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SHORT NOTES ON THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE BYZANTINE THEME OF KOLONEIA (PART I)

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This paper[1] is the outcome of a preliminary study related to the *TAKTIKON* database developed at the Academy of Athens, Greece.[2] The history and prosopography of the Byzantine *theme* of Koloneia in the Pontos area have been so far discussed in a very few – yet important – works only, and this is not because of lack of interest, but because of the limited information provided by literary sources and the small number of seals discovered.

The main objective is to publish two so far unknown lead seals issued by officials who served in the *theme* of Koloneia, as well as to provide the reader with updated prosopographical lists of the *thematic* officials. Needless to say, the prosopographical lists presented in this paper are incomplete, because there are more unpublished collections of seals – some of them hard to access – that have to be examined. In a future second part of this study we shall present the remaining offices, together with discussion on some

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[1] I would like to thank Dr. Osman Emir for encouraging me to write for *KAREN Studies* and also for his warm hospitality in Trabzon in May 2016.
Moreover, I am indebted to Dr. Harald Schulze (Archäologische Staatssammlung München) and Dr. Vassa Kontouma (IFEB), for granting me permission to publish the seals, and, of course, to Prof. Jean-Claude Cheynet, who shared information and provided me with photos of the IFEB and BnF specimens. The Institutions reserve the copyright of these images. Also, I would like to thank Dr. Elena Stepanova (Hermitage State Museum) and Dr. Nilgün Elam (Eskişehir University) for sharing information about unpublished specimens. Some of this material will be soon presented in the second part of the study.
[2] About the *TAKTIKON* Project, see Karagiorgou, Charalampakis & Malatras, 2016: .247-252.

particular problems about the career of certain officials.

Introduction: Koloneia (Şebin-Karahisar)

Byzantine Koloneia,[3] modern Şebin-Karahisar, is located in inner Pontos, about 70 km. to the South of Giresun. It is worth mentioning that although the name Koloneia (Κολώνεια) implies a Roman colony, all evidence shows that the fortress of Koloneia dates back to Byzantine and not Roman times. In fact, the only source mentioning that Pompeius founded Koloneia after the Roman victory over Mithridates' army is Prokopios, who also provides the additional information that a fortress in that same location pre-existed the Roman one, as well as that Justinian I repaired it in the 6th c.[4] Moreover, according to Prokopios, near Nikopolis (most likely modern-day Purk) there was another fortress in the area of Lesser Armenia. Other sources mention only Nikopolis as founded by Pompeius after his victory. It is, perhaps, because of this that some scholars identified Koloneia and Nikopolis as one and the same place.[5] We do not have evidence about the early phase of these two city-strongholds, safe for a Roman era inscription from Nikopolis mentioning the city's name. Judging, however, from their later history, it is obvious that these two cities and / or strongholds cannot be certainly identified.

The name Koloneia shows the Roman past of the city and it was still in use in Byzantine times. Due to the dark color of the soil in the area around which was full of minerals, the Byzantines later named the fortress Μαυρόκαστρον, that is Black Castle. It seems that this new name was used only for the acropolis, while the lower city kept the old name of Koloneia. The Ottomans later simply translated the place name of the acropolis as Karahisar and evidently as Şapın-Karahisar, from the word şap, meaning alum, στυπτηρία. Şebin-Karahisar is a mispronounced and misspelled modern Turkish form of the Ottoman name which, of course, has nothing to do with the word şebin (kind of walnut). Additionally, we may note here that in Ottoman times the fortress was

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[3] Not to be confused with the stronghold – ἄπληκτον – named Koloneia (modern Aksaray) in Cappadocia.
[4] Προκόπιος: 91 (III.4).
[5] In *Μεγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*: 738, Koloneia and Nikopolis are mistakenly treated as one and the same city (mod. Sebinkarahisar), founded by Pompeius.

also known as Şarkikarahisar or Karahisar-ı Şarki that is "Karahisar in the East".

The area around Koloneia was and still is full of minerals which were exploited ever since the Middle Ages or even earlier: copper, iron, lead, alum (hence the name of the fortress is Ottoman times), sulfur, brown coal, potassium carbonate, calcium, etc. Being mostly mountainous, with an average altitude of over 2700m., the area of Koloneia was the perfect location for the stationing of an army and for guarding passages. The Byzantines realized the strategic importance of this place and thus created the "theme of Koloneia". Before that time, the city of Koloneia was known mostly for notable persons originating from there, e.g. Theodoros of Koloneia, a powerful Byzantine general of the 7th c. Also people from later times are known, such as Theodoros of Koloneia, a Byzantine patriarch of Antioch in the early 13th c.

During the first Byzantine period, Koloneia was simply another small city with a fortress in the periphery of the Empire. Apart from Justinian's building activity in the area in the 6th c. described by Prokopios, as well as Theodoros, the powerful general, a native of Koloneia, in the 7th c., there is not much in the sources. The city itself was attacked by the Arabs in 778 and, despite the military organization that took place in the previous decades (the creation of the so-called *themes*, or rather – as recent scholarship has shown – a preliminary stage to the creation of the so-called *themes*), the whole Eastern frontier was under permanent threat at that time. The military command of the Armeniakoi was covering a huge area stretching from the lands to the East of Ankara to Mantzikert and Mesopotamia. For several reasons, this administrative area was later split into smaller districts, one of which was named Koloneia, after its capital. This must have happened before the mid-9th century or around that time.

The *theme* was originally a military division as well as an administrative area under the supervision of a strategos (general), who, apart from his military duties, was exercising also judicial and administrative power over the whole area. It is not clear when exactly the first *themes* were created and most scholars today accept that there was a long process of

evolution which led to formation of the fully functional units around the early 9th c. Gradually, the few but geographically speaking large *themes* were split into smaller and smaller, thus creating vast provincial bureaucracy with dozens of officials involved in each unit. It is about the officials who served at the theme of Koloneia in Pontos that we write in this study.

Note: Henceforth, when a career or a seal dating is given in brackets, this means it is the one that the author of this paper accepts or suggests. When it is given in square brackets, it means that it is the one suggested by the scholar(s) whose work is indicated. In the lists of officials, the first reference shows the studies related to prosopography, while the second one shows the publication(s) of the seal(s) or comments on them.

1. Leon, krites of Koloneia (Munich, Archäologische Staatssammlung, no. 1998.8121)

During our recent research trip in Munich, we had the opportunity to study and photograph a so far unknown Byzantine lead seal kept at the Archäologische Staatssammlung. The specimen is of unknown provenance.



Fig. 1. Munich, Archäologische Staatssammlung 1998.8121 obverse (photo P. Ch.)

Diameter (total): 28 x 25 mm.; Thickness: 1-2 mm.; Weight: 9,29 gr.

Blank slightly smaller than die; slightly broken along the channel; chipped; fine imprint in general.

Obverse: Theotokos Hodegetria; no visible sigla or inscription.

Reverse: Inscription in 6 lines.



Fig. 2. Munich, Archäologische Staatssammlung 1998.8121 reverse (photo P. Ch.)

ǂKЄR,Θ,|ḶЄONTI,|ÂCΠAΘ,KP,|THЄΠITΘ|IΠΠ,ΔP,M,S|Ṭ,K OΛON,| × ·

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) / Λέοντι {,} / (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) κρ(ι)/τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ / ἱππ(ο)δρ(ό)μ(ου) (καὶ) / τ(ῆς) Κολον(είας)

Κύριε βοήθει Λέοντι, πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ, κριτῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου καὶ τῆς Κολωνείας

(Lord, aid Leon, protospatharios, krites of the hippodrome and of Koloneia)

Dating: 1025-1050

To our knowledge, there are no parallel or similar specimens. This seal is of great importance for the study of the Byzantine *theme* of Koloneia in general and of its civil administration in particular, because only very few officials (civil and fiscal, military, ecclesiastical) of this area are known through either literary sources or sigillographic and epigraphic material.

Krites means judge. In this case, krites is a civil official appointed to a specific administrative area in order to exercise duties either as a judge or as a judge and local governor simultaneously (this latter applies mostly in areas where the military officials – generals were not very high in provincial hierarchy). The honorary title of protospatharios, which was already devaluated around the second quarter – the middle of the 11th c., means that this Leon was either a not very important official, or a person with not much connections in the Palace. His second office, though, that of krites of the hippodrome, shows that at least he had served as a judge in the capital.

Leon, whose seal is published here, could have been the same person with the one registered as no. 8 in the list below. However, this identification remains uncertain. If the two persons are one and the same, then perhaps the seals issued under the title of hypatos are later than the one of the protospatharios. Yet, not only the general appearance of the two boulloteria is very much different (image of Theotokos vs. metrical inscription; letters of different style), but also the spelling of the geographical name: with O in one but with W in the other inscription. The same applies to the two anonymous persons registered as nos. 9 and 10 in the list below. The seals issued by the first show a stylite's pillar on the obverse and a metrical inscription on the reverse, while the one issued by the second shows Archangel Michael on the obverse and a metrical inscription on the reverse.

2. Michael, anagrapheus and krites of Koloneia and of Sebasteia (Paris, IFEB 1063)

This seal, kept at the IFEB collection, has remained unpublished and unnoticed. We had the opportunity to study the specimen during our trip to Paris in

2015 and Prof. J.-Cl. Cheynet was very kind to send us later photos of it.

Severely corroded; some letters are hardly visible.

Obverse: Inscription in 5 lines; border of dots.

Ḳ.Ɛ̣R,Θ,.|ѠC,Δ,M.|Ẋ̣AH,ӾCⱣ̣.|Θ,Ṛ,ẠṆẠ̣Γ|ṚḲṚṬ

Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τ]/ῷ σ(ῷ) δ(ούλῳ) Μ[ι]/χαή(λ) (πρωτο)σπ[α]/θ(α)ρ(ίῳ) ἀναγ/ρ(αφεῖ) κρ(ι)τ(ῇ)

Reverse: Inscription in 4 lines; border of dots.

.CKO|Ạ̣ѠN,AC|SCЄRA|THẠC

[τ(ῆ)]ς Κο/λων(ί)ας / (καὶ) Σεβα(σ)/τήας

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Μιχαήλ, πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ, ἀναγραφεῖ (καὶ) κριτῇ τῆς Κολωνείας καὶ Σεβαστείας

(Lord, aid your servant Michael, protospatharios, anagrapheus (and) krites of Koloneia and of Sebasteia)

Dating: 1022- ca. 1050

Epigraphic criteria suggest a date around the second quarter of the 11th century. We know that since the 960's and until ca. 1025, the *theme* of Koloneia was somehow associated with that of Chaldia (as evidenced by seals). In 1021, Basil II ceded the area of Sebasteia to Senakhereim, an Armenian nobleman, but very soon it was taken back by the Byzantines, under the governorship of Basileios Argyros.[6] Argyros was soon after removed from his office, and it is very likely that either during the time of his service, or a little later (but probably before the revolt of Isaakios, in 1057) the central authorities tried to connect the *theme* of Sebasteia, which was not properly organized after the recent events, to that of Koloneia, which was a fully functional *theme* at that time. Thus, it is not surprising that we find a krites (judge) with the two *themes* under his jurisdiction. Apart from his duties as a judge, this person also served as anagrapheus, a fiscal official. It must be stressed here that the fine line between civil and fiscal officials in Byzantium is not always clear. Sometimes people were entrusted to occupy more than one position or their office demanded engagement with both the civil and fiscal sector.



Fig. 3. IFEB 1063 obverse (photo J.-Cl. Cheynet)



Fig. 4. IFEB 1063 reverse (photo J.-Cl. Cheynet)

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[6] See e.g. Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 327-328, 334.

Thanks to the specimens published here, we may add two more persons in the list of the judges of this particular *theme*:

1 – Anonymous, krites of Koloneia (976-1007)[7]: Nikephoros Ouranos, *Letters*, no. 24.[8]

2 – Niketas, asekretis and krites of Koloneia (975-1025)[9]: USA, Washington DC, DO BZS 1955.1.1577 (ex Zacos coll.).[10]

3 – Konstantinos, protospatharios, kensor, krites of the hippodrome, of Chaldia and of Koloneia (985-1025)[11]: USA, Washington DC, DO BZS 1958.106.806 (ex Zacos coll.).[12]

4 – Michael, protospatharios, anagrapheus and krites of Koloneia and of Sebasteia (1022-1050): France, Paris, IFEB 1063.

5 – Niketas, (imperial?) protospatharios, epoptes, strateutes and krites of Koloneia (1025-1050): France, Paris, BnF Zacos 1892 (ex Zacos coll.).[13]

6 – Leon, protospatharios, krites of the hippodrome and of Koloneia (1025-1050): Germany, Munich, Archaeologische Staatssammlung 1998.8181.

7 – Basileios Eugenianos, patrikios, hypatos, krites of the velon and of Koloneia (1040-1060)[14]: USA, Washington DC, DO BZS 1955.1.3018 (ex Zacos coll.).[15]

8 – Leon, hypatos and krites of Koloneia (1040-1060)[16]: USA, Washington DC, DO BZS 1955.1.3788 (ex Zacos coll.)[17] // Romania, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Orghidan 208 (ex C. Orghidan coll.).[18]

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[7] *PmbZ* # 31857 [c. 1000].
[8] Darrouzès, 1960: 228, no. 24.
[9] *PmbZ* # 25824 [950-1050]; *PBW*: Niketas 20211 [1000]; Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 570, no. 140 [10th or 11th c.]; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 487, no. 2 [10th - 11th c.]; Bryer & Winfield, 1985: 147, fn. 38.
[10] McGeer, Nesbitt, & Oikonomides, 2001: no. 48.4 [10th-11th c.].
[11] *PmbZ* # 24008 [950-1050]; *PBW*: Konstantinos 20327 [1000]; Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 569, no. 139 [10th or 11th c.]; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 487, no. 1 [10th - 11th c.].
[12] McGeer, Nesbitt, & Oikonomides, 2001: no. 48.2 [10th-11th c.].
[13] Unpublished.
[14] *PBW*: Basileios 20248 [1050]; Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 570, no. 145 [ca. 1050-1075]; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 487, no. 3 [11th c.].
[15] McGeer, Nesbitt, & Oikonomides, 2001: no. 48.1 [11th c.].
[16] *PmbZ* # 24623 [10th - 11th c.]; *PBW*: Leon 20268 [1050]; Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 570, no. 143 [11th c.]; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 487, no. 4 [11th c.]; Bryer & Winfield, 1985: 147, fn. 38.
[17] McGeer, Nesbitt, & Oikonomides, 2001: no. 48.3 [11th c.].
[18] Seibt & Seibt, 2003: 198; Laurent, 1952: no. 208 [10th - 11th c.].

9 – Anonymous, imperial spatharokandidatos, krites of the hippodrome and of Koloneia (1040-1060)[19]: USA, Washington DC, DO BZS 1947.2.72 (ex Shaw coll.).[20]

10 – Anonymous (perhaps Michael), krites of Koloneia (1050-1070)[21]: Russia, Saint Petersburg, Hermitage M-2118 (ex RAIK coll.).[22] // France, Paris, BnF Zacos 3159 (ex Zacos coll.).[23]

11 – Petros, hypatos, krites of the velon and of Koloneia (1050-1070)[24]: France, Paris, BnF Zacos 3777 (ex Zacos coll.).[25]

3. The missing inscription of Ioannes, droungarios of Koloneia

An inscription mentioning a certain Ioannes, imperial strator and droungarios of Koloneia, is frequently mentioned in bibliography related to the *theme* of Koloneia and its prosopography.[26] Since the whole story is not clearly defined in literature, we would like to put the facts in order and should investigate who has really seen the inscription and who has made drawings of it. The full (corrected) text is:

+ Τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας ἄναρχε Λόγε φύλαττε ἀεὶ τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωάννῃ βασιλικῷ στράτορι καὶ δρουγγαρίῳ Κολωνείας

(Word without beginning, (Word) of the fatherly existence, always protect your servant Ioannes, imperial strator and droungarios of Koloneia)

Imperial strator was originally a military office, a person appointed to take care of the imperial stables. In the course of time, however, this was used mostly as an honorific title, granted not only to military, but also to civil and fiscal officials. Droungarios used to suggest a quite high military rank officer in previous times, but around the late

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[19] *PBW*: Anonymus 20267 [1050]; Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 570, no. 142 [11th c.]; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 487, fn. 2; Bryer & Winfield, 1985: 147, fn. 38 (Andreas?).
[20] McGeer, Nesbitt, & Oikonomides, 2001: no. 48.5 [11th c.].
[21] *PBW*: Anonymus 20151 [1060]; Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 570, no. 141 [11th c.?].
[22] Unpublished.
[23] Zacos, 1984: no. 541.
[24] *PBW*: Petros 20112 [1060]; Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 570, no. 144 [11th c.]; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 487, no. 5 [11th c.?].
[25] Zacos, 1984: no. 669.
[26] *PmbZ* # 22879 [9th-10th c.]; Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 234, fn. 1320; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 488, no. 1 [9th or 10th c. – 902/903?]; Bryer & Winfield, 1985: 145, fn. 1 and 147, fn. 38 and 40. Latest edition by Rhoby, 2014: 729-731 [9th-10th c.?].

9th c. this office was already in decline and we assume that this Ioannes was in charge of a very small military detachment only.

The inscription was situated on a slab in the church to the south of Koloneia's upper citadel main entrance. The first record ever of this inscription comes from an Austrian scholar named A. Dorn, who visited the area in 1863 and informed O. Blau about the inscription. The latter published a very distorted version of the text (as provided by Dorn) in 1865.[27]



Fig. 5. Ioannes' inscription (after Taylor, 1868)

The second report on this inscription comes from J. G. Taylor and A. de Courtois, who visited together the site in 1866. According to Taylor's description of the church, there was another inscription, on a slab opposite the one in question, but time had rendered it totally illegible. Taylor provided a drawing of the inscription with a cross in the middle and the letters arranged in the four quarters of the cross' arms.[28] This drawing was prepared by Taylor himself because, as we shall see below, De Courtois was distributing a slightly different drawing to scholars.

In that same year (1866), another person visited the site: P. Triantafyllides. He spotted the eagle above the outer walls' entrance, as well as the inscription in the church (mosque at the time). In his opinion, the person mentioned in the inscription was a certain Ioannes, bishop of Koloneia.[29]

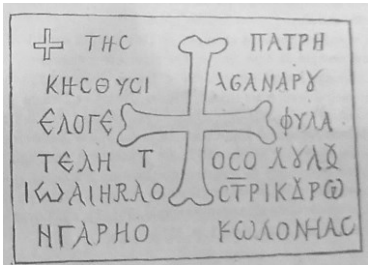


Fig. 6. Ioannes' inscription (by De Courtois, after Waddington and Le Bas, 1870)

In 1870, W. H. Waddington and P. Le Bas published the inscription in their corpus of Asia Minor inscriptions. The drawing, as they admit, came from A. de Courtois and indeed, although it is somehow similar to the one provided by Taylor, there are some minor, yet important differences.[30] What we understand here is that despite the fact that Taylor and De Courtois visited together the site, each of them prepared a different drawing for the inscription and they never juxtaposed the two readings.

S. Ioannides visited the site in 1870. He spotted the eagle above the outer walls' entrance, as well as the droungarios' inscription in the church, which he erroneously linked to Ioannes, bishop of Koloneia (just

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[27] Blau, 1865: 252.
[28] Taylor, 1868: 294.
[29] Τριανταφυλλίδης, 1866: 113-115.
[30] Waddington & Le Bas, 1870: 431, no. 1814g.

as Triantafyllides did before). Moreover, he was the first visitor to notice an inscription or a fragment of inscription indicating a date (ϛυι' = 903/904 A.D.) at the entrance of the inner keep of the citadel.[31]

X. A. Sideropoulos visited the site in 1877. Apart from a plan of the inner citadel, he also provides a drawing of the droungarios' inscription, which he himself saw. Surprisingly, his drawing is much different than those by Taylor and De Courtois because only some of the words are placed in the quarters of the cross and the rest of the inscription he arranged in three lines below the cross.[32] It is interesting to note here that Sideropoulos was aware of Ioannides' book and despite his efforts to find the inscription with the date, he wrote that he was not able to see anything. Apart from this, he also spotted the illegible inscription opposite the droungarios' one, as well as the eagle at the outer gate, together with an illegible inscription next to it.

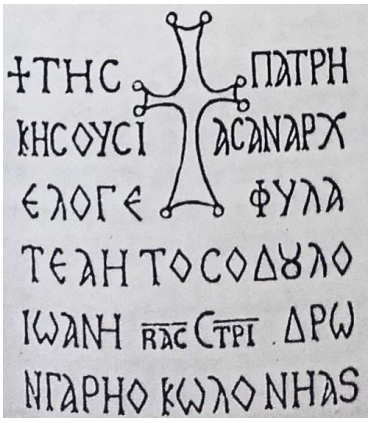


Fig. 7. Ioannes' inscription (after Sideropoulos, 1886)

In 1866, when Triantafyllides visited the site, the church had been converted into a mosque. According to A. Bryer and D. Winfield, the inscription of the droungarios was removed from its original place and transferred to another church in the town, after 1868. They also mention that this second church is now (that is already at the time when they were writing, in the early 1980's) lost.[33] Apparently the date they provide cannot be exact, because at least two people, independently of each other, saw the inscription *in situ* after 1868: Ioannides in 1870 and Sideropoulos in 1877. Thus, the inscription was removed after 1877. Moreover, the inscription was spotted by six people in five different missions (Dorn; Taylor and De Courtois; Triantafyllides; Ioannides; Sideropoulos), not four missions as Bryer and Winfield write.[34] Later, other scholars (like Cumont or Benay) drew information or copied the drawings from the works of some of these people.

Bryer and Winfield suggested that perhaps this Ioannes, imperial strator and droungarios of Koloneia (dated in the late 9th – early 10th c.), was the same

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[31] Ιωαννίδης, 1870: 199-200.
[32] Σιδερόπουλος, 1886: 135
[33] Bryer & Winfield, 1985: 145, fn. 1.
[34] See also Lemerle, 1973: 59-60, fn. 24.

person with the anonymous imperial strator and paraphylax of Koloneia, attested on a seal from the Dumbarton Oaks collection (USA: Washington DC, DO BZS 1947.2.73, ex Shaw collection) and dated in the last quarter of the 9th c.[35] The fact that it was later proved that the owner of this seal was not named Ioannes as Bryer and Winfield believed, but remains anonymous, should not refute their genuine assumption that seems very likely. And if this identification is correct, then Ioannes served first as paraphylax and later as droungarios in the *theme*, that of Koloneia.

4. One more droungarios of Koloneia (*Passio of the 42 Martyrs*, rec. Γ', p. 34)

It seems that, apart from the unpublished sigillographic material hidden in various state and private collections, references in already published literary sources have escaped the attention of scholars who have tried to establish catalogues of the *theme*'s officials.

In the recension Γ' (the only among a series of versions) of the *Passio* of the 42 Martyrs of Amorion, Kallistos,[36] an official previously serving in Koloneia, met during his capture by the Arabs with one of his former subordinate officers, a droungarios.[37] Although we are very skeptical about a possible connection of Kallistos with the Melissenos family, this issue is not of importance to us now and will be discussed in the second part of this study. What matters now, however, is the career of Kallistos himself. Although one cannot exclude the option of Kallistos having served together with the droungarios when the former was a domestikos of the scholai, it seems more likely that this happened during his service as doux of Koloneia.

Ioannes (see above, no. 3) and this anonymous person are the two only droungarioi of the *theme* of Koloneia known so far. It is of great interest to note that the time period of their existence spans around the 830's – early 900's, that is the period when the authority of a droungarios was in gradual decline.

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[35] Bryer & Winfield, 1985: 145, fn. 2 and 147, fn. 38; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 488, fn. 3. About the anonymous paraphylax, see: McGeer, Nesbitt, & Oikonomides, 2001: no. 48.6 [9th c.].
[36] *PmbZ* # 3606.
[37] Васильевскій & Никитинъ, 1905: 34, line 9.

Although Kallistos was doux of Koloneia in the late 830's (certainly in 838) and, therefore, the anonymous droungarios must have served at about the same time, that is either prior to the formation of the *theme* of Koloneia or at the very beginnings of its existence,[38] it is important to add this person in the list of officials, in order to have a better overview of the administrative history of the area.

5. The strategoi of Koloneia

We would like to call the reader's attention to and briefly comment on a passage in Porphyrogennetos' *De administrando imperio* (*DAI* 45.47).[39] According to the emperor's narrative, Leon VI sent Lalakon, strategos (military general) of the Armeniakoi, together with the strategoi of Koloneia, Chaldia and Mesopotamia, to the area of Phasiane against the Arabs. This campaign took place most likely in 901.[40] But when exactly this anonymous strategos took command of Koloneia, it is not clear. Be that as it may, it is remarkable that although the aforementioned passage is quoted in a few studies,[41] only recently was this person included in a prosopographical dictionary and thus his name should be added to the list of officials of the *theme* of Koloneia, together with the one mentioned in a seal from Vienna, which was published after the Greek edition for the Asia Minor *themes*.

The list of the strategoi of the *theme* of Koloneia can be thus completed as follows:

1 – Anonymous, strategos of Koloneia (863)[42]: Theophanes Continuatus, 4.25.42.[43]

2 – Konstantinos, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Koloneia (850-900)[44]: Austria, Wien, W. Seibt collection 28.[45]

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[38] On the date of the formation of the *theme* see: Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 235-236, with references.
[39] Πορφυρογέννητος: 206.
[40] This strategos of Mesopotamia was apparently not in charge of a *theme*, but of a smaller division, perhaps a *tourma*. Iachnoukas' appointment as strategos of Nikopolis occurred between ca. 903-912, and Porphyrogennetos (*DAI* 50.123-124) wrote that at the time when Leon VI promoted Iachnoukas (*PmbZ* # 22652), there was no *theme* of Mesopotamia yet. This view, could, perhaps, move the creation of the *theme* of Mesopotamia a little later than it is generally accepted today (ca. 899-901).
[41] Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 325-326, with fn. 43.
[42] Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 485, no. 1 [863]. This strategos of Koloneia is mentioned together with those of the other themes of Asia Minor. This is, perhaps, the earliest reference to the *theme* of Koloneia.
[43] *Συνέχεια του Θεοφάνη*: 258.

3 – Gregoras, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Koloneia (885-925)[46]: USA, Washington DC, DO BZS 1958.106.3493 (ex Zacos coll.).[47]

4 – Anonymous, strategos of Koloneia (901)[48]: *DAI* 45.47.

5 – Christophoros, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Koloneia (940-960)[49]: USA, Washington DC, DO BZS 1947.2.71 (ex Shaw coll.).[50]

6 – Michael, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Koloneia (940-960)[51]: USA, Washington DC, DO BZS 1955.1.1558 (ex Zacos coll.).[52]

7 – Katakalon Kekaumenos, kouropalates and strategos of Koloneia (1057-1059).[53]

Conclusion

The two newly published lead seals help us complete the lists of Byzantine officials who served at the *theme* of Koloneia in Pontos area. It is worth noting that, as Leveniotes has already pointed, the kritai of Koloneia are all dated in the 11th (or, perhaps, also in the very late 10th) century. Provided that the *theme* was formed around the first half or the middle of the 9th century, one would expect to find at least one krites dated earlier in the 10th c. We have either not yet discovered this evidence or Koloneia was at that time (that is before the 11th c.) somehow still connected to the *theme* of the Armeniakoi, and jurisdiction of the kritai of the latter was stretching as far as Koloneia. Nevertheless, the number of seals related to Koloneia in general is quite small compared to other *themes*. About the strategoi, apparently the existing number is too small for a period of about two centuries and, perhaps, we should expect more

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[44] *PmbZ* # 23787.
[45] Seibt & Wassiliou, 2004: no. 319 [2nd half of the 9th c.].
[46] *PmbZ* # 22326; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 485, no. 2 [9th - 10th c.].
[47] McGeer, Nesbitt, & Oikonomides, 2001: no. 48.8 [9th - 10th c.].
[48] *PmbZ* # 30847.
[49] *PmbZ* # 21294; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 485, no. 5 [10th c.]; Bryer & Winfield, 1985: 147, fn. 38.
[50] McGeer, Nesbitt, & Oikonomides, 2001: no. 48.7 [10th c.].
[51] *PmbZ* # 25223; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 485, no. 4 [10th c.]; Bryer & Winfield, 1985: 147, fn. 38.
[52] McGeer, Nesbitt, & Oikonomides, 2001: no. 48.9 [10th c.].
[53] Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 569, no. 137, 537 and 573, no. 156; Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 485-486, no. 6 [1057-1059]. Despite the efforts of G. Litavrin to prove that Katakalon Kekaumenos, himself originating from Koloneia, was strategos of that *theme*, this theory, in our opinion, should be accepted only with skepticism. The same applies to Kekaumenos' position as a doux. The editors of the *PBW* (Katakalon 101) decided not to include Koloneia in his career.

seals to appear. The inscription mentioning Ioannes droungarios is now considered lost, yet we shall keep looking for it. The identification of this Ioannes with a person mentioned on a seal, as suggested by Bryer and Winfield, is almost certain. A second droungarios, most likely serving in Koloneia, as we believe, is mentioned in the *Passio* of the 42 Martyrs of Amorion. This passage not only helps us to enrich the lists of officials of Koloneia, but also proves that every detail and every information provided by literary sources is important for the study of the *thematic* administration.

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SHORT NOTES ON THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE BYZANTINE THEME OF KOLONEIA (PART I)

Abstract: This study, the first part of two, presents short notes and comments on the officials of the Byzantine *theme* of Koloneia. Two Byzantine lead seals are published here for the first time. One belongs to Leon, krites of Koloneia, the other to Michael, anagrapheus and krites of Koloneia and Sebasteia. The lost inscription of Ioannes, droungarios of Koloneia is also presented here, together with a previously unnoticed reference to another droungarios in the *Passio* of the 42 Martyrs of Amorion. The lists of the kritai and strategoi of Koloneia are completed on the basis of recently discovered and published, but also unpublished evidence.

Key Words: Pontos, Koloneia, *theme*, prosopography, administration, Byzantine seals

KOLONEIA THEMASI BİZANS PROSOPOGRAFİSİ ÜZERİNE KISA NOTLAR (BÖLÜM I)

Özet: Bu çalışma, Bizans'ın Koleneia thema'sı ile ilgili kısa notlar ve yorumlar sunan iki bölümlü bir araştırmanın ilk kısmıdır. İki Bizans kurşun mührü burada ilk defa bu çalışmada yayınlanmıştır. Mühürlerden birisi Koloneia krites'i Leon'a ve diğeri Koloneia ve Sebastia anagrapheus'u ile krites'i Michael'e aittir. Ayrıca Koloneia droungarios'u Ioannes'in kayıp yazmasına da Amorion'un 42 martirinin Passio'sundaki diğer droungarios'un daha önce farkedilmemiş atfına da burada yer verilmiştir. Koloneia'nın Kritai ve strategoi listesi yakın geçmişteki keşiflerle tamamlanmış ve yayınlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pontos, Koloneia, Thema, prosopografi, yönetim, Bizans mühürleri