ВЕК	
<i>Jean-Claude</i> CHEYNET	163
SAUVÉS DE L’OUBLI PAR LEURS BULLES: LES MARCHAPSAVOI	
<i>Жан-Клод</i> ШЕЙНЕ	163
СПАСЕНИ ОТ ЗАБРАВА ЧРЕЗ ТЕХНИТЕ ПЕЧАТИ: МАРХАПСАБИТЕ	
<i>Viktor</i> CHKHAIDZE and Andrey VINOGRADOV	182
THE SEAL OF KONSTANTINOS, THE SON OF THE PROTOPROEDROS AND EXOUSIOKRATOR OF ALL ALANIA (ABOUT 1065 – 1075)	
<i>Виктор</i> ЧХАИДЗЕ и Андрей ВИНОГРАДОВ	182
ПЕЧАТ НА КОНСТАНТИН, СИН НА ПРОТОПРОЕДЪРА И ЕКСУСИОКРАТОР НА ЦЯЛА АЛАНИЯ	
<i>Красимир</i> ВЕЛКОВ	194
КЪСНОАНТИЧНИ И СРЕДНОВЕКОВНИ МОНЕТИ ОТ СРЕДНОВЕКОВНИЯ ГРАД ВЕРДИЦА (ТВЪРДИЦА) И НЕГОВАТА ОКОЛНОСТ	
<i>Krasimir</i> VELKOV	194
LATE ANTIQUE AND MEDIEVAL COINS FROM THE MEDIEVAL TOWN OF VERDITSA /TVARDICA/ AND THE SURROUNDING AREA	
<i>Павел</i> ГЕОРГИЕВ	205
НАДПИСЪТ ОСТРО БОГОИН ЗА ИСТОРИЯТА НА СРЕДНОВЕКОВНИЯ ШУМЕН	
<i>Pavel</i> GEORGIEV	205
THE INSCRIPTION ОСТРО БОГОИН FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL SHUMEN	

<i>Георги ГЕРОВ</i>	228
ИЗОБРАЖЕНИЕ НА ТЕТРАМОРФ ОТ ЦЪРКВАТА В ДИВОТИНСКИЯ МАНАСТИР	
<i>Georgi GEROV</i>	228
AN IMAGE OF TETRAMORPH FROM THE CHURCH IN THE DIVOTINIAN MONASTERY	
<i>Васил ГЮЗЕЛЕВ</i>	242
ТО ДЕУТЕРОН В ЦАРИГРАД И ТРИБУТА, ИЗПЛАЩАН ТУК НА БЪЛГАРСКИЯ ХАН ТЕРВЕЛ	
<i>Vasil GUZELEV</i>	242
TO DEUTERON IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE TRIBUTE, PAID TO THE BULGARIAN KHAN TERVEL	
<i>Стела ДОНЧЕВА и Николай НИКОЛОВ</i>	247
ПЕЧАТИ С РЯДКА ИКОНОГРАФИЯ ОТ ТЕРИТОРИЯТА НА БЪЛГАРИЯ	
<i>Stella DONCHEVA and Nikolay NIKOLOV</i>	247
SEALS WITH RARE ICONOGRAPHY FROM THE TERRITORY OF BULGARIA	
<i>Мирослава ДОТКОВА</i>	254
МОНЕТА НА PRYMNESSUS, PHRYGIA ОТКРИТА В AQUAE CALIDAE	
<i>Miroslava DOTKOVA</i>	254
A COIN OF PRYMNESSUS, PHRYGIA, FOUND IN AQUAE CALIDAE	
<i>Esra Guzel ERDOGAN and Vivien PRIGENT</i>	258
BYZANTINE LEAD SEALS FROM SOUTH-EASTERN TURKEY: NEW EXHIBITS IN THE MUSEUMS OF ADANA AND MARAS	
<i>Езра Гюзел ЕРДОГАН и Вивиан ПРИЖОН</i>	258
ВИЗАНТИЙСКИ ОЛОВНИ ПЕЧАТИ ОТ ЮГОИЗТОЧНА ТУРЦИЯ: НОВИ ПОСТЪПЛЕНИЯ ОТ МУЗЕЙТЕ ADANA И MARAS	
<i>Женя ЖЕКОВА</i>	271
ПЕЧАТ НА ЙОАН КОМНИН, БАЩА НА ИМПЕРАТОР АЛЕКСИЙ I КОМНИН	
<i>Zhenya ZHEKOVA</i>	271
A SEAL OF JOHN COMNENUS, FATHER OF EMPEROR ALEXIUS I COMNENUS	

<i>Илия Г. ИЛИЕВ</i>	279
ЮГОЗАПАДНИТЕ БЪЛГАРСКИ ЗЕМИ В ОГЛЕДАЛОТО НА NARRATIO ATHONENSIS AD ANNUM MCCXXXV	
<i>Илија Г. ILIEV</i>	279
THE SOUTHWEST BULGARIAN LANDS IN THE MIRROR OF NARRATIO ATHONENSIS AD ANNUM MCCXXXV	
<i>Janja Dora IVANČIĆ</i>	289
BYZANTIUM AND BULGARIA – A STUDY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF BULGARIA 1018 – 1081	
<i>Жаня Дора ИВАНЧИЧ</i>	289
ВИЗАНТИЯ И БЪЛГАРИЯ – ПРОУЧВАНЕ НА АДМИНИСТРАЦИЯТА НА БЪЛГАРИЯ 1018 – 1081	
<i>Милияна КАЙМАКАМОВА</i>	313
ЗАЩО ЦАР СИМЕОН (893 – 927) И ПРЕСЛАВСКИТЕ КНИЖОВНИЦИ СА ПРОЯВЯВАЛИ ИНТЕРЕС КЪМ ВИЗАНТИЙСКИТЕ УНИВЕРСАЛНИ ХРОНИКИ?	
<i>Miliyana KAUMAKAMOVA</i>	313
WHY TSAR SIMEON (893 – 927) AND PRESLAV WRITERS WERE INTERESTED IN BYZANTINE UNIVERSAL CHRONICLES?	
<i>Maria-Evgenia KOUROUSIA and Yorka NIKOLAOU</i>	336
“PATRIKIOS USES THIS IN GOOD HEALTH”. A BIZARRE EARLY-BYZANTINE OBJECT	
<i>Мария-Евгения КУРУСИЯ и Йорка НИКОЛАУ</i>	336
“ПАТРИКИОС ИЗПОЛЗВА ТОВА В ДОБРО ЗДРАВЕ”. НЕОБИЧАЕН РАННО-ВИЗАНТИЙСКИ ПРЕДМЕТ	
<i>Николай КЪНЕВ и Деян РАБОВЯНОВ</i>	340
ВИЗАНТИЙСКИ ОЛОВЕН ПЕЧАТ ОТ КРЕПОСТТА БУЗОВО КАЛЕ	
<i>Nikolay KANEV and Deyan RABOVYANOV</i>	340
A BYZANTINE LEAD SEAL FROM BUZOVO KALE FORTRESS	
<i>Ergün LAFLI and Werner SEIBT</i>	346
FIVE BYZANTINE LEAD SEALS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D. FROM MARMARIS IN CARIA (SOUTHWESTERN TURKEY) WITH TWO APPENDICES	
<i>Ергюн ЛАФЛИ, Вернер ЗАЙБТ</i>	346
ПЕТ ВИЗАНТИЙСКИ ПЕЧАТА ОТ VII ВЕК ОТ МАРМАРИС В КАРИА (ЮГОЗАПАДНА ТУРЦИЯ) С ДВЕ ПРИЛОЖЕНИЯ	

<i>Igor</i> ЛАЗАРЕНКО	356
МОЛИВДОВУЛИ ОТ СРЕДНОВЕКОВНИЯ ГРАД ПЕТРИН	
<i>Igor</i> LAZARENKO	356
MOLYBDOBULLA FROM THE MEDIEVAL TOWN OF PETRIN	
<i>Eleni</i> ЛИАНТА	369
LATIN IMITATIVE BILLON TRACHEA ISSUED IN THE MINT OF THESSALONICA (1204 – 1224)	
<i>Eleni</i> ЛИАНТА	369
ЛАТИНСКИ ИМИТАЦИИ НА BILLON TRACHEA ОТ МОНЕТАРНИЦАТА НА СОЛУН (1204 – 1224)	
<i>Alexandru</i> MADGEARU	380
„SCYTHIAN” AND „DACIAN” MILITARY MEN IN EGYPT, PALESTINE AND ITALY IN THE 6 TH – 7 TH CENTURIES	
<i>Aleksandru</i> МАДЖЕРУ	380
„СКИТСКИ” И „ДАКСКИ” ВОЙНИЦИ В ЕГИПЕТ, ПАЛЕСТИНА И ИТАЛИЯ ПРЕЗ VI – VII ВЕК	
<i>Robert</i> МИHAJLOVSKI	393
BYZANTINE SEALS FROM THE MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT OF VAROŠ, PRILEP	
<i>Robert</i> МИХАЙЛОВСКИ	393
ВИЗАНТИЙСКИ ПЕЧАТИ ОТ СРЕДНОВЕКОВНОТО СЕЛИЩЕ ВАРОШ, ПРИЛЕП	
<i>Пламен</i> ПАВЛОВ	403
ГРУЗИНЦИ И АЛАНИ В БЪЛГАРО-ВИЗАНТИЙСКИТЕ ВОЙНИ В КРАЯ НА XII – НАЧАЛОТО НА XIII ВЕК	
<i>Plamen</i> PAVLOV	403
GEORGIANS AND ALANS IN THE BULGARIAN-BYZANTIAN WARS AT THE END OF THE XII – EARLY XIII CENTURY	
<i>Иля</i> ПРОКОПОВ	410
ЕКЗОТИЧНИ МОНЕТИ ИЛИ НЕПРОУЧЕН ИЗВОР ЗА ИСТОРИЯТА НА ТРАКИЯ ПРЕЗ III – I в. пр. Хр.	
<i>Иля</i> ПРОКОРОВ	410
EXOTIC COINS OR AN UNEXPLORED SOURCE OF THE THRACIAN HISTORY IN III – I c. BC	

<i>Боряна</i> РУСЕВА	420
ЗА ПОСТУМНИТЕ АЛЕКСАНДРОВКИ СЪС СИМВОЛ <i>ФАКЕЛ</i> , СЕЧЕНИ В МАКЕДОНИЯ ОК. 280/9 – 277/6 Г. ПР.ХР. ИЛИ ПО- КЪСНО	
<i>Boryana</i> RUSSEVA	420
ON ALEXANDER'S COINS WITH A TORCH CUT IN MACEDONIA CA. 280/279 – 277/276 BC OR LATER	
<i>Werner</i> SEIBT	431
SOME SEALS OF BYZANTINE PROFESSIONAL MEN	
<i>Вернер</i> ЗАЙБТ	431
ПЕЧАТИ НА ВИЗАНТИЙСКИ ЗАНАЯТЧИИ	
<i>Веселин</i> СТАНКОВ	442
МОЛИВДОВУЛ С ТОПОНИМА ФЛОРЕНЦИЯ ОТ ЗЕМЛИЩЕТО НА ОБЩИНА АСЕНОВГРАД	
<i>Veselin</i> STANKOV	442
A SEAL WITH THE TOPONYM OF FLORENCE FROM ASENOVGRAD MUNICIPALITY	
<i>Валерий</i> СТЕПАНЕНКО	446
К ИКОНОГРАФИИ СВЯТЫХ ВОИНОВ В ВИЗАНТИИ. СВ. АНДРОНИК	
<i>Valeriy</i> STEPANENKO	446
ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF WARRIORS-SAINTS IN BYZANTIUM. SAINT ANDRONICUS	
<i>Светлозар</i> СТОЯНОВ	449
ПРЕСЛАВ КАТО ЛОГИСТИЧЕН ЦЕНТЪР НА ЙОАН I ЦИМИСХИЙ ПРИ ВОЕННИЯ ПОХОД ОТ 971 Г. ПРИНОСЪТ НА СФРАГИСТИ- КАТА	
<i>Svetlozar</i> STOYANOV	449
PRESLAV AS THE LOGISTICAL CENTRE OF JOHN I TZIMISCES DURING HIS MILITARY CAMPAIGN IN 971. THE CONTRIBUTION OF SIGILLOGRAPHY	
<i>Тодор</i> ТОДОРОВ	458
ВИЗАНТИЙСКИ ПЕЧАТИ ОТ АКВЕ КАЛИДЕ – ТЕРМОПОЛИС	
<i>Todor</i> TODOROV	458
BYZANTINE SEALS FROM AQUAE CALIDAE – TERMOPOLIS	

<i>Иво</i> ТОПАЛИЛОВ	465
ВЪРХУ ЕДИН АСПЕКТ НА ТОПОСНАТА ЛИТУРГИЯ В КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛ ПРЕЗ IV ВЕК	
<i>Ivo</i> TOPALILOV	465
ON ONE ASPECT OF THE STATIONAL LITURGY IN CONSTANTINOPLE IN 4 TH CENTURY	
<i>Константин</i> ТОТЕВ	482
ДВА ЗЛАТНИ ПРЪСТЕНА ПЕЧАТИ С ИНИЦИАЛИ ОТ КРЕПОСТТА ПРИ С. ГРАДНИЦА, СЕВЛИЕВСКО	
<i>Konstantin</i> TOTEV	482
TWO GOLD RING-SEALS WITH INITIALS FROM THE FORTRESS NEAR THE VILLAGE OF GRADNITZA, SEVLIEVO	
<i>Христо</i> ТРЕНДАФИЛОВ	489
ВЕЛИКОПРЕСЛАВСКИ НАНОСИ В ЛЕТОПИСНИЯ РАЗКАЗ ЗА ЯРОСЛАВ МЪДРИ	
<i>Hristo</i> TRENDAFILOV	489
GREAT PRESLEV'S DEPOSITS IN THE CHRONICLE ABOUT JAROSLAV THE WISE	
<i>Христо</i> ХАРИТОНОВ	496
НЕИЗВЕСТЕН ТИП МОНЕТА НА БЪЛГАРСКИ ХРИСТИЯНСКИ ХРАМ	
<i>Hristo</i> HARITONOV	496
AN UNKNOWN TYPE OF COIN OF A BULGARIAN CHRISTIAN CHURCH	

СЪКРАЩЕНИЯ ABBREVIATIONS

- АДСВ – Антична древност и средни векове*
АМ – Археологически музей
АОР – Археологически открития и разкопки
БИБ – Българска историческа библиотека
ВИС – Военно-исторически сборник
ВВр – Византийски временник
ГМСБ – Годишник на музеите в Северна България
ГИБИ – Гръцки извори за българската история
ГНАМ – Годишник на Народния археологически музей
ГНИМ – Годишник на Националния исторически музей
ГНМ – Годишник на Народния музей
ГСУ–НЦСВП - Годишник на Софийския университет – Научен център за славяно-византийски проучвания „Иван Дуйчев“
ЗООИД – Записки на Одеското общество за история и древности
ЗРВИ – Сборник на Радава на Византологическия институт
ИАИ – Известия на Археологическия институт
ИБАИ – Известия на Българския археологически институт
ИБИ – Извори за българската история
ИБИД – Известия на Българското историческо дружество
ИВАД – Известия на Варненското археологическо дружество
ИИБИ – Известия на Института за българска история
ИИД – Известия на историческото дружество
ИИИ – Известия на Института за история
ИИМВТ - Известия на Историческия музей – Велико Търново
ИИМШ – Известия на Историческия музей – Шумен
ИМЮИБ – Известия на музеите в Югоизточна България
ИНИМ – Известия на Националния исторически музей
ИНМБс – Известия на Народния музей – Бургас
ИНМВ – Известия на Народния музей – Варна
ИНМШ – Известия на Народния музей – Шумен
ИПр – Исторически преглед
ИРАИК – Известия на Руския археологически институт в Константинопол
ЛИБИ – Латински извори за българската история
МПК – Музеи и паметници на културата
НАИМ – Национален археологически институт и музей
НИМ – Национален исторически музей
РИМ – Регионален исторически музей

РП – Разкопки и проучвания

AA – Anatolia Antiqua, Varia Anatolica

ABulg. – Archaeologia Bulgarica

AJN – American Journal of Numismatics

ANS – American Numismatic Society

BAR – British Archaeological Reports

BBg – Byzantinobulgarica

BHR – Bulgarian Historical Review

Byz. – Byzantion

BZ – Byzantinische Zeitschrift

ByzSl. – Byzantinoslavica

CFHB – Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae

CH – Coin Hoards

CNG – Classical Numismatic Group

DOP – Dumbarton Oaks Papers

JÖB – Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

JRS – The Journal of Roman Studies

MN – Museum Notes

NC – Numismatic Chronicle

PBg – Palaeobulgarica

REB – Revue des études Byzantines

RESEE – Revue des études Sud-est européennes

RN – Revue Numismatique

SBS – Studies in Byzantine Sigillography

TIB – Tabula Imperii Byzantini

TM – Travaux et Memoire

YCS – Yale Classical Studies

Viktor Chkhaidze and Andrey Vinogradov

**THE SEAL OF KONSTANTINOS, THE SON OF THE
PROTOPROEDROS AND EXOUSIOKRATOR OF ALL ALANIA
(ABOUT 1065 – 1075)¹**

In 2015, during the excavations of the gate tower of Anakopia fortress in Abkhazia a Byzantine molybdoboullon was discovered, with the publication appearing soon afterwards². However, a major error in the reading and an incorrect interpretation of the historical context make necessary a re-publication of the seal (Fig. 1); diameter – 27 mm, thickness – approx. 4 mm, weight – 24,5 grams.

Obverse. Full figure of St. George, with a halo, beardless, with long wavy hair. The saint is armed and cloaked, with a belt over his right shoulder; in his right hand he is holding a spear, and his left hand is leaning on a shield with a sharp elongated umbo. On the sides there is a columnar inscription:

ΟΑ-ΓΙ-ΟC || ΓΕ-ΩΡ-ΓΙ-Ο = Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος(ς) – Saint George.

Reverse. A seven-line inscription in the rim:

+KĒR,Θ, | ΤΩCΩΔΘ, | ΚΩΝΤΩCΩ | ΤΗΑΠΡ,ΕΔΡ, | ΣΕΙΘC,ΚΡΑ |
ΤΩΡ,ΠΑCΗC | ΑΛΑΝΙ, | ∼ ∴ ∼ = † Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) | τῶ σῶ
δού(λω) | Κων(σταντίνω) τῶ υ(ί)ῶ | τοῦ (πρωτο)πρ(ο)έδρ(ου)
| (καί) ἔξουσ(ιο)κρά- | τωρ(ος) πάσης | Αλανί(ας) — † Lord,
help Your servant Konstantinos, the son of the protoproedros and
exousiokrator of all Alania.

The palaeography of the seal dates it to the 2nd half of the 11th century. From 1033, due to a conflict over the Georgian throne, Anakopia passed into the hands of the Empire and remained the centre of the *theme* of “Soterioupolis and Anakopia”³, withstanding the Georgian siege in 1044 –

¹ The results of the project *Cultural Exchange and its paradigms in the Christian East in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* carried out within the framework of the Basic Research Program at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE) in 2019 are presented in this work. The authors are grateful to Maksim Korobov for re-reading the English text.

² **Аргун, А. Г.** Вислая печать из привратной башни Анакопийской крепости. – В: VI «Анфимовские чтения» по археологии Западного Кавказа. Проблемы изучения погребального обряда народов Западного Кавказа в древности и средневековье. Краснодар, 2016. с. 4–8. Рис. 2, 1.

³ **Seibt, W., I. Jordanov.** Στρατηγὸς Σωτηρουπόλεως καὶ Ἀνακουπίας. Ein mittelbyzantinisches Kommando in Abchazien (11. Jahrhundert) – *SBS*, 9, 2006, 234–235.

1045, until shortly after 1074 it was restored to the Georgian king Giorgi II (1072 –1089)⁴. The appearance of an 11th-century Byzantine seal in Anakopia should be linked to the period of the *theme*, because afterwards the fortress lost its political importance and was not mentioned in the sources for a long time.

In A. Argun’s publication, the word υ(ι)ῶν “son” (dat.) is omitted, and the seal is attributed to the *exousiokrator* of Alania named Konstantinos, that caused an erroneous historical interpretation of the find by the publisher. Let us turn to the persons named on the seal: “the protoproedros and exousiokrator of all Alania” and his son Konstantinos.

Konstantinos of Alania. John Skylitzes mentions in 1045 the commander of the Byzantine troops at Dvin, the *magistros* Konstantinos Alanos⁵; in 1047 he was the *strategos* of the troops stationed in Iberia⁶. Apparently, this is the same *proedros* Konstantinos Alanos whose name is engraved in a circular inscription († Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Κωνσταντίνῳ προέδρῳ τῶ Ἀλανῶ) on the bottom of the 11th c. silver bowl from the treasure in Tatar Pazardzhik (Bulgaria)⁷. A personal seal of Konstantinos Alanos, without any title (from the 2nd half of the 11th century), originates from the fortress of Petrich (modern Asenovgrad in Bulgaria)⁸. Furthermore, in the Dumbarton Oaks collection there is another personal seal of Konstantinos Alanos, without a title, and a seal of a *proedros* from the family of Alanoi: both molybdoboulla are dated to the 2nd quarter of the 11th century⁹.

⁴ *The Georgian Chronicles of Kartlis Tskhovreba (A History of Georgia)*. Ed. by R. Metreveli. Tbilisi, 2014. 154.29–35, 156.5–8, 163.29–30; **Белецкий, Д. В., А. Ю. Виноградов.** Храмовая архитектура Анакопийской крепости. – В: *Искусство Абхазского царства VIII–XI веков. Христианские памятники Анакопийской крепости*. СПб., 2011, 82–84; **Seibt, W.** The Byzantine Thema of Soteriupolis–Anakopia in the 11th century. – *Bulletin of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences*, 6, № 2, 2012, 174–176.

⁵ **Ioannis Scylitzae.** *Synopsis Historiarum*. Editio Princeps. Rec. I. Thurn [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Vol. V]. Berlin, 1973. 437.37–38, 439.59; cf.: **Малахов, С. Н.** *Алания и Византия. Источниковедческие аспекты политических и церковных связей*. М., 2015, с. 158.

⁶ *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden Oströmisches Reiches von 563–1453*. 2. Teil. Bearb. von F. Dölger. 2 Aufl. München: C.H. Beck, 1995. № 882.

⁷ **Ballian, A., A. Drandaki.** A Middle Byzantine silver treasure. – *Μουσείον Μπενάκη*. Τόμ 3. Αθήνα, 2003. p. 65. Fig. 22.

⁸ **Jordanov, I.** *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Volume 1–3*, Sofia, 2003, 2006, 2009; Addenda et Corrigenda (2). – В: *България в европейската култура, наука, образование, религия*. Част 1. Шумен, 2015, 261–262. № 96 (1811a). Обр. 96

⁹ **Seibt, W.** Metropoliten und Herrscher der Alanen auf byzantinischen Siegeln des 10.–12. Jahrhunderts. – В: *Сфрагистика и история культуры. Сборник научных трудов, посвященный юбилею В.С. Шандровской*. СПб., 2004, S. 56, notes 48–49; **Jordanov, I.**

If our seal belonged to this Konstantinos Alanos, then, judging by the absence of any title, it should be dated to the early stage of his career, before 1045, but this is not likely for palaeographic and especially historical reasons (see below). There is also a possibility that Alanos here is not an ethnic, but a family name, because we know seals of many persons with this name:

Γρηγόρηος υἱός Δαυίδ (τῷ Ἀλανῶ) – Gregorios Alanos, son of David (10th century)¹⁰;

Σεργίῳ τοῦ Ἀλανοῦ – Sergios Alanos, *protospatharios* (1st half of the 11th c.)¹¹;

Νικέταν τὸν Ἀλανὸν – Niketas Alanos (2nd half of the 11th c.)¹²;

Γριγορίῳ τῷ Ἀλάνῳ – Gregorios Alanos (2nd half of the 11th c.), whose *cursus honorum* was as follows: *patrikios* and *strategos*¹³, *anthypatos* and *katepano*¹⁴, *protoproedros* and *dux*¹⁵;

Νικηφόρῳ τῷ Ἀλάνῳ – Nikephoros Alanos, *vestarchos* and *katepano* of Cherson and Chazaria (2nd half of the 11th c.)¹⁶;

Λεοντίῳ τοῦ Ἀλανοῦ – Leontios Alanos, *protospatharios* and *hypatos* (3rd quarter of the 11th c.)¹⁷;

Γεωργίου τῷ Ἀλανῶ – Georgios Alanos (last quarter of the 11th c.)¹⁸.

Although the above-mentioned Alanoi or their ancestors were, of course, of Alanic origin, their large number makes it unlikely that they all were the children of the Alanian *exousiokrator*. Therefore, the fact that the Byzantine military commander Konstantinos Alanos and the son of the *exousiokrator* of Alania have the same common name Konstantinos can be a

Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Volume 1 – 3, Sofia, 2003, 2006, 2009. Addenda et Corrigenda (2), c. 262.

¹⁰ Jordanov, I. *Corpus Of Byzantine Seals From Bulgaria*. Vol. 3. Sofia, 2009. pp. 602–603. № 1811.

¹¹ Campagnolo-Pothitou, M., J.-C. Cheynet. *Sceaux de la collection George Zacos au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève*. Milan, 2016. p. 218. № 193.

¹² Jordanov, I. *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Volume 1–3*; Addenda et Corrigenda (2), c. 262. № 97 (1812B). Обр. 97.

¹³ Jordanov, I. *Corpus Of Byzantine Seals From Bulgaria*. Vol. 2. Byzantine Seals with Family Names. Sofia, 2006, pp. 46–47. №№ 21–22.

¹⁴ Campagnolo-Pothitou, M., J.-C. Cheynet. *Sceaux de la collection George Zacos*, p. 102. № 84.

¹⁵ Seibt, W. *Metropolitan und Herrscher der Alanen*, S. 56. Note 47.

¹⁶ Алексеенко, Н. А., Ю. А. Цепков. Катепанат в Таврике: легендарные свидетельства или исторические реалии. – В: *Херсонесский сборник*, XVII, 2012, 8–10. Рис. 1

¹⁷ Campagnolo-Pothitou, M., J.-C. Cheynet. *Sceaux de la collection George Zacos*, p. 214. № 189.

¹⁸ Seibt, W. *Metropolitan und Herrscher der Alanen*, S. 56. Note 50.

coincidence. Also noteworthy is the fact that the latter bore not an Alanic, but a Christian name: something which is also attested for two of the Alan *exousiokratores*: David and Gabriel (see below). The fact that the owner of the Greek seal is only called a son of the *exousiokrator*, without a Byzantine title or rank of his own, shows that he was not in the service of the Empire, like the Alanian *exousiokratores* themselves, and presented himself on the molybdoboullon as a son and possibly an heir of an Alanian ruler independent of the Byzantine Empire.

“*Son of ...*”. An indication that the owner of the seal was a “son of ...” (υἱοῦ τοῦ ...; τῷ υἱῷ ...) on the Byzantine seals is not very common; however, it occurs, as in our case, in the abbreviated form without iota¹⁹. There are also seals where the owners give no indication of their titles and positions, but specify their family connections instead; most representative are the seals of the Komnenoi family²⁰. Particularly noteworthy is the seal of Ioannes Komnenos, the son of the *sebastokrator*, dated to 1081–1091 and originating from Simeiz in Crimea: Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ε)ι τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λω Ἰω(άννη) Κομνηνῷ τῷ υ(ι)ῷ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος²¹; the owner of the seal is Ioannes Komnenos (1073 – before 1136), a son of *protoproedros* and later *sebastokrator* Isaak Komnenos and Irene of Alania (see below), and a nephew of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118)²².

The closest parallel to our molybdoboullon is the seal of Irene the *protoproedrissa*, a daughter of the *exousiokrator* of Alania, found in Antioch (Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ε)ι τῇ σῇ δούλῃ Ἡρῆνῃ (πρωτο)προεδρί(σ)σα, τῇ θυγατρὶ τοῦ ἔξουσιοκράτορος) Ἀλλανίας). The seal is dated to 1072–1077, because during this time Irene’s husband Isaak Komnenos had the title of *protoproedros* and was sent as *dux* to Antioch. Irene’s seal was used for a joint letter (second imprint) together with the *kouropalates*

¹⁹ Zacos, G., A. Vegler. *Byzantine Lead Seals*. Vol. I. Basel, 1972, p. 1504. № 2713; Zacos, G. *Byzantine Lead Seals*. Vol. II. Berne, 1984, p. 442. № 1002; Stavrakos, Ch. *Die byzantinische Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen*. Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 405; Wassiliou, A-K., W. Seibt. *Die byzantinische Bleisiegel in Österreich*. 2. Teil. Zentral- und Provinzialverwaltung. Wien, 2004, S. 98, № 73; Wassiliou-Seibt, A-K. *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*. Teil 1. Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inclusive My. Wien, 2011, S. 614, № 1462.

²⁰ Шандровская, В. С. Родственные связи по данным византийских печатей – В: МОСХОВИА. Проблемы византийской и классической филологии. К 60-летию Б. Л. Фонкича. М, 2001, 474–478.

²¹ Алексеевко, Н. А. Печать аристократа Иоанна Комнина с Южного берега Крыма: новые данные к сфрагистической карте. – В: Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии. Том XVIII. Симферополь; Керчь, 2013, 405–410. Рис. 1.

²² See: Варζός, Κ. Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν. Τόμος I-II. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1984. Σ. 68–71, 174–176.

Michael Taronites, the husband of her sister-in-law²³. Nikephoros Bryennios²⁴ says that Irene was a daughter of the “archon of Alania” and a cousin (ἑξαδελφή)²⁵ of Maria of Alania²⁶, the wife of Michael VII Dukas (1071–1078)²⁷ and Nikephoros III Botaniates (1078–1081)²⁸, and a daughter of Borena, who was a sister of the Alan ruler Dorgholel; hence, Irene must have been a daughter of this “great king of the Ossetes”²⁹ (or, less likely, of

²³ **Theodoridis, D.** Ein byzantinisches Bleisiegel mit zwei Prägungen aus dem 11. Jahrhundert – *SBS*, 2, 1990, 61–65; **Cheyne, J.-C., D. Theodoridis.** *Sceaux byzantins de la collection D. Theodoridis. Les sceaux patronymiques.* Paris, 2010. pp. 210–211. № 201; **Шандровская, В. С.** Печать аланской принцессы. – В: *Spicilegium Byzantino-Rossicum. Сборник статей к 80-летию члена-корреспондента РАН И.П. Медведева.* М.; СПб., 2015, с. 339, 342–343. Ил. 2. In the collection of the Fogg Museum of Art, there is one more seal, made by another pair of matrices, of Irene the *protoproedriassa*, the daughter of the *exousiokrator* [of Alania] (**McGeer, E., Nesbitt, J., N. Oikonomides.** *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art.* Vol. 5. The East (continued), Constantinople and Environs, Unknown Locations, Addenda, Uncertain Readings. Washington, 2005, pp. 151–152. № 116.1).

²⁴ **Nicéphore Bryennios.** *Histoire.* Introduction, texte, traduction et notes par P. Gautier [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Vol. IX]. Bruxelles: Byzantion, 1975. 143.9–12, 183.5–14.

²⁵ Irene cannot be her niece (this is another meaning of the word ἑξαδελφή), because Maria’s brother and Bagrat’s son could hardly have become a ruler of the Alans. Even less probable is such a title for the Georgian king Giorgi II (contrary to *Prosopography of the Byzantine world*, Georgios 63); against this assumption speaks also the marriages of Irene and Maria that took place in the same year. It is also unclear on what basis W. Seibt (**Seibt, W.** *Metropolitan und Herrscher der Alanen*, S. 54) identifies her with the Alan *sebaste*, the mistress of Konstantinos IX Monomachos (1042 – 1055) (on her see: **Малахов, С. Н.** *Алания и Византия. Источниковедческие аспекты политических и церковных связей.* М., 2015, 149–153), because seventeen years passed between the latter’s death and 1072; according to the chronology she is more likely to be a daughter of the *exousiokrator* Gabriel.

²⁶ Her seal, dated to 1071 – 1081, is known: Μαρία εὐσε[βαστάτη αὐγούστα] (**Seibt, W.** *Zukunftsperspektiven der byzantinischen Siegelkunde – Auf welchen Gebieten sind die bedeutendsten Wissenszuwächse zu erwarten? // Ἦπειρόνδε.* Proceedings of the 10th International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography (Ioannina, 1.–3. October 2009). Ioannina, 2011. S. 30. Abb. 8).

²⁷ Their joint seal, dated to 1071–1078, is known (**Cheyne, J.-C., T. Gökyıldırım, V. Bulgurlu.** *Les sceaux byzantins du Musée Archéologique d’Istanbul.* İstanbul, 2012, 64–65. № 1.39).

²⁸ On her see: **Нодия, И. М.** Грузинские материалы о византийской императрице Марфе–Марии. – В: *Византиноведческие этюды.* Тбилиси, 1978, 146–155; **Цулая, Г. В.** *Абхазия и абхазы в контексте истории Грузии. (Домонгольский период).* М., 1995, 129–130; **Garland, L., S. Ripp.** Mary of “Alania”: woman and empress between two worlds. – In: *Byzantine women: varieties of experience 800 – 1200.* London, 2006, pp. 91–124.

²⁹ *The Georgian Chronicles of Kartlis Tskhovreba (A History of Georgia)*, 154.27–28, 161.37–40.

his brother, also a ruler of the Alans)³⁰.

Despite all the similarities of the two seals, up to the pair of titles “*protoproedros* and *exousiokrator*”, we should note one important difference: if Irene is called a “daughter of the *exousiokrator* of Alania”, Konstantinos is referred to as a “son of the *protoproedros* and *exousiokrator* of all Alania”, i.e. their anonymous father (or fathers) had different titles, both Byzantine and “Alanian”. This observation suggests that either we are dealing here with two different *exousiokratores* of Alania, or on Irene's seal the first title was omitted due to its status (but not date, see below) or lack of space (see also below).

Exousiokrator of Alania. *Exousiokrator* is an extraordinary but persistent Byzantine title of Alanian rulers from the mid-10th to the mid-12th c., introduced around 950 and first mentioned by Konstantinos Porphyrogenites³¹.

David, the *exousiokrator* of Alania, and Maria the *exoussiokratissa* are known from the building inscription of 965 in Senty church in Karachay-Cherkessia (Δα(υ)δ ἔξουσηωκράτορ(ος) Ἀλανίας κ(α)ὶ Μαρίας ἔξουσηωκρατορίσσης). Both, being apparently a married couple, do not occur in other sources³².

Long known is the seal of Gabriel, the *exousiokrator* of Alania, dated to 1030–1045 († Γαβριήλ ἔξουσιοκράτορ(ος) Ἀλανίας)³³. As the dating of the seal suggests, Gabriel was a predecessor (father?) of the above mentioned Dorgholel³⁴.

³⁰ **Белецкий, Д. В., А. Ю. Виноградов.** *Нижний Архыз и Сенты – древнейшие храмы России. Проблемы христианского искусства Алании и Кавказа.* М., 2011, с. 56; cf.: **Малахов, С. Н.** *Алания и Византия,* с. 82.

³¹ **Konstantinos Porphyrogenitus.** *De administrando imperio.* Ed. G. Moravcsik. 2nd edn. [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Vol. I = Dumbarton Oaks Texts. Vol. 1]. Washington (D.C.), 1967. 10, 11; **Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenete.** *Le Livre des ceremonies.* (Ch. 1–92). Edited A Vogt. Tome 1–2. Paris, 1935–1939. 48; **Малахов, С. Н.** Византийский титул правителя Алании. – В: *Славяне и их соседи. Имперская идея в странах Центральной, Восточной и Юго-Восточной Европы. Тезисы XIV конференции.* М., 1995, 19–20.

³² **Белецкий, Д. В., А. Ю. Виноградов.** *Нижний Архыз и Сенты,* с. 44, 241–245.

³³ **Schlumberger, G.** *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin.* Paris., 1884, pp. 429–431; **Лихачев, Н. П.** *Историческое значение итало-греческой иконописи. Изображения Богоматери в произведениях итало-греческих иконописцев и их влияние на композиции некоторых православных русских икон.* СПб., 1911, с. 77. Рис. 162; **Seibt, W.** Metropolit und Herrscher der Alanen, S. 54, Abb. 3; **Шандровская, В. С.** Печать аланской принцессы. – В: *Spicilegium Byzantino-Rossicum. Сборник статей к 80-летию члена-корреспондента РАН И. П. Медведева.* М.; СПб., 2015, 339–340. Ил. 3.

³⁴ **Белецкий, Д. В., А. Ю. Виноградов.** *Нижний Архыз и Сенты,* 54–55.

The Alanian *exousiokrator* Rosmikes (Ἀλανὸς Ῥωσμίκης ... τὸν ἐξουσιοκράτορα Ῥωσμίκην) is mentioned by Anna Komnina under 1107/8, when he, as an ally of the Emperor, participated in battles against the Normans in Epirus³⁵. We know Rosmikes' seal (of the early 12th c.), where he prefers to call himself with the high Byzantine title of *sebastos* († Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῶ σῶ δ(ούλω) σεβαστ(ῶ) ὁ Ῥοσμίκη(ς))³⁶. Probably, Rosmikes' Christian name was Andreas: on the obverse of the seal an image of the Apostle Andrew was placed³⁷.

The last mention of the title *exousiokrator* occurs on the mid-12th c. seal of Ioannes Chotesitanes, the *exousiokrator* of Alania (Ἰω(άννη) ἐξουσιοκράτορι Ἀλανίας τῶ Χοτεσιτάνη)³⁸. This person can be identified with Khuddan (Khudadan), the king of the Ossetes, mentioned under 1153/4³⁹, whose daughter Burdukhan (died in 1172) was married to the Georgian king Giorgi III (1156–1184)⁴⁰.

Πάσης. An analysis of the use of *πάσης* (gen. *πάσης*) before toponyms on Byzantine seals shows that throughout the late 10th – the first half of the 12th c. in the Empire there was a considerable variance in the designation of territories and regions on the seals of their rulers. On the one hand, the addition of *πάσης* before “West” (ἡ Δύσις), “East” (ἡ Ἀνατολή) (or both of them – *πάσης Ἀνατολικῶν καὶ Δύσεως*), Asia (*πάσης Ἀσίας*), Bulgaria (*πάσης Βουλγαρίας*) and Chazaria (*πάσης Χαζαρίας*) was linked to some extraordinary events in these territories that required not only the appointment of energetic functionaries there, but also the expansion of their powers, putting all the relevant *themes* under their control with the extensive involvement of administrative and military resources⁴¹.

³⁵ **Annae Comnenae.** *Alexias*. Editio Princeps. Recensuerunt D.R. Reinch et A. Kambylis [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Vol. XL]. Berlin, 2001. 400.41, 53.

³⁶ **Seibt, W.** *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*. 1. Teil. Kaiserhof. Wien, 1978. S. 311–312. № 170; **Idem.** *Metropoliten und Herrscher der Alanen*, S. 54–55. Abb. 4; **Seibt, W., M.-L. Zarnitz.** *Das byzantinischen Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk. Katalog zur Ausstellung*. Wien, 1997. S. 133–135. № 3.2.11.

³⁷ **Белецкий, Д. В., А. Ю. Виноградов.** *Нижний Архыз и Сенты*, 56–57; **Малахов, С. Н.** *Алания и Византия*, с. 77.

³⁸ **Seibt, W.** *Metropoliten und Herrscher der Alanen*, S. 55, Abb. 5.

³⁹ *The Georgian Chronicles of Kartlis Tskhovreba (A History of Georgia)*, 228.22–23.

⁴⁰ **Белецкий, Д. В., А. Ю. Виноградов.** *Нижний Архыз и Сенты*, 59–60; **Малахов, С. Н.** *Алания и Византия*, с. 145.

⁴¹ **Чхаидзе, В. Н.** *«Хазария» XI века: к вопросу о локализации (по данным византийских моливдовулов)*. М., 2016, 17–20.

On the other hand, outside the Empire the use of this epithet may vary. So, the Metropolitan title πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας⁴² simply points to the power of its bearer over the entire newly established Ugrovalachian Metropolitan see. On the contrary, the title πάσης Ῥωσίας appears on the seal of the Prince Vsevolod Yaroslavich probably after the collapse of the “triumvirate of Yaroslav’s sons” and consolidation of his power in Kiev in 1076⁴³, and on the seals of the Metropolitans of Kiev from Konstantinos II (1167–1169), who finally resolved the split of the Russian Church provoked by the “non-canonical” election of Klim Smolyatich⁴⁴. In this context, we should assume that the title of “the exousiokrator of all Alania” indicates a previous division of Alania at least in two parts, which is indeed visible in the 12th c.⁴⁵. The problem, however, is that both before and after the 2nd half of the 11th c., to which the seal from Anakopia belongs, all Alanian rulers were titled in their inscriptions and on their seals (until the mid-12th c.) simply “the exousiokrator of Alania”, without adding the word “all”: David and Gabriel before it, Rosmikes and Ioannes Chotesitanes after it, and Irene's father during the same time.

This situation is complicated by two more circumstances. Firstly, in the acts of the Council of Constantinople of 1347 there is such a signature of the Metropolitan of Alania: Ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης πάσης Ἀλανίας καὶ Σωτηριουπόλεως καὶ ὑπέριμος Λαυρέντιος “The humble Metropolitan of all Alania and Soterioupolis and hypertimos Laurentios”⁴⁶.

⁴² *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*. 3. Teil. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1363. Hrsg. von J. Koder, M. Hiterberger, O. Kresten [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Vol. XIX/3]. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001. 414.59, 416.80.

⁴³ **Zacos, G., A. Veglery.** *Byzantine Lead Seals*. Vol. I. Basel, 1972, p. 1474. № 2694; **Nesbitt, J., N. Oikonomides.** *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*. Vol. 1. Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea. Washington, 1991, p. 192. № 85.1; **Янин, В. Л., П. Г. Гайдуков.** *Актовые печати Древней Руси X – XV вв. Том III. Печати, зарегистрированные в 1970 – 1996 гг.* М., 1998, 20–21, 114. № 22а.

⁴⁴ **Laurent, V.** *Le Corpus des sceaux de l’Empire Byzantin. Tome V: L’église*. Paris, 1963, 606–607. № 790; **Янин, В. Л.** *Актовые печати Древней Руси X–XV вв. Том I. Печати X – начала XIII в.* М., 1970, 49–52, 175–176. № 51.1-3; **Янин, В. Л., П. Г. Гайдуков.** *Древнерусские вислые печати, зарегистрированные в 2000 г. – Новгород и Новгородская земля. История и археология*. 15, 2001, с. 182, № 51.4; **Idem.** *Древнерусские вислые печати, зарегистрированные в 2002 г. – Новгород и Новгородская земля. История и археология*. 17, 2003, с. 354. № 51.5; cf.: **Купранис, А. А.** *Датированные печати иерархов Русской церкви (домонгольский период) – Церковная археология*. 4, 1998, с. 155.

⁴⁵ **Белецкий, Д. В., А. Ю. Виноградов.** *Нижний Архыз и Сенты*, 58–62.

⁴⁶ *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*. 2. Teil. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1337–1350. Hrsg. von H. Hunger, O. Kresten, E.

However, a continuity from the secular title of the 11th c. is highly doubtful here; rather than that, the reason for the appearance of a similar titling was the separation of the Metropolitan see of Kaukasia in 1317, which could be reattached back exactly in 1347⁴⁷, for in other contemporary acts only “the Metropolitan of Alania” is mentioned.

Secondly, in the list of the Metropolitans of Bulgaria the mother of Ioannes-Adrianos Komnenos, the above mentioned Irene, is called τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου ἐξουσιοκράτορος πάσης Ἀλανίας “daughter of the most noble exousiokrator of all Alania”⁴⁸. This unique naming shows that Irene and Konstantinos were children of the same *exousiokrator* of Alania, and the word “all” was omitted on her seal of 1072–1077 due to some reasons (probably because it was not relevant outside the Caucasian context). M.V. Bibikov⁴⁹ believes that in this title “Alania is represented as a large state entity, perhaps even a political *union* of various social units”. S.N. Malakhov⁵⁰, on the contrary, interprets it in the sense of the full power of the *exousiokrator*, but for some reason presupposes the influence of the church title on the secular, although the first one, as we have seen, appears only in 1347⁵¹.

It is important that the unique title of “the exousiokrator of all Alania” is applied, even twice, only to Dorgholel, and therefore cannot be a coincidence; it is obvious that he did actually use it. We can only guess what exactly made Dorgholel accept this title abandoned very soon afterwards (already in Rosmikes’ time). In any case, through this title Dorgholel and, after him, Konstantinos were emphasizing the high status of the Alan *exousiokrator* and his actual (in the case of Konstantinos – would-be) power over all Alania complementing it with a high Byzantine title of *protoproedros*.

Protoproedros. The title of *protoproedros* appears in the late 50’s – early 60’s of the 11th c., and up to the 80’s of that century retains the status of

Kislinger, C. Cupane [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Vol. XIX/2]. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995. 382.432–433; **Антонин [Капустин], архим.** Древние акты константинопольского патриархата, относящиеся к новороссийскому краю – *ЗООИД*, VI, 1867, с. 472; cf. **Кузнецов. В. А.** *Очерки истории алан*. Владикавказ, 1992, с. 117.

⁴⁷ **Каштанов, Д. В.** Кавкасийская митрополия. – *Православная энциклопедия*. Т. 29. М., 2012, 67–68.

⁴⁸ **Stiernon, L.** Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines: Adrien (Jean) et Constantin Comnène, sébastes – *REB*, 21, 1963, p. 180.

⁴⁹ **Бибиков, М. В.** Византийские источники по истории Руси, народов Северного Причерноморья и Северного Кавказа – *Древнейшие государства на территории СССР. Материалы и исследования. 1980 год*. М., 1981, с. 144.

⁵⁰ **Малахов, С. Н.** *Алания и Византия*, 83–84.

⁵¹ Cf.: **Seibt, W.** Metropolitene und Herrscher der Alanen, 51–54.

a very high honorary title, which was assigned to a small number of persons, mostly close relatives of the emperor, as well as the most high-ranking dignitaries of the Empire. From the 1080's, due to Alexios' reform of the Byzantine rank hierarchy, the title of *protoproedros* was gradually devalued⁵².

The combination of a Byzantine honorary title with a designation of a foreign ruler (*protoproedros* and *exousiokrator*) on the seal from Anakopia can be compared with the late 11th century molybdoboullon of Konstantinos, the *protosebastos* and *exousiastes* of Diokleia and Serbia⁵³.

Conclusions. According to palaeography, the seal is to be dated to the 2nd half of the 11th c., but the historical context of its appearance in Anakopia (the period of the *theme*) allows us to narrow this dating to the third quarter of the 11th century. Moreover, the appearance of the title of *protoproedros* only in the late 1050's and its subsequent award to a foreign ruler narrow the date of the seal to between 1065–1075. Considering the close political and dynastic ties of the Alanian *exousiokratores* with both Byzantium and Georgia, the seal of the son of “the exousiokrator of all Alania” in Anakopia of 1065–1075 can be cautiously linked to the Byzantine-Georgian conflict over this city: it may be traced back either to negotiations on returning to the Georgian king the fortress blocked by him, which the Byzantines found difficult to hold, especially after catastrophic defeat at Manzikert in 1071 and the loss of a large part of Asia Minor, or to a desperate attempt of the Empire to preserve, with the help of the Alans, its key outpost in the Eastern Pontic region. However, the first option seems to be more plausible due to the person of this “exousiokrator of all Alania”.

Formally, Konstantinos' father could be either of the two known Alanian *exousiokratores* of the 11th century: Gabriel (mentioned in the 30's – early 40's) and Dorgholel (mentioned in 1068), but the narrow chronology of the seal speaks rather in favour of the second option, at the same time excluding the possibility of identifying this Konstantinos with Konstantinos Alanos (mentioned in 1045–1047). In this case, this Konstantinos probably appears to be a brother of Irene, the wife of the *protoproedros* Isaak Komnenos, and the award of the same high title to his father in 1065–1075 (cf. a similar award of the higher title of *sebastos* to the Georgian king Bagrat IV in 1060), turns out to be connected with a certain Byzantine-Alan alliance. The fruits of this union were obviously the marriage of the Alan *exousiokrator*'s daughter Irene with Isaak Komnenos in 1072 and the participation of 6,000 Alanian horsemen in suppressing the Roussel de

⁵² КЪНЕВ, Н. *Византинобългарски студии*. Велико Търново, 2013, 169–199.

⁵³ Cheynet, J.-C. La Place de la Serbie dans la Diplomatie Byzantine à la fin du XI^e siècle – *ЗРБИ*, XLV, 2008, 90–96; Cheynet, J.-C., T. Gökyıldırım, V. Bulgurlu. *Les sceaux byzantins du Musée Archéologique d'Istanbul*. Istanbul, 2012, 292–293, № 3.54.

Bailleul's revolt in 1073–1074⁵⁴. The concentration of these events around 1072 may indicate their connection with the accession of Giorgi II in the same year and of Michael VII a year before, that led to the resumption of the Byzantine-Georgian alliance too, supported by rewarding the title of *nobilissimos* to the new Georgian king⁵⁵, realisation of the long-conceived dynastic marriage of his sister with the new Byzantine Emperor⁵⁶ and possible returning of Anakopia to the Georgian king few years later.

The unique title of the “exousiokrator of all Alania” mentioned on the seal and in the list of the Metropolitans of Bulgaria does not have an unambiguous interpretation. On the one hand, it can emphasize the struggle of the Alanian *exousiokrator* against centrifugal tendencies in his state, realized in the 12th c. and probably manifested as early as the 11th c. On the other hand, the complete disappearance of this important title after the time of the seal speaks rather in favour of considering it not so much as a stable unit in the titles of the Alan *exousiokratores*, but as a one-time, situational invention of Dorgholel (like the title of the Metropolitan Laurentios in 1347), designed to emphasize the status of himself (and – on the seal from Anakopia – of his son), along with the high Byzantine title of *protoproedros* (as the title of *sebastos* on the seal of his successor Rosmikes)⁵⁷.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS:

Fig. 1. The seal of Konstantinos, the son of the protoproedros and exousiokrator of all Alania (about 1065–1075). Museum of the Abkhazian Kingdom, New Athos (2015).

⁵⁴ **Белецкий, Д. В., А. Ю. Виноградов.** *Нижний Архыз и Сенты*, 54–55; **Малахов, С. Н.** *Алания и Византия*, с. 93, 161.

⁵⁵ **Капанадзе, Д. Г.** *Грузинская нумизматика*. М., 1955, с. 56. Табл. III, 45.

⁵⁶ **Seibt, W.** Byzantine Imperialism against Georgia in the later 10th and 11th centuries? – *Georgian Diplomacy*, 16, 2013, 112–113.

⁵⁷ After the preparation of this work for print, a new article by S.N. Malakhov was published (**Малахов, С. Н.** Печать протопроедра и эксусиократора всей Алании Константина: проблемы атрибуции и датировки. – В: *Аланское православие: история и культура: сборник материалов VI Свято-Георгиевских чтений «Православие. Этнос. Культура»*. Владикавказ, 2017, 103–113). The researcher comes to similar conclusions about the date of the seal (1068–1078), the non-identity of its owner with Konstantinos Alanos and the meaning of the title “of all Alania”. However, following the *editio princeps* – as earlier in the case of the seal of the bishop Theodoros “from Alania” (see: **Малахов, С. Н.** Моливдовул епископа Феодора из Алании. – В: *ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ. Сборник статей в честь Владимира Васильевича Кучмы*. Армавир, 2008, 187–190) — he erroneously refers the name of Konstantinos to the *protoproedros* and *exousiokrator* of all Alania himself, and not to his son, that completely disavows his historical conclusions about the place of this *exousiokrator* among the rulers of Alania.



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ΑΝΤΙΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ

ΕΠΙΣΦΡΑΓΙΣΙΣ

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