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**THE ADMINISTRATION OF A BYZANTINE PROVINCIAL CITY  
FROM THE SIXTH TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURIES  
ON THE EXAMPLE OF CHERSON**

M.A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

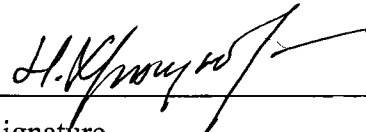
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## Abstract

The purpose of the thesis is to sum up the results of previous studies and examine the development of the administration of Cherson during the Byzantine period against this background. Such a study will allow: answering some minor question connected to concrete administrative positions or patterns of Cherson's administrative machinery, the formulation of some general conclusions related the reasons for and course of the administrative reforms in the Crimea, the continuity of the administration of Cherson, and the similarities and differences of the administration of Cherson and the principles of its development compared with those of other Byzantine provincial urban centres.

This thesis consists of two major parts, descriptive and analytical. The first part includes three chapters corresponding to the three basic administrative systems, which replaced one another in Cherson during the Byzantine period: the *doukate*, the *archontate*, and the *theme*. The second part of the study is included to the fourth chapter, where the three basic aspects of the administrative history of Cherson: the evolution, the continuity, and the general principle of development are analysed. In the appendix there is a study on the problem of the name change of this city in the fifth and sixth century.

After Justinian I (527-565) had extended his possessions in the Crimea to a considerable extent, a new province was established there. The government was entrusted to Byzantine military governor entitled the *doux* of Cherson. The weakening of Byzantium through the seventh century resulted in its territories in the Crimea being restricted to Cherson. By the eighth century, the *archontate*, the administrative unit the staff of which combined their connection with the local community and recognition by Byzantium, was established in Cherson. During the reign of Theophilos (829-842), the Empire annexed the Klimata in south-western Crimea and established there a *theme* with the capital in Cherson. The supreme power in the *theme* belonged to the general, *stratēgos*, with a subordinate staff of officers including the officials of the municipality. In the late tenth – mid-eleventh centuries the *themes* of Bosporos and Sougdaia were separated from this unit. The three Crimean *themes* were united in the framework of a *katepanate* with the center in Cherson. The latest data on a Byzantine official in Cherson dates to the late-eleventh century.

The study of the administration of Cherson allowed me to raise the question of the continuity of the administration of this city from its late classical predecessors. This continuity manifested itself in the preservation of some offices closely connected with the community of Cherson. The nature of these offices changed in the course of time, which made the succession of the administrative machinery of Cherson during the given period a gradual transition.

Administrative development of late classical and medieval Cherson depended on the political situation in the Crimea. A strengthening of the Byzantine power on the peninsula resulted in enlarging the territory subordinated to it. A new province was established on the newly acquired territories, with the power concentrated in hands of the military governor appointed from Constantinople. A weakening of the Empire resulted in the restriction of the Byzantine Crimea to the limits of the fortifications of Cherson, and the reinforcement of the elements of Cherson's self-government. The general pattern of the development of the administration of the Byzantine Crimea was similar to that of the Balkans.

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## List of Abbreviations

<i>ADSV</i>	<i>Antichnaya drevnost' i sredniye veka</i>
<i>IAK</i>	<i>Izvestiya imperatorskoy Arkheologicheskoy komissii</i>
<i>IOSPE</i>	Latyshev, Vasiliy (ed. and comp.). <i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae</i> , vol. 1, 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. Petrograd: Arkheologicheskaya komissiya, 1914
<i>ITUAK</i>	<i>Izvestiya Tavricheskoy uchenoy arkhivnoy komissii</i>
<i>KhSb</i>	<i>Khersonesskiy sbornik</i>
<i>MAIET</i>	<i>Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii</i>
<i>ODB</i>	Kazhdan, Alexander(ed.). <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991
<i>SBS</i>	<i>Studies in Byzantine Sigillography</i>
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Vestnik drevney istorii</i>
<i>VV</i>	<i>Vizantiyskiy vremennik</i>
<i>ZhMNP</i>	<i>Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya</i>
<i>ZRVI</i>	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantoloshkog Instituta</i>

## Introduction

The city of Cherson was located on the south-western coast of the Crimea, on the Heraklean peninsula (fig. 1 and 2). It appeared in the sixth or fifth century B. C. and developed as an independent Greek city-state (*polis*) with trade, craft, and agricultural production. In the first century BC Cherson established contact with the Roman Empire. In due course the constant menace from neighbours forced the Chersonians to surrender a part of their freedom in exchange for the guarantees of security, and in 60s AD a Roman garrison was stationed in their city. For almost 500 years Cherson was not a constitutive part of the Roman Empire, preserving its own administration, but this “freedom” gradually became more and more formal. Byzantine emperors governed the city by means of direct decrees and through the *praetorian prefect* of the Orient. The garrison of Cherson, headed by Byzantine officers, was subordinated to the *magister militum* of Thrace. This garrison was supported by taxes and customs duties collected in the city. A part of this money was used for repairing and building fortifications. In Cherson there were also bodies for local self-government, probably headed by a *pater civitatis*.<sup>1</sup>

The history of Cherson proceeded in close interactions not only with the Romans, but also with other neighbours of the city. The Heraklean peninsula, where Cherson was located, is the western point of a few kilometre-wide strip of land which stretches along the southernmost tip of the Crimea. A high mountain range imposes a natural barrier between the coast with its Mediterranean climate and the uplands of the south-western part of the Crimea, which is known in medieval sources under the name of “Gothia” or “Klimata.” Northwards the slopes of the mountains gradually turn into a large arid plain, which is an extension of the East European steppes. On the east, an isthmus connects the Crimea with the Kerch peninsula. The Hellenistic city of Bosporos was located on the eastern edge of the latter, on the bank of the modern Strait of Kerch.

From the end of the fourth century the Crimean steppe was populated by the Huns. By the beginning of the sixth century they had even succeeded in establishing their

<sup>1</sup> Recent studies on the history and archaeology of Cherson during the Roman period are: Vitaliy Zubar', *Khersones Tavricheskiy i Rimskaya imperiya* (Tauric Chersonese and the Roman Empire) (Kiev: Kievskaiya Akademiya Yevrobiznesa, 1994); about its administration: Nikita Khrapunov, “Administratsiya rann'ovizantiys'kogo Khersonu” (Administration of Early Byzantine Cherson), *Arkheologiya* 1 (2000), 61-67.



power over Bosporos. The neighbours of the Huns in Gothia were the descendants of the Goths and the Alans, who migrated to the Crimea in the third and fourth centuries. Thus, one can see the importance of Cherson for the Roman, and, later on, Byzantine policy in the region. In the first half of the sixth century Byzantium conquered Bosporos from the Huns, made a treaty for an alliance with the Goths, and terminated the autonomy of Cherson not only *de facto*, but also *de jure*. This moment will be the starting point of my thesis. The ending point will be in the end of the eleventh century, during the reign of Alexios Komnenos, when the sources for the last time mention a Byzantine official of Cherson.

Investigation of the separate aspects of the administration of Cherson in the Middle Ages has been the subject of a study more than once. This problem was examined as a component part of general works on the history and archaeology of medieval Cherson.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes scholars investigated individual offices or administrative patterns.<sup>3</sup> An important part of the historiography is the publications of sources, seals and inscriptions from Cherson, in which scholars tried to explain offices mentioned in a particular source.<sup>4</sup> There is only one study, dedicated to the administrative history of Cherson during the

<sup>2</sup> Sergey Shestakov, *Ocherki po istorii Khersonesa v IV – X vekakh po R. Kh.* (Essays on the history of Chersonessus in 4<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> century AD) (Moscow: [n. p.], 1908); Anatoliy Yakobson, *Srednevekoviy Khersones (XII – XIV vv.)* (Medieval Chersonessos (12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries)) (Moscow: Nauka, 1950); Idem., *Rannesrednevekoviy Khersones* (Early medieval Chersonessos) (Moscow: Nauka, 1959); N. M. Bogdanova, “Kherson v X-XV vv. Problemy istorii vizantiyskogo goroda” (Cherson through the 10<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century: problems of the history of the Byzantine city), in *Prichernomor'ye v sredniye veka* (Black Sea North Littoral through the Middle Ages), ed. Sergey Karpov (Moscow: Moscovskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet, 1991), 5-172.

<sup>3</sup> Valeriy Naumenko, “Uchrezhdeniye i razvitiye vizantiyskoy themy v Tavrike” (Establishment and development of the Byzantine theme in Taurica), *Drevnosti 1996* (1997), 23-30; Vitaliy Zubar' and Sergey Sorochan, “O polozhenii Khersona v konce V – VI vv.: politicheskiy i ekonomicheskiy aspekty” (On the situation in Cherson in the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> centuries: political and economic aspects), *KhSb* 9 (1998), 118-132; Werner Seibt, “Probleme der staatsrechtlichen Stellung Chersons im 7. U. 8. Jh.,” *MAIET* 7 (2000), 302-306; Nikolas Oikonomidès, “Le ‘système’ administratif byzantin en Crimée aux IXe – Xe s.,” *MAIET* 7 (2000), 318-323.

<sup>4</sup> Vasiliy Latyshev, *Sbornik grecheskikh nadpisey khristianskikh vremyon iz Yuzhnoy Rossii* (A collection of Greek inscriptions of Christian epoch from Southern Russia) (St. Petersburg: [n. p.], 1896); Irina Sokolova, *Monety i pečati vizantiyskogo Khersona* (Coins and seals from Byzantine Cherson) (Leningrad: Nauka, 1983); Nikolay Alexeenko, “Noviye nakhodki pečatey predstaviteley gorodskogo upravleniya Khersona” (New finds of seals of representatives of Cherson's city administration), *MAIET* 5 (1996), 155-170; Idem., “Stratigi Khersona po dannym novykh pamyatnikov sfragistiki IX – XI vv.” (*Stratēgoi* of Cherson according to the data of new sites of sigillography of 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> cc.), *MAIET* 6 (1998), 701-743.

whole Byzantine period.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, however this article contains numerous shortcomings which considerably depreciate its academic value.<sup>6</sup>

The number of sources supplying information on this topic has increased considerably in recent years, mainly through the increasing frequency of the publication of seals from the so-called archive of Cherson. As a part of my study at Central European University, I received the opportunity to examine publications of sources and secondary literature which are not available in Ukraine. All these points allows me to discuss the necessity of summing up the results of previous studies and against this background in order to examine the development of the administration of Cherson during the Byzantine period to a deeper extent.

This is the purpose of my thesis. Such a study will allow, firstly, answering some minor question connected to concrete administrative positions or patterns of Cherson's administrative machinery. Secondly, it will allow the formulation of some general conclusions related to the development of this city in general. Such yet unsolved questions include the reasons for and course of the administrative reforms in the Crimea, the continuity of the administration of Cherson, and the similarities and differences of the administration of Cherson and the principles of its development compared with those of other Byzantine provincial urban centres. Finally, the study of the administration of one of Byzantine provincial city will be useful for other scholars dealing with Byzantine administration in general, or with another provincial centre in particular, by supplying them both with analogous offices, general patterns of development, and, I hope, some methodological considerations.

In this thesis I used a simple method. Since any administration consists of offices, first the concrete administrative positions are examined. This examination starts with collecting all (or, at least, all possible) sources in which the given dignitary is mentioned in Cherson. Later, the information about the nature of this office, its responsibilities, principles of appointment, et cetera are analysed. The search for analogies with other Byzantine urban centres comes next. Second, the whole administrative machinery of Cherson in

<sup>5</sup> Igor Baranov, "Administrativnoye ustroystvo rannevizantiyskogo Khersona" (Administrative system of early Byzantine Cherson), *MAIET* 3 (1993), 137-145.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Valeriy Naumenko, "K voprosu o nazvanii i date uchrezhdeniya vizantiyskoy femy v Tavrike" (On the question of the name and the date of the establishment of the Byzantine *theme* in Taurica), *MAIET* 6 (1998), 689-700.

the given sub-period is analysed. Third and finally, the administrative development of Cherson during the whole Byzantine period is investigated, solving the most significant problem, for example, that of continuity.

This methodology defines the structure of my work. This thesis consists of two major parts, descriptive and analytical. The first part includes three chapters corresponding to the three basic administrative systems, which replaced one another in Cherson during the Byzantine period: the *doukate*, the *archontate*, and the *theme*. Each of these three chapters starts with a brief historical survey aimed, primarily at making the reader familiar with the circumstances, in which Cherson and its administration developed. The territory where the given administrative system functioned and the offices, comprised this system, are described further. The offices are grouped in accordance to their significance and place in the administrative machinery of Cherson. The second part of the study is included to the fourth chapter. There the three basic aspects of the administrative history of Cherson: the evolution, the continuity, and the general principle of development are analysed. In the appendix one can find a study on the problem of the name change of this city in the fifth and sixth century, a question which has never yet been addressed in historiography.

There are few more things to be said, minor but necessary. For all the names and titles of sources in the text, footnotes, and bibliography I used the forms provided by *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.<sup>7</sup> Because not every administrative term used in this thesis can be found in this dictionary, I decided to transliterate all of them from Greek using the method of giving the closest equivalent of the ancient Greek pronunciation,<sup>8</sup> and to italicise them all. References to all narrative sources are given not to the chapter, paragraph, et cetera, of the original text, but to pages in recent publications, according to the departmental style. In the cases of publication of seals or inscriptions, I use references not to page numbers, but to the source's number in the catalogue if possible, in order to make the life of the reader easier. Taking into account the audience of this thesis, I tried, within the limits of the possible, to omit notes to Russian or Ukrainian secondary literature or

<sup>7</sup> *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Warren Treadgold, *A History of Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. xxi-xxiii.

publications of the sources, if there is something similar (and available to me!) published in English or French. Thus, for example, in this thesis the reader can find, with one exception, references to the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, but not to the *Povest' vremennykh let*, or to publications by Valentina Shandrovskaya or Irina Sokolova in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, but not the analogous articles in Russian periodicals. I endeavoured not to carry the reader away with the epic historiography of every particular case or official, limiting myself, if possible, with references to a very few general works on the problem where the reader can find all the necessary information. The number of references was increased only in complicated, discussible cases. Finally, I prefer to omit repetitions of notes and arguments which have been already discussed in the text above. That is why in any such cases the reader can find a reference to the related chapter and subchapter of this thesis.

It should be emphasised, that I realise the disputable character of some points of this work, which are caused by both the insufficient quantity of sources and differences in approaches used by different scholars. I shall be glad if my study causes discussion, in the course of which numerous problems of the administrative history of Cherson will be solved objectively.

## Chapter 1. The period of the *doukate*

### 1.1. Historical survey.

The exact date when Cherson became a component part of the Byzantine Empire, not only *de facto* but also *de jure*, is unknown. One can use the *Synekdemos* by Hierokles<sup>9</sup> for determination of the *terminus post quem* of this event. This source was the official reference book for the geography of Byzantium, composed for the needs of imperial officials at the beginning of the reign of Justinian I (527-565). The *Synekdemos* includes information about the administrative division of the empire and enumerates all the cities in each province,<sup>10</sup> which is why the absence of Cherson in this source is significant. The Cherson inscription with the name of Justin II (565-578), which mentions the position of *doux*,<sup>11</sup> fixes the *terminus ante quem* of the event we are interested in. However, one could presume that these events took place under Justinian I after he had brought a great part of the Crimean peninsula under his power and thus created the background for the transformation of Cherson into the center of the newly established province.

First, Justinian I joined Bosporos to his possessions.<sup>12</sup> Later, the emperor organized a series of construction works in order to strengthen the positions of the empire in the Crimea. He ordered the fortifications of Cherson and Bosporos to be restored. On the southern coast of the peninsula two new fortresses were built, one called Aluston and another in Gorzubitai, probably to establish control over the land and navigation.<sup>13</sup> Pro-

<sup>9</sup> Hierokles, "Synekdemus," in *Constantine Porphyrogenetos. De provinciis regni Byzantini*, ed. and comp Fr. Tafel (Tubingen: Bibliopolio Henrici Laupp, 1847), 11-17.

<sup>10</sup> ODB, s.v. Hierokles; Z. V. Udal'tsova (ed.), *Kul'tura Vizantii. IV – pervaya polovina VII v.* (The culture of Byzantium: 4<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries) (Moscow: Nauka, 1984), 454.

<sup>11</sup> Vasilii Latyshev, "Epigraficheskiye novosti iz Yuzhnoy Rossii" (Epigraphic news from Southern Russia), *IAK* 18 (1906): cat. no. 37; Ella Solomonik, "Neskol'ko novykh nadpisey srednevekovogo Kryma" (Several new inscriptions of Medieval Crimea), *VV* 47 (1986): cat. no. 4).

<sup>12</sup> Procopius, "De bello persico," in *Procopius. Opera omnia*, vol. 1, ed. Jacob Haury (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1962), 159 and 160; Idem., "De aedificiis," tr. Sergey P. Kondrat'yev, *VDI* 4 (1939), 249 and 250; John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. Ludovic Dindorf (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1831), 431 and 432.

<sup>13</sup> Procop., *De aed.*, 249; this has now been demonstrated by the results of archaeological excavations: Inna Antonova, "Yugo-vostochnyy uchastok oboronitel'nykh sten Khersonesa. Problema datirovki" (The south-eastern part of the defensive walls of Chersonese: the problem of dating), *KhSb* 7 (1996), 123-128; Alexander Aibabin, *Etnicheskaya istoriya rannevizantiyskogo Kryma* (Ethnic history of the early Byzantine Crimea) (Simferopol: DAR [sic], 1999), 124, 126; T. I. Makarova, "Arkheologicheskiye raskopki v Kerchi okolo tserkvi Ioanna Predtechi" (Archaeological excavations in Kerch near the church of John the Predecessor), *MAIET* 6 (1998), 350-355, 389; Viktor Myts, "Ranniy etap stroitel'stva kreposti Aluston" (The earliest stage of building of the fortress of Aluston), *VV* 57 (1997), 198, 199; Oleg Dombrovskiy, "Srednevekovyye poseleniya i 'isary' Krymskogo yuzhnoberezh'ya" (The medieval settlements and the 'isars' of

copius writes that in the south-western part of the Crimea "long walls" were erected.<sup>14</sup> According to the most recent hypothesis, this construction traversed valleys between mountains and thus defended the central part of Gothia, but the results of archaeological investigations of the sites have not yet been published, and that is why one can neither accept this argument, nor set it aside. In the second half of the sixth century the heirs of Justinian continued to build fortifications in the Crimea. Five big fortresses, Mangup (early medieval Δόρυ or Δόρος), Eski-Kermen, Chufut-Kale, Bakla, and Tepe-Kermen were constructed on plateaux in the heart of Gothia, the vertical slopes of which served as the best defense.<sup>15</sup>

The fortifications of Byzantine Crimea differed from the classical Roman *limes* and were similar to the defensive structures of the eastern and southern provinces, which, like the Crimea, were suffering raids by nomads. Fortresses were usually erected not along the borders of the province, but in the middle of populated territory, where they played the role of refuges and hubs of defense. Enemies could not control a province, even if they robbed the rural territory, as long as they did not seize the fortresses, though an assault on even a very simple fortification made nomads a serious problem. The nomads suffered from the absence of provisions, foraging, and the raids of mobile Byzantine troops.<sup>16</sup> It should be mentioned that the fortresses of the south-western Crimea were built by the local inhabitants, the Goths, for their own needs, however, the Byzantine officers supervised this construction work.<sup>17</sup>

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the Crimean southern coast), in *Feodal'naya Tavrica*, ed. Sergey N. Bibikov (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1974), 8-12.

<sup>14</sup> Procop. *De aed.* 249 and 250.

<sup>15</sup> Alexander Aibabin, "Khronologiya mogil'nikov Kryma pozdnerimskogo i rannesrednevekovogo vremeni" (The chronology of cemeteries of the Crimea in the Later Roman and Early Medieval periods), *MAIET* 1 (1991), 68; Idem., *Etnicheskaya istoriya*, 113-119, 143-146.

<sup>16</sup> Louis Bréhier, *Le Monde byzantin*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Albin Michel, 1949), 350; J. H. G. W. Liebeschuetz, "The Defences of Syria in the Sixth Century," in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms, II. Vorträge des 10. Internationalen Limeskongresses in der Germania Inferior* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1977; reprint in *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest: Change in the Late Roman Empire*, London: Variorum, 1990), 493-494, 498-499 (page citations are to the reprint edition); J. A. S. Evans, *The Age of Justinian: The circumstances of imperial power* (London: Routledge, 1996), 220-221; Mark Whittow, *The Making of the Orthodox Byzantium, 600 – 1025* (London: MacMillan, 1996), 171.

<sup>17</sup> Aibabin, *Khronologiya*, 68.

Scholarly literature sometimes uses the artificial term *limes Tauricus* as a name for the Byzantine Crimea in the epoch of Justinian.<sup>18</sup> The use of the expression *limes Tauricus*,<sup>19</sup> which never appear in sources, but is the artificial term, might be considered as a doubtful, especially as, one can remember, fortifications of the Byzantine Crimea bore little similarity to the Roman *limes* in its classical sense, for example, to the *limes* of the Danubian frontier. However, generally speaking, the term *limes* had not the sense of a concrete line of the fortifications in sources. In inscriptions it means a zone of defense, clarified with geographical name (for example, *limes Tripolitanus*), which was under the supervision of the officer: *praepositus* or *doux*.<sup>20</sup> Thus, taking the facts that the Byzantine Crimea was governed by the *doux* of Cherson<sup>21</sup> and that the peninsula was a real zone of strategic defense into account, one can use the term *limes Tauricus* (or better *limes Chersonitanus* – with due to the title of the *doux*) for determining the Byzantine Crimea from the age of Justinian to the age of Maurice as a hypothetical name of the province.

## 1.2. Status of the Crimea in the sixth century.

Thus, the new Byzantine province had been established in the Crimea in the sixth century. Cherson became the center of the new unit; the official title of the governor of this new province was “*doux* of Cherson” (δοῦξ Χερσῶνος).<sup>22</sup> This new province acquired the name of “Cherson,” derived from the name of its capital. In the fifth – sixth centuries the term “Cherson” had two meanings – in a narrow sense it signified the town itself, in the wide sense all the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea, subordinated to the city and its administration.<sup>23</sup> But the question of the status of the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea outside Cherson’s fortifications is still open. It appears from the inscription of 590<sup>24</sup> that Bosporos probably joined the newly established province. The Gothia was an-

<sup>18</sup> Sergey Shestakov, *Ocherki po istorii Khersonesa v IV – X vekakh po R.Kh.* (Essays on the history of Chersonesus in 4<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> century AD), *Pamiatniki khristianskogo Khersonesa 3* (Moscow: [n. p.], 1908), 8 and 9; Vasiliev, *Goty*, 182; Yakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyy*, 27.

<sup>19</sup> Taurica was a medieval name of the Crimean peninsula.

<sup>20</sup> H. Jouffroy, “Les constructions du limes d’après les inscriptions: étude du vocabulaire latin de l’architecture militaire,” *Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, ed. W. Groenman - van Waateringe (Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 91, 1997), 384.

<sup>21</sup> Vasilii Latyshev, *Sbornik grecheskikh nadpisey khristianskikh vremyon iz Yuzhnoy Rossii* (A collection of Greek inscriptions of Christian epoch from Southern Russia) (St. Petersburg: [n. p.], 1896), cat. no. 99.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>24</sup> Latyshev, *Sbornik*, cat. no. 99.

other case. Procopius calls the Crimean Goths ἐνσπόνδοι of the Empire, allies of the Byzantines in their military campaigns.<sup>25</sup> In classical Greek the word ἐνσπόνδος means a person included in truce or treaty.<sup>26</sup> The Crimean Goths were the only people for whom Procopius uses this term. It seems that *enspondoi* had no precise political meaning; Procopius uses this term for one of categories of the barbarian allies of the Empire, for which he also uses the term φοιδεράτοι.<sup>27</sup> These *phoideratoi* "...fight together with the Romans, being their allies and receiving an annual payment from the emperor like the other warriors and being titled *phoideratoi*; this way the Romans called them by this Latin word, trying to emphasize, I think, that the Goths were not defeated by them in the war, but made a treaty with them on certain conditions. *Phoidera* is the Latin expression for conditions concerning military affairs..."<sup>28</sup> There were differences in status of different tribes, which depended on the concrete treaty, concluded between this tribe and the Empire.<sup>29</sup> There probably was a treaty between the Crimean Goths and the Byzantium, which determines the conditions of the alliance. The Goths probably kept their own tribal leaders, who solved all the internal problems and were commanders of Gothic troops in military campaigns. They received payment for their participation in these campaigns and guarding the Byzantine frontier. However they still had to coordinate their external policy with the administration of the *doux* of Cherson. As has been mentioned before, the building of fortifications in Gothia, organized under the supervision of Byzantine military officers in the second half of the sixth century, which we know about from Procopius and data of archaeological excavations, was a part of this policy.

Nevertheless, soon after the new province had been established Byzantine Crimea appeared to be in trouble. In 575/76 the Avars, coming from the eastern steppes, besieged

<sup>25</sup> Procopius *De aed.* 249.

<sup>26</sup> Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek – English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), s. v. *enspondos*.

<sup>27</sup> cf. Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (New York: Praeger, 1971), 277.

<sup>28</sup> Procopius, "De bello gotico," in *Procopius, Opera omnia*, vol. 2, ed. Gerhard Wirth (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1963), 505; cf. Idem., "De bello vandalico," in *Procopius, Opera omnia*, vol. 1, ed. Jacob Haury (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1962), 361.

<sup>29</sup> About different categories of barbarian allies of Byzantium (in scholarship usually called *federates* in Latinised form) see Obolensky, *Commonwealth*, 276 and 277; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire. 284 – 602. A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 199-203, 611-613, 663-664; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops: Army, Church, and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 32-36.



and took Bosphoros.<sup>30</sup> In 579/80 the Avars even “placed their camp at Cherson,”<sup>31</sup> but it is not clear whether the matter concerns the siege of the city or just of the new border between Byzantium and the Avars. Anyway, according to the inscription of 590, by that time Byzantine power was restored in Bosphoros.<sup>32</sup> This inscription contains the last mention of the official of Cherson before a more than 100-years-long *lacuna*.

### 1.3. The *doux* of Cherson (δοῦξ Χερσῶνος).

Under Justin II (565-578) and Maurice (582-602), the Cherson administration was headed by the δοῦξ Χερσῶνος,<sup>33</sup> who was the head of the corps of the Byzantine army, quartered in the province. The *doux* was subordinated to the *magister militum* and performed the duties of military governor in the province.<sup>34</sup> The fact that Cherson was the residence of the *doux* means that the status of the city had risen and it had become the center of the whole province, the territory of which probably coincided with the framework of the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea. As for the *doux's* responsibilities, it is likely that they did not differ from those of other such Byzantine officers. According to epigraphic sources, this official organized building in Cherson and Bosphoros; as mentioned above, he probably supervised the construction of fortresses in Gothia.

The inscription with the name of Maurice supplies the rank of the Byzantine governor of Cherson and the title of his office in the form of ἐνδοξότατος στρατηλάτος καὶ δοῦξ Χερσῶνος. V. V. Latyshev, the publisher of the inscription, considered *stratēlates* to be the rank of the person who received the position of the *doux* of Cherson.<sup>35</sup> On the contrary, according to V. M. Zubar' and S. B. Sorochan, one official combined the positions of the military commander (*doux* of Cherson) and civil governor of the Byzantine Crimea (*stratēlates*); the responsibilities of the latter coincided with those of the *tribunus civita-*

<sup>30</sup> Menandros, “De legationibus,” *Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri Historiarum quae supersunt*, ed. Immanuel Bekker and B. G. Niebuhr (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1829), 404.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 337.

<sup>32</sup> Latyshev, *Sbornik*, cat. no. 99.

<sup>33</sup> Latyshev, *Epigraficheskiye novosti*, cat. No. 37; Solomonik, *Neskol'ko novykh nadpisey*: cat. no. 4; Latyshev, *Sbornik*, cat. no. 99.

<sup>34</sup> Bréhier, *Le Monde*, 339; Jones, *The Later*, 44, 373, 376, 656.

<sup>35</sup> Vasiliy Latyshev, “K nadpisi Yevpateriya. 1. Vopros o vremeni nadpisi” ([Addition] To the inscription of Eupaterios. 1. The problem of the date of the inscription), in *Pontika* (St. Petersburg: [n. p.], 1909), 208-210.

tis.<sup>36</sup> The position of *tribunus civitatis* appeared in Byzantine administration in the sixth century in the provinces of Italy, after they were reconquered from the Ostrogoths. That was the title of a military commandant of a city, who also had the responsibilities of being its civil ruler. *Tribuni civitatis* were subordinated to *doukes*. In the Byzantine army, a *tribunus* who distinguished himself could receive the title of *doux*.<sup>37</sup> Under Justinian I and his heirs, many of the *doukes* became responsible for not only the military, but also the civil sphere of the life of the region.<sup>38</sup> Thus one can conclude that the *tribunus civitatis* performed the same functions as the *doux*, but held a position on a lower level in the hierarchy. What is more, from the beginning of the sixth century onwards, *stratelates* lost the administrative meaning of the position and became just a rank for different officers, including *doukes*. Sometimes, *stratelates* was a component part of a complicated rank, for example, as in case of a Cherson official, *endoxotatos stratēlatēs*.<sup>39</sup> Taking all the aforementioned into account one can argue that the military governor of the Byzantine Crimea, who also received civil responsibilities, was called *doux Chersōnos*.

#### 1.4. Officials of lower ranks.

Unfortunately, the few sources from the sixth century preserve almost no evidence about the officials of the Cherson administration. For example, in the inscription bearing the name of Justin II, two other officials are mentioned, but the titles of their offices have not been preserved. They probably were subordinate to the *doux*, and it is known that a Byzantine *doux* usually possessed a huge administrative staff.

By analyzing sources dealing with the later periods, it is possible to enlarge the list of Cherson officials and draw some conclusions about the bodies of local self-

<sup>36</sup> Vitaliy Zubar' and Sergey Sorochnan, "O polozhenii Khersona v konce V – VI vv.: politicheskiy i ekonomicheskiy aspekty" (On the situation in Cherson in the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> centuries: political and economic aspects), *KhSb* 9 (1998), 124.

<sup>37</sup> Jones, *The Later*, vol. 1, 760, 101; Z. V. Udal'tsova, *Italiya i Vizantiya v VI veke* (Italy and Byzantium in the 6<sup>th</sup> century) (Moscow: Akademiya Nauk SSSR, 1959), 506, 507; O. R. Borodin, *Vizantiyskaya Italiya v VI – VIII vv. (Ravennskiy exarkhat i Pentapol')* (Byzantine Italy in the 6<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> centuries [the exarchate of Ravenna and Pentapolis]) (Barnaul: Den', 1991), 173, 180.

<sup>38</sup> Jones, *The Later*, vol. 1, 656 and 657; Fedor Uspenskiy, *Istoriya Vizantii* (The History of Byzantium), vol. 1, (Moscow: Mysl', 1996), 361 and 362.

<sup>39</sup> Rodolphe Guiland, *Recherches sur l'administration byzantine*, vol. 1 (Paris: Centre national de la recherches scientifiques, 1964), 385-391; J. Gasco, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine," *TM* 9 (1985), 64 and note 362; Nikolas Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972), 296, 332.

government, the municipality, in the sixth century. The position of πατήρ τῆς πόλεως (Latin *pater civitatis*), the municipal official responsible for providing public works, who was also a judge in criminal affairs and in charge of municipal finance, is mentioned in sources from the late fourth and from the ninth to the tenth centuries.<sup>40</sup> The ἑκδικος (Latin *defensor civitatis*) of Cherson, who seemingly had to protect the poor from the powerful and prevent abuses by the imperial administration, and also was the chair of the city council, head of police, judge in minor cases in civil and criminal affairs, appeal judge, and tax collector, is known from the seals of the tenth century.<sup>41</sup> Πρωτεύοντες are fixed in Cherson by sources of the early eighth – first half of the eleventh century.<sup>42</sup> This group was made up of the most noble, rich, and influential members of the city's community, the leaders of the municipal council, who proposed the candidates for the most important positions in local self-government, such as *patēr tēs poleōs*, and after the assign-

<sup>40</sup> About *pateres* of Cherson see: Nikita Khrapunov, "O vzaimosvazy vizantiyskoy i municipalnoy administratsii Kharsona: chinovniki *pateres tes poleos*" (On the interconnection between the Byzantine and the municipal administration of Cherson: the officials *pateres tes poleos*), *Istoricheskiy opyt mezhnacional'nogo i mezkhkonnatsional'nogo soglasiya v Krymu* (The historical experience of the international and interconfessional harmony in the Crimea) (Simferopol: Tavriya, 1999), 162-164; about this office in general see: A. H. M. Jones, *Later*, vol. 1, vol. 2, 1312, note 104; Itskhok Fikhman, *Oksirinkh – gorod papirusov* (Oksirinchos – the city of papyrus) (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), 235; Denis Feissel, "Nouvelles donnees sur l'institution du *pater tes poleos*," in Gilbert Dagron and Denis Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (Paris: De Boccard, 1987), 215-220.

<sup>41</sup> Seals of *ekdikoi* of Cherson are published by: Nikolay Alexeenko, "Noviye nakhodki pechaty predstavitel'ey gorodskogo upravleniya Khersona" (New finds of seals of representatives of Cherson's city administration), *MAIET* 5 (1996), cat. no. 11 and 12; about this office in general see: Germaine Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Paris: Librairie orientale Paul Geutner, 1928), 7, 8, 63, 65, 154, 159, 163; A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), 151, 208 and 209; Idem., *Later*, vol. 1, 144, 145, 279, 280, 521, 726, 727, 758; Franz Dölger, "Die frühbyzantinische und byzantinische beeinflusste Stadt (V. - VIII. Jahrhundert), in *Atti del 3o Congresso Medio Evo 14 - 18 ott. 1956* (Spoleto, 1959; reprint, in *Paraspora. 30 Aufsätze zur Geschichte, kultur und Sprache des byzantinischen Reiches*, Munich: Buch-Kunstverlag Ettal, 1961), 120 and 121 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Dietrich Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Beck, 1969), 114-118; Georgiy Kurbatov, *Osnovniye momenty vnutrennego razvitiya vizantiyskogo goroda* (The basic problems of the internal development of a Byzantine city) (Leningrad: Leningradskiy gosudarstvenniy universitet, 1971), 190, 191, 194, 197; J. H. G. W. Liebeschuetz, "The Origin of the Office of the Pagarch," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 66 (1973; reprint in *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest: Change in the Late Roman Empire*, London: Variorum, 1990), 40, 43; Alexander Demandt, *Die Spätantike: Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian; 284 – 565 n. Chr.* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1989), 404.

<sup>42</sup> Theophanes. *Chronography*, ed. I. Classen, vol. 1 (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1839), 578; Nikephoros, *Breviarium*, ed. and tr. Cyril Mango (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), 108 and 109; George Kedrenos, *Synopsis*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1838), vol. 1, 782 vol. 2, 372; Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R. J. H. Jenkins (Budapest: Pazmany Peter Tudomanyegyetemi, 1949), 183 and 184; Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, tr. Yakov Lyubarskiy (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1992), 56; John Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1973), 277; John Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, ed. Ludovik Dindorf (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner,

ment of state administration carried out some functions in governing the city.<sup>43</sup> All these administrative positions appeared in the cities of the eastern provinces in the Later Roman Period and became very important during the reign of Justinian I, who spent a great deal of his time and energy strengthening municipal self-governments. Later, these positions gradually lost their significance and disappeared. They were preserved for a long period, that is until the tenth – the first half of the eleventh century, however the content of these offices changed in the course of time. That is why one can hypothesize that the position of *patēr* existed in Cherson through the sixth century; that in this century there was a committee of *prōteuontes*, who elected from among themselves the heads of the local community, such as *ekdikos* and *patēr*, who ruled the city under the control of the Byzantine administration. It may be assumed that Justinian I was the person who played a role in the development of Cherson's self-government, because it is known that after the neighboring city of Bosporos became a part of the Empire the Emperor introduced new municipal bodies there.<sup>44</sup> The absence of the data on the municipal dignitaries of the sixth century Cherson in the sources might be explained as a result of the fact that a few contemporary sources are the official inscriptions. It should be pointed out that all preserved documents of this type dated to the third – sixth centuries were connected with the Byzantine military or civil administration. Thus, the nature of the sources might prevented municipal officials of being mentioned in them.

The number of known officials of Cherson's administration during the period of the *doukate* can be enlarged by means of the analysis of several seals, which have been found at the site of Cherson. Among them there are three seals of the second half of the sixth – first half of the seventh centuries, the legends of which do not contain the place where the dignitary lived. These officials were of the lower ranks, so their responsibilities did not exceeded the area of the territory where they lived, therefore they most probably were local officeholders. Among these officials there were the ἐρμηνεύτης (interpreter)<sup>45</sup>

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1871), vol. 3, 324 and 325; vol. 4, 87; Nikolay Alexeenko, "Les sceaux des prôteuontés de Cherson au Xe siècle," *SBS* (forthcoming).

<sup>43</sup> Kurbatov, *Osnovniye momenty*, 203, 204; Alexey Rudakov, *Ocherki vizantiyskoy kul'tury po dannym grecheskoy agiografii* (Essays on Byzantine culture from the data of Greek hagiography) (St. Petersburg: Aleteyia, 1997), 92; Mikhail Suzumov, "O sotsial'noy sushchnosti zakonodatel'stva 'Vasilik'" (On the social nature of the *Basilikoi logoi* laws [sic]), *VV* 6 (1956), 76.

<sup>44</sup> Feissel, *Nouvelles donnees*, 220; Khrapunov, *O vzaimosvyazy*, 165-166.

<sup>45</sup> Irina Sokolova, "Les sceaux byzantins de Cherson," *SBS* 3 (1993), 106.

and the ἀρκάριος.<sup>46</sup> This title probably is the Greek transliteration of the Latin *arcarius*. In legislative acts of the Later Roman period dealing with African provinces, *arcarii* was the name for tax collectors.<sup>47</sup> The fact that the Chersonians paid imperial taxes is beyond any doubt. The problem is that there is very little information about what these taxes were and how they were collected. According to the edict of Justin II this taxation included the πλωιμά (maritime duty).<sup>48</sup> It should also be remembered, that, according to the inscription of 488, even in the age of the formal independence from the Empire, the Chersonians paid taxes, used for the support of the Roman garrison and fortificational building.<sup>49</sup>

Two clay circular imprints with identical inscriptions, εὐλογία τοῦ ἁγίου Φῶκα τοῦ πτωχείου Χερσῶνος (blessing of St. Phoka, [the patron] of the poorhouse of Cherson), give evidence for the existence of one more official. Taking into account portraits on the first item, V. V. Latyshev dated it to not later than the seventh century.<sup>50</sup> The authors of the catalogue of the exhibition “Byzantine Cherson” dated the second item to the fifth – sixth centuries.<sup>51</sup> Πτωχεῖον was a shelter for the homeless and the hospital for the poor, the administration of which also organized distributions for paupers.<sup>52</sup> For the practical management of this institution there was need for a special official, πτωχοτροφός, who might be either a church or civil figure.

In the sixth century, probably during the reign of Justinian I, the city of Cherson became the center of an imperial province, which was also called Cherson. The new administrative structure also included the southern coast of the Crimea, and the Hellenistic

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>47</sup> Boris Panchenko, “Katalog molivdovulov kollektzii Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole” (The catalogue of the *molibdobuli* from the collection of the Russian archaeological institute in Constantinople), *IRAİK* 13 (1908), 125 and 126; Jones, *Later*, vol. 1, 417; vol. 2, 1167, note 12; cf. Jean Durliat, *De La Ville antique à la ville byzantine: le problème des subsistances* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990), 154, note 193.

<sup>48</sup> *Corpus iuris civilis*, vol. 3, *Novellae*, ed. R. Schoell and G. Croll (Berlin, 1895), 751.

<sup>49</sup> Latyshev, *Sbornik*, cat. no. 7.

<sup>50</sup> Vasiliy Latyshev, “Étudy po vizantiyskoy epigrafike. III. Neskol’ko pamiatnikov s nadpisyami vizantiyskoy epokhi iz Khersonesa” (Studies on Byzantine epigraphy; 3: Several monuments with inscriptions of the Byzantine epoch from Chersonese), *VV* 3 (1899), 23.

<sup>51</sup> *Vizantiyskiy Kherson. Katalog vystavki* (Cherson: the catalogue of the exhibition) (Moscow: Nauka, 1991), 30.

<sup>52</sup> Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine philanthropy and social welfare* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: A. D. Caratzas, 1991), 257-269; Bréhier, *Le monde*, 525; Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974), 516; Sergey Sorochan, *Vizan-*

city of Bosporos on the eastern extremity of the peninsula. The Goths, who occupied the south-western upland, became the allies of the Empire. The Byzantine *doux* of Cherson performed duties of military and civil governor in the province. The Byzantines preserved already existed and introduced new patterns of municipal self-government, such as *patēres tēs poleōs*, *ekdikoi*, and *proteuontes*, in Cherson and Bosporos. As will be shown below, later, in the seventh century, the position of the *doux* of Cherson had disappeared, but the municipal bodies remained in this city until the tenth – eleventh centuries.

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*tiya IV – IX vv. Etyudy rynku. Structura mekhanizmov obmena* (Byzantium of the 4<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries: studies of the market; the structure of patterns of exchange) (Kharkov: Biznes Inform, 1998), 210.

## Chapter 2. The Period of the *Archontate*.

### 2.1. Historical survey.

The history of Cherson in the eighth and early ninth centuries is insufficiently described in the sources. There are only several descriptions of very few episodes of the city's life at the disposal of a scholar. It is known that Cherson continued to be used as a place of exile for disgraced monks: under Herakleios (610-641), Euprepeos and Theodoros were banished there,<sup>53</sup> and in 655 the Roman Pope Martin I.<sup>54</sup> In the seventh century the Khazarian Khaganate came on the stage, and from that moment for approximately 300 years the interrelations between the Khazars and the Byzantines were the factor which determined the history of the Crimea.

By the end of the century, the Empire had lost all its possessions on the peninsula except Cherson. If in 642-654, Bosporos minted coins with pictures of Byzantine Emperor Constans II,<sup>55</sup> then in 694-695 there was a Khazarian governor in the city.<sup>56</sup> Gothia was in Byzantium's hands at least until the middle of the seventh century. The source says that, exiled to Cherson, Euprepeos (died circa 655) and Theodoros (died circa 667) "were often separated [one from another] by force and sent to fortresses of tribes, neighboring to it [Cherson]."<sup>57</sup> There was no fortress near Cherson but that of Gothia, therefore it can be inferred that, at this time Gothia was under the Byzantine control. In 694-695, Doros, the capital of Gothia, was the neutral zone where a man could fear neither the Byzantines nor the Khazars.<sup>58</sup> The first source supplying information that Gothia fell into the hands of the Khazars is the *Life of St. John of Gothia* (events of the eighties of the eighth century).<sup>59</sup> According to Alexander Aibabin, the Khazarian protectorate spread

<sup>53</sup> PG 129, col. 684.

<sup>54</sup> Theoph. *Chron.* 510, 537; PL 87, 120; cf. 201-204.

<sup>55</sup> Valeriy Sidorenko, "Monetnaya chekanka Bospora 642-654 gg." (Minting of Bosporos of 642-654), in *Outlines of the International Conference "Byzantium and the Crimea, Sevastopol, June 1997"* (Simferopol: n. p., 1997), 74-75.

<sup>56</sup> Theoph. *Chron.* 571; Nikeph. *Brev.* 100-103.

<sup>57</sup> PL 129, col. 684.

<sup>58</sup> Theoph. *Chron.* 571; Nikeph. *Brev.* 100-101; Kedr. *Synops.* vol. 1, 778.

<sup>59</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Junii*, 3 (Antwerpen: Apud Vidiam Petria Jacobs, 1709), 190-194.

over Gothia in the earlier period, in the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>60</sup> Alexander Gertsen holds the opposite point of view.<sup>61</sup>

In 695, Byzantine Emperor Justinian II was overthrown and banished to Cherson.<sup>62</sup> From there he escaped to the Khazars, from them to Bulgaria, and finally regained his throne in 705. In 710/11, Justinian sent several punitive expeditions to the Crimea. The motive for this is not quite clear. Sources attribute it to the Emperor's desire to take revenge against Cherson, Bosphoros, and his senseless cruelty. Although, taking into account that shortly before this a similar sad fate overtook Ravenna,<sup>63</sup> one can infer that both in Italy and in the Crimea Justinian II was led into these actions by the concrete political goals of his reign, which were centralization of the Empire and prevention of any attempt at separatism.

The sources are vague on the status of Cherson in 710/11. First, the city was dependent upon Byzantium: when the Chersonians refused to obey Justinian II, they raised their own pretender to the crown and voluntarily accepted his power. Second, there was a representative of the Khazarian Khagan in Cherson, called τουδοῦνος. *Toudounos* is a title of Chinese origin; it indicated governor or military commander of a region.<sup>64</sup> Although Theophanes also called this *toudounos* "the governor of Cherson on behalf of the Khagan," in Cherson this "military governor" had no army at his disposal! Thus, on the one hand, the Chersonians considered themselves subjects of the Empire, and, on the other hand, there was a representative of the Khazars in the city. One can infer that at this

<sup>60</sup> Aibabin, *Etnicheskaya istoriya*, 194-197.

<sup>61</sup> Alexander Gertsen, "Vizantiysko-khazarskoye pogranič'ye v Tavrike" (Byzantine and Khazarian frontier in Taurica), in *Istoriya i arkheologiya Yugo-Zapadnogo Kryma* (History and archaeology of the south-western Crimea), ed. Yuriy Mogarichev (Simferopol: Tavriya, 1993), 58-66.

<sup>62</sup> His adventures in the Crimea, second accession, sad fate and consequences of them are described by Theoph. *Chron.*, 570-585; Nikeph. *Brev.* 94-97 and 100-113; see also Kedr. *Synops.* vol. 1, 776-784; Zon. *Epitome*, 323-329; Constantine Manassis, "Breviarium," in *Constantine Manassis, Ioel, Grigorios Akropolita* (Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1838), 167, 169-176.

<sup>63</sup> See Thomas S. Brown, "Justinian II and Ravenna," *Byzantinoslavica* 56, fasc. 1 (1995):29-36.

<sup>64</sup> Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. II. Sprachreste der Türkvölker in der Byzantinischen Quellen* (Budapest: Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetemi görög Filológus Intézet, 1943), s.v. toudounos; V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoye khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoy Porty do nachala XVIII veka* (The Crimean Khanate under the leasanship of the Ottoman Porta before the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) (St. Petersburg: V Universitetskoi tip. v Kazani, 1887), 39-47; Vasiliev, *Goty*, 196; Yu. A. Zuyev, "Drevneturkская sotsial'naya terminologiya v kitayskom tekste VIII v." (Ancient Turcic social terminology in the Chinese text of the 8<sup>th</sup> c.), *Voprosy arkheologii Kazakhstana* 2 (1998), 155 and 157.



moment Cherson possessed a status of condominium, a joint protectorate of Byzantium and Khazaria.<sup>65</sup>

The problem is that if Cherson really was a condominium, there must have been a machinery for realization of this status. On Cyprus, the only territory, in the case of which we know the condominium status more or less in detail, the condominium pertained in two patterns: first, to the demilitarization of this territory; second, to a division of the taxes from the population of the island between the Empire and the Khalifate. In Cherson one has to account only for the existence of the first part of such a principle: the Khazarian *toudounos* had no army at his disposal, and there was no Byzantine troop detached to Cherson before Justinian II's campaigns. There is no evidence of any taxation. It is known that the Chersonians paid money to the Khagan – one *nomisma* per man, but, according to the source, it was just a deposit for their loyalty towards Philippikos.<sup>66</sup>

If Cherson possessed condominium status between Byzantium and Khazaria, this solution might have been made during the Byzantine embassy to Khazaria in 706/07, but whatever the status of Cherson was, the appearance of the Khazars in Cherson seems to be the real reason for the Byzantine expeditions to the Crimea. It should be also taken into account that sources say about the expeditions were aimed against not only Cherson but also Bosphoros and “other principalities” (this was certainly Gothia). One can infer that because the Khagan was not willing to lose his possessions in the Crimea, he organized a plot against Justinian II, in which he involved the Chersonians and some of Byzantine troops. It is clear that the Khazarians but not the Chersonians were at the core of the intrigue: the new pretender to the Byzantine crown, Bardanes, lived at the Khagan's headquarters; the Khazarian troops finally defeated Justinian's army. The role of the Chersonians was probably in electing Bardanes to be the Emperor Philippikos and thus making him the protégé of the subjects of the Empire, not of the Khazars. Nevertheless, the epi-

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Alexander Bert'ye-Delagard, “Nadpis' vremeni imperatore Zenona v sviazi s otryvkami istorii Khersonesa” (The inscriptions of the time of the Emperor Zeno in connection to the fragments of the history of Chersonese), *ITUAK* 16 (1893), 81; Werner Seibt, “Probleme der staatsrechtlichen Stellung Chersons im 7. u. 8. Jh.,” *MAIET* 7 (2000), 304 and 305; about other territories of such status see: Romilly J. H. Jenkins, “Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, AD 688-965,” in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, 11 (St. Louis: Washington university, 1953; reprint, in *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1970), 1006-1014 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Hélène Ahrweiler, “La Frontière et les frontières de Byzance en Orient,” *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines*, 1971 (Bucarest, 1974; reprint, in *Byzance: le pays et les territoires*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1970), 216 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

sode with Justinian II is the only case when sources give evidence of the Khazarian presence in Cherson. Sigillography supplies numerous seals of Byzantine officials of Cherson from the eighth century onwards. In the second half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries Cherson continued to be the place of exile for political and church figures.<sup>67</sup> Thus, the Khazarian power in Cherson, if it really existed, lasted for a few years only. However that may be, the events of 711-712 finished with the dethronement of Justinian II and accession of Philippikos, and the period of the *archontate* ended with the establishment of the new military and administrative unit of the *theme* in the Crimea under Theophilos, more than a century later.<sup>68</sup>

## 2.2. *Prōtopolitēs* (πρωτοπολίτης) and the problem of “freie Stadt.”

There is a point of view accepted in historiography that Byzantine authority in Cherson weakened through the seventh century, so that Cherson became almost an independent city. This hypothesis was based on the following arguments: first, there is no evidence for Byzantine officials of Cherson of the seventh century; second, in the given period Byzantium went through the hard times, which did not allow it to pay much attention to its northern frontiers; third, at the beginning of the eighth century Cherson was governed by the πρωτοπολίτης, not Byzantine officials.<sup>69</sup> It seems that this concept is based more on logic, and less on the data of the sources, which supply no evidence for any kind of administration, let alone for the Byzantine administration of Cherson in the seventh century. The weakening of Byzantium in general can not be, in a strict sense, an argument either *pro*, or *contra*. We still have evidence about the exile of political and church figures to the city (2.1). It is unreasonable to banish your political enemies to a place which you cannot control, so it seems that one has to assume that Byzantium could somehow control Cherson. Consequently, one needs to find somehow another reasons for the absence of documents dealing with the administration of Cherson throughout the seventh century.

<sup>66</sup> Theoph. *Chron.*, 581 and 582; Nikeph., *Brev.* 110 and 111.

<sup>67</sup> Theoph. *Chron.* 697; Khrisanf Loparev, *Grecheskiye zhitiya svyatykh VIII I IX vekov. Chast' I. Sovremennyye zhitiya* (Greek Lives of Saints of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. Part 1. Contemporary Lives) (Petrograd: n.p., 1914), 227, 235.

<sup>68</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 184 and 185; Theoph. *Cont. Chron.* 56; Scyl., *Synops.*, 73; Kedr. *Synops.* vol. 2, 129 and 130.

Let us analyze the problem of the *prōtopolitēs*. Although Theophanes and Nikephoros called the *prōtopolitēs* to be the governor of Cherson in 710/11 together with the Khazarian *toudounos*. One should take into consideration, however, that *prōtopolitēs* was not the title of the office. In direct translation πρωτοπολίτης means “first citizen.” Nikephoros says about him: Ζωΐλον πρωτοπολίτην λεγόμενον...<sup>70</sup> Theophanes gives this rank in a more detailed form: Ζωΐλον, τὸν ἐκ σειρᾶς καὶ γένους ὄντα πρωτοπολίτην...<sup>71</sup> (i. e. “Zōilos who was the first citizen by his origin and family”).<sup>72</sup> This can be interpreted to mean that, first, this Zōilos was of local origin; second, he was the head of the administration of Cherson. Was he, however, a dignitary independent of Constantinople? The fact that after Cherson had been taken by the army of Justinian II the *prōtopolitēs* was driven to Constantinople witnesses, in my opinion, that the head of the administration of Cherson was ratified by the Emperor, possibly from among the local notables, *prōteuontes*. In this way, the administration of Cherson was changed by the early eighth century in comparison with the late sixth century. If in the previous period this city (and the province!) were governed by the *doux* appointed from Constantinople, and this position was abolished in the seventh century, then the principal responsibilities for governing the city probably passed into the hands of the municipality, the head (or all leaders?) of which were ratified by the Emperor. Thus, one may speak about the weakening of Byzantine power in Cherson, but not about the absence of it as such. Cherson was hardly a “freie Stadt,” but the machinery of its administration has been unclear due to the lack of sources. One can trace its further development through the eighth and early ninth centuries, when the authority in this city was realized by the board of the *archontes*.

### 2.3. Archontes (ἀρχοντες).

Through the eighth and early ninth centuries Cherson had the status of the *archontia*. The Byzantine table of ranks (*Taktikon of Uspenskij*, AD 842-843) speaks about “ex- *archontes* of Dalmatia and other *archontiae*” (...ἀπάρχοντες Δαλματίας καὶ

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Yakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyy*, 37; Seibt, *Probleme*, 303 and 304.

<sup>70</sup> Nikeph. *Brev.* 95.

<sup>71</sup> Theoph. *Chron.* 578.

<sup>72</sup> Theophanes uses similar expression of the determination of the noble origin of the person twice: one time for the *prōtopolitēs* of Cherson, another for the Bulgarian Khans (οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι ἐπαναστάντες

λοιπῶν ἀρχοντιῶν)<sup>73</sup> and as another part of the source speaks about *archontes* of Cherson (οἱ ἄρχοντες Χερσῶνος)<sup>74</sup> one can conclude that the term ἀρχοντία refers to Cherson also. As sources give evidence about the existence of the position of the *archōn* of Cherson from the eighth century, one can assume that the city received the status of *archontia* when its *archontes* became Byzantine employees. *Archontia* was probably a general term for frontier regions, the governmental patterns of which had some specific features.

The word-combination ἄρχων Χερσῶνος appeared for the first time in Theophanes' and Nikephoros' descriptions of Justinian II's campaigns against the Crimea. Theophanes says that Justinian II appointed *spatharios* Elias as the *archōn* of Cherson instead of the Khazarian *archōn*, the *toudounos*. Nikephoros uses the term *archōn* not only for Elias and the *toudounos*, but also for the governors of regions (of Gothia?) in the Crimea (these regions are also called *archontiae*); for Byzantine military commanders sent to Cherson by Justinian II; for the Prince of the Bulgars, Tervelos; and for military commanders of Justinian II's staff. Thus, one may infer that Theophanes and Nikephoros (or their joint primary source?) use the term *archōn* not in the strict administrative sense of the head of Cherson's administration, but in its primary meaning of "ruler," "leader," or "commander."

To date, 30 seals of the *archontes* dated from the eighth to the 60s of the ninth centuries have been published.<sup>75</sup> According to Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Theophanes Continuatus, until Theophilos' reform Cherson was governed by local magistracies which had nothing to do with the imperial administration; among these sources mention the *archontes*.<sup>76</sup> Finally, as has already been mentioned, the Byzantine Table of

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ἐφονεύσαν τοὺς κυρίους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ σειρᾶς καταγομένους – *Chron.* 667). Thus, this might be an indication of the hereditary power!

<sup>73</sup> Oikonomidēs, *Listes*, 58 and 59.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 56 and 57.

<sup>75</sup> Irina Sokolova, *Monety i pechati vizantiyskogo Khersona* (Coins and seals from Byzantine Cherson) (Leningrad: Nauka, 1983), cat.no. 1, 5, 5a, 7, 8-13; C. D. Smychov, "Neskol'ko neizdannyykh pechatey Khersona" (Several unpublished seals from Cherson), *VV* 50 (1989), cat. no. 1 and 2; Valentina Shandrovskaja, "Die Funde der Byzantinischen Bleisiegeln in Sudak," *SBS* 3 (1993), 96 and 97; Nikolay Alexeenko, "Noviye nakhodki pechatey predstaviteley gorodskogo upravleniya Khersona" (New finds of seals of representatives of Cherson's city administration), *MAIET* 5 (1996), no 1-6; Yelena Stepanova, "Sudakskiy arkhiv pechatey" (Sudak's archive of seals), *Arkheologiya Kryma* 2, no 2 (1997), cat. no. 5-7; Nikolay Alexeenko and C. D. Smychov, "Neskol'ko novykh pechatey vizantiyskogo Khersona" (Several new seals from Byzantine Cherson), *KhSb* 10 (1999), cat. no. 1-4.

<sup>76</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 184 and 185; Teoph. Cont. *Chron.* 56.

Ranks from the middle of the ninth century gives evidence about *archontes* of Cherson and “ex-*archontes* of Dalmatia and other *archontiae*.”<sup>77</sup>

The historiography of the problem is abundant.<sup>78</sup> To describe it in every detail is a task beyond the limits of this MA thesis, so I would like to make some general points about it. The *archontes* of Cherson are interpreted as the magistrates of local self-government, Byzantine civil or finance officials, military or maritime officers, or the result of a compromise between the central and municipal powers. The majority of the works cited above contain at least one of the following shortcomings. The majority of the publications use to a greater or lesser extent fragments from Theophanes and Nikephoros discussed above as the earliest mention of the *archōn* of Cherson. Sometimes scholars mistakenly consider the Khazarian *toudounos* to be the first *archōn* of Cherson. As usual there is no distinct explanation of why there was more than one *archōn*, and why, if the seals and the *Taktikon* indicate the imperial nature of the office, narratives call them local officials with no connection to the imperial service. There are some other problems, too.

Let me summarize this review and on this background raise considerations on methodology. In spite of the fact that the position of *archon*(tes) of Cherson is analyzed in extensive scholarship, the majority of the scholars have omitted errors in methodology. The position of the *archon*(tes) has been a subject for analysis either by well-known specialists on Byzantine history and sigillography, who considered the position of the *archōn* to be a typical pattern of the Byzantine administrative system, analyzed it according to the general principles of the Byzantine administration, and rarely notice the local peculiarities

<sup>77</sup> Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 56-59.

<sup>78</sup> J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (AD 802 - 867)* (London: MacMillan, 1912), 223, 330; George Ostrogorsky, “Taktikon Uspenskog i Taktikon Benechevicha” (Taktikon of Uspenslij and Taktikon of Beneshevich), *ZRVI* 2 (1953), 42 and 43; Jadran Ferluga, “L’archontat de Dalmatie,” *Actes du Xe Congrès international des Etudes byzantines* (Istanbul, 1957, reprint, in *Byzantium on the Balkans; Studies on the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIIth Centuries*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1976), 131-140; Hélène Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIIe – XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966), 72; Sokolova, *Monety*, 113 – 115; Lujo Margetić, “‘Provincijalni arhonti’ Taktikona Uspenskog (s osobitim obzirom na arhonta Dalmacije)” (“Provincial archonts” of the ‘Taktikon of Uspenskij’ [with special observation of the archontate of Dalmatia]), *ZRVI* 19-20 (1991): 54; Igor Baranov, “Administrativnoye ustroystvo rannevizantiyskogo Khersona” (Administrative system of early Byzantine Cherson), *MAIET* 3 (1993): 138; Alexeenko, *Noviye nakhodki*, 60; Valeriy Naumenko, “Uchrezhdeniye i razvitiye vizantiyskoy themy v Tavrike” (Establishment and development of the Byzantine theme in Taurica), *Drevnosti 1996* (1997), 24 and 25; Warren Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780 – 842* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 17; Seibt, *Probleme*, 305; Jean-Claude Cheynet, “Pozdniy arkhont: primer iz Khersona” (Late *archōn*: the example from Cherson), *MAIET* 7 (2000), 310- 316.

of the case of Cherson, or regional scholars who can see only Cherson itself and one or two analogies in the other parts of Byzantium, and, having accepted [or made] these analogies, built their theories accordingly. The shortcomings of both approaches become evident if meanings of the term *archōn* is examined closely. The different meanings of the term *archōn*, which could mean “the head in general” and several different administrative positions, have also led scholars astray. It is clear that in a study of the history of Cherson for which the sources are restricted, scholars often try to use all the possible cases, but some of them should be set aside in order to avoid creating confusion.

In my opinion, the study of the position of the *archontes* of Cherson should include the following stages. First, we should determine the content of the term *archōn* in Byzantium and in accordance with this determination mark the circle of possible analogies for the *archontes* of Cherson. Second, having studied sources dealing with the *archontes* of Cherson, we should recognize where the term *archōn* means “the head in general” and where a concrete position in the hierarchy. Only the latter should be the subject of this study. At that, the subject of the study should include all the sources dealing with the administrative position of the *archon(tes)* of Cherson even if on the face of it they contradict one another. A developed conception must connect all the data together. Third, it is necessary to find the background for the administrative body of the *archontes* of Cherson in the later Roman patterns of the city’s government. Finally, it is necessary to examine *archon(tes)* in the general context of Cherson’s administration, which allows us to find the distribution of responsibilities in the structure of the city’s administration.

In Byzantium there were different positions of *archōn*, including that of the city, with different responsibilities and principles of appointment.<sup>79</sup> The most distinctive features of Cherson's *archontes* are, firstly, the collective nature of this magistracy; secondly, the fact that they are mentioned in the official table of ranks; thirdly, their seals. Taking these three points into account, it is very difficult to find an exact analogy for Cherson

<sup>79</sup> See, for example: Alexey Rudakov, *Ocherki vizantiyskoy kul'tury po dannym grecheskoy agiografii* (Essays on the Byzantine culture on the data of the Greek hagiography) (St. Petersburg: Aletyia, 1997), 12; Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 54 - 59; Cheynet, *Pozdnyy arkhont*, 312, 314; John Nesbitt and Nicolas Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Vol.1, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991), 200, s. v. “*archon*”; see also Antoine Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951), 99; Oikonomides, *Les listes*, 343, note 13; Margetić, *Provincijalni arhonti*, 53-56.

*archontes* of the given period, but it seems that we can discover their predecessors in Cherson's administration of the first centuries AD.

In common with every Greek city, in antiquity Cherson was governed by a board of *archontes*. In the first centuries AD their authority widened, so as to include the military sphere. According to inscriptions of the mid-second century, the board included six officials headed by the first *archōn*.<sup>80</sup> In 174 AD the board included only the first, second, and third *archontes*.<sup>81</sup> The last mention of an *archōn* of Cherson in antiquity dates to the third century, so the 500-year *lacuna* until information on officials with the same title appeared again raises a serious problem. One should take into account, however, as will be shown later, numerous typical Later Roman officials such as the *patēr tēs poleōs*, *defensor civitatis*, and *prōteuōn* were preserved in the city up to the tenth century (2.5; 2.6; 3.5). Cherson seems to be the only Byzantine provincial city where these magistracies were kept for so long. In the tenth century these offices almost lost their connection with the urban community. They became magistracies of state service, acquired appropriate seals, and used ancient titles to emphasize their connection with the city community in contrast to the military governor, the *stratēgos*, who was appointed from Constantinople.

One can determine approximately the functions of the *archontes* of Cherson. The *archontes* were the heads of Cherson government because they were the only local officials mentioned in the *Taktikon of Uspenskij*, and ranks on their seals were higher than those of any other Cherson official. The *archontes* constituted the collective magistracy. The part of the text of the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* dealing with the *archontes* of Cherson is damaged. The majority of scholars accept F. I. Uspenskij's proposition to reconstruct here οἱ "αρχοντες [Χερ]σῶνος (in the plural). Lujo Margetić suggests another reconstruction: "αρχων in the singular.<sup>82</sup> This hypothesis contradicts not only the letters, which are preserved in the document, but also to the data of Constantine Porphyrogennetos and

<sup>80</sup> Vasiliy Latyshev, "Epigraficheskiye dannyye o gosudarstvennom ustroystve Khersonesa Tavricheskogo" (The epigraphic data on the state constitution of Taurical Chersonese), *ZhMNP* 6 (1884), 61; Vladimir Kadeyev, *Khersones Tavricheskij v pervyye veka n.e.* (Taurical Chersonese in the first centuries AD) (Kharkov: Vyshcha shkola, 1981), 73-74; Ella Solomonik, "Gosudarstvennyy story Khersonesa v ellenisticheskiy period i pervyye veka n.e." (The state constitution of the Chersonese in the Hellenistic period and in the first centuries AD), *Arkheologiya Kryma* 2, no 2 (1997), 23.

<sup>81</sup> Inna Antonova and V. P. Yaylenko, "Khersones, Severnoye Prichernomor'ye i Markomannskiy voyny po dannym khersonesskogo dekreta 174 g. n. e. v ches't Tita Avreliya Kal'purniana Apollonida" (Chersonese, the Black Sea North Littoral and the Marcommanian Wars on the data of the Chersonessian decree of 174 AD in honour of Titus Aurelius Calpurnianus Apollonidus), *Vestnik drevney istorii* 4 (1995), 61-63.

Theophanes Continuatus about several *archontes* of Cherson. Finally, the collective magistracy of the *archontes* is not an exception: in the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* there are collectives of the *archontes* of Crete, Dyrrhachion, and Chaldia.<sup>83</sup> Thus, we have a board of the *archontes* in Cherson. The collective nature of this office still allowed them to be the heads of the city's garrison, as in the period of antiquity.<sup>84</sup> At any rate, the *archontes* were civil governors of the city. The most distinctive feature of the *archontes* of Cherson is that, according to Constantine Porphyrogenetos and Theophanes Continuatus, they were elected by the local population. The seals and the *Taktikon of Uspenskij*, however, give evidence that the *archontes* were reinforced by the central government and were considered Byzantine officials. This combination of two patterns is typical of Later Roman, but not Byzantine, municipal administration.

#### 2.4. Kurios (κύριος).

There are three seals of *kurioi* of Cherson, dated to the late eighth – first half of the ninth centuries.<sup>85</sup> Irina Sokolova hypothesized the *kurios* to be a municipal official, who performed the duties of the governor of the city. Nikolay Alekseyenko suggested that *kurioi* were the governors of the frontier regions of specific status. These officials were to “take into account” the interests of three sides: Cherson, Byzantium, and Khazaria. Werner Seibt hypothesized the *kurios* being “not a Byzantine official, but the leader of the vassal-city of Cherson, perhaps not in best harmony with the empire - so their titles were lower than these of others.”

In Greek, κύριος had different meanings. Originally “master,” “owner,” or “proprietor,” it was used to denote monarchs (the Emperor, Khazarian and Bulgarian Khagans), members of the Emperor's family, free peasants, clergymen. In hagiographic sources it denoted governors of the cities of the Crimean Gothia, who were subjects of the Khazarian state, and where this word was used as not the exact title but as an indicator of the position of the person. On Byzantine seals the word *kurios* indicated either the Lord, or the owner of the seal, or the belonging of the latter to the clergy.

<sup>82</sup> Margetić, *Provincijalni arhonti*, .

<sup>83</sup> Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 54-57.

<sup>84</sup> According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*De adm. imp.*, 184) prior to the establishment of the *theme* in Cherson, the garrison of the city was comprised of the residents and placed under the authority of the heads of local self-government.



According to the seals, the *kurios* of Cherson was the official title, given to the magistrate. As it has been shown above (2.3), Cherson was governed by the board of the *archontes*. At first sight the title of the *kurios* would incline one to think that this dignitary pretended to be the leading official in Cherson, being called “the master” of the city. However, according to the seals, Byzantine ranks of the *kurioi* actually were lower than those of the *archontes*. For this reason the *kurios* could not be governor of the city, at least from the Byzantines’ point of view.

One cannot find precise analogies to the position of the *kurios* of Cherson in the Byzantine hierarchy. Thus, one has to seek the explanation for the nature of this office one has to use in one of two alternative directions. The first implies the supposition that this was a magistrate typical only of Cherson. In this case one should look for a reason for its establishment in the particular features of the history of the Crimea. As a result of this logic, an inference was made about the *kurios* as an official who was responsible for relations with the Khazars. The shortcoming of this hypothesis lies in the fact that Byzantium incorporated numerous frontier regions; it is logical to suppose that many *kurioi* were established in these areas in order to provide contacts with the barbarians. The second direction implies the hypothesis that the shortened forms in the seals’ legends (there are only three or four letters on each seal: KVP or KVPW) are reconstructed in a wrong way, so there is a need to find another position in the Byzantine administration that could be shortened into these letters, which is difficult. Thus, I can only say that the problem of the *kurios* has not been solved yet.

## 2.5. *Pateres tēs poleōs* (πατέρες τῆς πόλεως)

During the period of the *archontate*, *pateres tēs poleōs* (“fathers of the city”) are mentioned in the sources as leaders of Cherson prior to Theophilos’ reform.<sup>86</sup> The position of πατήρ τῆς πόλεως (Latin *pater civitatis*) represented another type of administrative pattern, which appeared during the Later Roman period. It appeared for the first time in inscriptions from Istros (AD 159/60)<sup>87</sup> and Olbia (AD 196/98).<sup>88</sup> From the fourth to the

<sup>85</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, 114 and 115, cat. no. 4; Alekseyenko, *Novyye nakhodki*, 160 and 161, cat. no. 8 and 9.

<sup>86</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 184 and 185; Theoph. Cont. *Chron.* 56.

<sup>87</sup> G. Mikhaylov, “Zapadnopontiyskiyat koyon” (*Koine* of the Western Pontus), *Izvestiya na Narodniya muzey – Varna* 16 (31) (1980), cat. no. 2, and p. 23.

<sup>88</sup> *IOSPE*, cat. no. 24, 27, 33, 97.

seventh century this position spread through many Byzantine provincial cities.<sup>89</sup> In Cherson the *pater* appeared for the first time in a Latin inscription of AD 370/75.<sup>90</sup>

*Pateres* of Byzantine cities are mentioned in epigraphy and imperial legislation. At present it has been demonstrated that the position of *patēr tēs poleōs* differed from that of λογίστης (Latin *curator civitatis*) and ἑκδικος (Latin *defensor civitatis*). One can not clearly separate their responsibilities, however, as more than one person could unite several higher municipal positions in his hands, and the legislation by Justinian I did not provide a clear distinction between *curator* and *pater civitatis*. In some cases there were several *pateres* in one city at a given moment (the same for the case of Cherson is stated in written sources). Sometimes this position was even held by a woman. *Pateres tēs poleōs* were elected by bishops and leaders of the city council, *prōteuontes*. It is difficult to determine the functions of the *pateres* definitely, probably because there were local differences in the responsibilities, nevertheless it is known that in general they organized public works, were judges in minor affairs, and were in charge of municipal finance.<sup>91</sup>

Some data about the content of the position of the *patēr* can be gleaned from the aforementioned inscriptions from Olbia. This position was that of the higher municipal rank, given for the extraordinary deeds that he carried out for the benefit of his city. In order to receive this title one had to go through the whole range of municipal positions. A person, elected as *patēr*, held this title for life. One of his functions was to deliver reports on the important cases which needed special decisions at the people's assembly. It is interesting that the decisions were made by "the *archontes*, the council, and the people" (ἄρχοντες, βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος) or just "the council and the people" (βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος). This might be an evidence for the absence of real responsibilities in the *patēr's* hands; real power belonged to the board of the *archontes*. Only one of the multitude of inscriptions from Olbia indicates that it was made under a certain *patēr tēs poleōs*, although many inscriptions mention the *archontes*. Therefore, the position of the *patēr tēs poleōs* was irregular and honorary.

<sup>89</sup> detailed although not full collection see in: Feissel, *Nouvelles données*, 215-220.

<sup>90</sup> *IOSPE*, cat. no. 449.

<sup>91</sup> Claude, *Stadt*, 114 and 115; Feissel, *Nouvelles données*, 219 and 220; Fikhman, *Oksirinkh*, 84, 231, 235, 244, 245; cf. Jones, *Later*, vol. 2, 1312, note 104.

The *pater* of the abovementioned Latin inscription from Cherson was called *vir perfectissimus*. In the given period this rank was given to those members of the curia who had passed through all the municipal positions.<sup>92</sup> This is indirect evidence that at least at the moment when the inscription was made (AD 370/75), the position of the *pater civitatis* was the highest in the Cherson administration. The nature of the *pateres* probably changed in the course of events. According to Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Theophanes Continuatus, in the ninth century *pateres* were municipal officials, elected by the local community.

## 2.6. *Prōteuontes* (πρωτεύοντες).

Narrative sources give evidence for a council of noblemen that functioned in Cherson through the eighth and early ninth centuries. When Cherson was taken by Justinian II's expedition in 710/11, among the punished citizens there were several ἐμφανείς καὶ πρωτεύοντας τῆς Χερσῶνος,<sup>93</sup> "ἄνδρας ἐμφανεστέρων... [and] "ἄλλους τε τῶν πρωτεύοντων Χερσῶνος "ἄνδρας,<sup>94</sup> or simply πρωτεύοντες Χερσῶνος.<sup>95</sup> Here ἐμφανείς seems to be no more than an epithet; the keyword is πρωτεύοντες. According to Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Theophanes Continuatus, a *prōteuōn* was reckoned among the leading officials of Cherson until Theophilos' reform.<sup>96</sup>

*Prōteuontes* appeared for the first time in two inscriptions of the late second – early third centuries from Tomi.<sup>97</sup> Later this pattern spread widely through cities in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.<sup>98</sup> In written sources *prōteuontes* are always leaders of

<sup>92</sup> Rodolphe Guiland, "Ocherki administrativnoy istorii rannevizantiyskoy imperii (IV – VI vv.). Zametki o titulakh znati: egregiy, perfektissim, klarissim" (The essays on the administrative history of the Earlier byzantine Empire [4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> cc.]; notes on the ranks of the nobility: *egregius*, *perfectissimus*, *clarissimus*), VV 24 (1964), 38 and 40.

<sup>93</sup> Theoph. *Chron.* 578.

<sup>94</sup> Nikeph. *Brev.* 108 and 109.

<sup>95</sup> Kedr. *Synops.* vol. 1, 782.

<sup>96</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 184 and 185; Theoph. Cont. *Chron.* 56. Several sources mentions *prōtoi* of Cherson as leaders of the city's community (Vasiliy Latyshev, "Zhitiya sv. Yepiskopov Khersonskikh" (Lives of Holy bishops of Cherson), *Zapiski Akademii Nauk* 8, vol. 8, no. 3 (1906), 59 and 63; Idem., "Stradaniya sv. Svyashchennomychennikov khersonskikh" (The suffering of St. Holy [sic] martyrs of Cherson), *IAK* 23 (1907), 109; Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 270 and 271). It seems that this term is no more than a synonym for the *prōteuontes*.

<sup>97</sup> Mikhaylov, *Koynon*, cat. no. 12 and 13.

<sup>98</sup> Rudakov, *Ocherki*, 92.

a representative body.<sup>99</sup> Dietrich Claude hypothesized that the *prōteuontes* were the noblest part of the population of the city. Excluding Constantinople's *prōteuontes*, who were senators of the highest rank, this hypothesis seems to be the most probable: the leading position in the city's council paved the way for the *prōteuontes* to take appropriate positions in the community, due to their influence and riches, and vice versa. In the seventh and eighth centuries the meaning of the term was diluted: it gradually acquired the sense of all the most rich and influential people of the city including state officials, rich persons who did not participate in governing the city, and even prosperous peasants.<sup>100</sup>

In the 53<sup>rd</sup> chapter of Constantine Prophyrogennetos' *De administrando imperio*, the expression στεφανηφόρος καὶ πρωτεύων refers to the head of Cherson's independent self-government, the commander of the army, and *eponymos*.<sup>101</sup> The nobility in this passage is called οἱ προύχουσι τῆς πόλεως.<sup>102</sup> This description contradicts everything that we know about *prōteuontes*, both in Byzantine cities in general and in Cherson (from other sources) in particular. However, let us remember that beneath the 53<sup>rd</sup> chapter of Constantine's work there was a digest from the city's archive, produced by the Chersonians themselves. Its idea was to show Cherson as an independent ally of the Empire, which had its own constitution and administration. In order to demonstrate this simple idea the Chersonians re-cast sources which they possessed; that is why the data of the 53<sup>rd</sup> chapter quite often contradicts the information of many other relevant sources, for example, epigraphic materials.<sup>103</sup> Taking this consideration into account, one can understand why in this source the *prōteuōn* played the role of the head of the independent self-government. This term was not taken by chance, but because it was never used before in documents connected with the state power (for example, in tables of ranks or in legends of seals).

<sup>99</sup> Mikhailov, *Koynon*, cat. no. 12 and 13; Rudakov, *Ocherki*, 92; Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974), 191; Claude, *Stadt*, 114, 118, 119; Kurbatov, *Osnovnyye momenty*, 203, 204; Fikhman, *Oksirinkh*, 231, 232 and note 172; Durliat, *Ville*, 313 and 314.

<sup>100</sup> Kurbatov, *Osnovnyye momenty*, 203 and 204; cf. Rudakov, *Ocherki*, 92; Uspenskij, *Istoriya*, vol. 2, 49; Suzumov, *O sotsial'noy sushchnosti*, 76; Rodolphe Guiland, *Recherches sur l'administration byzantine* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1964), vol. 1, 384; Michel Kaplan, *Les Hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: propriété et exploitation du sol* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1992), 200.

<sup>101</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 258-283.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* 272 and 273.

<sup>103</sup> See, for example, Constantine Zuckerman, "The Early Byzantine Strongholds on the Eastern Pontus," *TM* 11 (1991), 544-552.

The use of this term was intended to underline the autonomy of Cherson, the independent nature of its administration, and the local origin of its leaders. Thus, the data from the 53<sup>rd</sup> Chapter of Constantine Porphyrogennetos' treatise *De administrando imperio* is important for reconstructing the political ideology of the Chersonians, but not the administration of their city.

Historiographers have more than once expressed the opinion that the position of the *prōteuōn* of Cherson was developed from the late classical office of the *πρῶτος ἄρχων* or *πρωταρχοντεύων*. This office is known from Cherson's inscriptions of the first centuries AD.<sup>104</sup> Another hypothesis is that the *prōteuōn* was the "municipal" equivalent of the "imperial" title of the *archōn* of Cherson.<sup>105</sup> Both these approaches seem imperfect; first, as we have already seen, in early Byzantine sources *prōteuontes* were always the leaders of the representative body; second, *prōteuōn* was an official title, used in the Byzantine legislation of the sixth century. That is why one can conclude that the *prōteuontes* of Cherson had nothing to do with the official position of the *archontes* of the city.

The *prōteuontes* of Cherson in the eighth and early ninth centuries were probably the committee of notables similar to those in cities of Italy, Dalmatia, and other peripheral regions of Byzantium, where in this period such committees acquired different names but still executed similar responsibilities in the government of their city. The reasons for this hypothesis are: first, that the sources always contrast *prōteuontes* of Cherson to the state administration; second, all the sources emphasize that *prōteuontes* performed some duties in governing Cherson.

The responsibilities of the *prōteuontes* of Cherson probably did not differ much from those of Byzantine *prōteuontes* stated in the imperial legislation of the late fifth – sixth centuries: electing municipal officials and controlling them, nominating three candidates for the bishop's see, fulfilling assignments of the state administration.<sup>106</sup> Thus, for example, taking into account the hypothesis that the emperor probably ratified the *ar-*

<sup>104</sup> Vasiliy Latyshev, "Epigraficheskiye dannyye o gosudarstvennom ustroystve Khersonesa Tavricheskogo" (Epigraphic data on the state constitution of Taurical Chersonese), *ZhMNP* 6 (1884), 61; Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks; a survey of ancient history and archaeology on the north coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus* (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1971), 526.

<sup>105</sup> Ferluga, *L'archontat*, 133 and 134; Oikonomidès, *Les listes*, 353; Idem., "Le 'système' administratif byzantin en Crimée aux IXe – Xe s.," *MAIET* 7 (2000), 320.

<sup>106</sup> Claude, *Stadt*, 114, 116, 118; Fikhman, *Oksirinkh*, 228, 231, 232.

*chontes* of Cherson, one can infer that the *prōteuontes* nominated candidates for this position.

It is probably not possible to determine the precise number of the council of the *prōteuontes* of Cherson according to the data of Theophanes and Nikephoros, as Igor Baranov does.<sup>107</sup> First, the data of the sources differ. Second, the sources speak only of punished *prōteuontes*, although there might have been those on whom the Byzantines had mercy. Third, Byzantine chronicles tended to overestimate numeric data, especially in the story of Justinian II's cruelty. Finally, the number of the *prōteuontes* in the council of Cherson must not have been constant: the council could have been periodically reinforced by nouveaux riches, and at the same time those families which grew poor would have lost their participation in governing the city.

The role of the *prōteuontes* as leaders of a representative body, described in numerous sources from the second to the seventh centuries, inclines one to search for predecessors of Cherson's *prōteuontes* among the members of the city council (βουλή), the structure of which is described in inscriptions of the first centuries AD. There were representatives of several families which in contrast to other citizens were elected to the council many times, and frequently occupied important positions in the municipality.<sup>108</sup> The problem is that Cherson's *prōteuontes* are not mentioned in sources until the early eighth century, while in the majority of Byzantine cities and in the imperial laws they appear earlier, especially under Justinian I. A possible explanation is to make reference to the special and fragmentary character of the sources on the administration of Cherson in the sixth century.

During the seventh century the position of Byzantium in the Crimea weakened, and it lost there the majority of its territories there, except Cherson. As a result the principle of governing the city changed; the position of the governor, the *doux*, appointed directly from Constantinople, was abolished, and his responsibilities divided between dig-

<sup>107</sup> Baranov, *Administrativnoye ustroystvo*, 138.

<sup>108</sup> Vasiliy Latyshev, "Epigraficheskiye etudy. 9. Khersonesskiy pochetnyy dekret" (Epigraphic essays. 9. The Chersonessian honorable decree), *Pontika* (St. Petersburg: [n. p.], 1909), 315, 316; Ye. G. Surov, "Novaya khersonesskaya nadpis'" (The new Chersonessian inscription), *VDI* 3 (1960); Ella Solomonik, *Novyye epigraficheskiye pamiatniki Khersonesa* [part 2] (New epigraphic monuments of Chersonese) (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1973), cat. no. 112.

nitaries of the municipality. The administration of Cherson throughout this period was a mixture of the later Roman and Byzantine administrative principles. Responsibilities of governing the city were carried out by officials with ancient titles, which were probably elected by the local community and ratified by the Emperor. The supreme power in Cherson belonged to the board of the *archontes*. The position of the *kurios*, its responsibilities, principles of appointment, and even title are still enigmatic. Another collective position of the *pateres tēs poleōs* was probably irregular and honorary. The *prōteuontes* of Cherson were probably the informal committee of notables who executed some responsibilities in governing the city and supplied candidates for the higher positions of the administration. The period of the *archontate* ended during the reign of Theophilos (829-842), when the political and administrative situation in the Crimea changed completely.

### Chapter 3. Period of the *theme*

#### 3.1. Historical survey.

##### *The establishment of the theme.*

In the second quarter of the ninth century the Emperor Theophilos (829-842) received an embassy from Khazaria, who asked him for help in building a fortress. Theophilos' sent to Khazaria one of his courtiers, Petronas. Petronas' route passed through Cherson. The fortress for the Khazars, which received the name of Sarkel, was erected at the middle part of the Done. After returning back to Constantinople, Petronas described to the Emperor the state of affairs in Cherson and warned him not to trust in the *prōteuontes* and *archontes* and to appoint a *stratēgos* in Cherson. Theophilos agreed with this proposition and made Petronas the first *stratēgos* of Cherson. From this very moment – sources conclude – it became the principle to appoint *stratēgoi* to Cherson.<sup>109</sup> Although the term θέμα Χερσῶνος appeared for the first and last time in a source of the tenth century,<sup>110</sup> in the ninth century στρατηγός was a name used exclusively for military governors of *themes*, and that is why the majority of scholars agree that the new military and administrative unit, the *theme*, was established in the Crimea during the reign of Theophilos.<sup>111</sup>

Historiography determines the chronology of these events by means of the *Chronicle* by Theophanes Continuatus. According to this source, a year before the Khazarian embassy arrived at Constantinople, John Grammatikos had become the patriarch of Constantinople. This happened on Sunday, April 21.<sup>112</sup> During the reign of Theophilos, Sundays fell on April 21 twice – in 832 and 838. Using other sources Warren Treadgold demonstrated that the accession of John Grammatikos happened in 838.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 184 and 185; Teoph. Cont. *Chron.* 56; Scyl. *Synops.* 73; Kedr. *Synops.* vol. 2, 129 and 130.

<sup>110</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenetos *De thematibus*, in *Constantine Porphyrogenetos. De provinciis regni Byzantini*, ed. and comp. Fr. Tafel (Tubingen: Bibliopolio Henrici Laupp, 1847), 9.

<sup>111</sup> F. I. Uspenskiy's ("Vizantiyskiye vladeniya na severnom beregu Chernogo Morya v IX I X vv. [Byzantine possessions at the northern littoral of the Black Sea in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries], *Kiyevskaya starina* 25 [1889], 257-292) and I. A. Baranov's (*Administratsiya*, 139-142) attempts to identify the above mentioned events with Constantine Porphyrogenetos' imagination failed (see V. G. Vasil'yevskiy, "O postroyenii kreposti Sarkel" [On the building of the fortress of Sarkel], *ZhMNP* 10 [1889], 273-289; Naumenko, *K voprosu o nazvanii*, 689-700).

<sup>112</sup> Teoph. Cont. *Chron.* 55 and 56.

<sup>113</sup> Treadgold, *Revival*, 297 and 448, note 432.



Consequently, one might date Petronas' expedition to Khazaria to 839 and on this background calculate a date for the establishment of the *theme* in the Crimea, if it were not for two important features of the Chronicle by Theophanes Continuatus. First, there is a *lacuna* in the text between part 3.26 (about John Grammatikos) and 3.28 (about Sarkel and Petronas), that is why the question of how many years after John Grammatikos had received the patriarchate Petronas left for Khazaria is still open now. Second, immediately after the description of Petronas' mission, Theophanes Continuatus speaks about Theophilos' anti-Arab campaign of 837 and the return campaign of the Khalif Mutasim, which campaign, according to the other sources, took place in 838.<sup>114</sup> The death of Theophilos is dated in one part of the source to August 13, 838, whereas in fact this Emperor died on January 20, 842.<sup>115</sup> Thus, it is evident that this source does not provide a chronologically adjusted and consecutive record of events. That is why any attempt to find out the date of the establishment of the *theme* in the Crimea using Theophanes Continuatus' text seems to be unconvincing. However, the discrepant data of the source have caused the appearance of several datings of the establishment of the *theme*: if 832 is taken as the date of the accession of John Grammatikos, then one receives 833;<sup>116</sup> if one starts from the Arabs' campaign of 838 then 837;<sup>117</sup> and if one takes the later dating of the patriarchate of John Grammatikos (838) then after 839.<sup>118</sup> But, as we have seen, all these conjectures are doubtful due to the character of the source. There is only one clear thing: the establishment of the *theme* took place during the reign of Theophilos, probably, during his last years.

The Byzantine Table of Ranks of 842-843 supplies information about the new administrative position of στρατηγὸς τῶν Κλιμάτων.<sup>119</sup> The analysis of narrative, sigil-

<sup>114</sup> Theoph. Cont. *Chron.* 56; see also 285, note 85.

<sup>115</sup> Theoph. Cont. *Chron.* 59 and 62; see also 268, note 108.

<sup>116</sup> Shestakov, *Ocherki*, 43; Vasiliev, *Goty*, 220 and 221; Yakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyy*, 48.

<sup>117</sup> Bert'ye-Delagard, *Nadpis'*, 75; Mikhail Artamonov, *Istoriya khazar* (The history of the Khazars) (Leningrad: Ermitazh, 1962), 298.

<sup>118</sup> Treadgold, *Revival*, 313 and note 432; 448; Constantine Zuckerman, "K voprosu o ranney istorii femy Khersona" (On the problem of the earlier history of the *theme* of Cherson), *Bakhchisarayskiy istoriko - arkheologicheskiy sbornik* 1 (1997), 312-316; cf. Ahrweiler, *Russes*, 48.

<sup>119</sup> Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 48 and 49.

lographic, and numismatic sources allows one to conclude that the Klimata was the official name for the *theme* established in the Crimea.<sup>120</sup>

Let us analyze the reasons for the establishment of the *theme* of the Klimata. There is a point of view, according to which the Emperor's desire to prevent separatism in Cherson was the main goal for the establishment of the *theme*. However, it is unclear why, if "the memory of the Chersonians' rebellions and several punitive expeditions of Justinian II was still fresh,"<sup>121</sup> the new *theme* was not established soon after the dethronement of Justinian by Philippikos or any of his successors.

According to the traditional point of view, the external danger was the major factor which inclined Theophilos to appoint a *stratēgos* to the Crimea. Because the sources place the information about the establishment of this *theme* near the information about the building of Sarkel, scholars conclude that both the Byzantines and the Khazars were menaced by the same enemies. Scholars have tried to find these enemies from among the Magyars,<sup>122</sup> the Magyars or the Vikings,<sup>123</sup> the Russians,<sup>124</sup> and even, for unknown reason, the Khazars,<sup>125</sup> although the history of the building of Sarkel indicates in the given period the Khazars were in friendly relations with the Empire. The raids of the Russians against the Byzantine cities in the Black Sea Littoral in the first half of the ninth century are fixed only by hagiography, which data is considered to be a fiction by the majority of scholars.<sup>126</sup> The problem of relations between the Magyars, the Khazars, and the Byzantines is now the focus of discussion. According to the most recent hypothesis by Constantine Zuckerman, from 830s the Magyars were in conflict with the Khazars, al-

<sup>120</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Taktikon*, 42; Nesbitt and Oikonomidēs, *Catalogue*, 182; Naumenko, *K voprosu*, 693 – 698.

<sup>121</sup> Alexander Sazanov, "K khronologii tsitadeli Baklinskogo gorodishcha IX – XI vv." (On the chronology of the citadel of Bakla cite of medieval town of the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries), *Problemy istorii i arkheologii Kryma* (Problems of history and archaeology of the Crimea), ed. Yuriy Mogarichev (Simferopol: Tavriya, 1994), 55; cf. Shestakov, *Ocherki*, 44; Yakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyy*, 47.

<sup>122</sup> Zuckerman, *K voprosu*, 320; Ibid., "Vengry v strane Levedii: novaya derzhava na granitsakh Vizantii i Khazarii ok. 836 – 889 g." (The Hungarians in the country of *Lebedia*: a new state on the frontiers of Byzantium and Khazaria approximately 836 - 889), *MAIET* 6 (1998), 675-679; Naumenko, *K voprosu*, 26.

<sup>123</sup> Obolensky, *Commonwealth*, 175 and 176.

<sup>124</sup> Vasiliev, *Goty*, 226; A. N. Sakharov, *Diplomatiya drevney Rusi. IX – pervaya polovina X v.* (Diplomatics of Ancient Rus: the 9<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries) (Moscow: Mysl', 1980), 35 and 36; Treadgold, *Revival*, 339, 315.

<sup>125</sup> Shestakov, *Ocherki*, 44; Gertsen, *Pogranich'ye*, 64.

<sup>126</sup> Historiography of this problem see in: Sakharov, *Diplomatiya*, 26-28, 31-33.

though historiography contains a number other hypotheses.<sup>127</sup> This divergence of opinion is caused for the most part by the insufficient quantity of sources, the data of which allows one to make several, even contradictory, theories.

In my opinion, one should search for the reasons for the establishment of the Byzantine *theme* in the Crimea not in the quickly changing political situation, but in the general principles of the development of the Byzantine *theme* system. In the ninth century the *theme* system reached its climax. *Themes* of the given period were based on the hereditary military class, στρατιώται, who were soldiers and at the same time small landowners.<sup>128</sup> Separation of the army from the city, which became just an assembly point for the army and an administrative center, was the feature of the *theme* system of the ninth century. It should also be taken into account that the population of Cherson in the given period did not exceed six or seven thousand;<sup>129</sup> consequently, it was impossible to recruit there three to four thousand of *stratiotai*, the usual number of the army of a *theme*.<sup>130</sup> Throughout the given period new *themes* were established as a rule in regions which Byzantium succeeded to place under its control. Each new *theme* became a center of defense in the defensive system of the Empire and the starting point for future expansion. During the “Byzantine reconquest” *themes* appeared one after another in the territories which were newly won back. Barbarians living in the territories where a new *theme* was established or resettled from another territories became an important source for supplying the army of this *theme*.<sup>131</sup>

Taking into account the name of the *theme* of the Klimata, which signifies lands of the south-western Crimea, one may suppose that the army of this *theme* consisted for the most part of the population of the Klimata. It is known that during the eighth century the Klimata were outside the Byzantine power, and came back under the imperial protec-

<sup>127</sup> Zuckerman, *Vengry*, 683-689 (with notes to historiography).

<sup>128</sup> Ostrogorsky, *History*, 97, 98, 133 and 134; Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 10-13; Obolensky, *Commonwealth*, 75 and 76; John Haldon, *Recruitment and consumption in the Byzantine Army c. 550 – 950* (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), 41-83; Walter Emil Kaegi, *Byzantine military unrest, 471-843: An interpretation* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1981), 174-180; Treadgold, *Byzantium*, 24, 172-177; Uspenskiy, *Istoriya*, 504-511.

<sup>129</sup> Alexander Yakobson, “O chislennosti naseleniya srednevekovogo Khersonesa” (On the number of the population of medieval Cherson), *VV* 19 (1961): 161.

<sup>130</sup> Ahreweiler, *Recherches*, 34.

<sup>131</sup> Ostrogorsky, *History*, 193-195, cf. 133 and 134; Obolenski, *Commonwealth*, 76-78; Treadgold, *Revival*, 161-163, 190, 313-317; Uspenskiy, *Istoriya*, 507; Litavrin, *Vizantiyskoye gosudarstvo*, 113.

torate sometime before the middle of the ninth century.<sup>132</sup> That is why one may hypothesize that this region became a Byzantine protectorate by the establishment of the *theme*, and that this event was one of the reasons for its establishment. If one agrees with this hypothesis, one finds that, on the one hand, the Khazars were not complained in the lost of the Klimata, but, on the other hand, the relations between the Empire and the Khanate continued to be good yet, as the story of Sarkel shows. Nevertheless, Byzantium might have made use of internal sedition in Khazaria, which took place in the first third of the ninth century.<sup>133</sup> It is possible that during one of the episodes of this sedition Theophilos received the lands of the south-western Crimea in exchange for his diplomatic encouragement of one of the sides and help with building Sarkel. However that may be, it seems that the establishment of the *theme* of the Klimata was connected to the establishment of Byzantine power over this territory. It was intended to organize the effective government of this territory. The army of this *theme* was formed from the population of the Klimata. The exterior danger might have been one of the minor factors for the establishment of this *theme*. These Crimean actions of Theophilos correspond to general principles of his policy: it is well known that this Emperor organized many *themes* in different regions of his Empire.<sup>134</sup>

*From the theme of the Klimata to the theme of Cherson.*

According to the data of sigillography, the *theme* of Klimata changed its name to the *theme* of Cherson in the middle of the ninth century.<sup>135</sup> There are two hypotheses, which try to explain this change. Constantine Zukerman connects this event with the supposition that under the pressure of the Magyars Byzantium had lost the control of the Klimata, and the Imperial positions in the Crimea were restricted to Cherson.<sup>136</sup> However, one might raise the question whether the existence of a *theme* without a large, populated rural territory, supplying its army with soldiers, was possible. In fact there is no direct evidence for either independent or Byzantine status of the Klimata before the mid-tenth

<sup>132</sup> Gertsen, *Pogranich'ye*, 58-66; Aibabin, *Etnicheskaya*, 194-216.

<sup>133</sup> About it see: Novosel'tsev, *Khazarskoye*, 138-142.

<sup>134</sup> Ostrogorsky, *History*, 207; Treadgold, *Revival*, 315-317.

<sup>135</sup> N. Seibt and W. Seibt, "Pechati stratigov vizantiyskoy femy Kherson" (Seals of *stratēgoi* of the Byzantine *theme* of Cherson), *ADSV* 27 (1995), 91 and 92.

<sup>136</sup> Constantine Zukerman. "K voprosu o ranney istorii femy Kherson" (On the problem of the earlier history of the *theme* of Cherson), *Bakhchisarayskiy istoriko-arkheologicheskiy sbornik* 1 (1997), 319-321; Idem., *Vengry*, 678.

century. Although archaeology supplies evidences for large buildings, undertaken under the supervision of the Byzantine officers on some fortresses of Klimata (Eski-kermen, Bakla, possibly, Mangup, and building of the fortification on the plateau of Suren),<sup>137</sup> it is possible to date these buildings at best to the second half of the ninth century. It is interesting that approximately in the same period (mid-ninth century) Bosporos came back to the Byzantine protectorate. Shortly before 867 the archbishop of Bosporos informed patriarch Photius about his desire to baptize all the pagans of the city.<sup>138</sup> Naturally, this action was impossible if the city continued to be in the hands of the Khazars.<sup>139</sup> In Nicolas Oikonomidès' point of view, this change of the *theme's* name was caused not by the administrative changes, but that by changes in general principles of the nomenclature of *themes* in the given period.<sup>140</sup>

The history of Cherson in the following period is a combination of fragmented data about various internal and external conflicts. Theophanes Continuatus supplies information that in 896 the Chersonians killed their *stratēgos*, Symeon.<sup>141</sup> Neither the reasons for, the course of this rebellion, nor its consequences are known. According to the so-called Khazarian Hebrew document of Cambridge, during the reign of Romanos Lekapenos (920-944) Byzantine Crimea became the victim of its suzerain's intrigues. Having been encouraged by Byzantium, the Prince of Rus made a raid against Khazaria, in revenge the Khazars devastated the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea and started a war against Cherson.<sup>142</sup> In 989 the Kievan Prince Vladimir campaigned against Cherson, besieged and took the city.<sup>143</sup> The reasons for, the chronology, and the course of these events have been analyzed in extensive scholarship, so they have not been investigated in

<sup>137</sup> Alexander Aibabin, "Osnovnyye etapy istorii gorodishcha Eski-Kermen" (Principle stages of the history of the Eski-kermen site of medieval town), *MAIET* 2 (1991), 47 and 48; Sazanov, *K khronologii*, 56; Alexander Gertsen, "Krepostnoi ansambl' Mangoupa" (The fortress' ensemble of Mangup), *MAIET* 1 (1990), 134, 137, 138; Aibabin, *Etnicheskaya*, 216-219.

<sup>138</sup> Photius, *Epistulae*, ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1983), 132.

<sup>139</sup> Aibabin, *Etnicheskaya*, 222.

<sup>140</sup> Oikonomidès, *Systeme*, 321.

<sup>141</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronography*, 150.

<sup>142</sup> Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew documents of the tenth century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 117; for a discussion about the date of these events see: Ibid., 137; Novoseltsev, *Khazarskoye*, 212-218.

<sup>143</sup> *The Russian Primary chronicle: Laurentian text*, ed. and tr. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Shobowitz-Wetzel (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, [1953]), 111-116; Yakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyy*, 64 and 65; Idem, *Srednevekovyy*, 12-15.

this thesis.<sup>144</sup> I would only like to call attention to the fact that after a long siege the city fell into the hands of the Russians. Among numerous contradictions in sources dealing with this story, one is important from the point of view of this thesis. Namely, according to the Russian Primary Chronicle, when Vladimir received in marriage the Byzantine Princess Anna and thus realized his political goal, “he gave Cherson over to the Greeks again,”<sup>145</sup> although the data of Greek hagiography say that Vladimir appointed his own “governor” in Cherson instead of the Byzantine *stratēgos*, who had been killed.<sup>146</sup> Evidently, the Rus' power remained in Cherson no later than the departure of Vladimir's troops. At any rate, no other source connects Cherson with the Rus, and there are numerous seals of the Byzantine officials of Cherson's *theme* dated to the late-tenth century.<sup>147</sup>

The *Synopsis* of John Scylitzes says that in 1016 the Byzantines sent an expedition “to Khazaria,” which expedition with the help of the Russes subdued the region and took prisoner its governor, George Tzoulas.<sup>148</sup> The study of the legends of the seals of George Tzoulas, who must be the same person, dated to the given period, allowed V. P. Stepanenko to infer that the rebellion of George Tzoulas took place in Bosporos and was caused probably by Tzoulas's attempt to establish a kind of principality, independent from Byzantium.<sup>149</sup>

In 1066 the governor (*kotopan* in Slavonic, which is certainly derived from Greek κατεπάνω) of Cherson carried out the mission to the Rus Prince Rostislav of the Tmutarakan principality, which was located on the eastern coast of the strait of Bosporos, and poisoned the Prince.<sup>150</sup> It seems that in this case the *katepanō* carried out the order of the Emperor Constantine X Doukas (1059-1067), who was the supporter of Prince Rostislav's

<sup>144</sup> The most recent survey is: Dimitri Obolenski, “Kherson i kreshcheniye Rusi: protiv peresmotra traditsionnoy tochki zreniya” (Cherson and baptism of the Rus: against the revision of the traditional point of view), *VV* 55, part 1 (1994), 53-61.

<sup>145</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle*, 116.

<sup>146</sup> A. A. Shakhmatov, “Korsunskaya legenda o kreshchenii Vladimira” (Cherson's legend of the baptism of Vladimir) (St. Petersburg: [n. p.], 1906), 47.

<sup>147</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, cat. no. 46-56; Alekseenko, *Stratigi*, 737-740, cat. no. 15-23, 34-36, 55, 57, 58, 60-63, 89-91.

<sup>148</sup> Scyl. *Synops.* Vol. 2, 464.

<sup>149</sup> V. P. Stepanenko, “K istorii srednevekovoy Tavriki” (At the history of the Medieval Taurica), *ADSV* 26 (1992), 125-129.

<sup>150</sup> *Povest' vremennykh let*, ed. V.P. Adrianova-Peretts and D.S. Likhachev (Moscow: Akademiya nauk, 1950), vol 1, 111; in the English translation (p. 145) there is a mistranslation of the title of the Byzantine official: he is called “an officer”; D. Abramovich, *Kyyivo-Pechers'kyy paterik* (Kiev: [n. p.], 1930), 45.

political enemies.<sup>151</sup> After coming back to Cherson the *katepanō* was stoned by the population.<sup>152</sup> The letters of the Emperor Michael VII Doukas give evidence that this rebellion of the Chersonians was caused by their desire to receive trade privileges, and was finally suppressed by the Russians at the request of Byzantium.<sup>153</sup> It might have been a kind of repayment for the Byzantine help in the struggle against Rostislav of Tmutarakan. According to Vasil'yevskiy's calculation, this Russians' campaign against Cherson took place in 1073 or 1074.<sup>154</sup>

The latest mentions of the Byzantine power in the Cherson dates to the end of the eleventh century. In 1092 Alexios Komnenos banished to Cherson Leo Diogenos, the pretender to the imperial throne.<sup>155</sup> The Slavonic life of Evstratiy the Faster supplies another piece of evidence: at the end of the eleventh century the Chersonians even organized a persecution of the Jews upon the order of the Emperor's decree.<sup>156</sup> Nothing is known about the administrative status of Cherson in the twelfth century and later. According to the Arab geographer, Idrisi, the city was part of the "country of the Cumans." A century later William de Rubruquis, the ambassador of the French King, who visited the Crimea on his way to the Tartars in 1253, says that the Cumans forced all the towns from Cherson to Sougdaia to pay a tribute to them.<sup>157</sup> It is unclear, whether one needs to interpret this data as an indication that Cherson had lost completely its connection to Byzantium and become a subject of the Cumans, or as that the Chersonians gave the nomads money just to pay them off. Anyway, we have in our possession no other sources about Cherson and Byzantium. Seals of officials of Cherson in this period have also disappeared. From the end of the eleventh century this city was left to its own devices, and

<sup>151</sup> Yakobson, *Srednevekovyy*, 20 and 21.

<sup>152</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle*, 145.

<sup>153</sup> Vasil'yevskiy, "Dva pis'ma vizantiyskogo imperatora Mikhaila VII Duki k Vsevolodu Yaroslavichu" (Two letters by Michael VII Doukas to Vsevolod Yaroslavich), in *Trudy* (Works), vol. 2, part 1 (St. Petersburg: [n. p.], 29 and 30.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 33 and 34.

<sup>155</sup> Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, ed. and tr. Bernard Leib, vol. 2 (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1967), 190 and 191.

<sup>156</sup> Gennadiy Litavrin, "Kievo-Pecherskiy paterik o rabotorgovtsakh-iudeyakh v Khersone i o muchenichestva Yevstratiya Postnika" (The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery about the Jewish slave traders in Cherson and about the martyrdom of Evstratiy the Faster), in *Vizantiya i slavyane* (Byzantium and the Slavs) (St. Petersburg: Aleteyya, 1999), 479.

<sup>157</sup> Vasiliev, *Goty*, part 2, 255 and 256; Yakobson, *Srednevekovyy*, 26.

the short restoration of the power of the Komneni of Trabizond in Cherson in the second quarter of the thirteenth century<sup>158</sup> was no more than an episode.

### 3.2. *Stratēgos* (στρατηγός).

The supreme command over the Byzantine troops in the Crimea and the military government of the *theme* was the responsibility of the *stratēgos*. As has already been mentioned, during the first decades of the existence of the *theme* the official title of this dignitary was ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Κλιμάτων, from 850s – ὁ ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Χερσῶνος. *Stratēgoi* of Cherson are known from numerous types of sources: four tables of ranks, in treatise by Constantine Porphyrogenetos, the Letter 9 of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nikolas Mystikos, Byzantine seals, and the inscription, which date from the age of Theophilos to the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>159</sup> A *stratēgos* was governor of a *theme*, who combined both the civil and military responsibilities of governing the unit in his hands.<sup>160</sup> In the case of Cherson the nature of this office can be reconstructed using the aforementioned sources.

*Stratēgoi* were certainly appointed by the Emperor himself. According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos, these dignitaries were appointed from Constantinople,<sup>161</sup> that means from the state officials, who had no connection with Cherson's community. Nevertheless, according to seals, there were at least two families of local origin representatives of which performed the duties of *stratēgoi* of Cherson.<sup>162</sup> That is to say, Constantine's model was an ideal, which was not always followed in practice. Although,

<sup>158</sup> Yakobson, *Srednevekovyy*, 28; N. M. Bogdanova, "Kherson v X-XV vv. Problemy istorii vizantiyskogo goroda" (Cherson through the 10<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century: problems of the history of the Byzantine city), in *Prichernomor'ye v sredniye veka* (Black Sea North Littoral through the Middle Ages), ed. Sergey P. Karpov (Moscow: Moscovskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet, 1991), 95.

<sup>159</sup> Oikonomidēs, *Listes*, 48, 49, 104, 105, 138, 139, 246, 247, 266, 267; Const. Porph., *De adm. imp.* 184, 185, 286, 287; Nikolas Mystikos, *Letters*, ed. and tr. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerlink (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1973), 58 and 59; the recent catalogue of 92 seals of the *stratēgoi* of Cherson see in: Nikolay Alekseenko, "Stratigi Khersona po dannym novykh pamyatnikov sfragistiki IX – XI vv." (*Stratēgoi* of Cherson according to the data of new sites of sigillography of 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> cc.), *MAIET* 6 (1998), 737 – 740, attachment 1; 12 more seals are published in: Alexeenko and Smychko, *Neskol'ko*, cat. no. 5-7, 9; Valentina Shandrovskaia, "O neskol'kikh nakhodkakh vizantiyskikh pechaty v Krymu" (On the some finds of Byzantine seals in the Crimea), *MAIET* 7 (2000), 247-250; Nikolay Alexeenko, "Khersonskaya rodovaya znat' v pamyatnikakh sfragistiki" (Cherson's patrimonial nobility according to the data of sigillography), *MAIET* 7 (2000), cat. no. 1-3; Latyshev, *Sbornik*, no. 8.

<sup>160</sup> About Byzantine *stratēgoi* in general see: Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 46-52; Treadgold, *Army*, 23, 99-101.

<sup>161</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.*, 184 and 185; Theoph. Cont., Chron., 56 and 57.

<sup>162</sup> Alexeenko, *Khersonesskaya*, 259 and 260.



as will be shown later (3.3), the frontiers of the *theme* of Cherson periodically changed, each time the residence of the *stratēgos* was located in Cherson. Only in case of rebellion did the governor have to move into one of the fortresses (of the Klimata or to Bosporos), which remained loyal to him.<sup>163</sup>

Organisation of the defence of the *theme* was the most important function of the *stratēgos*. Sources are full of data about how the Pechenegs, the Russians, the Khazars, and the Bulgars, living near Cherson, either were a potential danger for the *theme* or even made campaigns against this unit.<sup>164</sup> According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos, the *stratēgos* should use traditional principles of Byzantine diplomacy rather than force in the struggle against the barbarians. Among these methods there were: making treaties strengthened with donations and taking hostages; and making an alliance with one barbarian unit (the Alans) against another (the Pechenegs).<sup>165</sup> In two treaties between Rus and Byzantium of the tenth century, the Princes of Rus pledged not to attack Cherson and its country (that is, the *theme*) and to prevent such assaults by third parties.<sup>166</sup>

Money was required in order to fulfil this task. The *stratēgos* received ten *litras*<sup>167</sup> and two *litras* of *pakton* from the state treasury (...τὰς δέκα λίτρας, τὰς διδομένας ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου εἰς τὸ κάστρον Χερσῶνος, καὶ τὰς δύο τοῦ πάκτου...) and distributed them to Cherson.<sup>168</sup> It is interesting that in the other parts of this treatise *πάκτου* means “tribute.”<sup>169</sup> It is obvious that the Empire could not pay tribute to Cherson. Consequently, in this case the term *pakton* is used in an other sense. It is important that Constantine Porphyrogenetos separated the two *litra* of *pakton* from the other ten *litra*. This situation might be explained in terms that in the first case the question is of the payment to the city for its patrol and reconnaissance service, which Cherson performed against neighboring barbarians in the interests of the Empire, in the second case of the payment for *stratiotai*

<sup>163</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, 184, 185, 286, 287.

<sup>164</sup> *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 76, 90, 111, 112; Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, 48, 49, 64, 65; Golb and Pritsak, *Khazarian*, 137.

<sup>165</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, 48 and 49, 64 and 65.

<sup>166</sup> *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 76, 90.

<sup>167</sup> 1 λίτρα equelled 319 to 324 g. - see ODB, s. v. *litra*. In Cherson context these are *litras* of gold.

<sup>168</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, 286 and 287.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 86, 87, 114, 115, 120, 121, 146, 147, 150, 151, 194, 195, 198-205, 234-237, 262, 263.

of the theme army recruited from the population of Cherson,<sup>170</sup> but this is no more than a hypothesis.

The police function, responsibility of maintaining order in the city, and preventing rebellions against Byzantium, was another important duty of the *stratēgos*. It is known that one such rebellion took place in 896 when the Chersonians killed their *stratēgos*, Symeon.<sup>171</sup> Nothing more is known about this rebellion. The silence of sources and the great deal of seals of Byzantine officials of the *theme* of Cherson of the late ninth and early tenth centuries inclines one to suppose that this rebellion was aimed against not so much Byzantine power as the actual *stratēgos* himself. This rebellion had to come to an end very quickly, either being suppressed by Byzantine force, or, more likely, as a result of peaceful agreement at both sides. Anyway, Constantine Porphyrogennetos left us detailed instructions about what the *stratēgos* should do if the Chersonians lost their loyalty towards the Empire. The *stratēgos* should stop the distribution of the payment to Cherson and leave this city for one of the adjoining fortresses, which remained loyal to him. Together with this, the Imperial authorities in Constantinople and ports of Asia Minor should arrest all ships of Cherson and organise a maritime blockade of the city.<sup>172</sup> Constantine, in contrast to Justinian II, probably supposed economic means of force against Cherson to be more effective than military intervention.

Reconnaissance, and supplying Constantinople with information when barbarians prepared military operations against the Empire, was another important function of the *stratēgos*. One can find data about what the *stratēgoi* sent in such dispatches to the Emperor from the letters of Nikolas Mystikos, the *Vision of Basileos the New*, and the Russian Primary Chronicle.<sup>173</sup> Keeping in order the fortifications of Cherson was also within the *stratēgos*' responsibilities, as this can be understood from the inscription of 1059.<sup>174</sup> The *stratēgos* was also responsible for guarding Christian missionaries who came to Khazaria – perhaps not in an official way, but in order to do the Patriarch a favor. One of

<sup>170</sup> Bogdanova, *Kherson*, 89.

<sup>171</sup> Theophanes Continuator, *Chronography*, 150.

<sup>172</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 286 and 287.

<sup>173</sup> Nikolas Mystikos, *Letters*, 58 and 59; Vasiliy Vasil'yevskiy, "Videniye Vasiliya Novogo" (The Vision of Basileos the New), *ZhMNP* 1(1889), 85; *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 72.

<sup>174</sup> Latyshev, *Sbornik*, cat. no. 8.

the *stratēgoi* was asked by Nikolas Mystikos about such favor.<sup>175</sup> Finally, it should be mentioned that the *stratēgos* of Cherson had a relatively large staff of officials, subordinated to him. In other *themes* this staff usually included *τουρμάρχοι* (chiefs of subdivisions of the *theme*), *κόμης τῆς κόρτης* (staff-officer) and *δομέστικος* (officer in charge of scouts, surveyors, and medics), *χαρτουλάριος* (secretary), *μανδάτορες* (heralds) and *βανδαφόροι* (standard-bearers), *πρωτοκένταρχος* (head of personal guard of the *stratēgos*), *πρωτοκαγκελλάριος* (head of clerks), *πρωτονοτάριος* (tax-collector) and *πραίτωρ* or *κριτής* (judge).<sup>176</sup> Seals of the late ninth – first third of the tenth centuries preserve information about two members of the staff of the *stratēgos* of Cherson. The *χαρτουλάριος*<sup>177</sup> was the employee of the *stratēgos*' staff, responsible for compiling lists of servicemen.<sup>178</sup> *Ἐκπροσώπου*<sup>179</sup> was the deputy, performing the *stratēgos*' duties, appointed by the Emperor to the *theme* when the *stratēgos* was absent for some reason. The *stratēgos*, in his turn, could appoint his own *ekprosōpou*, for example, for governing one of the subunits of the *theme*.<sup>180</sup> The management of his staff certainly was one of the *stratēgos*' duties.

### 3.3. Administrative and territorial structure of the *theme*.

The territory placed under the responsibility of the *stratēgos* of Cherson, its size, regions, and administrative structure changed in the course of time. Nevertheless, the fact that Cherson, as the most important city in the region, was the capital of the Byzantine *theme* in the Crimea is beyond any doubt. Although the evidences for this conclusion might be derived from the narrative sources,<sup>181</sup> the data of epigraphy and archaeology is also very important. The inscription of 1059 gives evidence for the existence of the *praitōrion* of Cherson, the gates of which were erected by the *stratēgos* Leo Aliates (Ἐγένοντο αἱ πόρται τοῦ πραιτωρίου... διὰ Λέοντος πατρικίου καὶ στρατηγοῦ Χερσῶνος

<sup>175</sup> Nicholas Mystikos, *Letters*, 314 and 315.

<sup>176</sup> See, for example, Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 37, 43, 44; Treatgolg, *Army*, 100.

<sup>177</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, cat. no. 41.

<sup>178</sup> Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 43; Treatgolg, *Army*, 100; Uspenskiy, *Istoriya*, 501.

<sup>179</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, cat. no. 24 and 24a.

<sup>180</sup> Bréhier, *Le Monde*, 361; Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 39-42; Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 342.

<sup>181</sup> Const. Porph., *De adm. imp.* 184 and 185; Theoph. Cont, *Chron.* 56 and 57; Scyl. *Synops.* 73; Kedr. *Synops.* vol. 2, 130.

καὶ Σουγδαίας τοῦ Αλιάτου...<sup>182</sup> One can address the problem of the location of this *praitōrion* on the archaeological plan of the site of Cherson. The solution of this problem might be found from the analogy in another Byzantine city, namely, in Bari. From the analysis of the data of sources of different types about *πραιτώριον* in medieval Bari, André Guillou drew the conclusion that this term refers to the fortification inside the city, a residential area of the Byzantine military governor, where the governor's residence, his office, barracks, and prison were located.<sup>183</sup> Taking this consideration into account, one can easily find the place for Cherson's *praitōrion* at a first look at the site's plan (fig. 2). *Praitōrion* certainly was the name of a fortification in the south-eastern part of the city, the so-called citadel. Leo Aliates' inscription was discovered on the inferior side of its walls. In Late Antiquity the garrison of the Roman army with the residence of its commander, barracks, *termae*, and other infrastructure was located in this fortification. At this place the port facilities were probably located.<sup>184</sup> During the period of the *archontate* the citadel declined. In the ninth century a large public building was erected here. This building is supposed to have been the residence of the *stratēgoi* of the *theme*.<sup>185</sup> Ironically, archaeological excavations, which have unearthed the walls of the citadel nearly completely, have not yet found a gate leading to this fortification. But, anyway, the analysis of Leo Aliates' inscription allows one to find how the citadel of Cherson was called during the *theme* period, and is one more evidence for the fact, that Cherson was the capital of the *theme*.

Each Byzantine *theme* was divided into several subunit of lower rank, which were called *τούρμαι*, and in their own turn divided into several *βάνδαι*.<sup>186</sup> One might suppose that the Crimean *theme* had a similar structure. As it has been stated above (3.1), the *theme* included Cherson and the Klimata from the very moment of its establishment. The seal of *τουρμάρχης Γόθειας* of the second half of the tenth century is an argument that at

<sup>182</sup> Latyshev, *Sbornik*, cat. no. 8.

<sup>183</sup> André Guillou, "Un document sur le gouvernement de la province. L'inscription historique en vers de Bari (1011)," in *Studies on Byzantine Italy* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1970), 11 and 12.

<sup>184</sup> Zubar', *Khersones*, 44-48.

<sup>185</sup> Inna A. Antonova, "Administrativnyye zdaniye Khersonesskoy vexillatsii i femy Khersona (po materialam raskopok 1989 – 1993 gg.)" (Administrative buildings of the Chersonian *vexillatio* and the *theme* of Cherson [on the materials of excavations of 1989 - 1993]), *KhSb* 8 (1997), 10-22.

<sup>186</sup> About these see Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 80 and 81; Uspenskiy, *Istoriya*, 498 and 499; and also Jadran Ferluga, "Nizhe voyno-administrativne yedenice tematskogo uredenya" (Military-administrative units of the lower level of the theme), *ZRVI* 2 (1953), 61-94.

the given period Gothia (one may remember that it was a synonym for the Klimata) was the *tourma* of the *theme* of Cherson.<sup>187</sup> One may suppose that the division of the Crimean *theme* into two substructures, analogous to *tourmai*, namely Cherson and the Klimata (or Gothia), was made from the very beginning of the *theme*. It is interesting that each of these subdivisions minted coins of Byzantine type with its own indication of place. In Cherson it was ΠΧ – π(όλις) Χ(ερσών), π(όλις) Χ(ερσώνος), or π(όλεως) Χ(ερσώνος),<sup>188</sup> in Klimata ΚΛΜ – Κλ(ί)μ(ατα) or Κλ(ι)μ(άτων).<sup>189</sup>

There is a seal of the ninth century, which belonged to an official of five Klimata (τὸν [sic] πέντε Κλιμάτων),<sup>190</sup> which automatically makes a comparison with the five subdivisions of *tourma*, *bandai*. The archaeological data allows one to correlate these five Klimata with five fortresses in the south-western Crimea, erected in the second half of the sixth century (1.1). In the eighth century, when the Klimata were under the Khazarian protectorate, each of these fortresses was the center of the administrative region, a principality, headed by a local nobleman. All these regions were placed under the rule of the Prince (κύριος) of the whole Gothia, ratified by the Khazars.<sup>191</sup> It seems that the Byzantines used this historically composed structure of districts in the south-western Crimea. After the *theme* was established, the fortresses of the Klimata possibly became residences of δρουγγαρίοι, which were governors of the subunits of the *theme*. The population of these regions started to be included into corresponding detachments of the army of the *theme*.

Bosporos became a part of the *theme* no later than in the middle of the ninth century. In a letter of 859/67, the Patriarch Photius expressed his joy at the fact that the Bishop of Bosporos had baptized local Jews.<sup>192</sup> Such an action was impossible if the city belonged to the Khazars, who accepted Judaism at the same period. Thus, in the middle of the ninth century Bosporos already belonged to Byzantium.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Nikolay Alekseenko, "Gotiya v strukture vizantiyskoy administrativnoy sistemy v Tavrike vo vtoroy polovine X v." (Gothia in the structure of the Byzantine administrative system in Taurica in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century), *KhSb* 9 (1998), 233.

<sup>188</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, 34-36, 112.

<sup>189</sup> A. M. Gilevich, "Novyye materialy k numizmatike vizantiyskogo Khersona" (New materials on the numismatics of Byzantine Cherson), *VV* 52 (1991), 217.

<sup>190</sup> Nesbitt and Oikonimidès, *Catalogue*, cat. no. 81.1.

<sup>191</sup> Aibabin, *Etnicheskaya*, 210 and 211.

<sup>192</sup> Photius, *Epistulae*, ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1983), 132.

<sup>193</sup> Aibabin, *Etnicheskaya*, 222.

The analysis of Constantine Porphyrogenetos' text allows one to conclude that in the middle of the tenth century the north-western border of the *theme* was located outside the Crimea, at the mouth of the Dnieper.<sup>194</sup> The status of Sougdaia, the port city in the eastern Crimea, which appeared no later than in the seventh century, is unclear. On the one hand, there is no direct evidence that Sougdaia was a part of the *theme* before the middle of the eleventh century. On the other hand, the strategic position of this city between Bosporos and the south-western Crimea inclines one to suppose that Byzantium had to try to establish its protectorate there earlier. An archive of Byzantine seals has been discovered in the territory of Sougdaia.<sup>195</sup> The legends of these seals do not fix titles of the administration of Sougdaia, consequently, they might have appeared in this city in result of trade contacts. However the find of lead circles, which were half-finished products for seals, in the territory of Sougdaia<sup>196</sup> means that there were officials who used these plumbs for imprinting their seals. These facts are the evidence that Sougdaia became a part of the *theme* long before the eleventh century.

There is a seal of *καστροφύλαξ* of the tenth century,<sup>197</sup> which is considered by scholars to be evidence for the revival of Cherson's self-government.<sup>198</sup> Although, in my point of view the appearance of the *kastrophylox* in the Crimea was more probably connected with specific features of the administrative development of Byzantium in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In this period the *theme* system was divided into a great number of smaller units, attached to towns or fortresses.<sup>199</sup> One of the results of this development was the appearance of new officials, which performed duties of governing the small units that were similar to those of the *stratēgos* of the *theme*. Among these new offices there was that of the *καστροφύλαξ* ("supervisor of a fortress"), who performed the responsi-

<sup>194</sup> Hélène Ahrweiler, "Les relations entre les Byzantins et les Russes au IX siècle," in *Bulletin d'Information et de Coordination de l'Association des Etudes Byzantines* 5 (1971; reprint, in *Byzance: le pays et les territoires*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1976), 53 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

<sup>195</sup> Shandrovskaya, *Die Funde*, 85; Stepanova, *Sudakskiy arkhiv*, 171.

<sup>196</sup> Stepanova, *Sudakskiy arkhiv*, 171.

<sup>197</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, cat. no. 52; cf. Alexeenko, *Tzoula*, 83.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 116 and 117; Bogdanova, *Kherson*, 92, 105, 107.

<sup>199</sup> About the last stage of the development of the *theme* system see: Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 81-88; Nicolas Oikonomidès, "L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle," *TM* 6 (1976), 141-150; Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Du stratège de theme au duc: chronologie de l'évolution au cours du XIe siècle," *TM* 9 (1985), 181-194; Idem, "La politique militaire byzantine de Basile II à Alexis Comnène," *ZRVI* 29-30 (1991), 61-74; Hans-Joachim Kühn, *Die byzantinische Armee im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Organization der Tagmata* (Wien: Verlag Fassbaender, 1991), 158-170.

bilities of the governor of a fortress and a region attached to it, in a similar manner to the *stratēgos*.<sup>200</sup> It seems that in the Crimea the *kastrophylax* was the governor of one of the Klimata or Cherson, which was also called "fortress" (κάστρο) in the inscription of 1059.<sup>201</sup>

The Byzantine Table of Ranks of 971-975 gives evidence for the existence of the position of the στρατηγὸς Βοσπόρου together with στρατηγὸς Χερσῶνος.<sup>202</sup> Thus, by this time the *theme* of Bosporos was already drawing apart from the frames of the *theme* of Cherson and became a military and administrative unit, independent from the neighboring one. The seal of the *stratēgos* of Bosporos, dated to the late tenth - early eleventh centuries, supplies further evidence.<sup>203</sup>

The aforementioned inscription of 1059<sup>204</sup> supplies the title of the Byzantine governor of the Crimea in the form of the στρατηγὸς Χερσῶνος καὶ Σουγδαίας. There is also a seal of the *stratēgos* of Sougdaia dated to the eleventh century, giving evidence for the existence of the separate position of the governor of Sougdaia.<sup>205</sup> The inscription of Leo Aliates shows that in this particular case the position of the governor of Sougdaia was combined with that of the *stratēgos* of Cherson.

In 1066 a new official of Cherson's staff appears in the sources – the *katepanō*. The information about the *katepanō* of Cherson is preserved in the above-cited passage in the Russian Primary Chronicle.<sup>206</sup> Besides that, there are two seals of the tenth – beginning of the eleventh centuries, which, according to Sokolova, belonged to the *katepanō* of Cherson.<sup>207</sup> In contrast, N. Seibt and W. Seibt suppose that on one of these seals the title of the official, and on the other the place of the service, are reconstructed incorrectly.<sup>208</sup> However that may be, the evidence of the Russian Primary Chronicle is a reliable indicator for the existence of the position of the *katepanō* in Cherson in 1060s. Thus, the sources of the late-tenth – mid-eleventh centuries mention the *katepanō* (of Cherson?),

<sup>200</sup> Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 52.

<sup>201</sup> Latyshev, *Sbornik*, cat. no. 8.

<sup>202</sup> Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 266, 267 (*stratēgos* of Cherson), 268, 269 (*stratēgos* of Bosporos).

<sup>203</sup> Seibt and Seibt, *Pechati*, 95.

<sup>204</sup> Latyshev, *Sbornik*, cat. no. 8.

<sup>205</sup> Igor Baranov and Elena Stepanova, "Tserkovnaya i voyennaya administratsiya vizantiyskoy Sugdei" (Church and military administration of Byzantine Sougdaia), *Arkheologiya Kryma* 1, vol. 1 (1995), 86.

<sup>206</sup> See note 150 and page 39 above.

<sup>207</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, cat. no. 50 and 57.

<sup>208</sup> Seibt and Seibt, *Pechati*, 94.

and the *stratēgoi* of Cherson, Sougdaia, and Bosphoros. The key to understanding these changes is in the particularities of the development of the Byzantine administration throughout this period.

Up to the tenth century, many small *themes*, including only one town and its nearest hinterland appeared side by side with “older” large units. Sources called these units “Armenian *themes*” in contrast to big “Roman” units. The first small *themes* were probably on the Armenian frontier and thus received their collective name. A group of the Armenian *themes* were usually united into one big Roman *theme* under the supervision of its governor (with the title of *stratēgos* or *katepanō* or *doux*), who at the given period lost his civil and fiscal duties and became just the military governor. The main purpose of the Armenian *themes* was collecting taxes and custom duties; the Roman *themes* became more military and less civil units.<sup>209</sup> It seems that the administrative development of Byzantine Crimea followed the same pattern. At first the *themes* of Sougdaia and Bosphoros were derived as an independent units from the structure of the *theme* of Cherson. The uniting in Leo Aliates' hands of the two positions of the *stratēgos* of Cherson and Sougdaia might be explained as a result of the Byzantium's attempt to centralize the administrative structure of the Crimea. The final decision was to establish the *katepanate* in the Crimea, the centre of which was located in Cherson.

Taking into account all the aforementioned facts together with the data of the Byzantine Tables of Ranks of 934/44 and 971/75, one can state the chronology of these events:

Between 934/44 and 971/75 – the appearance of the *theme* of Bosphoros;

Between 971/75 and 1059 - the appearance of the *theme* of Sougdaia;

By 1066 – the first attempt to unify the structure: the combination of the power of two *stratēgoi* in the hands of one person;

Between 1059 and 1066 - the establishment of the *katepanate* in the Crimea.

The name of the new *katepanate* is not known. It is most probable that it was called «The *katepanate* of Cherson», because, firstly, the Russian Primary Chronicle speaks about the *katepanō* of Cherson; secondly, Cherson was the traditional center of Byzantine administration of the Crimea. There are two possibilities. First: the position of

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<sup>209</sup> See note 199 above.



the *katepanō* was established instead of that of the *stratēgos* of Cherson. Second: Cherson preserved its own *stratēgos* who was subordinated to the *katepanō*. The second hypothesis seems to be closer to the general Byzantine pattern of development of *themes* to *katepanate*. For example, the *katepanate* of Italy, located on the south of the Apennine peninsula from the second half of the tenth century, consisted of three *themes*: Langobardia, Lucania, and Calabria. The centre of both the *katepanate* and *theme* of Langobardia was located in one place, in Bari.<sup>210</sup> Thus, one may suppose, first, that by 1060s the *katepanō* had become the governor of the whole Byzantine Crimea, to whom three separated units of Cherson (with the Klimata), Bosporos, and Sougdaia were subordinated; second, that the residence of the *katepanō* was located in Cherson; third, that the *themes* of Cherson, Bosporos, and Sougdaia, which were included in the structure of the new administrative unit, the *katepanate*, were governed by their own *stratēgoi*, subordinated to some extent to the *katepanō*.

### 3.4. Financial administration.

#### *The problem of taxation.*

The Byzantine treasury accumulated revenues from three principal sources: taxation, customs, and revenues from the Emperor's domain. Each kind of revenue was the responsibility of a special department of state, which had its own staff. The analysis of the above mentioned information by Constantine Porphyrogenetos about the payment which Cherson received from the Byzantine state (see 3.2) is an important argument for the hypothesis that Cherson was free from taxation. The absence of seals of *πρωτονοταρίοι* of Cherson, who were collectors of taxes,<sup>211</sup> is another and even more convincing argument. Irina Sokolova tries to explain the absence of seals of *prōtonotarioi* as a result of "the existence of municipal organization, but limited and curtailed in its rights,"<sup>212</sup> Igor Baranov

<sup>210</sup> André Guillou, "La Lucanie byzantine. Etude de géographie historique," *Byzantion* 35 (1965; reprint, in: *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1970), 127-134 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

<sup>211</sup> About this office in general see: Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 43; Nikolas Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe – XIe s.)* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1996), 277; cf. Oshtrogorsky, *History*, 247.

<sup>212</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, 115 and 116; cf. Nikolay Alekseenko, "K voprosu o sushchestvovanii sluzhby notariyev v Kherson" (On the question of the existence of the service of the *notarioi* in Cherson), *ADSV* 29 (1998): 227.

- in the absence of the *theme* of Cherson as such.<sup>213</sup> However, the abundance of seals of the officials of the *theme* dated to the given period, and Byzantine tables of ranks convince one that the theme administration of Cherson really existed, as well as that remains of the municipal administration were included completely to the structure of the *theme* (see 3.5 and 4.1). Thus, there are two possibilities left. First: Cherson was free from taxation. Second: this city paid taxes, but for some reason these taxes were collected not by the *prōtonotarios*, but by another official(s); the payment, mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, was given not to the community of Cherson or its representatives, but to the army of the theme. In my point of view, the first hypothesis is closer to the reality than the second, because it requires less suppositions and assumptions.

*Kommerkiarios (κομμερκιάριος).*

Seals of κομμερκιάριοι comprise one of the most numerous categories of seals from the period of the *theme*.<sup>214</sup> The earliest seal dates to the middle of the ninth century, the latest items to the second half of the tenth century. Thus, it becomes clear that the position of the *kommerkiarios* of Cherson was established probably together with the establishment of the theme. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Byzantine *kommerkiarios* was a customs official who controlled trade and collected some duties.<sup>215</sup> Seals of the *kommerkiarioi* of Cherson disappeared by the end of the tenth century. This, in general, was a tendency, typical of the whole Byzantine administrative machinery. In the other regions of the Empire the responsibilities of *kommerkiarioi* began to be performed by *kritai* or *praitores*.<sup>216</sup> It is interesting that seals of neither *kritai* nor *praitores* appear in Cherson. Irina Sokolova tries to explain this situation as a result of the revival of the local self-government after the city was taken by Vladimir in 989.<sup>217</sup> In fact, there is no real evidence of the appearance of any self-government in Cherson in the late-tenth and eleventh century. At the same time, it is doubtful whether customs from trade were abolished in Cherson in the given period. It seems that the responsibilities of the *kommerkiarios* of Cherson were passed to another official. It is known that the functions of a *krites* or a

<sup>213</sup> Baranov, *Administrativnoye ustroystvo*, 140.

<sup>214</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, cat. no. 17-18, 21-23, 25, 25a, 26, 28, 29, 35, 36, 39, 40; Nesbitt, Oikonomidès, *Catalogue*, cat. no. 82.4-9; Smychkov, *Neskol'ko*, cat. no. 3 and 4; Alakseenko and Romanchuk and Sokolova, *Die Funde*, cat. no. 8 and 9; Alekseenko and Smychkov, *Neskol'ko*, cat. no. 10 and 11.

<sup>215</sup> Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 313.

<sup>216</sup> About these offices and their evolution see: Ahrweiler, *Etudes*, 67-71 and 75-78.

*praitōr* of a *theme* in the eleventh century were often performed by a *katepanō*.<sup>218</sup> Taking the fact that the position of the *katepanō* existed in Cherson, even if this was in the middle of the eleventh century (see 3.2), one may suppose that the *katepanō* acquired the responsibilities of the *kommerkiarios*.

#### *Managers of the Emperor's domain.*

The conclusion that at Cherson there were some lands incorporated into the Emperor's domain, was made by Nikolay Alekseenko. In his opinion, two officials, πρωτονοτάριος τῶν Μαγγανῶν<sup>219</sup> καὶ Χερσῶνος, and ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν καὶ πρωτεύων Χερσῶνος, the information about whom has been preserved in seals, were the managers of this domain.<sup>220</sup> It should be noted that if this *prōtonotarios* of the *Mangana* and Cherson was the employee of the department of *Mangana*, then the officer *epi tōn oikeiakōn* belonged to another department, also responsible for the management of the imperial domain.<sup>221</sup> It would be interesting to determine whether the case is related to the existence of domains governed by two different departments of state, or to the fact that lands under responsibility of one department were later on transmitted to another, although the small number of their seals does not allow one to answer this question. Besides that, these seals give evidence of the existence of the domain in Cherson only in the tenth century, so it is also unclear, whether this means that there was no such structure in Cherson in other periods, or that it existed but under the supervision of other official(s), or under supervision of the same without their seals having been preserved.

### **3.4. Officials with anachronistic titles.**

#### *Archontes ("αρχοντες).*

The collective position of the *archontes* of Cherson continued even after the establishment of the *theme*. Thus, the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* mentions the *archontes* of Cherson together with the *stratēgos* of the *Klimata*.<sup>222</sup> There are seals of the *archontes*

<sup>217</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, 116 and 117.

<sup>218</sup> Oikonomidēs, *L'Evolution*, 148 and 149.

<sup>219</sup> This official had nothing to do with the *prōtonotarios* of the theme.

<sup>220</sup> Nikolay Alekseenko, *K voprosu*, 226 and 227; Idem., "Les sceaux des prôteuontés de Cherson au Xe siècle," *SBS* (forthcoming).

<sup>221</sup> About this difference see: Michel Kaplan, *Les Hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe et XIe siècle: propriété et exploitation du sol* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1992), 315, 320-322.

<sup>222</sup> Oikonomidēs, *Listes*, 48, 49, 56, 57.

dated to the period after the *theme* was established.<sup>223</sup> There is a hypothesis that the *stratēgos* was the governor of the Klimata; in Cherson his responsibilities were limited to the military sphere, and the civil authority belonged to the *archontes*.<sup>224</sup> This argument seems to be wrong, because Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Theophanes Continuatus say that Theophilos ordered all officials of Cherson to obey the *stratēgos* (“Theophilos...having appointed Petronas as *stratēgos*, and having sent [him] to Cherson, ordered to the *prōteuōn* and all others to obey him...”).<sup>225</sup> It seems that the *archontes* were subordinated to the *stratēgos* in strict accordance with the principle of one-man management, the fundamental principle of the *theme* system.

It should be noted that the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* mentions also ἀπάρχοντες Δαλματίας καὶ λοιπῶν ἀρχοντιῶν<sup>226</sup> among which there probably were the retired *archontes* of Cherson. According to the existing rules, a retired Byzantine official had the right of a title, connected to his previous position, although with the prefix ἀπο (“ex”).<sup>227</sup> Mentioned in the table of ranks, *ex-archontes* might become members of the council (that of the *prōteuontes* or another body) attached to the board of the *archontes*. The use of the retired officials in government was a pattern of Roman administration of the fourth – sixth centuries. At this period retired officials (Latin *honorati*) performed different administrative duties, including those of governing Byzantine cities.<sup>228</sup> Insisting on incorporation of retired officials in city councils, the state probably wanted to acquire “agents” in these bodies. Mention of the retired *archontes* of Dalmatia and other regions in the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* signifies that these persons played some role in administration. This fact might be considered as another pattern of the continuity of Later Roman provincial administration in its Byzantine successors.

According to the seals, the body of the *archontes* of Cherson ceased to exist in the third quarter of the ninth century. The *Kletorologion of Philotheos* of 899 does not men-

<sup>223</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, cat. no. 8-13; Smychkov, *Neskol'ko*, cat. no. 1 and 2; Alekseenko and Smychkov, *Neskol'ko*, cat. no. 3 and 4.

<sup>224</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, 115; Nikolas Oikonomidès, “Le ‘système’ administratif byzantin en Crimée aux IXe – Xe s.,” *MAIET* 7 (2000): 321 and 323.

<sup>225</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 184; Theoph. Cont. *Chron.* 56; cf. Scyl. *Synops.* 73; Kedr. *Synops.* vol. 2, 129 and 130.

<sup>226</sup> Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 58 and 59.

<sup>227</sup> Rodolphe Guiland, “Issledovaniya po administrativnoy istorii Vizantiyskoy imperii (Zametki o nekotorykh klassakh chinovnikov v IV – VI vv.)” (Studies on the administrative history of the Byzantine Empire [Notes to some classes of the officials in the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries]), *VV* 29 (1969), 91.

tion these *archontes* either. It is likely that in course of the development of the *theme*'s administration the responsibilities of the *archontes* were gradually passed to the officials of the *stratēgos*' staff. This was a typical pattern of the development of any *theme*, because the development of the *theme* system was not a result of one reform, organized according to one clearly developed program. That is why when a new *theme* was established at or spread over a new territory, bodies of power which had existed in this territory in the previous period, initially, as a rule, preserved their responsibilities, and only later were gradually replaced with the new bodies of the *theme* administration.<sup>229</sup> Cherson was not an exceptional case, the more so as the *Taktikon of Uspenskij* also fixes the coexistence of the *archon(tes)* and the *stratēgos* in Chaldia, Dyrrhachion, and Crete. In all cases, mentions of these *archon(tes)* are absent from the *Kletorologion of Philotheos*.<sup>230</sup> In this way, here one is dealing with the general pattern of the development of Byzantine administrative machinery.

*Ekdikos* (ἑκδικος).

There are two seals of the *ekdikos* of Cherson.<sup>231</sup> There were two kinds of Byzantine ἐκδίκαι – ecclesiastical and civil. The legends of seals from Cherson with Byzantine ranks tend to assume that in these cases one is dealing with the civil *ekdikos* (Latin *defensor civitatis*). Both seals date to the late ninth – early tenth centuries, which is the latest mention of the *ekdikos* in Byzantine sources. I suggest that this position was introduced in Cherson earlier, probably in the fourth – sixth centuries, because such a development seems impossible for the tenth century, the period of strengthening of the *theme* system.

In the sources of the previous period the *ekdikos/defensor* had to protect the poor from the powerful, prevent abuses by the imperial administration, was chair of a city council, head of police, judge in minor cases in civil and criminal affairs, appeal judge, and tax collector. The *defensor* was elected by the committee of city notables.<sup>232</sup> Ac-

<sup>228</sup> Dölger, *Stadt*, 121; Kurbatov, *Osnovnyye momenty*, 193 and 194; Jones, *The Later*, 537.

<sup>229</sup> K. N. Uspenskiy, *Ocherki po istorii Vizantii* (Essays on the history of Byzantium), vol. 1 (Moscow: [n. p.], 1917), 148; Gennadiy Litavrin, "Vizantiyskoye gosudarstvo v VII – XII vv." (The Byzantine state in the 7<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries), in Idem (ed.), *Rannefeodal'nyye gosudarstva na Balkanakh v VI – XII vv.* (Early feudal states in the Balkans in the 6<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries) (Moscow: Nauka, 1985), 113; Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, 91; Ostrogorsky, *History*, 96; Treadgold, *Revival*, 345.

<sup>230</sup> Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 48, 49, 54-57.

<sup>231</sup> Alexeenko, *Novyye nakhodki*, cat. no. 11 and 12.

<sup>232</sup> Rouillard, *L'Administration*, 7, 8, 63, 65, 154, 159, 163; Jones, *Greek City*, 151, 208 and 209; Idem., *The Later*, vol. 1, 144, 145, 279, 280, 521, 726, 727, 758; Claude, *Stadt*, 114-118; Dölger, *Stadt*, 120 and 121;

according to the seals, the *ekdikos* of Cherson was a Byzantine official. Thus, terms of appointment and probably functions of this office were changed in the course of time, more likely after the establishment of the *theme*. This official obviously became an employee of the *stratēgos*' staff. The "anachronistic" name of the office probably was a sign of the municipal origin of the magistracy, its connection with the community of Cherson. It can be supposed that the *ekdikos* was appointed from among the local notables.

*Patēr tēs poleōs* (πατήρ τῆς πόλεως).

This office was under the evolution similar to that of the position of the *ekdikos*. The post of πατήρ τῆς πόλεως originated and developed in the second - sixth centuries (see 2.4). In Cherson the office is also mentioned in sources dealing with the ninth and tenth centuries. According to Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Theophanes Continuatus, Cherson *pateres* were municipal officials, and when Theophilos was establishing the *theme* in the Crimea, he subordinated them to the *stratēgos*.<sup>233</sup> This information is confirmed by the Byzantine seal of the *patēr*, which appeared in the tenth century.<sup>234</sup> One can suppose that the *pateres* of Cherson of the tenth century continued to use this title for reasons very similar to those of the *ekdikoi*. Constantinople was the only other city where the term *patēr tēs poleōs* is mentioned in the tenth century. There this rank was the honorable rank of the *eparchos*, that is the governor of the city.<sup>235</sup> Thus, one might suppose that the *patēr* of Cherson performed similar duties in his city, of course under the supervision of the *stratēgos* of the *theme*.

*Prōteuontes* (πρωτεύοντες).

The development of this office was similar to those of the *pateres* and the *archontes*. Like these officials, it originated in the earlier period (2.6); in the ninth century πρωτεύοντες were ordered to become subordinate to the *stratēgos*.<sup>236</sup> In the tenth century the *prōteuontes* of Cherson are mentioned in Byzantine chronicles and in the legends of

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Kurbatov, *Osnovniye momenty*, 190, 191, 194, 197; Liebeschuetz, *Origin*, 40 and 43; Demandt, *Spätantike*, 335, 404.

<sup>233</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 184; Theoph. Cont. *Chron.* 56.

<sup>234</sup> Alexeenko, *Novyye nakhodki*, cat. no. 13.

<sup>235</sup> Bréhier, *Le Monde*, 154 and 167.

<sup>236</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 184; Theoph. Cont. *Chron.* 56.

four seals.<sup>237</sup> If in the previous period the *prōteuontes* of Cherson probably comprised a special consultative structure, attached to the board of the *archontes* (see 2.6), then, according to the seals and written sources, in the tenth century they became employees of the Byzantine administration of the *theme*. By that time the earlier unofficial title of *prōteuōn* had become the official name of the magistracy and started to be used on seals. The owners of the seals had the right to use the high Byzantine ranks – ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν, ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρίκλινου, πατρίκιος, and στρατηλάτης. Thus, these ranks emphasize that the owner was one of the state officials and the title of the office his connection with the city community. A *prōteuōn* probably carried out some duties of government in the city under the commandment of the *stratēgos* or as an employee of one of the departments of state. Because one *prōteuōn* bore the rank of *epi tōn oikeiakōn*, and the other one that of *stratēlatēs*, Nikolay Alekseenko supposes that the first official dealt with the Imperial domain, while the second was the military officer.<sup>238</sup>

It should be mentioned that in the tenth century the term Προτεύων [sic] also became a family name. If the legends of Byzantine seals were made according to a definite formula, and that is why it is easy to recognize where the matter concerns the title and where the family name, it is difficult to make such conclusions dealing with written sources. That is why sometimes a problem appears. Thus, H. Kühn supposes that in the middle of the eleventh century Byzantine officials at the head of the *doukate* (administrative unit) of Bulgaria for a short time came to be called *prōteuontes* instead of *doukes*. Kühn connects this renaming with the consequences of the rebellion in Bulgaria in 1040-1041.<sup>239</sup> However, the analysis of different written and sigillographic sources allowed V. A. Shandrovskaia to find out that this case deals with representatives of the *Prōteuontes* family.<sup>240</sup> Thus, it becomes clear that the question is not of the changing title of the governor of Bulgaria in the eleventh century.

<sup>237</sup> Scyl. *Synops*, 277; Kedr. *Synops*. vol. 2, 372; John Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, ed. Ludovik Dindorf (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1871), vol. 3, 324-325; vol. 4, 87; Alekseenko, *Les sceaux*; cf. Abramovich, *Patetik*, 107, which mentions “eldermen” of Cherson in the late-eleventh century.

<sup>238</sup> Alekseenko, *Les sceaux*.

<sup>239</sup> Kühn, *Die byzantinische Armee*, 227-230.

<sup>240</sup> Valentina Shandrovskaia, “Chto izvestno o Protevonakh” (What is known about the *Prōteuontes*), in *Vizantiyskiye ocherki* (Byzantine studies), ed. M. V. Bibikov (Moscow: Indrik, 1993), 219-221; it should be noted that this scholar did not know the work by Kühn.

The *theme* of the Klimata was established in the Crimea during the reign of Theophilos. This new military and administrative unit was established after the Byzantine power was restored in the Klimata of the south-western Crimea in order to organise effective administration and defence of this region. In the middle of the century the *theme* of the Klimata was renamed the *theme* of Cherson. The capital of the *theme* was in the city of Cherson. The *theme* was governed by the Byzantine governor, or *stratēgos*, who had a large staff, including *chartoularios*, *ekprosōpou*, officials with anachronistic titles (*ekdikos*, *patēr tēs poleōs*, *prōteuontes*, who formally preserved their connection to the community of Cherson), and others. The distinctive feature of this *theme* was that the population did not pay taxes. State revenues consisted of custom duties and incomes from lands of the Imperial domain. In the second half of the tenth and first half of the eleventh centuries new *themes* of Bosporos and Sougdaia were established in the Crimea. By 1066 three Crimean *themes* were incorporated into a new substructure, the *katepanate*. The last data about the Byzantine administration on the peninsula date to the end of the eleventh century.



## Chapter 4. The administration in transition: from Justinian to Alexios Komnenos

The development of any kind of administration has three aspects: the evolution of the positions, the evolution of the functions of the administration, and the evolution of the administrative system as a whole. Each aspect is worthy of special analysis. In the first case one looks at the administration from the point of view of officials and positions. Such an approach makes it possible to find the classical heritage in the various aspects of medieval administration, and thus to answer the question as to whether there was a shift in the administrative structure as a whole, or a gradual transition within the existing framework, that is the continuity. In the second case one investigates the administrative machinery from the side of its functions and thus makes a conclusion about the continuity not of the offices but the duties. In the third case one examines the administration as a system. This approach makes it possible to trace the principles on which the given administration was based, the reasons for the administrative reforms and their results. Against the background of all three analyses one can make a conclusion about the general pattern of the development of the administration.

### 4.1. Continuity.

The seventh century was a critical point in the history of Byzantine cities. Discussion of their fate has not finished yet.<sup>241</sup> According to one point of view, during this century Byzantine cities went through a fundamental decline, and when they revived later on their nature was quite different.<sup>242</sup> Those who hold another position acknowledge the existence of a certain decline, but underline the existence of a continuity in the formation of Byzantine city from its Later Roman predecessor.<sup>243</sup> There is a similar debate con-

<sup>241</sup> Scholarship on the problem is so large that henceforth I will note only some important editions. One can find the good survey on the historiography of the problem in Wolfram Brandis, *Die Städte Kleinasien im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1989), 9-22.

<sup>242</sup> Alexander Kazhdan, "Vizantiyskiy gorod v VII-IX vv." (The Byzantine city in the 7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries), *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* 21 (1954), 164-188; Cyril Mango, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome* (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1980), 65-73; John Haldon, "Some Considerations on Byzantine Society and Economy in the Seventh Century," in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985; reprint, in *State, Army and Society in Byzantium. Approaches to Military, Social and Administrative History, 6<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, London: Variorum, 1995), 75-112 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

<sup>243</sup> George Ostrogorsky, "Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), 47-66; Yelena Lipshits, "K voprosu o gorode v Vizantii v VII – IX vv." (On the problem of the city in Byzantium from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries), *VV* 6 (1953), 113-131; Mikhail Suzumov, "Vizantiyskiy gorod

cerning Byzantine Cherson. For a long period it was considered that in the seventh century this provincial center declined and was extensively depopulated.<sup>244</sup> Recently, thanks primarily to the appearance of new approaches in analyzing archaeological materials, scholars have tried to prove that the city's life in the seventh century did not undergo important changes in comparison with the previous period.<sup>245</sup>

Let me analyze one aspect of the problem of continuity – the continuity of the administration against the background of the analyses of Cherson's bodies of power. As has already been mentioned, sources supply no information about the city's administrative machinery in the seventh century. In spite of the fact that about 20 positions in the Cherson administration from the eighth to the eleventh centuries are already known, the only way to analyze continuity is to do it through the analysis of the offices which existed during the whole period or, at least, were mentioned in later sources but inferred to have originated much earlier.

In the period of the *archontate* the government of Cherson was headed by the *archontes*. The collective nature of this body and its connection to the municipality allows me to hypothesize that the medieval position of the *archontes* of Cherson was the heir of the board of the *achontes*, which governed this city in the classical period. In the eighth and ninth centuries, however, the *archontes* came to be ratified by the Byzantine government and that is why they were considered to be Imperial officials as well (2.3). After the *theme* had been established in the Crimea, the *archontes* were subordinated to the *stratēgos* of the *theme*. According to the practice of the Early Byzantine period, retired officials, *aparchontes*, participated in the government of Cherson as well. In the third

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(seredina VII – seredina IX v.)” (Byzantine city [the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> – the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> c.]), *VV* 14 (1958), 38 – 70; Georgiy Kurbatov, “K voprosu o sud'bakh vizantiyskogo goroda v VII v.: nekotoryye zamechaniya” (On the problem of the fate of the Byzantine city in the 7<sup>th</sup> century: some considerations), *VV* 55 (1995), 69-74.

<sup>244</sup> Yakobson, *Rannesrednevekoviy*, 50-55.

<sup>245</sup> Anna Romanchuk [Romančuk], “Taurik Chersonesus in the VIIth – IXth Century: the Problem of Continuity and Discontinuity [sic],” *Papers from the EAA third Annual Meeting in Ravenna 1997, vol. 2: Classical and Medieval*, BAR International Series 718 (1998), 91 - 93; Anna Romanchuk and Lyudmila Sedikova, “‘Temnyye veka’ i Kherson: problema representativnosti istochnikov” (The ‘Dark Ages’ and Cherson: the problem of the representation of the sources), in *Vizantiyskaya Tavrika* (Byzantine Taurica), ed. Petr P. Tolochko (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1991), 30-46; Anna Romanchuk, “More kak faktor razvitiya ekonomiki i kultury vizantiyskogo Khersona” (The sea as a factor in the development of the economics and culture of Byzantine Cherson), *MAIET* 7 (2000), 338-341.

quarter of the ninth century the body of the *archontes* of Cherson disappeared, probably, because their responsibilities were transferred to the *stratēgos* (3.5).

*Pateres tēs poleōs* are known in Cherson from the late fourth century.<sup>246</sup> This was the highest honorable membership given by the city to a person for his extraordinary merits. In the eighth and early ninth centuries *pateres tēs poleōs* performed different functions in governing the city, and, after the *theme* had been established, were subordinated to the *stratēgos* (2.5). Although, in contrast to the *archontes*, in the period of the *archontate* the *pateres tēs poleōs* were not connected with the Byzantine service. In the period of the *theme* the *pateres* became employees of the state, performing, possibly, the responsibilities of the civil governors of the city (3.5). It is probable that the office of the *pateres* remained in Cherson longer than that of the *archontes* due to its new status.

Although the position of the *ekdikos* is mentioned in Cherson only in the sources of the tenth century, the anachronistic nature of this position allowed me to hypothesize its earlier origin. It is difficult to make a conclusion about the precise responsibilities of this dignitary in the case of Cherson. The evolution of this office was probably similar to that of the *patēr* (3.5).

Finally, there was a committee of notables, or the *prōteuontes* of Cherson. The analogies in the other cities and specific features of the history of Cherson in the late - classic and early medieval periods make it possible to hypothesize their origin from several families of oligarchs, who assumed power in the city in the first centuries AD. In the period of the *archontate* the *prōteuontes* probably comprised a special consultative body attached to the board of the *archontes*, proposed to the Emperor candidates for the higher municipal positions, and carried out their assignments in governing the city (2.6). After the establishment of the *theme* the unofficial title of the *prōteuōn* acquired the meaning of an official rank and started to be used on seals (3.5).

The preservation of the all the aforementioned offices in Cherson's administration in the period of the *theme* should be analyzed in the same context. One can establish that the structure of the Crimean *theme* included a group of dignitaries, which, on the one hand, according to the ranks on their seals, were the officials of the Byzantine administration, but, on the other hand, used the anachronistic titles probably in order to empha-

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<sup>246</sup> IOSPE, cat. no. 449.

size their connection with Cherson's community, and, logically, were assigned from among the local notables.

Taking into account all the aforementioned facts, it can be suggested that there was a certain continuity in Cherson's administration from its Roman predecessors. In spite of the serious lack of sources one can conclude that several officials and administrative traditions of the Later Roman period were preserved in the eighth and early ninth centuries. In particular, such officials as the *archontes*, *prōteuontes*, and *pateres tēs poleōs* probably appeared between the second and fourth centuries and even earlier. Naturally, the content of these offices changed in the course of time. Some of them (*archontes*) became state employees, others (*prōteuontes*, *pateres tēs poleōs*) kept their municipal character.

The establishment of the Byzantine *theme* in the Crimea did not cause immediate abolition of the earlier administrative structures. *Archontes*, *prōteuontes*, *pateres tēs poleōs*, and *ekdikoi* became officials of the *stratēgos*' staff, however, they gradually changed their nature. Later on *archontes* ceased to exist, and the others lost their municipal character. Although sources supply information about some self-government patterns in the other Byzantine provincial cities from the tenth to the eleventh centuries, Cherson seems to be the only one where the remnants of such patterns preserved to a considerable extent. This can probably be explained as a result of the city's location in the outlying zone of the empire and the strong traditions of self-government, harking back to the Later Roman period, when Cherson was not a part of the Empire and juridically possessed the status of "free city."

In spite of the well-known edict by Leo VI (886-912) cancelling the municipalities of all the Byzantine cities,<sup>247</sup> some sources provide evidence of the remains of self-government structures to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Long preservation of the traditional forms of administration, and that of self-government in particular, in the frontier zones of Byzantium was a distinctive feature of the administrative development of the Empire. Such a pattern existed in Byzantine Italy, where due to the fact that in the eighth and the ninth centuries municipal government became the responsibility of the urban no-

<sup>247</sup> J. Zepi and P. Zepi, *Jus Graecoromanum* (Darmstadt: Scientia Aalen, 1962) vol. 1, 116 and 117.

bility, the remains of this pattern preserved until the eleventh century.<sup>248</sup> In a similar way, in Byzantine Dalmatia a few patterns of the later antique municipal administration were preserved to the eleventh centuries, among which were city councils led by local nobility.<sup>249</sup> These specific features of the development of Italy and Dalmatia were possibly resulted by the outlying location of these regions, which made it difficult to contact Constantinople. Even in the core of the Empire, in Asia Minor, and in Constantinople itself some self-government patterns already existed for centuries.<sup>250</sup> These data are indefinite and unclear. As a rule, sources mention only the existence of a self-government pattern, for example, the assembly of the members of the urban community, but give no detail about the content of this structure. Thus, the only facts acknowledged in scholarship is the existence of remains of the Later Roman or Early Byzantine administrative patterns in the Byzantine cities.<sup>251</sup> Consequently, one can suppose that the Leo VI order was not realized in full. The investigation of the Later Roman patterns in the Cherson administration contributes to this suggestion.

Naturally, the continuity of Cherson's administration did not have a linear character. Together with the anachronistic officials there were other administrative bodies

<sup>248</sup> Philip Jones, *The Italian City-State from Commune to Signoria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 62-64; André Gouillou, "Des collectivités rurales à la collectivité urbaine en Italie méridionale byzantine (VIe-XIe s.)," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 100 (1976; reprint, in *Culture et Société en Italie Byzantine* [VIe – XIe s.], London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), 321 (page citations are to the reprint edition); cf. David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City: From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century* (London: Longman, 1997), 35-43.

<sup>249</sup> Ferluga, *Archontat*, 132-137; Idem., "L'Administration byzantine en Dalmatie," *Académie serbe des sciences. Monographies* 216. *Institut d'Etudes Byzantines* 6 (1957; reprint, in: *Byzantium on the Balkans; Studies on the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIIth Centuries*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1976), 145 and 146 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Idem., "Tema Dalmacija" (The theme of Dalmatia), *Académie serbe des sciences. Monographies* 216. *Institut d'Etudes Byzantines* 6 (1957; reprint, in: *Byzantium on the Balkans*), 169 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Idem., "Bizanzio e Zara," *Zadarska Revija* 2-3 (1967; reprint, in: *Byzantium on the Balkans*), 188-190 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Margetić, *Provincijalni*, 48-53; Idem., "Tribuni u srednjovjekovnim Dalmatinskim gradskim općinama" (Tribuni in Medieval city communes), *ZRVI* 16 (1975), 51.

<sup>250</sup> See for example: Rudakov, *Očerki*, 93; Anna, *Alexiad*, vol. 1, 13; Kekaumenos, *Strategem*, ed. Gennadiy Litavrin (Moscow: Nauka, 1972), 469-470; Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De ceremoniis*, ed. and tr. Albert Vogt (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1967), vol. 2, book 1, 77-79.

<sup>251</sup> Rudakov, *Očerki*, 93; Uspenskiy, *Istoriya*, 317; Vogt, Commentaire, in *Constantine Porphyrogenetos, De ceremoniis*, vol. 2, 82-89; Rodolphe Guiland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin. – L'Eparque. I. L'Eparque de la ville," *Byzantinoslavica* 61 (1980), 18; Nina Pigulevskaya, Yelena Lipshits, Mikhail Suzumov and Alexander Kazhdan, "Gorod i derevnya v Vizantii v IV – XII vv." (City and village in Byzantium in the 4<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries), in *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'études byzantines*, vol. 1 (Beograd: [n. p.], 1963), 35-38; Vranko Panov, "Gorodskoye samoupravleniye v Okhride v pravleniye Alexeya I Komnina" (The city's self-government in Ochride during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos), in *Actes du XVIe Congrès international d'études byzantines*, vol. 4 (Athenes: [n. p.], 1980), 271-273.

which functioned during shorter periods and did not develop further. As we have already seen, the anachronistic offices changed in course of time, but the development of these offices was gradual, without shifts and *lacunae*. The close connection of these bodies with the local community ensured a succession of the administrative systems coming one after another and, in this way, continuity.

#### 4.2. Administrative functions.

Each administration had three primary functions: military, civil, and fiscal government. Let us see how they were presented in case of Cherson. The analysis of changes in these functions permits an answer to the question about the reasons for the abolition of the position of the *doux* of Cherson and the strengthening of the municipality during the period of the *archontate*: was it a result of the internal development of the Byzantine administration as a whole? or the reaction of the Empire toward the specific situation in the Crimea?

Two principle points should be noted at the very beginning. Firstly, nomads were always the basic threat for the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea. Byzantine Cherson at the coast versus the nomads of the steppe with Gothia as a buffer between these two hostile sides – was precisely the strategic situation during all periods, although the status of Gothia, as we have seen before, could change. Secondly, although Cherson was located on the coast with a convenient harbour, the sources say nothing about this city as a place where the Byzantine fleet was located. On the contrary, Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Theophanes Continuatus emphasize that when during Petronas' expedition to Khazaria (3.1) he was accompanied by the fleet of Paflagonia, in Cherson there were only trading ships (καματερά καράβια), capable only of coastwise navigation.<sup>252</sup>

From the middle of the sixth century the basic defensive function of Cherson was under the administration of the *doux* (1.3). According to written and epigraphic sources, Justinian I sent the troops among which there were the Goths, and, as John Malalas mentions, the Italians, to the Crimea.<sup>253</sup> Among the army of the *exarchate* of Ravenna the sources of the sixth and seventh centuries mentions the *numerus felicium Theodosiacus*,

<sup>252</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 182-185; Theoph. Cont. *Chron.* 56.

<sup>253</sup> Theoph. *Chron.* 270 and 271; Kedr. *Chron.* vol. 1, 645; Feissel, *Nouvelles données*, 219 and 220; Mal. *Chron.* 481 and 482.

the name of which is the most probably connected with the town of Theodosia near the Bosphoros in the Crimea.<sup>254</sup> This subdivision of the Byzantine army probably received this name as an honour for its deeds in the Crimean campaign, although after it this *numerus* re-dislocated back to Italy.

The important part in the strategic plans of Byzantium was undoubtedly assigned to the Crimean Goths, which, according to Procopius, placed their army at Byzantine disposal. In the second half of the sixth century the Byzantines built several strongholds in the lands of the Goths. These fortresses became both strong points and centres of administration (1.2).

The weakening of the Byzantine power in the Crimea on the Black Sea North Littoral throughout the seventh century caused its positions in the Crimea to be restricted to Cherson (2.1 and 2.2). At the same time, the position of the *doux* of Cherson was abolished. The principle of defence had been changed as well. From then on, special stress in the defence of the city was laid not on military force, but on diplomacy. There is no doubt that some kind of troops, however limited, still existed in Cherson, although the sources kept silence about them. It might be inferred that there was a kind of pattern analogous to that of cities of medieval Italy and Dalmatia. In those regions the function of defence was executed by the home guard (*militia*), comprised of local proprietors.<sup>255</sup> In this case the silence of the sources about any kind of Byzantine troops located in the Crimea might be interpreted in favour of this hypothesis.

During the reign of Theophilos, the Klimata came under the power of Byzantium and the *theme* was establishment in the Crimea. In result of this the army of the *theme*, comprised, probably, from the population of the Klimata and headed by the appointed from Constantinople *stratēgos*, became the basic force performing the defensive duty (3.1). Thus, Cherson lost its military function once more. It should be noted, that having learnt a lesson from the previous defeats, Byzantium, as Constantine Porphyrogennetos recommended,<sup>256</sup> used not only military force but also its allies and diplomatic efforts for

<sup>254</sup> André Guillou, "Esarcato Pentapoli, regione psicologica dell'Italia byzantina," in *Studi Romagnoli* 18 (1967; reprint, in *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1970), 308 and 310 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

<sup>255</sup> Margetić, Tribuni, 29-31; Guillou, Esarcato, 307-312; P. Jones, *Italian*, 62 and 63; Nicholas, Grouwth, 35, 36, 43.

<sup>256</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 48-51, 64, 65, 286, 287.

the defence of Cherson from the barbarians and for putting down rebellions inside the *theme*. Thus the military function was divided between the interior (the army of the *theme*) and the exterior (allies and diplomacy), although the imperial administration in the person of the *stratēgos* was responsible for organising and coordinating both sides of it.

In the sixth century the function of the civil government of Cherson was probably executed by dignitaries subordinated to the *doux*, but closely connected, originating, and elected from among Cherson's community (2.4). The abolition of the position of the *doux* in the seventh century resulted in these municipal bodies of power receiving an opportunity to develop outside the direct control of a Byzantine representative. It stands to reason, that Byzantium had not lost any kind of control over these officials. Byzantine ranks of the *archontes* and *kurios* incline one to infer that these officials were ratified from Constantinople. The institutions of the *prōteuontes* and *patēr tēs poleōs*, who were not officials of Byzantine service and thus did not need in the Imperial ratification and ranks, was another typical Chersonian pattern. This pattern was not the Crimean invention – similar cases are known in Italy and in the Balkans.<sup>257</sup>

The establishment of the *theme* in the Crimea caused the consolidation of the civil and military functions under the supreme supervision of the *stratēgos*; bodies of power which had existed earlier did not cease, but were subordinated to him. Thus, the principle of the subordination of the civil to the military sphere, which had probably existed in the administration of Cherson in the sixth century, revived 300 years later. Although in the 870s the board of the *archontes* was abolished and their responsibilities were taken by the officials of the *stratēgos* administration, according to the seals of the tenth century other municipal officials, *pateres*, *prōteuontes*, *ekdikoi* changed their natures and turned from being municipal bodies to being employees of the *stratēgos*' staff (3.5). Thus, it is not so difficult to admit that Byzantium always preferred to use local administrative offices, placing them by this or that way under its control, for governing the civil sphere of Cherson's life. These bodies provided, incidentally, the succession of the administration of the city of different periods.

Finally, the change of the fiscal function of the administration of Cherson is the most complicated problem. In the period of the *doukate* it was executed, probably, by the



employees of the central departments, for example, by the *arkarios* (1.4). However, sources kept silent about the fiscal function throughout the following period. Does this silence mean that the Chersonians paid no taxes to the Imperial treasury and that the city's port was free from custom duties, or that these obligations were collected by the *archontes* and others? Or does it mean that the information about the appropriate officials has not been preserved? This question is still open. Some logical deductions support the first hypothesis. Firstly, during the next, *theme*, period Cherson seemed to pay no Imperial taxes (3.3). Secondly, the absence of seals of custom officials (*kommerkiarioi*) among the numerous seals of other officials of the period of the *archontate* becomes more significant if one remembers that during the period of the *theme* the seals of *kommerkiarioi* became second in number among the seals of all officials of Cherson.<sup>258</sup> However it may be, one can not infer that taxation was absent in Cherson throughout the period of the *archontate* as such. Since there was an administration in the city, consequently, some means were needed to support it. Even if there was no Imperial taxation, there were some local taxes, collected by local dignitaries.

The establishment of the *theme* caused the immediate establishment of the position of the custom officer of Byzantine administration, *kommerkiarios*. No later than the tenth century part of the lands in Cherson was allotted to the Imperial domain, which was governed by the *prōtonotarios* and *epi tōn oikeiakōn* (3.3). Thus, generally speaking, the fiscal function of the administration of Cherson underwent an evolution similar to that of its military and civil functions. During the period of the *doukate* it was in the hands of Byzantium, and later, after the period of the *archontate*, shadowy from this point of view, when it was possibly executed by local officials, it again passed to the responsibility of Byzantine administration.

It is easy to find one general feature of the development of the administration of Cherson – in the period of the *archontate* its functions were decreased. The fiscal function was limited, the army was reduced in size and the principle of its recruitment was changed, and the territory under the administrative control of Cherson was restricted. At the same time, administrative functions were transmitted to the local administrators, who

<sup>257</sup> Bréhier, *Monde*, 170 and 171; Ferluga, *Archontat*, 132-137; Guillou, *Esarcato*, 318 and 319; P. Jones, *Italian*, 62-64, 79, 80, 83, 84, 131; Margetić, *Provincijalni*, 52-54; Nicholas, *Growth*, 35 and 36.

<sup>258</sup> Cf. Sokolova, *Monety*, 115; Seibt, *Probleme*, 309.

received the Imperial ranks as a payment for this. One can remember, that in the late-classical period, prior to Justinian I's epoch Cherson had the status of the "free city," formally independent from the Empire, with its own administration. Through the late-classical period the possessions of the Empire in the Crimea were restricted to Cherson itself. Thus, one can see the appropriateness of the development of the administration of Cherson in the Medieval period: after the possessions of the Empire in the Crimea grew wider, the Empire immediately enforced a centralisation of power in the peninsula in order to execute the administrative functions effectively. General supervision over the whole administration was turned over to the military governor of the peninsula, appointed from Constantinople and resident in Cherson. This officer concentrated responsibilities and subordinated civil dignitaries. The weakening of the positions of the Empire in the Crimea resulted in a change in the principle of the government, and the abolition of the position of military governor. His functions were transmitted to the officials of Cherson's municipality, who, in their own turn, became state employee, ratified by the Emperor from among the local notables. Thus, one can answer the question which was posed in the beginning of this subchapter, concluding that in the case of Cherson the abolition of the position of the *doux* in the seventh century and later reinforcement of the municipal administration was caused by changes in the political situation in the Crimea rather than by changes in general principles of Byzantine administrative machinery.

#### 4.3. The systems.

I shall analyse three principle aspects of each administrative system that existed in Cherson from the sixth to the eleventh century. First, there were administrative patterns in their true sense, principles, on which the given system was based. Second, there was the hierarchy of the offices inside the given system. Third, there was the territory in which the given system was used.

The interaction of two elements: the Byzantine state and Cherson's self-government, was characteristic of the administration of this city during most of the period of this study. The self-government principle originated from below, from the local community, with its classical tradition of the Hellenistic *polis* which was preserved in the environment of local oligarchs, *prōteuontes*. This principle was, so to speak, traditional and

conservative. Innovations came from above. To the best of my knowledge, the reformulation of Cherson's administration, and establishment of new principles in it always resulted from the activities or decisions of the Byzantine government. Administrative patterns, introduced to the Crimea from the outside, such as the *doukate*, *theme*, *katepanate*, had been tried out in other regions before.

The distribution of the responsibilities between these two elements of the administration of Cherson changed constantly. Although the *doukate* is the most difficult case to examine, it is clear that the basic functions of governing the city, such as defence, building, minting, tax-collection, and policing were carried out by the administration of the *doux*. However, if the hypothesis about the relatively earlier origin of the bodies of the *prōteuontes*, *archontes*, and *ekdikoi* (the *pateres tēs poleōs* existed from the fourth century) is correct (1.4), one can conclude that these municipal offices were used as technical executors in the civil and, possibly, financial sphere. Thus, the hierarchy inside the structure of the period of the *doukate* might be represented as the following. On the upper level there was the *doux*; the next level was comprised from the state officials of the *doux's* staff; dignitaries of the self-government probably were the third level. This structure existed in the territory of Cherson, the southern coast of the Crimea, and Bosporos. The Goths of the south-western Crimea had their own administration.

The eighth century became the age of the decentralisation and redistribution of responsibilities. There was a kind of amalgamation of two halves of the earlier system - the city's government fell into the hands of officials who were considered to be representatives of both the Emperor and Cherson's community. This new system was based on a kind of a compromise between the Imperial and local authorities. It is necessary to underline that this pattern was not an exception, but a rule. Byzantium always tried to use municipal organisations as long as they could carry out the duties they were entrusted with.<sup>259</sup> This was a heritage of the tradition of the Roman Empire, which existed as an agglomeration of cities and based its administration on it.<sup>260</sup> Later on, in the Early Byzan-

<sup>259</sup> A. H. M. Jones, *Greek City*, 85 and 86; Kurbatov, *Osnovnyye*, 178 and 179.

<sup>260</sup> A. H. M. Jones, "The Cities of the Roman Empire: Political, Administrative and Judicial Institutions," *Recueils de Société Jean Bodin* 6 (1954; reprint, in *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*, ed. P. A. Brunt, Oxford: Blackwell, 1974), 1-4 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Idem., *Greek City*, 86-93, 271-271; Idem., *Later*, vol. 1, 712; Mango, *Byzantium*, 60; Whitton, *The Making*, 56.

tine period, the system of Cherson's administration was based on the compromise between two elements of power, where the officials of the self-government were also the officials of the Imperial administration, and the defence of the city was entrusted to the local home guard, was more or less typical not only of Cherson, but also of other outlying districts of the Empire: the *exarchate* of Ravenna and Pentapolis in Italy, Dalmatia and some other cities in the Balkans.<sup>261</sup>

The administrative system of the period of the *archontate* reduced both the number of the officials and the territory they were responsible. Its hierarchy included only two levels: dignitaries recognised by the Emperor (or officials with seals), and dignitaries unrecognised by the Emperor (or officials without seals). The difference between the levels was insignificant, because both were based in the local community, which at the same time became the only territory where this structure functioned.

The ninth century, the epoch of the Byzantine revival and centralisation of the Empire, was marked in the Crimean case by the gradual replacement of the compromise variant of the system by that of the centralised type, in which the authority was concentrated in hands of the *stratēgos* appointed from Constantinople (3.3). The system of Cherson, however, had its own particular features, first of all, in receiving money (*pakton*) from the Empire, and perhaps freedom from taxation (3.4). In this period the system acquired a new element, that is the finance office of the *kommerkiarios*, who was independent from the *stratēgos* collector of custom duties, subordinate to the department of the state (3.4). The significance of Cherson as a trade centre was emphasised, for example, by Constantine Porphyrogennetos,<sup>262</sup> which is why one must not underestimate the importance of customs as an element in the local administrative system. This system also spread in width: in the given period it reached its maximum limits, incorporating large territories outside the fortifications of Cherson (3.3).

Nevertheless, the local traditions of self-administration were too strong to disappear suddenly, which is reflected in numerous seals of the tenth century which belonged to Cherson's officials with anachronistic titles. Although this tradition was reflected probably only in the names these titles, which were used to emphasise their owner's connection with the local community, and in the selection of these officials by the Byzantine

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<sup>261</sup> See note 257 above.

authorities from among the local notables, one can consider this pattern to be an important feature of the administrative system of the tenth century Cherson. It was the continuation of the line of the development of Cherson's administrative machinery, when the municipal dignitaries were gradually losing their power and becoming the employees of the state.

The administrative hierarchy of the given period represented two levels. On the higher level there were the Byzantine military governor, *stratēgos*, and independent of him, the customs agent, *kommerkiarios*. The second level was occupied by different officials: dignitaries of the *stratēgos*' administration, officials with the anachronistic titles, and independent of the *stratēgos*' administration and less important officers of the department of *Mangana* and *oikeiakon*.

In the eleventh century this system became complicated. Two new units, the *themes* of Bosphoros and Sougdaia, were detached from the *theme* of Cherson. At that time the three Crimean *themes* were independent from each other and headed by their own *strategoi*. These three units were united into one structure, the *katepanate*. The *katepanō* probably acquired the functions connected with defence and foreign affairs, although the *stratēgoi* of smaller units were responsible for the civil governing of their units (3.3). This is the only conclusion I can make about the system of the *katepanate* due to the lack of the sources.

#### 4.4. The Pattern.

Particular features of the administrative development of Byzantium from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries mark two major patterns of development, that of Asia Minor and that of the Balkans. In Asia Minor the development proceeded in conditions of relative stability of the territory, population, and cities. New administrative principles were tested in this region; all of them were the results of decisions with deliberate intent, taken from above. These principles completely replaced those which had existed earlier. If Asia Minor is characteristic of the transmission of new administrative patterns in ready-made form, than in the Balkans these new patterns did not immediately abolish the principles which already existed, but were laid over them and only later gradually replaced

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<sup>262</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 52, 53, 286, 287.

the old principles. That was because in the Balkans the territory under Byzantine power was unstable, there were no clear frontier, but numerous questionable frontier units of barbarian nature and unclear status. The power of the Empire was concentrated in small enclaves, bases, or outposts, from where the new administrative principles were spread, gradually incorporating new territories. For example, in the Balkans new *themes* were established when new territories fell into the hands of the Empire. These new *themes* had no precise frontiers; they were based on the gradual incorporation of the Slavs into the Byzantine Imperial system.<sup>263</sup> The islands of the Mediterranean and Byzantine Italy were a special case of development, characteristic of the permanent passing from Byzantine power to the hands of its enemies and vice versa. They experienced deep development of territorial autonomy, sometimes double protectorates, and great importance of the traditional bodies of power.<sup>264</sup> Thus, this was a combination of Asia Minor's and the Balkans' experiences.

The administrative development of Byzantine Crimea in general and Cherson in particular followed the Balkan pattern rather than that of Asia Minor. The reason for this lies in the specific features of the development of this region. During the whole Middle Ages the Crimea was a stage for the struggle between two political forces, Byzantium on its south-west (from Cherson), and the nomads of the steppes. On the frontier between these worlds there were the barbarian state formation of Gothia, and the Hellenized city of Bosphoros, which in the cultural respect were much closer to the Empire, but, in contrast to Cherson, were far from being permanent component parts of Byzantium; they were permanently objects of both Byzantine and nomadic aspirations. It is interesting that just as Byzantium had absolutely no interest in steppes, the sphere of interests of the nomads never included Cherson. It seems that the episodes with the appearance of the Avars

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<sup>263</sup> Brilliant analyses of these two ways of the development see in: Jadran Ferluga, "Quelques aspects du développement du système des thèmes dans la péninsule des Balkans," *Recueil de travaux de la Faculté de philosophie* 8/1 (1964; reprint, in *Byzantium on the Balkans; Studies on the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIIth Centuries*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1976), 1-19; see also Ahrweiler, *Frontier*, 224-229; particular cases of Asia Minor: Hélène Ahrweiler, "L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes (VIIè – IXè siècles)," *Revue historique* 227, no 1 (1962; reprint, in *Etudes sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), 1-32 (pages citations are to the reprint editions); John Haldon and H. Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderland," *ZRVI* 19 (1980), 79-116; and the Balkans: Obolensky, *Commonwealth*, 42-134.

<sup>264</sup> Guillou, *Esarcato*, 297-319; Jenkins, *Cyprus*, 1006-1014; P. Jones, *Italian*, 62-84.

near the walls of Cherson in 580 (1.2) and the appointment of the Khazarian *toudounos* to this city in the early eighth century (2.1) might be analysed only as episodes, when Cherson was no more than a pawn in a great political game.

The system whereby the Byzantine frontier was built according to the principle of concentric circles with a small urban enclave in the centre surrounded with amorphic barbarian units which depends from Byzantium to this or that extant, and further ring of absolutely alien barbarians, was characteristic of the Balkans, not of Asia Minor.<sup>265</sup>

The frontier positions of Gothia and Bosporos forced them to manoeuvre between Byzantine tax collectors and nomadic horsemen. It is probably incorrect to think that since the population of Gothia and Bosporos were culturally much closer to the Empire than to the nomads, they consequently aimed for being the subjects of Byzantium. More probably, their goal was an independent life on the frontier of these two worlds, although neither Bosporos nor Gothia could resist the appetites of their neighbours. That is why the only thing they could do was to play on the contradictions between Byzantium and the steppes, and they probably did so, although this political game was possible only in conditions of relative parity between Byzantium and the nomads, as it had been in the seventh century. As one of the two sides became more powerful, it immediately incorporated Gothia and Bosporos into its structure. Since there was need to govern this newly acquired territory, the enlarging of Byzantine possessions in the Crimea required an immediate administrative reaction. This reaction was realised in raising of the rank of the Imperial administrative unit in the Crimea and appropriate administrative reform. Cherson became the centre of the new unit because it was the traditional Byzantine outpost with an adjusted infrastructure and developed administrative patterns. As the Empire was weakening and the nomads were growing stronger, the south-western Crimea and Bosporos at first fell away from Byzantium, and, later on, joined the ranks of the next nomadic state. These periodic fluctuations of the Byzantine sphere of influence in the Crimea look like a sinusoid. The sixth century saw the inclusion of Gothia and Bosporos into the ranks of Byzantium, and the organising of the new province, the *doukate* of Cherson. The seventh

<sup>265</sup> Obolensky, *Commonwealth*, 54-56, 73-81; Pigulevskaya and others, *Gorod*, 42; the case of Dalmatia in: Jadran Ferluga, "Les Îles dalmates dans l'Empire byzantin. Les limites chronologiques du thème," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 6 (1977; reprint, in *Byzantium on the Balkans; Studies on the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIIth to the XIIth Centuries*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1976), 115-118.

century saw the weakening of the Empire, the falling away of Gothia and Bosporos, and reduction of the Imperial possessions in the Crimea. The eighth century saw Gothia and Bosporos became component parts of Khazaria, and the organisation of the *archontia* in Cherson. The ninth century saw the weakening of the Khanate and reinforcing of the Empire, south-western Crimea fell under the Byzantine protectorate, and the establishment of the *theme*. The eleventh century saw gradual disintegration of the Byzantine Crimea and the appearance of new subunits, the *themes* of Bosporos and Sougdaia, united in the frames of the *katepanate*. The twelfth century saw Byzantium loose all its possessions in the Crimea. The political struggle in the region determined the administrative development of the Byzantine Crimea in general and of Cherson in particular.



## Conclusion

After Justinian I (527-565) had extended his possessions in the Crimea to a considerable extent, a new province was established there. The government was entrusted to Byzantine military governor entitled the *doux* of Cherson. His own staff and the officials of the local self-government were subordinate to this dignitary. The weakening of Byzantium through the seventh century resulted in its territories in the Crimea being restricted to Cherson. By the eighth century, the *archontate*, the administrative unit the staff of which combined their connection with the local community and recognition by Byzantium, was established in Cherson. During the reign of Theophilos (829-842), the Empire annexed the Klimata in south-western Crimea and established there a *theme* with the capital in Cherson. The supreme power in the *theme* belonged to the general, *stratēgos*, with a subordinate staff of officers including the officials of the municipality. In the late tenth – mid-eleventh centuries the *themes* of Bosporos and Sougdaia were separated from this unit. The three Crimean *themes* were united in the framework of a *katepanate* with the center in Cherson. The latest data on a Byzantine official in Cherson dates to the late-eleventh century.

The study of the administration of Cherson allowed me to raise the question of the continuity of the administration of this city from its late classical predecessors. This continuity manifested itself in the preservation of some offices closely connected with the community of Cherson. The nature of these offices changed in the course of time, which made the succession of the administrative machinery of Cherson during the given period a gradual transition.

Administrative development of late classical and medieval Cherson depended on the political situation in the Crimea. A strengthening of the Byzantine power on the peninsula resulted in enlarging the territory subordinated to it. A new province was established on the newly acquired territories, with the power concentrated in hands of the military governor appointed from Constantinople. A weakening of the Empire resulted in the restriction of the Byzantine Crimea to the limits of the fortifications of Cherson, and the reinforcement of the elements of Cherson's self-government. The general pattern of the development of the administration of the Byzantine Crimea was similar to that of the Balkans.

In future, the analysis of the administrative patterns of Byzantine Cherson might be an aspect of a general study of the administration of Byzantine provincial cities. Topics interesting from the point of view of a comparative analysis might be: Cherson and cities of the Balkans developing in a similar pattern of evolution; the relations between the administrations of Cherson and cities of Asia Minor in order to show a divergence of the administrative development related to political and geographical conditions; relations between the administrations of Cherson and one of the largest urban centres of Byzantium (Constantinople, Thessalonike, or Nikaea) in order to point out the differences and similarities between the provincial and the capital's pattern. Finally, the history of the administrative machinery of Cherson might be an element of a general investigation of the administration of medieval Crimea, three component parts of which, Cherson, Bosporos, and the Klimata of Gothia present three different, but interrelated patterns.

To sum up, nothing else is left but to express my hope that further efforts of scholars together with the appearance of new publications of seals from the so-called archive of Cherson will fill numerous *lacunae* in the administrative history of this city, to prove or disprove some of the hypotheses established in this thesis, and at any rate show how the things were in fact.

### Appendix. On the medieval name of the city of Cherson

From the fourth through the sixth centuries the ancient name of the city, Χερσόνασος in the Dorian form, Χερσόνησος or Χερρόνησος in the Ionian form, changed and was finally replaced with the new, medieval form Χερσών.

This new term appears first in the work of Flegon of Tralls, an author of the second century.<sup>266</sup> His original version has been preserved only in retellings by later authors. Specifically, the excerpt dealing with Χερσών is cited by Stephen of Byzantium<sup>267</sup> and Constantine Porphyrogennetos.<sup>268</sup> It seems that they replaced original Χερσόνησος or Χερρόνησος with Χερσών, which was contemporary with them.<sup>269</sup>

From the second to the mid-third centuries AD the city minted different types of coins with a legend ΧΕΡΣΟΝΕΣΟΥ ΕΛΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ [*sic*] (with small variations).<sup>270</sup> In the Greek epigraphic sources of the second century one can find the *polytonimos* of the citizens of the city, derived from Χερσόνασος or Χερσόνησος. In the decree of AD 174 in honor of Titus Aurelius Calpurnianus Apollonidus there are τῶν Χερσονασιτᾶν, and Χερσονασεῖταις.<sup>271</sup> In two other Greek inscriptions we find Χερσονασσειτᾶν and Χερσονησιτῶν.<sup>272</sup>

A Latin epigraphic document from the end of the second century gives two other pieces of evidence: *in vexillatione Chersonessitana* and *ad decretum Chersonessitanorum*.<sup>273</sup> The other Latin inscription of AD 250 says: *vexillationis Chersonissitanae*.<sup>274</sup> These adjectives are derived from the noun *Chersonessus*, which was the Latin version of the city's name.

<sup>266</sup> Fleg. *Olimp.* 15.22; the majority of works by classical authors are used in extracts, prepared by Vasiliy Latyshev (*Scythia and Caucasia. Veteribus scriptoribus graecis et latinis*, ed. and comp. Vasiliy Latyshev, 2 vols (St. Petersburg: Akademiya nauk, 1900-1906). Because this work is less familiar to European scholars, notes are given to chapters, paragraphs, etc. in the original source. In all other cases the note to the publication of the original source is provided.

<sup>267</sup> Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* s.v. Bosporos.

<sup>268</sup> Const. Porph. *De them.* 11.12.

<sup>269</sup> A. A. Selivanov, *O Khersonese Tavricheskom* (On Tauric Chersonese) (Odessa: Aktsionernoye Yuzhno-Russkoye obshchestvo pechatnogo dela, 1898), 11, note 3.

<sup>270</sup> Vladilen Anokhin, *Monetnoye delo Khersonesa* (Coinage of Cherson) (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1977), cat. no. 252, 258, 259, 262, 264, 284 - 308.

<sup>271</sup> Antonova and Yaylenko, *Khersones*, 61-62.

<sup>272</sup> Ella Solomonic, *Novyye epigraficheskiye pamyatniki Khersonesa* (The new epigraphic monuments of Cherson) [part 1] (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1964), cat. no. 5 and 14.

<sup>273</sup> IOSPE, cat. no. 404.

Writers of the third quarter of the second century, Appian and Polyenos, used the word Χερρόνησος.<sup>275</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus (second half of the fourth century) twice used the Latin word *Cherronesus*, but if in the first place it means the Crimean peninsula in general, in the second it means exactly the city in the Crimea, where a certain Phronimius, who had plotted against the Emperor Valentinian, was banished in 364.<sup>276</sup>

One cannot ignore another interesting source, a short geographical treatise from Moscow Historic Museum. Here ἡ Ταυρικὴ Χερσόνησος is named as one of the regions, or provinces, in Europe.<sup>277</sup> The editor dates this source to AD 360-368, however C. Zuckerman emphasizes some interpolations of the seventh and tenth centuries in the text of the treatise.<sup>278</sup> On the basis of this work there probably was a text of the fourth century, in which ἡ Ταυρικὴ Χερσόνησος was mentioned. In current scholarship this passage is interpreted as a mention of the city, but it might possibly be the name of the Crimean peninsula used in accordance with the ancient tradition. One can support this hypothesis, first, by the fact that it was called ἐπαρχία (that is "region, province"); and second, the term itself (ἡ Ταυρικὴ Χερσόνησος) is given in the form, used as the name for the peninsula, for example, by Herodotus and Strabo.

The new, shortened form of the city's name appeared at the end of the fourth century. In the list of the bishops, who signed up the Acts of the Second Ecumenical council (AD 381), one can find the name of *Ætherius Tersonitanus*.<sup>279</sup> This *Tersonitanus* is a corruption from Chersonitanus, which is derived from Cherson.<sup>280</sup>

The first epigraphic document supplying the name of the city in the new form is the badly preserved Greek inscription with letters XEPCONI... in the fifth line.<sup>281</sup> Mikhail Shangin inferred that in this inscription the Emperor Honorius is mentioned. If so,

<sup>274</sup> Yuriy Vinogradov, Vitaliy Zubar' and Inna A. Antonova, "Schola Principalium v Khersonese" (*Schola Principalium* in Chersonese), *Numismatika i epigrafika* 16 (1999), 72-73.

<sup>275</sup> App. *Mithr.* 102; Polyæn *Strateg.* 8.56.

<sup>276</sup> Amm. Marc. *Res gestae* 22.32; 26.10.10.

<sup>277</sup> Mikhail Shangin. "Novyy geograficheskiy tekst" (The new geographical text), *VDI* 4 (1938), 253, 255.

<sup>278</sup> Constantine Zuckerman, "Yepiskopy igarnizon Khersonesa v IV v." (Bishops and the garrison of Cherson in the 4<sup>th</sup> century), *MAIET* 4 (1994), 560, note 47.

<sup>279</sup> J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Consiliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 3 (Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1759), col. 572.

<sup>280</sup> Selivanov, *O Khersonese*, 11.

<sup>281</sup> Mikhail Shangin, "Nekotoryye nadpisi Khersonesskogo muzeya" (Some inscriptions from the Chersonese museum), *VDI* 3 (1938), cat. no. 11; unfortunately, the photo, published on page 82, is of insufficient quality.

one can date this source to the late fourth - early fifth centuries. However, when on September 24, 419, the emperors Honorius and Theodosios II excused from punishment those who had betrayed the secrets of shipbuilding to certain barbarians, this decision was made after the petition of Asclepiades, the bishop of the city of *Chersonesus*.<sup>282</sup> Thus, there was possibly a period when both forms of the city's name were used in documents. The following analysis contributes to this inference.

Narrative sources of the second half of this century use both variants. Zosimos calls the city Χερρόνησος.<sup>283</sup> The acts of the Fourth Ecumenical council (AD 451) show the process of replacement of the old name of the city with the new one. One of the participants in the council was called Λογγίνος ἐλέει Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος Χερρονήσου, although in the Latin version of this document there are at least three different variants of writing of the city's name: *Longinus* is called *episcopus Chersonensis*, *Chersonissi*, or *Chersonis*.<sup>284</sup> This latter version provides the new form of the city's name. According to the ecclesiastical sources of the fifth century, in AD 465 the patriarch of Alexandria, Timotheos Ailouros, was exiled *in Chersonense*,<sup>285</sup> *in Cerson*,<sup>286</sup> *in Cersonam*,<sup>287</sup> or *ad Chersonam*.<sup>288</sup> Thus, one can see that in the second half of the fifth century both versions of the city's name were in use.

In the sixth century, Greek, Latin, and Syriac sources use only the term Χερσών. Procopius<sup>289</sup> and Menander Protector<sup>290</sup> more than once called the city Χερσών, Jordanes twice used the Latinized form *Chersona*.<sup>291</sup> In the anonymous Syriac chronicle, the main part of which consists of translation of the *History* by Zacharias of Mytilene, one can find the Aramaic version of the Greek word Χερσών.<sup>292</sup> The acts of the Fifth Ecumenical

<sup>282</sup> *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, ed. by Clyde Pharr (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 258.

<sup>283</sup> Zosim *Hist.* 4.5. 2.

<sup>284</sup> Mansi, *Sacrorum Consiliorum*, vol. 6 (1761), 749 and 750.

<sup>285</sup> *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 35, part 1, ed. Otto Gunther (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1895), 440 and 441.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 35, part 2, 792.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, 798.

<sup>288</sup> Liberat, "Breviarium," in *Acta Consiliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. Edward Shwartz, t. 2, vol. 5, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1936), 125.

<sup>289</sup> Procop. *De bel. pers.* 86; *De bel. got.* 503; Idem., Procop. *De aed.* 249.

<sup>290</sup> Men. *De legat.* 337, 402.

<sup>291</sup> Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. and tr. Yelena Skrzhinskaya, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (St. Petersburg: Alateyya, 1997), 67.

<sup>292</sup> Zachariah of Mitylene, *Chronicle*, tr. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London: Methuen, 1899), 79.

council (AD 553) are signed by *Stephanus miserecordia dei episcopus Chersonis*.<sup>293</sup> As has been noted above, in the fragment of Phlegon of Tralls' work, which was preserved by Stephen of Byzantium, the author of the sixth century, the latter possibly replaced the original, but out-of-date form Χερσόνησος or Χερρόνησος with Χερσών.

In the *Periplous of the Pontos Euxeinos* by an anonymous author, composed in the second half of the sixth century,<sup>294</sup> there are three variants of the name of the city: Χερρόνησος,<sup>295</sup> Χερσόνησος,<sup>296</sup> and Χερσών.<sup>297</sup> The author of this source used different geographical treatises of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The unknown *periplous*, written down no later than the third century BC, was the basis for paragraphs 81-83, where all three variants of the name of the city are used.<sup>298</sup> It seems that the author of the sixth century in the majority of cases replaced the old-fashioned forms with the contemporary word Χερσών, and only twice has not done this, for unknown reasons.

The burial slab with the inscription of Anastasios, the bishop of Chersonese (ἐπισκόπου Χερρονησίου) from Sinope<sup>299</sup> is the other document, which is interesting for the topic. S. P. Shestakov hypothesizes that this person lived between AD 692 and 809,<sup>300</sup> but the data of the document remain unclear,<sup>301</sup> and the form of the name of the city suggests an earlier date for the source.

The last mention of the term Χερσόνησος in the document with an exact date was in AD 575, when Justin II and Tiberius II shortened the sea duty for the population of Cherson, Bosporos, and Lazika.<sup>302</sup> The abovementioned inscription of 590 calls the military governor of the Byzantine Crimea δούξ Χερσῶνος.<sup>303</sup> On different types of coins issued in Cherson under the reign of Maurice (582-602), the place of minting is indicated as

<sup>293</sup> Mansi, *Sacrorum Consiliorum*, vol. 9 (1763), 396; *Acta Consiliorum Oecumenicorum*, t. 5, vol. 1, 231.

<sup>294</sup> Militsa Skrzhinskaya, "'Peripl Ponta Yevksinskogo' anonimnogo avtora" ('The Periplous of the Euxeinos Pontos' by the anonymous author), in *Issledovaniya po antichnoy arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Studies on the antique archaeology of the Black Sea North Littoral) (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1980): 115.

<sup>295</sup> Anon. *Per.* 81.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

<sup>297</sup> Idem., 82, 83, 89, 117.

<sup>298</sup> Mikhail Rostovtsev, *Skifiya i Bospor* (Scythia and Bosporos) (Leningrad: [n. p.], 1925), 69-73.

<sup>299</sup> B. N. Grakov, "Materialy po istorii Skifii v grecheskikh nadpisiakh Balkanskogo poluoostrova i Maloy Azii" (Materials on the history of Scythia in the Greek inscriptions of the Balkan peninsula and the Asia Minor), *VDI* 3 (1939), no. 69.

<sup>300</sup> Shestakov, *Ocherki*, 37.

<sup>301</sup> Grakov, *Materialy*, 289-290.

<sup>302</sup> *Corpus iuris civilis* 751.

XEPCWNOC (with small variations), under Phokas (602-610) as XHPCON.<sup>304</sup> All later official and unofficial documents, such as Byzantine chronicles, the epistles of pope Martin I and his Martyrium, the Byzantine table of ranks, inscriptions, and seals use only the form Χερσών or a derivative of it.

One should draw attention to the following distinctive feature of the later Roman administrative system. The imperial provinces consisted of “cities” (*civitates*, πόλεις), which were first of all self-administrative units. The term *civitas* (πόλις) in the broad sense meant a city and its territory, that is “a city” in English, and in the narrow sense its administrative center, the urban structure itself, from where the government was organized, “a town.” That is why in the Roman period the names of cities spread over the territory which was placed under the city’s control.<sup>305</sup> The same pattern appeared in the Crimea.

The word Χερσών has a double character, that is to say, two meanings. Zacharias of Mitylene called Cherson “a region inhabited by barbarous and uncivilized men.”<sup>306</sup> As has been already noted, in the second part of the sixth century the governor of Byzantine Crimea had the title δοῦξ Χερσῶνος. Since each Byzantine *doux* was the military governor of the region, his title included the name of the province, which was subordinated to him.<sup>307</sup> According to Theophanes, in the middle of the seventh century pope Martin I was exiled ἐν Χερσωνικοῖς κλίμασιν or εἰς τὰ τῆς Χερσῶνος κλίματα, that was “the fortress/district of [the region] of Cherson.”<sup>308</sup> Constantine Porphyrogennetos mentioned τό μέρος τῆς Χερσῶνος, “the region<sup>309</sup> of Cherson,” twice.<sup>310</sup> The 42nd chapter of his *De administrando imperio* presents a description of the lands and the people “from Thessalonike... to Cherson together with Bosphoros, in which the fortresses of Klimata are” (ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης μέχρι... καὶ Χερσῶνος ὁμοῦ καὶ Βοσπόρου, ἐν οἷς τὰ κάστρα τῶν κλιμάτων εἰσίν...).<sup>311</sup> In this chapter the author tells about the emperor Theophilos’ (829-842) desire to rule over “the fortress of Cherson and the lands in it” (τῆς Χερσῶνος

<sup>303</sup> Latyshev, *Sbornik*, no 99.

<sup>304</sup> Sokolova, *Monety*, 23-26.

<sup>305</sup> Mango, *Byzantium*, 60; Jones, *Cities*, 1-4; Idem., *The Later*, vol. 1, 712; Whitton, *The Making*, 56.

<sup>306</sup> Zach. Mit. *Chron.* 79.

<sup>307</sup> Jones, *Later*, vol. I, 44, 373.

<sup>308</sup> Theoph. *Chron.* 510 and 537.

<sup>309</sup> Here μέρος probably is a synonym of θέμα (*theme*).

<sup>310</sup> Const. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 48 and 49; 52 and 53.

κάστρον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τόπους).<sup>312</sup> The Byzantine Table of Ranks of 842-843, *Taktikon of Uspenskij*, supplies information that Cherson was governed by the *archontes*.<sup>313</sup> In this source the *archon* meant an official responsible for governing the territory, the region: Cyprus, Dalmatia, Durhahion, Crete, Chaldia, and, finally, Cherson. That means that in this context “Cherson” was also used as the name of the region, but not the city. From the second half of the ninth century the military and administrative unit, which included all the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea, was called “the *theme* of Cherson,” so the name of the city spread upon the land subordinate to it. This *theme* occupied the territory of the southwestern Crimea, the southern coast of the peninsula,<sup>314</sup> Bosporos, and on the north-west it reached the mouth of the Dnieper.<sup>315</sup> Thus one can propose the hypothesis that the word Χερσών had two meanings: the first signified the town itself, the second the province, the territory, which was under the control of the town. It seems that the region of Cherson had no precise borders: when the frontier line between Byzantium and the barbarians changed, the region of Cherson changed its contours also.

From the end of the fourth through the sixth century the antique name of Chersonese was gradually replaced with the new, shortened form of it: Greek Χερσών, Latin *Cherson(a)*. The new term had two meanings – in a narrow sense it signified the town itself, in wider sense all the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea subordinate to the city and its administration.

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<sup>311</sup> Ibid. 182 and 183.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid. 184 and 185.

<sup>313</sup> Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 56 and 57.

<sup>314</sup> Naumenko, *Uchrezhdeniye*, 27.

<sup>315</sup> Ahrweiler, *Les relations*, 53.



## Illustrations

Fig. 1. Medieval Crimea.

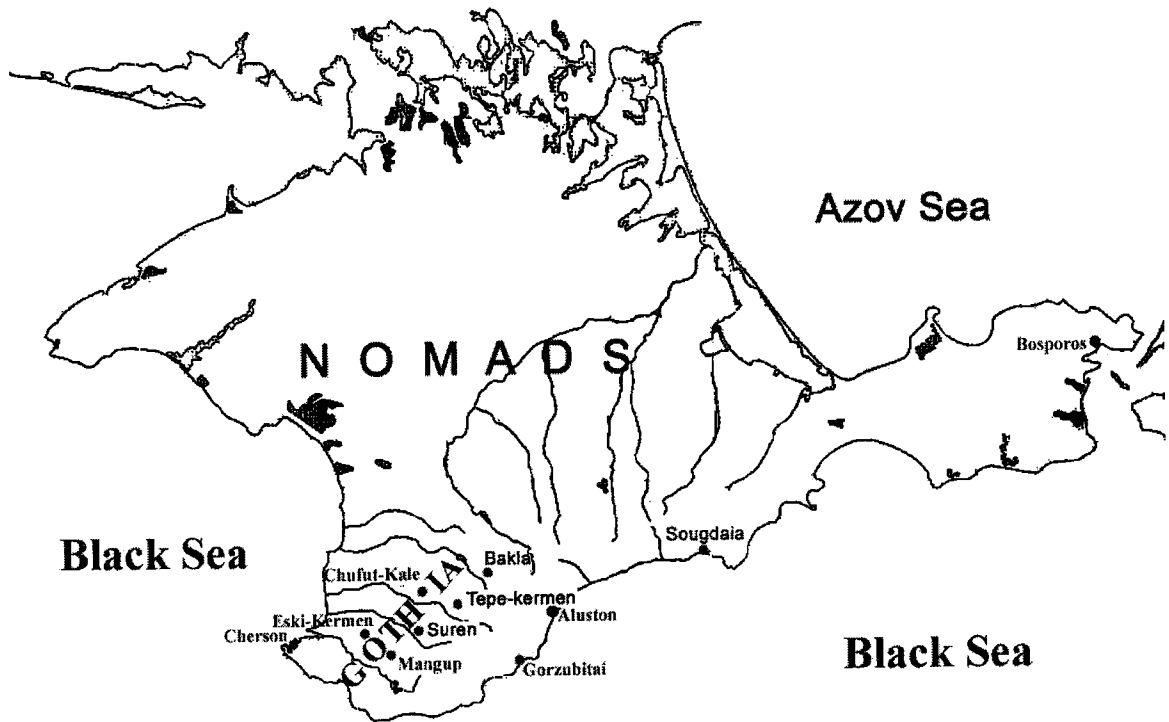
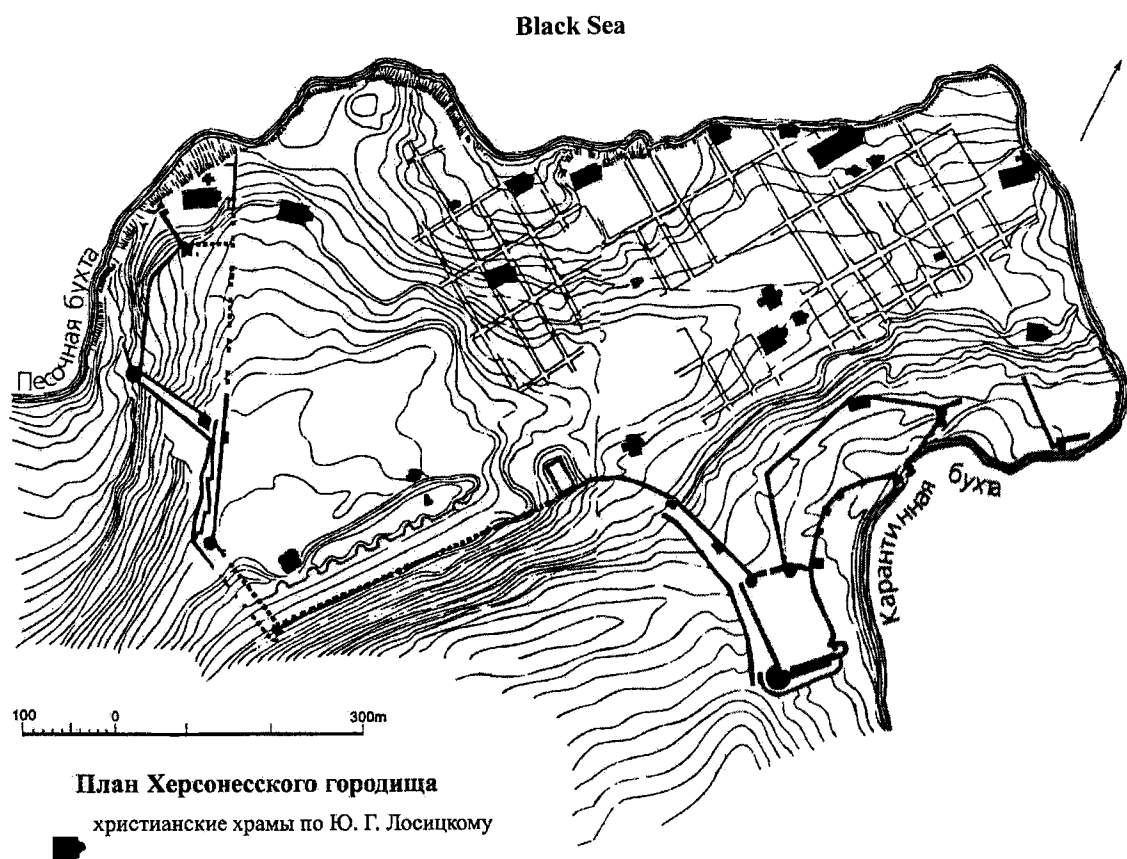


Fig. 2. Plan of the site of Cherson.



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