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THE LATE BYZANTINE *OIKEIOI*
PROSOPOGRAPHICAL AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSES

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2014

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Murat Kıvanç Koroğlu

(Turkey)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Murat Kıvanç Köroğlu**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 21 May 2014

Signature

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INTRODUCTION

My thesis aims to shed some light on a certain group within the imperial administration of late Byzantium (1261–1453): the *oikeioi*. In this epoch all or at least most court dignities and high administrative offices seem to have been shared between the high aristocracy, more particularly family members of the extended ruling dynasty (including for instance nephews, cousins and their offspring, and in-laws), the Palaiologoi, either by blood or by marriage, and those who became “related” to the emperor by oath and were described in official documents as *oikeioi*¹ (the single form of the term is *oikeios*, with the lexical meanings, among others, of “one’s own, proper, personal, private”, “belonging to one’s family, kinsman”, and, in the plural, “servants”);² in the late period *oikeios* assumed an additional technical meaning and often seems to have been used to denote those who undertook private service for the emperor. Although much has been written about the high aristocracy in Byzantium as well as those who received *pronoia* or *oikonomia* from the emperor, the nature of the *oikeioi* remains somewhat shadowy. There is only one article dedicated to the *oikeioi*, written in 1965 by French Byzantinist Jean Verpeaux. Following this seminal (yet inevitably introductory) article historians accepted that the institution of *oikeioi* played a prominent part in the imperial administration; yet no research that made use of all the available primary sources has been undertaken in order to fully understand who the *oikeioi*, as an administrative and social group, were, what kind of duties they

¹ These two groups are not necessarily mutually exclusive. A member of the high aristocracy could sometimes be described as *oikeios* as well. See, for instance, F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*, Vienna: 1860–90, V 3: p.111 (hereafter MM). In connection with the renewal of the peace treaty with Venice in 1332, emperor Andronikos III appointed certain high administrators and among them are the *megas domestikos*, John Palaiologos Kantakouzenos about whom written in the act as “*oikeios* to my majesty”; and uncle of the emperor who also bore the title *megas droungarios*, Demetrios Tornikes about whom the act also mentioned as “*oikeios* to my majesty”. It is interesting to note here that the word *oikeios* might simply mean in the document: belonging to the (imperial) family, or it may have had something to do with the “institution” of *oikeioi* in the technical sense of the term.

² See for instance Sophocles, E. A. “A Glossary of Later and Byzantine Greek”, *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Series*, 7 (1860): p. 417, Liddell, H. G. and Scott, R. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1996: p. 1202, and Lampe, G. W. H., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961: p. 937

exercised, what their relationships was to other constituents of late Byzantine society, and why the emperors preferred their service over that of others.

My thesis will not answer these questions definitively, but by revisiting the issue I intend to clarify the nature of *oikeioi* in a couple of ways. In the introduction a brief political and administrative situation of the Palaiologan period, previous scholarship on the *oikeioi*, and the nature of oath rendering in late Byzantine politics will be set out in order to form the background of my research.

In the first chapter I will succinctly investigate how the Byzantines in the middle and late periods (ca. tenth to fifteenth centuries) employed the term *oikeios* and its derivatives in their writings. Although this will inevitably be a brief introduction, it will lead us to the usage of *oikeios* in the technical, i.e. administrative, sense.

In the second chapter I will rearrange the data on *oikeioi* which have been compiled by the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (hereafter PLP) quantitatively in order to display various features about the group. In so doing the identities of the *oikeioi*, their offices, locations and connections will be seen in a clearer way.

In the conclusion I will deal with a case study, the life of Georgios Sphrantzes as seen from his own work, so-called *Chronikon minus*. Although it is not known for sure whether he was among the *oikeioi*, his court career displays every feature that of an *oikeios* must have possessed.

The Late Byzantine Political and Administrative System

I will not give a detailed analysis of the socio-political, economic, ideological and administrative system of the Palaiologan period of Byzantine history. I will only briefly touch upon the political situation here. On the one hand, Verpeaux saw, long ago, a

transformation in Byzantium's imperial administration after the eleventh century in which "a personal regime tends to replace the service of the state".³ One sign of this transformation could be discerned from the frequent use in, especially, official documents of the term *oikeios*, particularly in the Palaiologan era during which "[...] government, justice, and even legislation by privilege [...] [were] fully developed [...]"⁴ This system had long been established in the Byzantine administration since the accession to the throne of, or rather usurpation of it by, Alexios I Komnenos toward the end of the eleventh century (in 1081). Starting with Alexios I, relatives of the emperors received fiscal privileges and high titles and were appointed to the most important military and civil posts. This attitude was in sharp contrast to the system of the Macedonian emperors whose "administrators were selected according to the ruler's good pleasure but without any significant family requirements"; therefore "a big clan of [family] enterprise" replaced the old system of "personal relationship with the emperor".⁵ Alexios used all his sisters and daughters in order "to build up the connections of the Komnenoi with other aristocratic families. [He] made similar use of his nephews, nieces, and grand children, notably the children of his brother Isaac";⁶ he therefore created an extended family structure, each member was bestowed due honours and dignities, in order to strengthen his standing.⁷ This tendency might also be indicative of a shift in the "functional ideology" of the empire which can be

³ Verpeaux, J. "Les Oikeioi: notes d'histoire institutionnelle et sociale", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 23 (1965):p. 89

⁴ Laiou, A. E. "The Correspondence of Gregorios Kyprios as a Source for the History of Social and Political Behavior in Byzantium, or on Government by Rhetoric", In ed. W. Seibt *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienna, 1996: pp. 107-8

⁵ Oikonomides, N. "Title and Income at the Byzantine Court", In *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* ed., H. Maguire, Washington:DC, 1997: pp.210-211: It is also evident that members of the imperial clan, while enjoying the benefits accruing from their great landed properties, also supported a number of their "own men [*oikeioi* ?]".

⁶ Magdalino, P. "Innovations in Government", In *Alexios I Komnenos* ed. M. Mullett and D. Smythe, Belfast, 1996: p. 149

⁷ Frankopan, P., "Kinship and the Distribution of Power in Komnenian Byzantium", *English Historical Review* CXXII No. 495 (2007): p.10: For the government run by the members of the extended family of the emperors, Frankopan argues that Alexios also appointed those who were not related to the ruling dynasty to the key military positions, and states that "Komnenoi did not exercise an exclusive grip on the reigns of power in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, with those outside the imperial family, and indeed even those originating outside the Empire, being able to find a place at or near the very summit of the social, political and military hierarchies in Byzantium".

comprehended through a complex analysis of “the interplay between perceptions about how society should be ruled, and how influence is exercised through the relationships and connections among those who rule”.⁸

On the other hand, Angeliki Laiou points out that the empire lost its capability to sustain the unity and meaningful coexistence of its disparate lands as the fourteenth century progressed. Laiou also states that in an environment of decentralization and diminishing resources “[p]art of dynamic characterizing the relationship between the numerous actors in the political scene during the Palaiologan period is the effort not so much to centralize but rather to form networks that would provide for their members a modicum of security and more power than each one alone could command”.⁹ Various regions of the empire behaved quite independently from each other as if they were separate entities which only exacerbated future prospects.¹⁰ Although Latins (i.e. chiefly the Venetians) were expelled from the power politics of Constantinople in 1261 they continued exercising, with accelerating speed, their economic influence in the City and in the remaining parts of the empire; stripped of its domestic territorial cohesion and of its navy, the empire seems to have been increasingly dependent on the maritime trade system which was operated mainly by the Genoese and Venetians. Laiou argues that since the Byzantine state was unable to act as a unifying apparatus, its position was taken over by Italian merchant cities after the fourteenth century through their trade networks thereby facilitating the economic manipulation of former and current Byzantine territories. This system, eventually, gave way to “regional economies” within Byzantium, whose positions in the economy (e.g. what to produce and where to send the goods) were determined by their

⁸Laiou, A. E. “The Correspondence”, p. 92

⁹ Laiou, A., “Byzantium and the neighbouring powers: small-state policies and complexities”, in H. C. Evans ed., *Byzantium: faith and power (1261–1557). Perspectives on late Byzantine art and culture*, New York, 2006: p. 49

¹⁰Laiou, A. E. “The Agrarian Economy: Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries”, In *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* A. E. Laiou (ed. in chief), Washington:D.C.,2002: p.311

functions in the structure of eastern Mediterranean trade rather than shaped by the necessities of the Byzantine central administration.¹¹ In this time of regional economies and regional administrations the role of the emperor can be argued to have diminished to the degree of an administrator. Tonia Kiousopoulou maintains that “in reality [...] his [the emperor’s] role was that of moderator of the decisions taken by the two councils – that of his own entourage, and that of the City. The well-behaved emperor was, in the end, just one of the *archontes*; his final fate was that of Constantine Palaiologos, whose dead body was barely recognisable up on the walls of the fallen city.”¹² In this context the policy of the Palaiologan emperors when regaining territories which had been ruled by the Latins or the so-called “despotate” of Epiros, invariably included granting immunities and privileges to the cities (to either a specific group of people or to the whole population)¹³, rather than an outright conquest and due appropriation at will, as the Ottomans would prefer for instance, which was in effect impossible given the general weakness of the empire and of the emperor. Thus provincial *oikeios*-ship might be an aspect of the imperial attitude of regaining and maintaining authority in the provinces by way of donating private privileges and oaths-takings.

Previous Scholarship

In the late Byzantine period, the title of *oikeios* was held by individuals of various backgrounds who attached themselves, or perhaps rather were invited to attach

¹¹ Laiou, A. E. “The Agrarian Economy”: p.312. In the late Palaiologan period (after mid-fourteenth century) the emperor only reigned in Constantinople and its immediate hinterland; Thessaloniki and Morea were granted to brothers or younger sons of the emperors as appanages, rest of the Balkans were in the hands of the Ottomans or the Serbians.

¹² Kiousopoulou, T. *Emperor or Manager: Power and Political Ideology in Byzantium before 1453*, tr. P. Magdalino, Geneva, 2011: p.132

¹³ See, for instance, Kyritses, D. “The ‘Common Chrysobulls’ of Cities and the Notion of Property in Late Byzantium”, *Σύμμεικτα* 13 (1999): pp. 237-243

themselves, to a particular emperor in a sort of *Wahlverwandschaft*¹⁴ – by swearing an oath described as “imperial” in contemporary sources¹⁵ – and who usually exercised distinguished administrative functions of civil and/or military character. The term might originally have denoted those who were close relatives of the emperors at the very end of the ninth century;¹⁶ during the twelfth century, however, some of the most trusted people in the retinues of the high aristocracy came to be called *oikeioi*¹⁷. Later, during the Palaiologan period, the term assumed a more systematic and institutionalized character and the *oikeioi*, along with the family members (both blood relatives and relatives by virtue of marriage) of the emperor, “constituent une véritable caste, qui gravite autour de l'empereur, et dans laquelle ce dernier choisit fonctionnaires et dignitaires ([*oikeioi* and relatives - by blood and by marriage - of the emperor] constitute a true cast, centered around the emperor and out of which the emperor chooses officials and dignitaries.)”¹⁸. In the same vein, in his 1997 Harvard dissertation, Demetrios Kyritses demonstrated that all Palaiologan court officials were either relatives of the emperor or his *oikeioi*¹⁹. Nevertheless no official lists of dignitaries survive today that help us ascertain the actual administrative function or functions of those prominent court officials who were *oikeioi*. The only detailed treatise of offices concerning the late Byzantine period, commonly known as “Pseudo-

¹⁴ It might be translated as “elective affinity” and indicates that an individual acts by his will and connects himself, in our case, to the emperor for personal service, although there is not necessarily a blood relationship between them. Or the other way round might have been more important: emperor selecting people he seeks to attach to himself.

¹⁵ See for instance Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330*, Cambridge:2007, p. 325, 327-28, and especially 329-344

¹⁶ Kyritses, D. *The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, PhD Dissertation, Cambridge:Mass., 1997: p.16; Oikonomides, N., *Les Listes de Préséance Byzantines des IX^e et X^e Siècles*, Paris, 1972, p. 191: 26-27: The Treatise of Philoteos that was composed in 899 employed the word *oikeios* to denote close relatives of the emperor without giving further explanation on administrative or other functions that they assumed: καὶ μόνος ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκεῖους καὶ συγγενεῖς πρὸς ἐστίαν συγκαλεῖται. (The emperor alone invites to his table [i.e. banquet] his own family members and relatives). For the various usages of the word *oikeios* see chapter 1.

¹⁷ Verpeaux, J., “Les Oikeioi”: p.90: The *typikon* of the monastery of Kosmosoteira that was prepared by *sebastokrator* Isaakios Komnenos in 1152 mentioned his two secretaries as *oikeioi* in the sense that they were his household members and fulfilled personal service.

¹⁸ Verpeaux, J., “Les Oikeioi”, p.98

¹⁹ Kyritses, D., *Byzantine Aristocracy*, p. 17, pp. 395-408; see also Verpeaux, J., “Les Oikeioi”, p. 94

Kodinos”, made only one reference to those who were called, in a similar fashion, *oikeiakos* (οἰκειακός) when it describes how the procession took place the day before the coronation of the emperor, and it reads: “The emperor [on the day before the ceremony of coronation] proceeds to the Great Palace with *archontes* and his other *oikeiakoi* (εἰς τὸ μέγα παλάτιον ἐρχομένου μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκειακῶν αὐτοῦ)”.²⁰ The Byzantine lexicon *Souda*, compiled after the mid-tenth century, explains that the words *oikeios* and *oikeiakos* are similar.²¹ Verpeaux renders the term *oikeiakoi* as *familiars* (those who maintain domestic service). He also states that, in the same vein, the Latin version of the treaties between Byzantium and Venice, in the Palaiologan period, translated the term *oikeios* into Latin as *familiaris* or *domesticus familiaris*²²; a direct indication of the quality of exercising personal service, and of being a domestic retainer and a man of somebody’s house.²³ Therefore it is possible that the term *oikeiakoi* was used in Pseudo-Kodinos interchangeably with *oikeioi*, for they were members of the imperial household and were significant enough to accompany the emperor throughout his procession for coronation, along with *archontes*.

As mentioned previously, Verpeaux’s starting point in his analysis of the quality of *oikeios* is a change in preference in terms of imperial administration: A personal administration replaces the service to the state.²⁴ Nevertheless the meaning of the term “state” in a pre-industrial society is a controversial issue. Abou-El-Haj argues that “modern historians have almost invariably misunderstood this term [state] to have both the connotation and the denotation of the modern nation state”. He further contends that “Andreas Tietze has provided one of the most suggestive definitions of [the term state for the seventeenth

²⁰ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, ed. and French trans. Jean Verpeaux, Paris, 1966: p. 252:4-6

²¹ It reads: “οἰκεῖος καὶ οἰκειακός”, See *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, Leipzig, 1928-1938

²² Belonging to one’s family

²³ Verpeaux, “Les Oikeioi”, p. 90; For example see MM III, pp. 125-126: The emperor John Palaiologos ordered one of his *oikeioi*, Nikolaos Sigeros [PLP 25282] who also bore the title *megas hetaireiarches* to send his letter to Venice in connection of a peace treaty: διὰ χειρὸς τοῦ οἰκείου τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου μεγάλου ἐταιρείάρχου κῆρ Νικολάου Σιγηροῦ (through the hand of an *oikeios* to my majesty, *megas hetaireiarches*, kyr Nikolaos Sigyros).

²⁴ Verpeaux, J. “Les Oikeioi”, p. 89

century]”. In a private conversation Tietze said that the meaning of “state” in the seventeenth century means “the decision-making power of the legitimate head of state as well as of those to whom he has delegated this power”.²⁵ This statement implies that strong personal relationships still existed in the sphere of state service and Verpeaux’s assessment about the service to state in a Byzantine context should never be confused with the powerful and non-personal establishment that is called bureaucracy and the service it renders for state in a modern nation state context.

Verpeaux approaches his assessment with three sub-headings. The first one is a short passage about the archaeology of the terms *oikeios anthropos*, *anthropoi*, *oikeiakoi anthropoi*, *oikeios*, and *philos*. He indicates that the term *oikeios anthropos* which formed a part of the group of *anthropoi* (servicemen) was attested in an inscription at the end of the tenth century and mentioned in official documents in the eleventh century.²⁶ *Anthropoi* were continued to appear in documents in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries to denote: a man of the emperor, a dignitary or a high administrator, a judge, a man of an imperial agent who was sent to foreign countries.²⁷ In addition *anthropos* was employed in Pseudo-Kodinos, in mid-fourteenth century, to describe the men who serve.²⁸ The term *oikeios* alone seems to appear for the first time in Theophanes Continuatus in the tenth century to denote a man of confidence of the Bulgarian tsar Symeon.²⁹ Verpeaux further argues that the word *oikeios* simply meant a man in somebody’s service and in this very sense the *typikon* of *Sebastokrator* Isaakios Komnenos in 1152 employed the term to describe his private secretaries. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the Latin version of the treaties

²⁵ See Abou-El-Haj, R. A., *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 2005: p.19

²⁶ Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 89: I could not find the term in MM I, p. 45, 49 and 89 as Verpeaux indicated in footnote 5 in his article. For the mid-tenth century use of the term see examples in chapter I below.

²⁷ Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 90: For various meanings of the term see chapter I below.

²⁸ Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 90: In four occasions Pseudo-Kodinos uses *anthropos* to indicate someone who works for someone else; e.g. ἄνθρωπος τοῦ δεσπότης (Despot’s man): Pseudo-Kodinos, p.150, line 22.

²⁹ Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 90

with Venice translated the term *oikeios* as *familiaris* or *domesticus familiaris* to capture the main idea of personal service, a familiar serviceman.³⁰ Verpeaux argues that the ties that bind a serviceman (*oikeios*) with his master were ties of service (ἐκδούλευσις) and of loyalty (πίστις).³¹ There was a category within the *oikeioi*; the *oikeioi* of the emperor. They were officials within the entourage of the emperor and in his service. Their relationship was characterized by loyalty which was tighter than a mere servant or official.³² After this remark Verpeaux moves on to his second argument; might this *oikeios* relationship have been a result of an influence of the feudal West?

Verpeaux rejects the western influence theory, in the second sub-heading, for two reasons. First, archival documents demonstrate that the term *oikeios*, and others including *anthropos*, had been in use (from the mid-tenth century onwards) in the Byzantine society and administration well before the so-called feudal system took shape in the West and the Crusaders arrived in Constantinople, and there is no evidence of the use of “*oikeios* of an *oikeios*” which suggests that the chain of vassalage did not exist in Byzantium. Second, Verpeaux noticed two distinct uses of the term *anthropos* in the *Alexiad*: *anthropos lizios* (liege man), and *anthropos tes basileias* (emperor’s man). The former expression was constantly and consciously employed to describe the political relationship of a “vassal”, like Latins (e.g. for Bohemond during the first Crusade) or Armenians who were settled in the periphery of the empire, with the emperor. The latter, however, was reserved for the emperor’s own men only, devoid of any feudal vassalage sense.³³

In the third sub-heading Verpeaux points out that in the eighty official documents that were issued by the Palaiologan emperors one hundred and twelve people were mentioned

³⁰Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 90

³¹Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 90

³²Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 92

³³Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 93-94

(office holders, dignitaries and other officials). Forty-four of them were emperors' relatives, either by blood or by marriage, forty-six were described as *oikeios*, and the remaining twenty-two people were not relatives or *oikeioi*, since Verpeaux argues they were junior officers.³⁴ Relatives and *oikeioi* of the emperors also employed a very similar signature formula.³⁵ In the end Verpeaux concludes that the term *oikeios* defines a person who is personally attached to the emperor and whose position is similar to that of the relatives, by blood and by marriage, of the emperor.³⁶

Demetrios Kyritses also explores the term *oikeios* in his PhD dissertation and contends that “[b]eing an *oikeios* was an objectively known quality” and that they form a part of the general group of the *douloi*. The *douloi*, be they *oikeioi* or not, were the people who “all engaged in some sort of service to the state”. He also points out one of the meanings of the term *douleia*, which is semantically connected to *doulos* (i.e. state service). Although all the officials regard themselves as *douloi* of the emperor only some of them were *oikeios* whose status was more elevated than the others, and the name of an *oikeios* was always mentioned in the official documents before that of a non-*oikeios* *doulos*.³⁷ Kyritses accepts the importance and distinguished quality of the *oikeioi* and demonstrates, in his list of the court office holders until the middle of the fourteenth century, that all officials were either relatives or *oikeioi* of the emperors.³⁸

In exceptional cases even foreigners could acquire the appellation of *oikeios* should they decide to serve the empire. In this case the nature of *oikeios*-ship, again, assumes a personal character; private service to a particular emperor, rather than being of an impersonal/bureaucratic nature. For instance Licario, a feudal lord from the island of

³⁴ Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 95

³⁵ Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 97

³⁶ Verpeaux, J. “*Les Oikeioi*”, p. 98

³⁷ Kyritses, D. *Byzantine Aristocracy*, p. 15

³⁸ Kyritses, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, p.17, 395ff.

Negroponte, decided to serve the Byzantine empire and was, first, granted the epithet of *oikeios* and assumed the command of the Byzantine navy. The Byzantine historian Pachymeres remarked for this particular incident that Licario “was registered among the emperor’s *oikeioi* (τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκείοις ἐγγράφεται)”. This passage might reveal, unless it was a figure of speech, that the *oikeioi* were actually recorded in an official register and that they formed “an officially distinguished group” about which the author had knowledge and the intended audience was supposed to have had the same knowledge as well³⁹.

It seems that the offer for the request of assuming the quality of *oikeios* came from the emperor himself. In the case of Licario, who was a very influential figure (he possessed an island and possibly a fleet), he first pledged his loyalty to the emperor, and in return was granted the privilege of *oikeios*-ship; accepting the offer he served the empire and the emperor himself. Nevertheless there may have been certain people who refrained from accepting the imperial offer for a reason. Niels Gaul has analyzed the case of Thomas Magistros⁴⁰ and comments that he was a character important enough for the imperial court to be considered as a political ally. This was chiefly because of his *paideia* (significant intellectual capacity), and his being a prominent citizen of the city of Thessaloniki that he might have appealed to the imperial court. Nevertheless, since he is not mentioned at any time as an *oikeios* and he did not hold an official position in his home town, Thessaloniki, it seems that either the imperial offer of *oikeios*-ship was withdrawn because the priorities of the imperial policy shifted very rapidly, or he simply refused a career in court because he

³⁹ Kyritses, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, p.18; Georges Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, CFHB 24, ed. Albert Failler, Paris, 1984: II, p. 525: Pachymeres wrote that Licario [PLP 8154], whom the Byzantines called Ikarios, and who was the master of the island of Negroponte, took refuge to the emperor Michael VIII to whom he also ceded the sovereignty of his island. That he handed over the ownership of his island to the emperor and that he was known to have been a very experienced navy commander and that he gave his personal service to the emperor must have been reasons for his promotion to the imperial *oikeios*-ship, although PLP does not include his name in the list of *oikeioi*.

⁴⁰PLP 16045. He died shortly after 1347.

might have wished to live in Thessaloniki independently. Gaul argues that if he had accepted the offer he would have been regarded as a spokesman of the imperial interests and not as “vergleichsweise unabhängiges Sprachrohr der selbstbewußter *archontes* der zweiten Stadt des Reiches (relatively independent voice of the self-conscious *archontes* of the second city of the empire [i.e. Thessaloniki])”.⁴¹ Nevertheless, in the second half of the fifteenth century, there were many *archontes* in the city who were initiated into the *oikeioi* group. Necipoğlu states that more than half of the *archontes* in Thessaloniki “are qualified in the documents as *oikeioi* and/or *douloi* [...] being an *oikeios* or *doulos* was [...] a mark of distinction and undoubtedly enhanced the *archontes*’ sense of belonging to the elite of their society”.⁴²

Although personal relationship has been put forward in this text as an indispensable quality of an *oikeios* Kyritzes argues that being an imperial *oikeios* might have indicated a “more institutional than personal” character in that a change of emperor did not affect the quality of being an *oikeios*; even if an *oikeios* had sided with an emperor who lost a civil war and was replaced by, usually, a younger family member. For example Kyritses states that *oikeioi* of Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328) were also regarded as legitimate *oikeioi* under his grandson, rival, and successor Andronikos III (r. 1328–1341)⁴³. In this regard the Gemistos brothers⁴⁴, who were *oikeioi* to both John VIII and Constantine XI, can be also mentioned here as another example of this statement; although there was not civil war between these latter emperors. These scanty examples could lead one to speculate that personal connection of an *oikeios* might have been directed also to the legitimate successor of the previous emperor.

⁴¹Gaul, N. *Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik*, Wiesbaden, 2011: p. 103

⁴²Necipoğlu, N. *Byzantium Between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire*, Cambridge, 2009: p. 80

⁴³Kyritses, D. *Byzantine Aristocracy*, p. 17

⁴⁴See pp. 22–24 (example no. 14) below

Ljubomir Maksimović, on the other hand, connects the nature of this relationship of the emperor with his dignitaries (i.e. the *oikeios* relationship) to the feudal nature of provincial administration. He assumed that during Palaiologan times and with accelerating speed, all the administration became feudalised; “key positions” in the provinces were held by “high court dignitaries” who boasted about their high birth, superior ancestry and many of whom forged family ties with the emperors⁴⁵. Consequently the feudal character of the empire manifested itself not only in the social composition of the provincial administration but also in the “mutual relationships existing between the emperor and his dignitaries”⁴⁶. Maksimović suggested that the term *oikeios* stood for an individual whose relationship to the emperor was that of a vassal who owed the emperor “obedience and service”.⁴⁷ This might indicate that an *oikeios* relationship was of personal nature rather than an official and institutional one because holders of the *oikeios* status swore an oath of allegiance to the emperor himself: καὶ εἰμι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ φίλος καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐχθρός “I am friend of his [i.e. the emperor’s] friends and enemy of his enemies”.⁴⁸

Oaths of Allegiance

In this context it is profitable to investigate the nature and implications of the oath of allegiance a regular subject and a special subject were expected to swear on the emperor. Svoronos comments on a short treatise, in a form of a letter, written by Moschopoulos around 1305⁴⁹ and concludes that Moschopoulos expresses his faith in monarchy, which he

⁴⁵ Maksimović, L. *The Byzantine Provincial Administration under the Palaiologoi*, Amsterdam, 1988: p. 18

⁴⁶ Maksimović, L. *Provincial Administration*, p. 22

⁴⁷ Maksimović, L. *Provincial Administration*, p. 23

⁴⁸ Maksimović, L. *Provincial Administration*, pp. 24-25

⁴⁹ Svoronos, N. “Le Serment de Fidélité à l’empereur Byzantin et sa Signification Constitutionnell”, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 9 (1951): 130-133: Svoronos argues that the treatise was written in 1321 just before the outbreak of the civil war (1321-1328), Angelov, nevertheless, argues that he must have composed his treatise shortly before his imprisonment, which was in June 1305. see Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 314. Angelov interprets the nature of Moschopoulos’ argument with reference to his political stance and argues that “Moschopoulos was a scholar and an enemy of the regime. His detached perspective enabled him to view the empire as a social covenant and divest the emperor of his sacral aura”; see Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 347

deems, by necessity, to be superior to the aristocratic regime that leads to riots and disorders, and thus presents the oath of allegiance (to the emperor) as insurance and guarantee against conspiracies, i.e. civil wars. All subjects are required to take the oath, even if they receive no benefit from the emperor; in other words, even if they are not in imperial service. It is their duty as “citizens”. This oath is called by Moschopoulos a political (i.e. civic) oath (ὄρκος πολιτικός⁵⁰). This oath, according to Moschopoulos, is not peculiar to Byzantine society but has a general meaning. It is not an oath that is sworn by the people who are ruled by an emperor, but who are governed otherwise as well.⁵¹ Nevertheless this civic oath is not a strong commitment for the oath-takers are not supposed to be drawn into military service, and even if they happen to be employed they are not provided with any remuneration for their service. “Rather, Moschopoulos understood the subjects’ ‘guard’ service negatively – as a duty not to support conspiracies and civil disturbances”.⁵² This opinion was not peculiar to the intellectual reasoning of Moschopoulos, but it reflected “contemporary political reality” whereby “[t]he preoccupation with plots against the emperor is peculiar to his work [and it is] clearly connected to the political turmoil of the years 1304-05”.⁵³ Oath takings which were first recorded in Byzantine sources took place in the late eighth century when the emperor Leo IV demanded from his subjects to swear an oath of allegiance to his son in order to guarantee his smooth transition to the crown upon his death.⁵⁴ Not only regular subjects but also the members of the church were supposed to swear an oath of loyalty. This practice “had become common during iconoclasm, [it continued] during the great crises of the eighth and ninth centuries, and it became the norm under the Komnenoi”.⁵⁵ On one

⁵⁰ Levi, L. “Cinque Lettere Inedite di Emanuele Moscopulo”, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 19 (1902): p.65

⁵¹ Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 324

⁵² Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 324

⁵³ Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 326

⁵⁴ Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 327

⁵⁵ Dagron, G., *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, Cambridge, 2003: p. 308

occasion, in 1380, emperor John V convened a synod in the monastery of Stoudios and demanded from “every new bishop a promise of loyalty to his person and to the empire”.⁵⁶

Angelov indicates the content of the political oath. First there is a dynastic clause which stipulates that “the subjects [had to] accept the legitimacy of the emperor’s son or designated successor”. Second they should confirm by oath “not to assist in any way rival claimants to the throne”.⁵⁷ Sometimes church agreed to excommunicate those who disregarded the oath and got involved in plots on the side of the rival claimants.

However there is another kind of oath which Moschopoulos called an imperial oath (βασιλικὸς ὄρκος⁵⁸). This has a different nature in that, as an owner of a vineyard could hire wage labourers to work in his field, the emperor could employ for his personal service those who wish to do so.

Unlike the oath of loyalty sworn by all subjects, the oath formulary contains no provision about succession and specifies that the bond between the emperor and the oath taker is strictly personal. The oath taker promised to give military assistance throughout his life to the emperor and to continue to serve him even should the ruler be dethroned and exiled.⁵⁹

The formulary of this oath, which was published by Sathas and quoted in Angelov’s book, stipulates, as above, that even if the emperor befalls an ill fate or he is banished the oath-taker swears to follow him, and bear the same ill fortune and danger with the emperor, in his lifetime until the emperor dies (παραχωρήσει δὲ θεοῦ δυστυχήσαντι ἢ ἐξορισθέντι

⁵⁶ Dagron, G., *Emperor and Priest*, p. 307

⁵⁷ Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 328

⁵⁸ Levi, L. “Cinque Lettere”, p.65

⁵⁹ Angelov in here paraphrases the argument of Svoronos; see Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p.330

συνακουλοθήσω αὐτῷ καὶ συγκακοπαθήσω καὶ συγκινδυνεύσω αὐτῷ μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου ἐπὶ πάσῃ μου τῇ ζωῇ).⁶⁰

“Thus the ‘imperial oath’ involved a contractual, reciprocal agreement between the emperor and an individual”.⁶¹ This has two implications. First these “employees” should take the oath, quoted above, and, in addition, “they confirm by oath to him [emperor] that they are friends of his friends and enemies of his enemies (ὁμνύουσιν αὐτῷ τοῦ φίλου εἶναι φίλοι καὶ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐχθροί),⁶² in order to establish an individual connection to the person of the emperor, and second they are entitled to a benefit in return for their service.⁶³ In this context Svoronos also observes that those who entered the imperial service by taking the imperial oath were employed as mercenaries, officials and dignitaries.⁶⁴

Angelov argues that the friendship formulation was a common feature of “feudal oaths as well as contracts and conventions across the Mediterranean during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries”. He further reflects that the same friendship clause that the Byzantines appropriated for their oaths “made Byzantine and Western oaths of fealty mutually comprehensible”.⁶⁵ An example of this might have been the oath of fealty, with the friendship formula, that was sworn by the leader of the so-called Catalan company Berenguar de Entença to Andronikos II in 1304. While taking the oath de Entença demanded a favour:

Berenguar de Entença asked Andronikos II to exclude from the list of the emperor’s enemies the king of Sicily and Aragon, Frederick III (1296-1337). The reason for his request was that Berenguar de Entença had already done homage to Frederick III and wanted to

⁶⁰ Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p.330

⁶¹ Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 325

⁶² Levi, L. “Cinque Lettere”, p. 65

⁶³ Svoronos, N. “Le Serment de Fidélité”, pp. 133-134

⁶⁴ Svoronos, N. “Le Serment de Fidélité”, p. 140

⁶⁵ Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 333

keep him as his main lord – his liege lord in the feudal hierarchy. Thus, according to Pachymeres, the Catalan leader was clearly aware that he took a feudal oath of fealty when swearing the friendship oath to the Byzantine emperor.⁶⁶

Palaiologan emperors also used the oath as a part of their diplomatic stratagem in relation to the rulers of Epiros and Thessaly. For instance the city of Ioannina bowed down to Constantinople in 1318. Inhabitants of the city took an oath and in return they were granted several privileges and tax immunities. By swearing an oath of loyalty the city became a town of “special dependency”.⁶⁷ This system seems to have continued in the Ottoman period since Ottomans gained the political dominion on the same city virtually by the same stratagem. Ottoman governor-general of Rumelia Sinan Paşa issued in October 1430⁶⁸ a decree (ὑπομνήσ) with which he convinced the inhabitants of the town of Ioannina that if they choose to deliver the city to the hands of the Ottomans willingly their lives will be spared and they will continue to possess more or less similar privileges that they had enjoyed previously under the Byzantine rule. Otherwise their possessions will be destroyed and they will be subjected to slavery and even worse.⁶⁹

⁶⁶Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 334

⁶⁷Angelov, D. *Imperial Ideology*, p. 342

⁶⁸ For a short discussion about chronology of the fall of Ioannina see Schreiner, P. *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken, 2. Teil, Historischer Kommentar* (Vienna, 1977), p. 444.

⁶⁹ MM III; pp. 282-3

CHAPTER ONE

NON-TECHNICAL AND TECHNICAL USE OF THE TERM *OIKEIOS*

In the following pages I will demonstrate briefly non-technical and technical uses of the term *oikeios*. This is not meant to be a comprehensive textual analysis; the aim is merely to differentiate various usages of the word with certain examples excerpted mainly from middle and late Byzantine historiographical and documentary sources. Although there are numerous meanings of the word, the examples below will focus on passages in which Byzantine authors employed the word to denote a connection to the imperial administration.

Before analysing certain excerpts a couple of observations is necessary for a proper approach to those passages. Bartusis in his recent book on *pronoia* laid out several principles and I think they hold true for my research as well:⁷⁰

a) Through the time both the lexical and technical use of the words and terms may change, because every society is in flux. This might stem from “institutional changes as well as [from] the changing fashions of literary expressions”.

b) It is important to pay attention “to the cultural milieu that produced each historical source”.

c) Noteworthy is the acknowledgement of the differences in the use of certain terms (such as *pronoia* and *oikonomia*) in different primary sources (e.g. monastic documents, decisions of the patriarchal court, imperial acts, historiography), and differences in the usage of the

⁷⁰Bartusis, M. C. *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge, 2012: p. 9

terminology within each genre; e.g. different historiographers might use the same word or phrase for different things or concepts.

Translations of the examples below are mine⁷¹, except nos. 1, 7 and 11 which are taken from published translations. The term *oikeios* is translated, for the non-technical sense, in various ways, such as household, intimate (man), retainer, private, close associate and relative, depending on the context. For the technical sense the term is rendered as “the trusted man”. The choice is mine and it might not be regarded as satisfactory. I do not wish to leave the term as it is, in Greek, but, in order to stress the importance of loyalty in the *oikeios* relationship I chose rendering the term as “the trusted man”. The epithet *kyr* (κῦρ), however, is not translated, but just transcribed in italics.⁷² Excerpts are arranged chronologically in their respective subtitles.

Non-technical Use of the Term

Examples below, in the first part, will illustrate these meanings of the word *oikeios*: a) household whose members are connected to each other not by blood but by a common belief, a common cause and purpose; b) an intimate, a close retainer, a personal advisor and a friend (to the emperor); c) somebody who does a personal service (in a state administrative office); d) an administrator (in service of a foreign ruler); e) a blood relative (of the emperor);

In the second part, the technical sense of the word will be derived mainly from documentary evidence (chrysobulls, patriarchal registers and monastic *praktika*) of the late Byzantine period.

⁷¹ I would like to thank to Dr. Niels Gaul for his corrections to my Greek translations

⁷² For a recent study on the origin and evolution of the epithet *kyr* see Kontogiannopoulou, A. “Le qualificatif *kyr* dans la société byzantine”, *Byzantina* 32 (2012): 209-226

a. A first non-technical meaning of the word is “household, whose members share a common belief, and united by a common cause and purpose; therefore constituting a social group”. A search of the usage of the word *oikeios* in the New Testament yields three results in Gal. 6:10, Eph. 2:19 and 1 Tim. 5:8, and it is conventionally rendered as “household”. Nevertheless the meaning is metaphorical and has nothing to do with “belonging to the same family”, but it denotes those who are connected to each other by a common cause; thus creating shared motives and duties. Below are the related passages excerpted from Nestle-Aland edition of the Greek New Testament,⁷³ and English translation is based on the King James Version.⁷⁴

1. Gal. 6:10.: Ἄρα οὖν ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν, ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς **οἰκείους** τῆς πίστεως. (“As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the **household** of faith.”). Eph. 2:19.: Ἄρα οὖν οὐκέτι ἐστὲ ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι ἀλλ’ ἐστὲ συμπολίται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ **οἰκεῖοι** τοῦ θεοῦ. (“Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saint, and of the **household** of God”). 1 Tim. 5:8.: εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα **οἰκείων** οὐ προνοεῖ, τὴν πίστιν ἥρνηται καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστου χείρων. (“But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of **his own house**, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel”).

b. A second meaning denotes somebody who is “closely associated with (somebody else), an intimate, a friend, a close retainer, an advisor; or the men surrounding the emperor”.

⁷³ *Novum Testamentum Graeca* (Nestle-Aland), Stuttgart, 2012

⁷⁴ *The Bible Containing the Old and the New Testaments*, New York, 1968

2. A passage in the history of George the monk⁷⁵ recounts an episode, which took place in 705, that in time of danger an *oikeios* of the emperor (actually at that time he was no longer emperor) spoke with him in a way of giving a piece of administrative advice. While the deposed emperor Justinian II (r.685-695, 705-711) was on his way to Constantinople aboard a ship to reclaim his throne, a violent storm hit them: Καὶ κλύδωνος γενομένου καὶ πάντων ἀπογνόντων διὰ τὸν κλύδωνα, οἰκεῖος αὐτῷ τις ἔφη· «Εἰ περιωθείσης, ὦ δέσποτα, καί σοι τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς ἀποδῶ, δὸς λόγον μηδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀμύνασθαι.» Ὁ δὲ ἐν θυμῷ καὶ ὀργῇ ἔφη· «Ἐνταῦθά με καταποντίσαι Κύριος, εἰ φείσομαί τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν.»⁷⁶ (When a tempest occurred and everybody lost hope because of the rough sea, a certain [i.e. Justinian's] **retainer** of his told him: “ if, o emperor, you were saved, and God gave you your realm back, give word that you will get revenge on none of your enemies”. And he replied with a strong passion and in a rage: “May The Lord draw me right now into the deep sea, if I shall spare one of them”). Looking into the context the person who spoke with the emperor might have been a trusted man, a close retainer and an advisor, who bound his career to the future prospects of his master.
3. Sometimes the words *οἰκεῖος* and *φίλος* (friend) are used in the same sentence to denote the familiarity of a person to the emperor. In this passage, excerpted from the history of George the monk, both words are probably employed as

⁷⁵ He is also known as George Hamartolos (the sinner), and is believed to have written his chronicle in the second half of the ninth century. See Alexander Kazhdan, Anthony Cutler "George Hamartolos" *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan. © 1991, 2005 by Oxford University Press, Inc.. The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium: (e-reference edition). Oxford University Press. Central European University Library. 25 May 2013 <http://www.oxford-byzantium.com/entry?entry=t174.e2055>

⁷⁶ *Patrologiae Cursus Completes, Series Graeca* V. 110 [*Chronikon Breve Georgius Monachus*], ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1857-1866; p. 905

synonyms:⁷⁷ Πέφευγε δὲ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τοῦ Βοήλα ὁ τῆς τραπέζης, οἰκεῖος καὶ φίλος ὦν αὐτῷ.⁷⁸ (Constantine, Boelas' son and *epi tes trapezes*, fled as well, who was an **intimate** and a friend to him).

4. In Constantine VII's handbook on court ceremonial, composed in the mid-tenth century, there is a passage in which the term *oikeios* seems to have been a rhetorical attribute to the “ὁ εὐγενέστατος” (the noblest born): Ἡ τοῦ λογοθέτου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐρώτησις. Πῶς ἔχει ὁ πιστότατος καὶ οἰκεῖος τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ὁ δεῖνα ὁ εὐγενέστατος;⁷⁹ (The *Logothetes*' question to them: How is the most trustworthy and **intimate** [acquaintance] man of the highest born of our holy emperor, so and so [name of the noble person]?).
5. A passage in the history book written in the middle of the eleventh century by George Kedrenos narrates that there was a man who was *oikeios* to the Roman emperor Nero. Nevertheless it might have been a figure of speech of Kedrenos to talk about an *oikeios* in the time of Nero. He possibly projected an administrative concept of his own time to the past: περὶ οὗ καὶ Βάλβιος, περὶ τῆς κατ'αὐτοῦ ἐπιθέσεως, ὡς οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ ὦν ἐρωτηθεὶς παρὰ Νέρωνος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς εἶ κατ' ἐμοῦ; ἔφη ...⁸⁰ (and about which Flavius, when questioned by Nero about the attack against him, he was an **intimate** of him, how you yourself turn against me, said ...)

c. Third meaning of the word is “private, personal” in an administrative context.

⁷⁷ In a Byzantine *scholia* the definition of οἰκεῖος is given as φίλος, see Dilts, M.R., *Scholia Demosthenica*, V. 1 Leipzig, 1983

⁷⁸ *Patrologiae Cursus Completes, Series Graeca* V. 110 [*Chronikon Breve Georgius Monachus*], ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1857-1866; p. 1165

⁷⁹ *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, vol. 1, ed. J.J. Reiske, Bonn, 1829; p. 684

⁸⁰ *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope(ra)* ed. I. Bekker, V. 1., Bonn, 1839; p. 378

6. This passage is from the historian Pachymeres, at end of the thirteenth century:

Ἦν οὖν τῷ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ γραμματικὸς **οἰκεῖος**, Θεοφύλακτος τοῦνομα καὶ ἑμὸς συγγενής, προσόμοιος τῷ κυρίῳ τὰ πάντα.⁸¹ (The *protovestiaros* had a **private** secretary, whose name was Theophylaktos and who was a relative of mine, who resembled in every way his master).

d. In the meaning of an administrator in the service of a foreign ruler two examples can be cited:

7. In the history of Skylitzes it can be observed that the word *oikeios* might also mean a foreign administrator who was a close associate of a king, as translated in English by John Wortley, or simply an administrator: ἦλθεν οὖν μετὰ τοῦ Χοιροσφάκτου Θεόδωρός τις **οἰκεῖος** ὢν τῷ Συμεών, καὶ παρειλήφει πάντας.⁸² (“Thus Theodore, one of the **closest associates** [royal administrator] of Symeon, arrived together with Choïrosphaktes and took charge of the prisoners”).⁸³ In this passage it can be assumed that Skylitzes might have projected again use of a Byzantine term *oikeios* [sic. *oikeios anthropos*⁸⁴] onto a context which was not Byzantine, i.e. a Bulgarian *oikeios*.
8. Pachymeres, at the end of the thirteenth or the very beginning of the fourteenth centuries, wrote that there was a certain person of Byzantine origin who served, years ago, the last Latin emperor of Constantinople Baudouin (Baldwin) II (r. 1228-1261): Ἦν οὖν τότε **οἰκεῖος** τῷ Βαλδουίνῳ θεράπων, ὁ Φύλαξ λεγόμενος

⁸¹ Georges Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, V.1., ed. A. Failler, Paris, 1984: p. 85

⁸² Ioannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn, Berlin, 1973: p. 177

⁸³ Skylitzes, John, *A Synopsis of Byzantine Empire 811-1057*, trans. John Wortley, Cambridge, 2010: p. 172

⁸⁴ See examples 10 and 12 below for the Byzantine usage of this term

Ἰωάννης,⁸⁵ (And Baudouin, at that time, had a **retainer** in his service whose name was John Phylax).

e. The fifth meaning is a blood relative of the emperor and, in the example below, it seems that because of this family relationship, the person was entrusted an important job by the emperor.

9. Nikephoros Bryennios wrote, in the beginning of the twelfth century, in his history that: οἱ δὲ πάντα διεξήεσαν τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως, τοῦ Στραβορωμανοῦ τῶν λόγων κατάρχοντος· οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῆς πρεσβείας εἶχε κῦρος ἅτε **οἰκεῖος** ὢν βασιλεῖ.⁸⁶ (They reported everything that the emperor had ordered, while Straboromanos initiating the talk. Since he was a **relative** of the emperor he was made head of the embassy). Byriennios probably employed the words *oikeios* and *syngenes* (a blood relative) interchangeably in his book since in another passage, a couple of lines above, he wrote about Straboromanos in this way: καὶ ὁ Στραβορωμανός, ὃς ἐκ Πενταπόλεως ὥρμητο τῆς Φρυγίας, ἀνὴρ δεινὸς καὶ δραστήριος, τὸ γένος ἀνέλκων εἰς τούτους καὶ **συγγενῆς** ὢν τῷ βασιλεῖ Νικηφόρῳ.⁸⁷ (and Straboromanos who originated from Pentapolis of Phrygia, a powerful and diligent man, a **blood relative** of the emperor Nikephoros). Whereas Pachymeres uses the word *oikeios* for the meaning of “private”, and *syngenes* for “blood relative” as is seen in example number seven above.

Technical Use of *oikeios*

Byzantine primary sources that mention the term *oikeios* in its technical meaning are predominantly of archival nature; that is to say imperial edicts (chrysobulls and

⁸⁵ Georges Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, V.1., ed. A. Failler, Paris, 1984: p. 201

⁸⁶ *Nicephori Bryennii Historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. P. Gautier, Brussels, 1975: p. 263

⁸⁷ *Nicephori Bryennii Historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. P. Gautier, Brussels, 1975: p. 260

prostagmata), monastic *praktika* (some of which also quote related chrysobulls and *prostagmata*), and patriarchal registers which can be found in documents compiled by Miklosich and Müller (MM) (partly reedited as the *Patriarchatsregister* by the Vienna Byzantinists). Out of the 201 *oikeioi* the PLP lists a total of 141 individuals is mentioned in either MM or the Athos documents; this indicates the significance of these sources to deepen our understanding of the *oikeioi*. Nevertheless it is beyond the scope of this short study to scrutinize the abovementioned documents in depth at this point.

a. Early Evidence: Already before the Palaiologan period there appeared in the sources another usage of the word *oikeios*, (this use is different from that of the term as is given in the previous examples in that this time the term clearly denotes an administratively privileged person who was a member of a specific administrative group) and it can be seen usually in the combination of οἰκεῖος ἄνθρωπος. Therefore from the second half of the tenth century onwards the technical use of the term *oikeios* can be proposed to have emerged. Two examples below will illustrate this:

10. In Constantine VII's handbook on court ceremonial, mid-tenth century, there is a passage which reads: καὶ καθέζεται ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ μικρὸς καὶ ἡ αὐγούστα μετὰ καὶ τῶν πορφυρογεννήτων καὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ **μάλιστα οἰκειοτέρων ἀρχόντων καὶ οἰκείων ἀνθρώπων**, ἡγουν τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου, τοῦ πρωτοβεστιάριου καὶ ἄλλων, ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύει, πάντων εὐφραινομένων καὶ ἀγαλλομένων καὶ εὐφημούντων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν αὐγούσταν.⁸⁸ (and the senior emperor, the junior and the empress sat together with the *porphyrogennetoi*, his own relatives, **most familiar nobles**, and his **intimate administrators**, that is to say with the *parakoimomenos*, *protovestiaros*, and others,

⁸⁸Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo, vol. 1 ed. J.J. Reiske, Bonn, 1829;p.603:

whom the emperor commands; all of them cheer, exalt and acclaim the emperor and the empress). In the passage three distinct administrative and/or honorary groups are mentioned: the emperor's own family members (ἱδιοί), his courtiers (ἄρχοντες) who are the most intimate (μάλιστα οικειότεροι), and his intimate court officials (οἰκεῖοι ἄνθρωποι). This is an important text in that it gives away the nature of οἰκεῖοι ἄνθρωποι ([emperor's] intimate and trusted men) in the mid-tenth century: they were essential palace officials who bore such titles as *parakoimomenos*, *protovestiaros*, and who attend to the court ceremonial and imperial administration. (Since the positions of *parakoimomenos* and *protovestiaros* were traditionally filled by eunuchs⁸⁹ it is tempting to argue that οἰκεῖοι ἄνθρωποι included eunuch court officials who had the privilege of close contact and enjoyed an intimacy with the emperors).

11. To further support the above example a passage in Leo the Deacon's history is illustrative. There were Byzantine generals who were eunuch *oikeioi* in the second half of the tenth century: τὴν δέ γε ὁρμὴν τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν τῇ τῶν Ἐφῶν στρατευμάτων παρατάξει ἀνεχαίτισε, Νικολάου τοῦ Πατρικίου στρατηγοῦντος· ὅστε οἰκεῖος ὢν σπάδων τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ πολλῆς μελέτης τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκέκτητο.⁹⁰ ("He checked the attack of the Agarenes by marshalling the troops in the east, under the command of the *patrikios* Nicholas, who was one of the emperor's **household eunuchs**⁹¹ and had obtained experience from much

⁸⁹Oikonomides, N. *Les Listes de Préséance*: pp. 132-133: The Treatise of Philotheos lists titles (jobs) that are reserved for the eunuchs (such as *parakoimomenos* and *protovestiaros*) and indicates that the offices to which usually "the bearded", i.e. those who are not eunuch, are appointed can also be filled by the eunuchs.

⁹⁰*Leonis diaconi Caloënsis historiae libri decem*, ed. C. B. Hasius, Bonn, 1828: p. 103

⁹¹Tougher, S. "Cherchez L'Homme! Byzantine men: a eunuch perspective", in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson, New York, 2012: pp. 86-87: "After all, imperial and royal courts have been the major reason for the existence of eunuchs throughout history. [...] they could fulfil a range of functions in the service of the court. For instance, they could be treasurers and commanders, undertake special missions and operate beyond the confines of the court. The most famous eunuch general is Narses, who in the sixth century defeated the Ostrogoths and became governor of Italy. Narses, who had also been treasurer (*sacellarius*) and

training in many battles”).⁹² It is clear in the text that the *strategos* Nicholas who was *patrikios* and who was most probably a court official (since he was a eunuch), hence the application of the term οἰκεῖος: He was from among the imperial household officials whose duty is to serve the emperor. These two examples might be some of the earliest uses of the term οἰκεῖος, or rather οἰκεῖος ἄνθρωπος, in the technical sense.

12. In the manuscript Paris gr. 1711, transmitting Leo Grammatikos' *Chronographia*, on the folio 393^v right under the colophon is an inscription which dates to the mid-twelfth century:⁹³

“ⲙⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁ Λέων πρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν ὁ Τζικανδ(η)λ(ης) καὶ οἰκεῖος ἄν(θρωπ)ος τοῦ κρατ(αιοῦ) καὶ ἀ(γίου) ἡμ(ῶν) βασιλ(έως)”.⁹⁴ (Leo, *proedros* and *doux* of the Kibyrraiot theme and **trusted man** of our holy and mighty emperor). The person in question had a title, *proedros*, and office, *doux* (chief administrator, a governor) of a maritime theme, yet he also described himself as a personally trusted man of the emperor. In contrast to example 11 this person was not a member of the emperor's bedchamber and not a eunuch, but head of a naval *thema*. It can be argued that this had much to do with the Komnenian system of governance whereby offices and dignities were distributed among, first, family members of the ruling dynasty, and second among the trusted men of the emperors. From this time on the administrative concept of *oikeios* can be said to have spread to those who were not specifically court officials. These people were

grand chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*), [...] [however] Like other men, eunuchs had other options available to them: they are found, for instance, as clerics, monks, singers, teachers and doctors.”

⁹² *The History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*. Introduction, translation and annotation by A.-M. Talbot and D. F. Sullivan, Washington D.C., 2005: p. 153

⁹³ Odorico, P. “Poésie à la marge, réflexions personnelles? Quelques observations sur les poésies du *Parisinus graecus 1711*”, in eds. F. Bernard and K. Demoen *Poetry and Its Contexts in Eleventh-century Byzantium*, Surrey, 2012: pp. 210, 212, 214, 222

⁹⁴ Class discussion led by Dr. Niels Gaul in his 2012/2013 Fall Semester “MEDS 6135-Greek Palaeography and Byzantine Manuscript Studies” class at CEU, Budapest

assigned offices, dignities and titles, along with the appellation of *oikeios* just because of their connection to the person of the emperor⁹⁵, and they asserted their position by calling themselves “the most intimate men [of the emperor]”.

b. Palaiologan Period Official Documents: In the Palaiologan period there is frequent use of the word *oikeios* (because of which the privileged group of *oikeioi* is known) in official documents such as chrysobulls, monastic *praktika*, and patriarchal registers. Below are a couple of examples chosen from those documents. The aim here is to illustrate the use of the term *oikeios* in its technical sense and to further comment on, albeit very briefly, their dealings with the administration and with society at large. This section will also serve as transition to chapter II in which a quantitative analysis of the Palaiologan *oikeioi* is presented.

Before, however, looking at the official documents there is an interesting passage in a literary work which is worthy of mention. The passage below is taken from a compilation of religious writings of Gennadios Scholarios, the would-be patriarch, who in one of the sub-headings of his speech addressing the emperor referred to himself as *oikeios* to the emperor.

13. Ἀναφορὰ πρὸς τὸν κραταῖον καὶ ἅγιον ἡμῶν αὐθέντην καὶ βασιλέα, ἣν ἀνέφερεν ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτῷ κῦρ Γεώργιος ὁ Σχολάριος ἐνώπιον τῆς θείας καὶ ἱερᾶς συνόδου:⁹⁶ (A report to our holy and mighty master and emperor, which his

⁹⁵ Magdalino, P. “Innovations in Government”, pp. 147-148: Magdalino argues that from the reign of Alexios I onwards “rewards and honours [for family members and for the emperors’ close associates] were not the icing on the cake of government, but, as Psellos, Kekaumenos, and Anna all recognized, the essence of government”.

⁹⁶ Jugie, M., Petit, L., and Siderides, X. A. *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. 1. Paris, 1928: p. 295

trusted man kyr George Scholarios⁹⁷ delivered before the divine and sacred council).

b.1. Chrysobulls: In February 1449 Emperor Constantine XI issued a chrysobull⁹⁸ with which he bestowed the governerships of Brysis and of Phanarion (towns in Morea) to the two sons of George Gemistos, as the emperor's brother Theodore Palaiologos, Despot of Morea, had earlier requested with an ἀργυρόβουλλος ὀρισμός (silver-sealed decree) that George Gemistos presented to the emperor:

14. Ἐπειδὴ ἐνεφάνισεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτῇ κυρὶς Γεώργιος ὁ Γεμιστὸς ἀργυρόβουλλον ὀρισμὸν τοῦ περιποθήτου αὐταδέλφου τῆς βασιλείας μου, δεσπότη κυροῦ Θεοδώρου Παλαιολόγου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου, τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ μακαρίτου, εὐεργετοῦντα πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ ... (Since the **trusted man** of my majesty kyr George Gemistos⁹⁹ showed forth to my majesty a silver-sealed decree of the much-beloved brother of my majesty, the glorious and blessed Despot, kyr Theodore Palaiologos of Porphyrogennetos, who showed his benefaction to his [George's] sons ...). [...] προστάττει καὶ διορίζεται, ἵνα κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ περίληψιν τοῦ τοιούτου ἀργυροβούλλου ὀρισμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ **οἰκεῖος** τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου κυρὶς Δημήτριος ὁ Γεμιστὸς κατέχη καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Φανάριν μετὰ πάσης τῆς αὐτοῦ νομῆς καὶ περιοχῆς, καὶ ἄρχῃ οὗτος αὐτοῦ καὶ κεφαλατικεὴ ... ([my majesty] commands and declares that according to the power and comprehension of such silver-sealed decree of my brother, his [George

⁹⁷PLP 27304. Gennadios being his monk name, his Christian name is George, but PLP does not say that his was one of the οἰκεῖοι.

⁹⁸Lampros, S. P. *Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, Δ., Athens, 1930: pp. 19-25

⁹⁹PLP 3630. Although in this Chrysoboul George Gemistos is referred to as οἰκεῖος, PLP does not include him in the list of οἰκεῖοι

Gemistos'] eldest son, the **trusted man** of my majesty, *kyr* Demetrios Gemistos¹⁰⁰ shall possess the town of Phanarion now and continually along with all the pasturage and enclosures of it [the town], and he was appointed its governor...).

[...] 'Ο δ' ἕτερος υἱὸς τοῦ ἄνωθεν εἰρημένου Γεμιστοῦ, ὁ οἰκεῖος τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου κύρις Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Γεμιστός, κατέχη ὁμοίως καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς τὸ περὶ τὸ Καστρίον χωρίον τὴν Βρύσιν μετὰ πάσης τῆς αὐτοῦ νομῆς καὶ περιοχῆς

(the other son of the above mentioned Gemistos [George], **trusted man** of my majesty *kyr* Andronikos Gemistos¹⁰¹ shall possess, similarly, Brysis, by the village of Kastrion, now and continually along with all its pasturage and enclosures). It is interesting to know that there appear to have existed family connections and hierarchy among the members of the *oikeioi*. George Gemistos' sons did not receive the benefaction directly, but they were favoured through and because of their father's connection to the brother of the emperor. In addition this chrysobull makes it clear that the emperor's brother was a quasi-emperor in Morea and entitled to issue his own edicts albeit sealed with silver, not gold; yet he needed his order to be confirmed and approved by the emperor as well.

b.2. Patriarchal Registers: The patriarchal registers of Constantinople are a set of documents that form one of the most important archival sources that contribute to our understanding of those who were called *oikeioi*, whose names appear in the documents, many of which being decisions of the patriarchal synodical court, only when they happened to be engaged in some sort of legal case; such as transactions of landed properties (e.g. buying or selling houses, vegetable gardens, vineyards, a mill) in Constantinople, or a disagreement over the spending of a dowry, or over the sharing of inheritance. Below are two examples chosen from the registers. It is interesting to see the

¹⁰⁰PLP 3632

¹⁰¹PLP 3629

oikeioi dealing with everyday matters and take legal actions against other people, some of whom are *oikeioi* as well; because in this way they are made visible in other social and economic contexts, other than purely administrative and political life:

15. Παρέστη τῇ ἡμῶν μετριότητι προκαθημένη συνοδικῶς ὁ **οἰκεῖος** τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ μου αὐτοκράτορι, κῦρ Θεόδωρος ὁ Βαβουσκωμίτης, καὶ ἀνέφερεν, ὡς ὁ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ κῦρ Ἰωάννης ὁ Καβαλλάριος ἐπὶ τρισὶ παισὶν ἀφῆλιξι τὸν βίον ἀπέλιπεν· εἶτα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκείνου τελευτησάσης πειρᾶται ὁ ταύτης ἀνδράδελφος, **οἰκεῖος** τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ μου αὐτοκράτορι, κῦρ Βασίλειος ὁ Καβαλλάριος, κρατεῖν καὶ ἔχειν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν ἐκείνῳ μερίδα.¹⁰² (**The trusted man** of my mighty and holy emperor, *kyr* Theodore Babouskomites¹⁰³ appealed to my modesty presiding over the synod and asserted that his son-in-law by marriage to his daughter, *kyr* John Kaballarios, passed away leaving three infant children. And after his wife also died, her brother-in-law, **trusted man** of my mighty and holy emperor, *kyr* Basil Kaballarios¹⁰⁴ attempted to seize and take control of the share belonging to him). In this register the title *kyr*, and the quality of being an *oikeios* are duly written as indicators of high social status. Although all three persons mentioned in the document are referred to as *kyr*, only two of them assumed the quality of *oikeios*; this indicates that either the court scribes knew the titles of all important people of the City, or more plausibly people who appealed to the court brought with them certain documents or witnesses verifying their titles. Moreover this court case might illustrate that the *oikeioi* were not a closely knit social group

¹⁰² Hunger, H. and Kresten, O. *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315-1331*, V.1, Vienna, 1981: pp. 304-307 (document 43)

¹⁰³ PLP 2011

¹⁰⁴ PLP 10038

and they happened to fall into disputes over everyday matters of monetary nature that only the patriarchal synod could solve.

16. Παρέστη τῇ ἡμῶν μετριότητι προκαθημένη συνοδικῶς ὁ οἰκεῖος τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ μου αὐτοκράτορι κύρ Ἰωάννης ὁ Τριακοντάφυλλος καὶ ἀνέφερεν, ὡς ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ὁ Μονομάχος ἐκεῖνος μονύδριόν τι κεκτημένος ἐκ γονικότητος περὶ τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ἑξαμιλίου, εἰς ὄνομα τιμώμενον τῆς ὑπεράγνου δεσποίνης καὶ θεομήτορος καὶ ἐπικεκλημένης Παχνιωτίσσης, ἐξέδοτο τοῦτο ἰδίῳ ἑαυτοῦ γράμματι πρὸς τὸν <ἀδελφ>ὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μοναχὸν Βαρλαάμ μετὰ πάντων τῶν προσόντων αὐτῷ. καιροῦ δὲ ἱκανοῦ παρελθόντος δεξιωσάμενος τοῦτον ὁ οἰκεῖος τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ μου αὐτοκράτορι κύρ Ἰωάννης ὁ Φιλανθρωπηνὸς τῷ δοκεῖν μὲν ὅπερ εἶχε κτητορικὸν δίκαιον ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ ἐξωνήσατο τὸ τοιοῦτον μονύδριον εἰς ὑπέρπυρα ἐβδομηκονταδύο, ὃν δὴ τρόπον καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν γεγονὸς γράμμα διέξεισιν. ὅθεν οὗτος δὴ ὁ Τριακοντάφυλλος ἀντικριθῆναι τῷ αὐτῷ Φιλανθρωπηνῷ ἐδεήθη.¹⁰⁵ (The trusted man of my mighty and holy emperor, kyr John Triakontaphyllos¹⁰⁶ appealed to my modesty presiding over the synod asserted that his father Monomachos possessing a certain small monastery by inheritance near the town of Hexamilion [a certain town in Gallipoli in modern Turkey], in the honoured name of the extremely pure Lady and Mother of God, the so-called Pachniotissa, gave it with his own letter to his brother (?), the monk Barlaam along with all the things attached to it. Some time later the trusted man of my mighty and holy emperor, kyr John Philanthropenos¹⁰⁷, receiving him [Barlaam] with praise, seemingly took from him what he had as a ktetor's right; in truth however he sold this small

¹⁰⁵Hunger, H., and Kresten, O., *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315-1331*, V. 1, Vienna, 1981: pp. 526-531 (document 93)

¹⁰⁶ PLP 29270

¹⁰⁷ PLP 29766

monastery for 72 *hyperpyra*, as the letter directed to him shows. Therefore this Triakontaphyllos asked to have a lawsuit against this very Philanthropenos). At the end Philanthropenos won the lawsuit and obtained the ownership of the monastery. These two examples drawn from the patriarchal registers illustrate the significance of these sources in revealing the dealings of the *oikeioi*. A substantive research on these documents will certainly bring about more lively accounts in relation to the *oikeios* in the future.

b.3. Monastic *praktika*: Some monastic archives, mainly those of Athos monasteries, also preserve archival documents in which certain men are called *οἰκεῖος*. These documents further contribute to the analysis of nature of the *oikeioi* in that some of them engaged in property transactions and some received *pronoia* grants in the countryside. Below are three examples chosen from the documents of three different Athonite monasteries.

17. The archive of the monastery of Dionysiou contains a chrysobull, dated to 1347, through which the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347-1354) remunerated one of his *oikeioi* with a *pronoia* grant because of his loyalty and courage during the civil war: προσδεξαμένη ἡ βασιλεία μου ἐπιχορηγεῖ καὶ ἐπιβραβεύει αὐτῷ τὸν παρόντα χρυσόβουλλον ΛΟΓΟΝ, δι' οὗ προστάσσει καὶ εὐδοκεῖ καὶ διορίζεται ὡς ἂν ἱκανοποιηθῇ ἀπογραφικῶς οὗτος δὴ δὴ δηλωθεὶς **οἰκεῖος** τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου μέγας παπίας κῦρ Δημήτριος ὁ Καβάσιλας τὴν διὰ χρυσοβούλλου τοιαύτην ποσότητα τῶν διακοσί(ων) πεντήκοντα (ὑπερ)π(ύ)ρ(ων) ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνωτέρω κατὰ μέρος διειλημμένων καὶ κατέχη καὶ νέμῃται ταύτην ἀνενοχλήτως καὶ ἀδιασείστως, ἔτι τε ἀναφαιρέτως καὶ ἀναποσπάστως καὶ κατὰ λόγον γονικότητος,¹⁰⁸ (accepting [his petition], my majesty grants this present chrysobull to him, through which [my majesty] commands, consents and

¹⁰⁸ N. Oikonomidès, N. *Actes de Dionysiou, Archives de l'Athos* IV. Paris, 1968: pp. 45-47

declares that this proved **trusted man** to my majesty *megas papias kyr* Demetrios Kabasilas¹⁰⁹ is to be fiscally satisfied through the chrysobull in relation to his *posotes* of two hundred and fifty *hyperpyra*, from that which whose particulars have been distinguished above, [he] would hold and possess it undisturbed and not to be taken away, and in the future inseparably and with the inheritance rights preserved.) In this document, a chrysobull issued by the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, the emperor's *oikeios* received a piece of land in Kalamaria as a *pronoia* grant in 1347. This Kabasilas fought on the side of John VI during the civil war and in return for his commitment to the John VI's cause the emperor rewarded him with a land grant, a *pronoia* [with a fiscal value (*posotes*¹¹⁰)] of 250 *hyperpyra*.

18. The archive of the monastery Docheiariou includes a letter of the Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, written in 1370, who demanded envoys from the monasteries Docheiariou and Xeropotamou to Constantinople in order to decide to whom a certain watermill, the possession of which was contended between these two monasteries, belonged. This time an *oikeios* who had owned the mill before and who claimed that he knew to whom it belonged at that time was called to the court for testimony : ἔνταῦθα γὰρ ἔνι ἀναγκαῖον γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ τούτου κρίσιν τὲ (καὶ) ἐξέτασιν, ἔνθα εὐρίσκει(αι) (καὶ) ὁ οἰκεῖος τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ ἀ(γί)ῳ μου αὐτοκράτ(ο)ρ(ι), ποθεινότη(α)τος κατὰ πν(εῦμ)α υἱὸς τῆς ἡμ(ῶν) μετριο(τ)ητος, ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ κῦρ Μάρκος ὁ συρ Μουρῆνος, ὃς εἶχε τὸν τοιοῦτον ὑδρομύλωνα (καὶ) γινώσκει τίνων ἐστὶ νῦν, εἴτε τούτων εἴτε ὑμῶν.¹¹¹ (For there is need for an inquiry and judgement about it [the watermill], the **trusted man** of

¹⁰⁹ PLP 92224

¹¹⁰ For a comprehensive study on *pronoia* and *posotes* in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see Bartusis, M. C. *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, pp. 284-294, 336-534

¹¹¹ Oikonomidès, N. *Actes de Docheiariou*, *Archives de l'Athos* XIII. Paris, 1984: p. 223

my mighty and holy emperor, much beloved spiritual son of our patriarchate, the *epi tou stratou kyr Marc syr*¹¹² Mourinos¹¹³ was also present here, who had possessed the watermill in question, and who had the knowledge of whose it is now, either theirs [Xeropotamou] or yours [Docheiariou]). A mill owner *oikeios* might indicate his involvement in local agrarian production and in the mercantile life.

19. A document belonging to the Lavra monastery includes a document containing a chrysobull, dated to May 28, 1378. With that edict emperor Andronikos IV Palaiologos donated the village of Loroton in the Chalkidiki peninsula to one of his *oikeioi*: Ἐπεὶ ὁ οἰκεῖος τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου κῦρ Μανουὴλ ὁ Ταρχανειώτης ἀνέφερε καὶ παρεκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείᾳ μου ἵνα πορίσῃται χρυσόβουλλον αὐτ(ῆ)ς καὶ ἐπιλάβηται τοῦ περὶ τὴν Καλαμαρίαν χωρίου τοῦ Λωρωτοῦ, τοῦ κατεχομένου μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ πύργου παρά τε τοῦ οἰκείου τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου κ(ῶ)ρ Γεωργίου τοῦ Τζαμπλάκωνος καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τζαμπλάκωνος ἐκείνου, οὗτινος ἡ μερὶς τοῦ τοιούτ(ου) χωρίου ἐδόθη πρὸ ὀλίγου διὰ προστάγματος πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου κῦρ Μανουὴλ Ῥαοὺλ τὸν Κουστουγιαννιν, καὶ κατέχη καὶ νέμῃται οὗτος δὴ ὁ Ταρχανειώτης ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου τὸ τοιοῦτον χωρίον τὸ Λωρωτὸν ἀνενοχλήτως καὶ ἀδιασείστως ἐφ' ὅρω τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, ἀποδιδούς τὴν ἀνήκουσαν καὶ ὀφειλομένην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δουλείαν, καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ ἔχη ἄδειαν παραπέμψαι τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου κ(ῶ)ρ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ταρχανειώτην τὸν γνήσιον υἱὸν καὶ κληρονόμον αὐτοῦ, ἀποδιδόντα καὶ τοῦτον ὁμοίως τὴν ἀνήκουσαν καὶ

¹¹²Bartusis states that the title *syr* (sir?) was held, at least in the thirteenth century, by cavalymen who “probably were Latins or recent decedents of Latins”, and that “most were or probably were pronoiars”; see Bartusis, M. C., *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204-1453*, Philadelphia, 1997: p. 28

¹¹³ PLP 19513; PLP wrote that he sold his estate (watermill?) to the monastery of Docheiariou in 1343/1344, but does not include him in the list of *oikeioi*

ὀφειλομένην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δουλείαν, τὴν παράκλησιν αὐτοῦ εὐμενῶς προσδεξαμένη ἡ βασιλεία μου τὸν παρόντα χρυσόβουλλον ΛΟΓΟΝ ἐπιχορηγεῖ καὶ ἐπιβραβεύει αὐτῷ, δι' οὗ (καὶ) εὐδοκεῖ καὶ προστάσσει καὶ διορίζεται ἐπιλαβέσθαι τὸν δηλωθέντα κύρ Μανουὴλ τὸν Ταρχανειώτην τοῦ εἰρημένου χωρίου τοῦ Λωρωτοῦ καὶ κατέχειν καὶ νέμεσθαι αὐτὸ μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ πύργου ἀνενοχλήτως καὶ ἀδιασείστως ἀναφαιρέτως τε καὶ ἀναποσπάστως μετὰ τῆς περιοχῆς καὶ νομῆς καὶ τῶν δικαίων αὐτοῦ διὰ πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς ζωῆς¹¹⁴ (As the **trusted man** of my majesty kyr Manuel Tarchaneiotēs¹¹⁵ reported to and requested from my majesty that he would receive a chrysobull of my majesty [in order to] acquire the village of Loroton in the region of Kalamaria, which, along with a tower in it, was possessed by the **trusted man** of my majesty, kyr George Tzamlakon,¹¹⁶ and by the brother of this Tzamlakon whose share of the village was recently granted by a *prostagma* to the **trusted man** of my majesty, kyr Manuel Raoul Koustougiannis,¹¹⁷ and the aforementioned Tarchaneiotēs [requested that he] would possess and hold the entire village of Loroton undisturbed and untroubled for his lifetime, rendering [in return for the land grant] due service owed by him, and he would transmit the town, in the time of his death, to his legitimate son and heir, the **trusted man** of my majesty kyr John Tarchaneiotēs¹¹⁸, similarly rendering this due service he owes; my majesty accepted his request kindly and supplied this chrysobull and granted to him; [my majesty] consents, orders and commands aforementioned kyr Manuel Tarchaneiotēs to have the aforesaid town of Loroton, and to hold and possess it,

¹¹⁴ Guillou, A., Lemerle, P., Papachryssanthou, D., and Svoronos, N. *Actes de Lavra. III. De 1329 à 1500, Archives de l'Athos VIII*. Paris, 1979: 115-116

¹¹⁵ PLP 27501

¹¹⁶ PLP 27754

¹¹⁷ PLP 13611

¹¹⁸ PLP 27490

along with the tower in it, undisturbed and untroubled, not to be taken away and indivisibly, with the surrounding area and the pasturage, and also with the rights of it through all his lifetime). Andronikos IV (r. 1376-1379) usurped the throne and ruled three years. During his brief and uneasy reign he must have needed, among others, support of some of the leading men of Thessaloniki. Further it is understood from the above mentioned document that the ownership of the village was taken away from Manuel Raoul Koustougiannis, who is described as *oikeios* as well and might have received his possession from John V, former emperor. That Koustougiannis was still an *oikeios* in the time of the preparation of the document and that he was not favoured might illustrate that not all the *oikeioi*, especially those “inherited” from the previous emperor, enjoyed the same level of intimacy with the emperors.

CHAPTER TWO

QUANTITATIVE STUDY

Sources and Methodology of this Chapter

This chapter consists of quantitative analysis of the *oikeioi* who are recorded by PLP. Primary sources regarding the *oikeioi* were not consulted, for this endeavour requires a PhD research. In this short chapter related information that PLP indicates were gathered, and various tables and charts were formed in order to systematically show what PLP has about the *oikeioi*.

Of the primary sources that PLP records two stick out for they contain more than fifty percent of information about *oikeioi*. These are documents pertaining to the monasteries of Mt. Athos, and Patriarchal Registers of Constantinople. Both of these documents present their own peculiar characteristics which more often than not obscure and distort our understanding about the *oikeioi*. Monastic documents which are usually consisted of *praktika* and sometimes of related chrysobulls could mention the name of an *oikeios* if and when he, for example, donated or sold his lands to a particular monastery, or when the land of an *oikeios* was adjacent to one of the estates of the monastery. The aim of the document, in the former case, is to legally confirm the transaction, and, in the latter case, to define the borders of a monastic land. In both cases, therefore, limited information is supplied; name, title and the nature of the land. Since most of the monastic documents did not survive, and since monastic landholdings were not distributed evenly in the empire *oikeioi* might be seen to have concentrated in a particular place, while for other locations there might not be any mention about them. For other cases *oikeioi* are not mentioned in

monastic documents even if they resided there and took active part of the administration of the region as generals or governors. A good example of this is the case of the island of Lemnos. PLP lists a number of 9 *oikeioi* who had a connection to the island; many were fiscal officials or governors of the island. They were recorded in the monastic documents only because some of the Athonite monasteries had landed property in the island, and their names, titles and official duties were recorded when the monasteries engaged in land transactions in the island. Had there been no monastic lands in the island then we would not have known the existence of any *oikeioi* living there. This case illustrates the haphazard nature of the primary sources about *oikeioi* that PLP consulted.

Same situation should be observed also for the Patriarchal Registers. These are, mainly, records of legal cases brought before the Patriarchal court of Constantinople, and if and when an *oikeios* happened to be a part of a legal case we learn his existence. If the case was about a dowry issue we can learn much more about an *oikeios* in relation to his financial status, marital life and family disputes. Best cases that provide us with much information about the daily life in Constantinople of *oikeioi* can be found in registers concerning the first siege of Constantinople between 1394 and 1402 by the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I.¹¹⁹ During these long years, in a period of dire socio-economic stress, a number of *oikeioi* struggled to survive, or to gain profit, by manipulating and appropriating the dowry of their wives. Wives, however, brought their claim to the Patriarchal court and tried to protect their dowry from their *oikeioi* husbands' appetite. Nevertheless for other *oikeioi* who stayed clear of the jurisdiction of the Constantinopolitan patriarchal court we know nothing.

These caveats are important in interpreting the quantitative study in this chapter in that the charts, maps and remarks concerning *oikeioi* should be understood against the

¹¹⁹ Necipoğlu analyses lively cases concerning the *oikeioi* who were in Constantinople during the first siege of Constantinople by the Turks, see Necipoğlu, N. *Byzantium*, pp. 149-183

background of the nature of our sources. Thus, the short quantitative study in this chapter displays only the information that PLP contains, and therefore it should not be understood as encompassing all the knowledge of *oikeioi* in the empire. In interpreting every chart or map below, therefore, this fact should be born in mind, and one should regard this quantitative study not as a perfect and overall representation of the *oikeioi*, but as systematized listings of certain properties of them whose scanty records are written in PLP.

As for the terms used in the charts and maps below, a couple of remarks are necessary. First, certain terminology applied in order to display distinguishing features and these are as follows:

- Distribution of *oikeioi* among the emperors: PLP gives information when a person is mentioned in a primary source as *oikeios*, or when a person was granted a court title before he was recorded as *oikeios*, or when he was conferred upon an administrative duty. The earliest of these dates, in this chapter, is regarded as the beginning of the *oikeios*-relationship and he was assigned to the emperor accordingly. Certainly this is mostly hypothetical and only gives a rough guideline about the *oikeioi* and their emperors.
- Recorded activities: PLP gives information about the activities of *oikeioi*. Activities, in this chapter, mean any reference to them with respect to having assumed a court title, having exercised an administrative duty (e.g. fiscal official, governor, soldier, general), having undertaken another type of occupation (e.g. merchant, interpreter, monk), having built a monastery, or having owned a property (e.g. land or house). One *oikeios* might have involved in more than one activity in his lifetime and all of them are recorded separately in the charts below. Therefore activities should be

understood not as the aggregate number of *oikeioi* but as the number of every activity they exercised throughout their lifetime.

- Provincial affiliations: Like the information given above an *oikeios* might be governor of a place, own houses in another town, and possess an estate in yet another place in his lifetime. Therefore provincial affiliations should be seen as an aggregate of activities of an *oikeios* in towns, cities, and in countryside.
- Occupational activities: These denote the titles they assume and the administrative duties they exercised. Subcategories include: landowner, dignity owner (dignities which are listed in *Pseudo-Kodinos*. Although *mesazon* is not mentioned as a separate dignity in *Pseudo-Kodinos* it is still included in the dignities subcategory), office holder (i.e. an active administrative or military duty, such as governor, fiscal officer, interpreter, or general), *pronia* holder, senator (some *oikeioi* were recorded as having assumed the title *sygkletikos* – senator)
- Constantinople-based and provincial *oikeioi*: This category is probably the most controversial one. I have included in Constantinople-based *oikeioi* those who assumed a court dignity, or those who was recorded as having resided in the City. The rest of the *oikeioi*, about whom less or no information was recorded in the sources, – please refer to the abovementioned short discussion about the nature and limitation of the primary sources – was conned, albeit misleadingly, provincial. It is evident that this distinction is not entirely convincing, but for the sake of bringing those *oikeioi* about whom recorded evidence is much clearer forth I have decided, in a way, to separate them from those about whom virtually no information, or less information, was recorded.
- Last, but not least, I would like to stress, yet again, the fact that the information – charts and maps and the remarks therein – contains information not of all the

oikeioi in the empire but of those about whom some meagre information is recorded by PLP only. Therefore below is a systematic analysis of PLP in relation of the *oikeioi*.

***Oikeioi* during the First Three Palaiologan Emperors, 1259-1341**

In the epoch of the first three Paleologan emperors (Michael VIII, Andronikos II, and Andronikos III; between 1259-1341) it can be argued that the political nature of the empire retained its previous cohesion to a degree. Although Anatolia had been almost totally occupied by the Turkish clans that would later form principalities by 1330s¹²⁰, there existed a balance of power whereby the Turks remained in Anatolia without an indication of further settlement in Thrace; while Byzantium, having accepted the reality that Anatolia was lost, made do with the remaining territories of Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Epiros and Peloponnesos, along with several Aegean islands. Imperial government was functioning and economy was somewhat hanging in a balance. For this time PLP records a total of seventy-one *oikeioi*, some of whom were attested as having assumed administrative duties in various provinces, and having possessed landed properties. For example Ioannes Panaretos (PLP 21641) was *apographeus* (fiscal officer) of the towns Mosynopolis in Thrace and Serrhai in Macedonia between 1312 and 1313. Sources testify that he was already an *apographeus* in 1300, and bore the court title *hetaireiarches* in 1313. As far as the recently incorporated territories are concerned a certain Georgios Monomachos (PLP 19298) was attested in sources as an *oikeios*, in 1340, to Andronikos III in Thessaly.

¹²⁰ A contemporary Arabic geographer, Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, testifies that right after 1260s, 200.000 tents of Turcomans were living in Denizli and Honas (Chonai) region, 300.000 tents were living on the mountainous area stretching from Eskişehir (Dorylaion) to Kütahya (Kotiaion), and 100.000 more in the Kastamonu (Paphlagonia) area. They were raiding the neighbouring Byzantine territories and capturing slaves; they were also specialised in weaving carpets. See Turan, O., *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye, İstanbul*, 2010 (First impression in 1971), p. 525

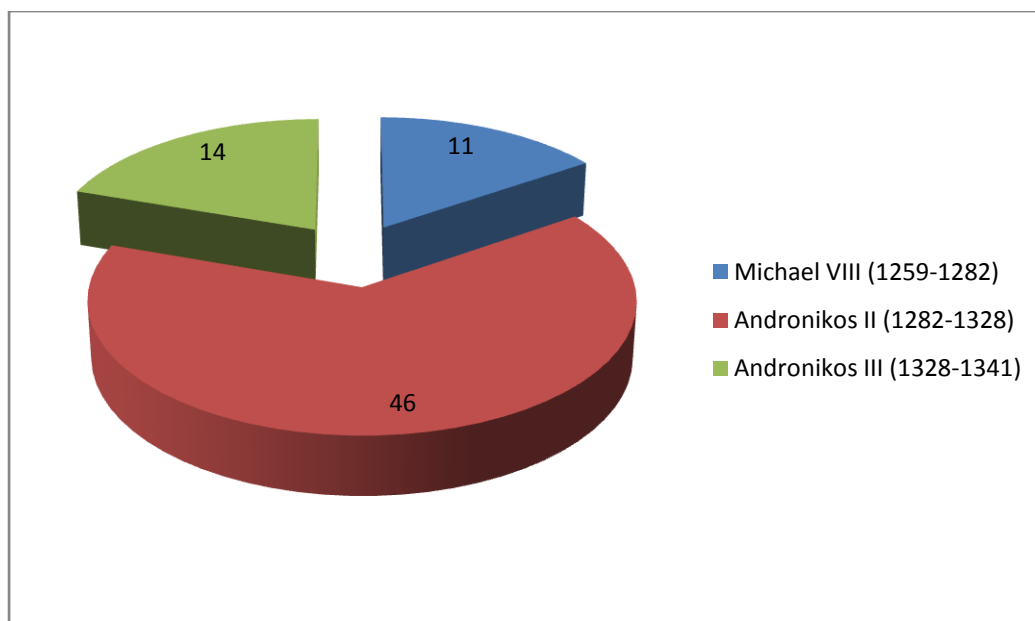


Chart 1: Distribution of *oikeioi* among the first three Paleologan emperors

The figure below illustrates the provinces with which the recorded *oikeioi* were affiliated by virtue of having an administrative office (e.g. as a governor or a tax officer), of having built a monastery, or having possessed a landed property. A person could sometimes have affiliated more than one province. For example Ioannes Tarchaneiotes (PLP 27486) was responsible for military payroll and related expenses (*domestikos of the western provinces*) of Thrace and Macedonia between 1322 and 1326, and he was also revenue official for the town of Serrhai (Macedonia) between 1325 and 1326. In the chart below Thessaloniki is regarded a separate unit, and Macedonia comprises all other Macedonian provinces (*themata*) including Adrianople and the Chalkidiki peninsula. Apart from the twenty-one *oikeioi* whose geographical affiliation were nor recorded in PLP, the provinces seem to be somewhat equally distributed, according to their importance. *Oikeioi* of Anatolia were attested in the years between 1261 and (approximately) 1304. Thessaly was mentioned for the first time in 1256 in accordance with the construction of a monastery by Nikolaos Komnenos Angelos Dukas Bryennios Maliasenos (PLP 16523) who was *oikeios* to Michael VIII;

and second time between 1333 and 1342 (Michael Senachereim Monomachos, governor of Thessaly, PLP 19306); and the third and last time in 1340.

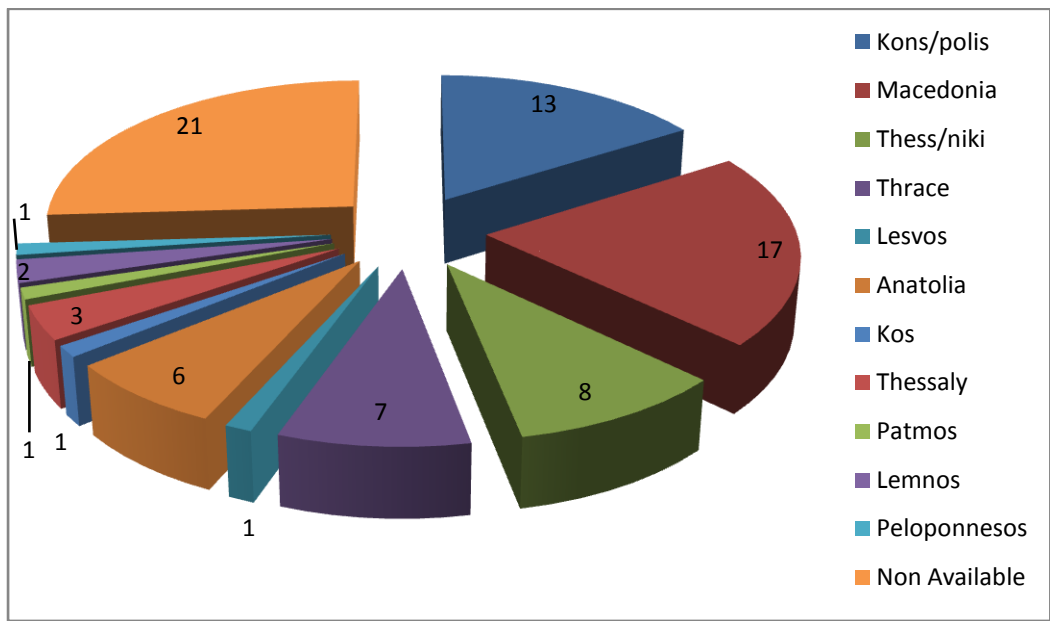


Chart 2: *Oikeioi* in terms of provincial affiliations



Chart 3: *Oikeioi* in terms of provincial affiliations; illustrated on the map

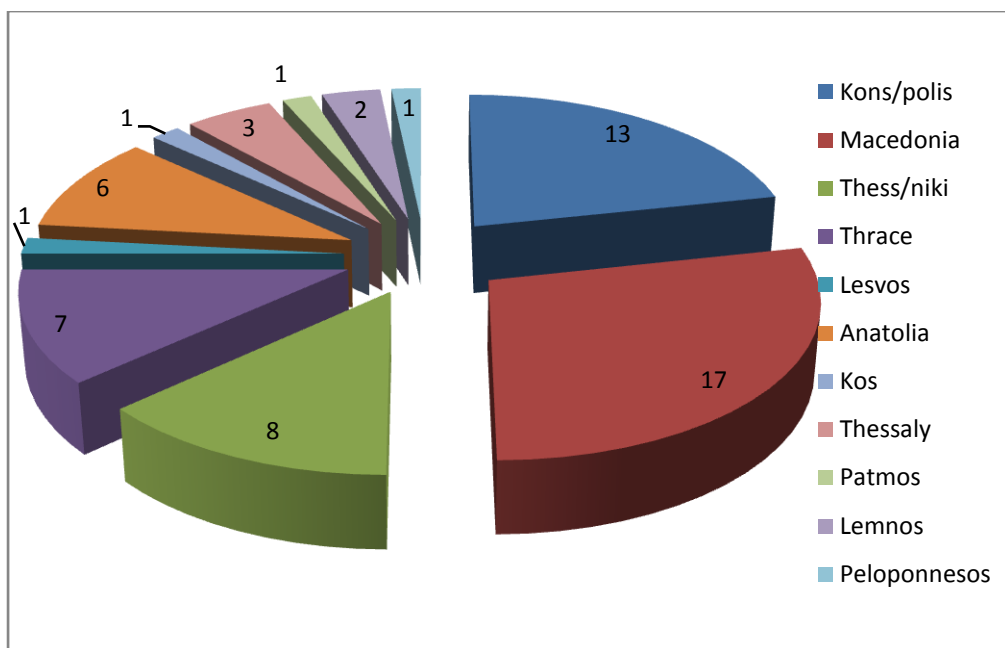


Chart 4: *Oikeioi* in terms of provincial affiliations

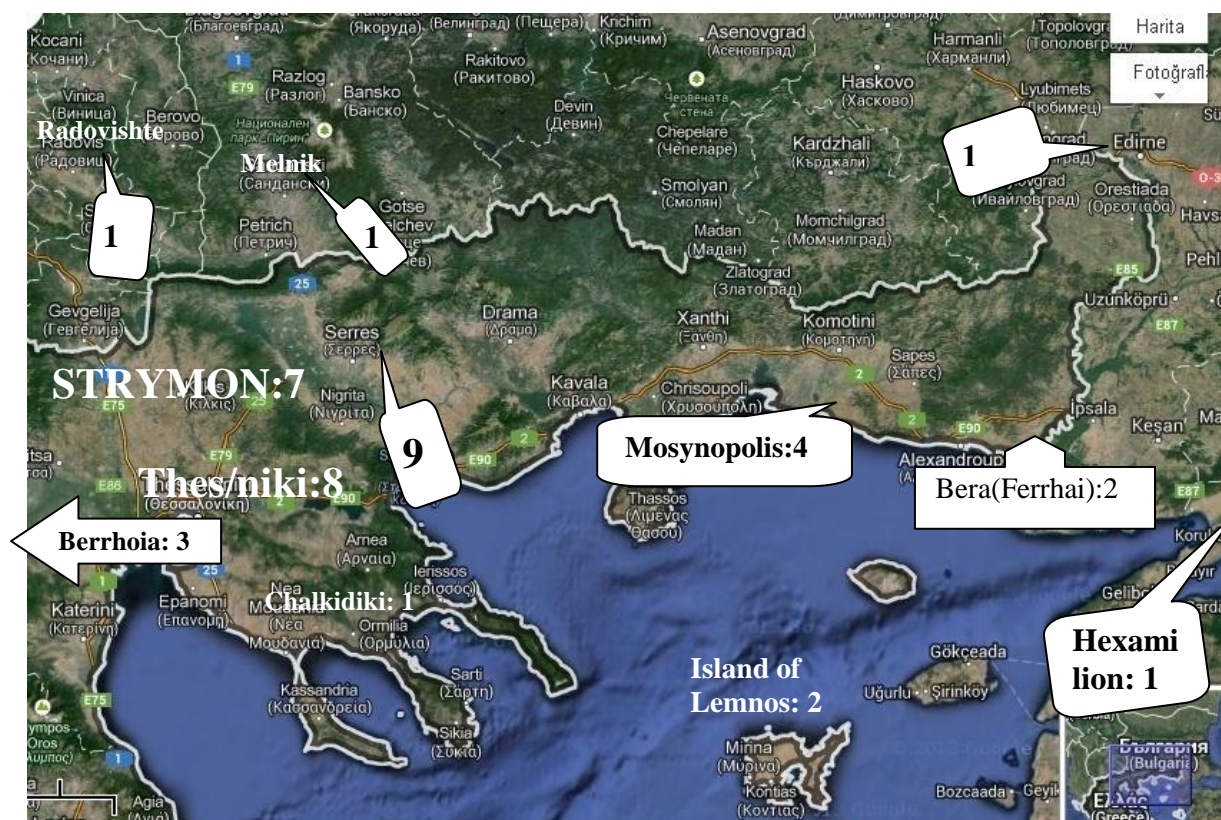


Chart 5: Recorded activities of *Oikeioi* in the towns of Thrace and Macedonia

The above map shows the locational affiliations in Macedonia and Thrace, divided by cities, of the *oikeioi* between 1259 and 1341. Below are the examples describing the activities and affiliations of *oikeioi*.

Hexamilion¹²¹: Ioannes Philanthropenos¹²², PLP 29766, who was recorded as *oikeios* in 1324 and 1325, had a small monastery (*monydrion*) built in this town by 1325.

Adrianople: Theodoros Branas, PLP 3170, who was attested as *oikeios* in 1329 and 1330, possessed houses in this town.

Bera (Ferrhai): Theodoros Padiates, PLP 21292, enjoyed a *pronoia* in the town before 1329. Georgios Strategos, PLP 26902, was attested to have had a great landed property near this town in 1330.

Mosynopolis: Andronikos Zegadenos, PLP 6560, was governor of the town in 1294. Ioannes Panaretos, PLP 21641, was fiscal official (*apographeus*) of the town in 1312 and 1313. Georgios Strategos, PLP 26902, was attested as being fiscal officer of the town in 1316-1317. Andronikos Kantakuzenos, PLP 10956, who is attested in the sources as *oikeios* in 1322 of Andronikos II, was the governor of the town in 1322.

Serrhai (Serres): kyr Georgios Trullenos, PLP 29363, who is attested between 1312 and 1326 as *oikeios*, owned great estates near the town between 1281 and 1326. Konstantinos Pankalos, PLP 21264, was recorded to have had great estates near the town between 1305 and 1313. Ioannes Panaretos, PLP 21641, was fiscal official (*apographeus*) of the town in 1312 and 1313. Georgios Strategos, PLP 26902, was recorded as being fiscal officer of the town between 1316 and 1317. Nikephoros Martinos, PLP 17201, who is attested in the sources as *oikeios* between 1325 and 1327, had landed property by the town between 1317 and 1325.

¹²¹ Although there was another Hexamilion in Peloponnesos PLP indicates that Philanthropenos built his small monastery in Hexamilion of Thrace, see PLP 29766

¹²² See pages 28-9 above about the issue of the monydrion

Andronikos Kantakuzenos, PLP 10956, recorded in the sources *oikeios* in 1322 of Andronikos II, was the governor of the town in 1322. Ioannes Tarchaneiotes, PLP 27486, was recorded in 1325 and 1326 as revenue officer of the town. Alexios Tzamlakon, PLP 27748, was attested as governor (κεφαλή) of the town in 1326, with the dignity of *megas tzaousios* (μέγας τζαούσιος). Demetrios Angelos Metochites, PLP 17980, was attested in the sources as governor of the town from the years 1328/1329.

Radovishte and Melnik: Ioannes Orestes, PLP 21100, was recorded in 1323 as having houses in Melnik, and estates in Radovishte.

Province of Strymon: A total of seven *oikeioi* were recorded in the sources as being landowners (four of them in the years 1294, 1323, 1324, and between 1333-1341) or administrators; two fiscal officers (*apographeusin* 1312-1313, and 1316-1317), and one governor in 1322.

Berrhoia: Theodoros Sarantenos, PLP 24906, seems to have been very active in the town, for he was attested between 1279 and 1325 as having held great estates in town; in addition sources recorded in 1324 that he constructed a monastery, in 1325 that he owned houses, and in 1325 that he had a mill near the town. Kyr Alexios Palaiologos Soultanos, PLP 26338, was attested before 1344 as having a *pronoia* near the town.

Chalkidiki Peninsula: A certain Manuel, PLP 16680, was recorded by the sources as holding great estates in two places (Rossaiou, and Hermeleia) in the peninsula in 1337.

Thessaloniki: Eight *oikeioi* were recorded by the sources as having affiliations with the city. Two owned great estates respectively in 1324 and in 1330, one was fiscal officer in 1317-1319, two were governors respectively in 1315 and in 1320, and one was described as *archon* in 1345. PLP does not record other details for the remaining two.

Island of Lemnos: Sources recorded two *oikeioi* as governors of the island respectively in 1303-1305, and 1319.

Two major activities stick out for the *oikeioi* in Thrace and Macedonia; landowning and government office. As specified above, of the recorded forty activities in towns of Thrace and Macedonia (island of Lemnos being included) by the *oikeioi*, sixteen activities are related to land/house owning, eighteen were about exercising a governmental office, and two activities were related to monastery construction.

As far as all seventy-one *oikeioi* are concerned, a similar layout could be observed. Major activities are connected to governmental duties and to landowning. Office holding, below, comprised of being governor of a town or a province, being a fiscal officer or exercising a central bureaucratic job in Constantinople.

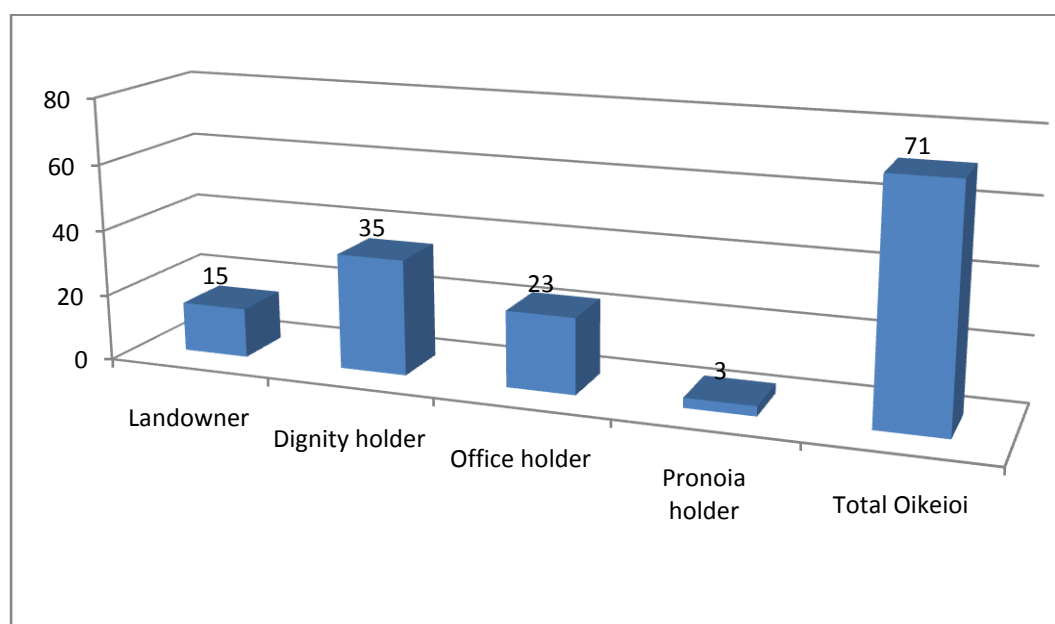


Chart 6: Occupational activities

Oikeioi in Later Palaiologan Time, 1341-1453

This period saw a rapid territorial expansion of the Serbian forces towards the south on the one hand, and of the Ottoman forces towards the north and west on the other hand; and as a consequence a rapid loss of territories followed suit. Byzantium was confined within the limits of Thessaloniki, the Chalkidiki peninsula and certain detached areas in Thrace and Macedonia. Below are two sets of information; one from 1341 to 1390 (until the time when the Ottoman forces decimated a crusader army in 1389 in Kosovo), and the other from 1390 until the capture of Constantinople.

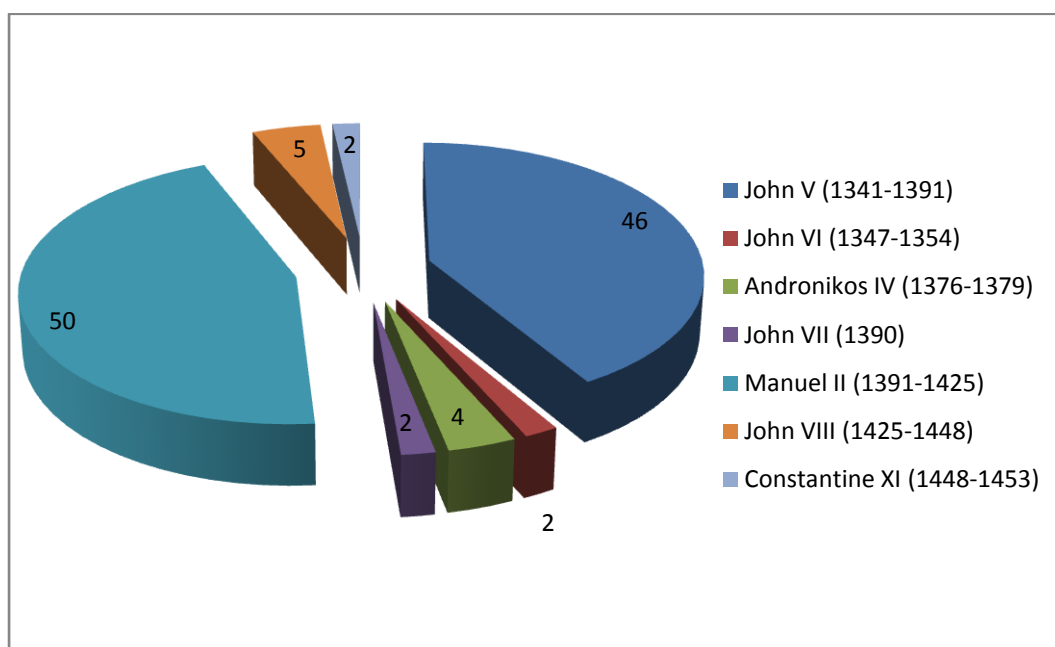


Chart 7: Distribution of 111 *oikēioi* among the emperors, 1341-1453

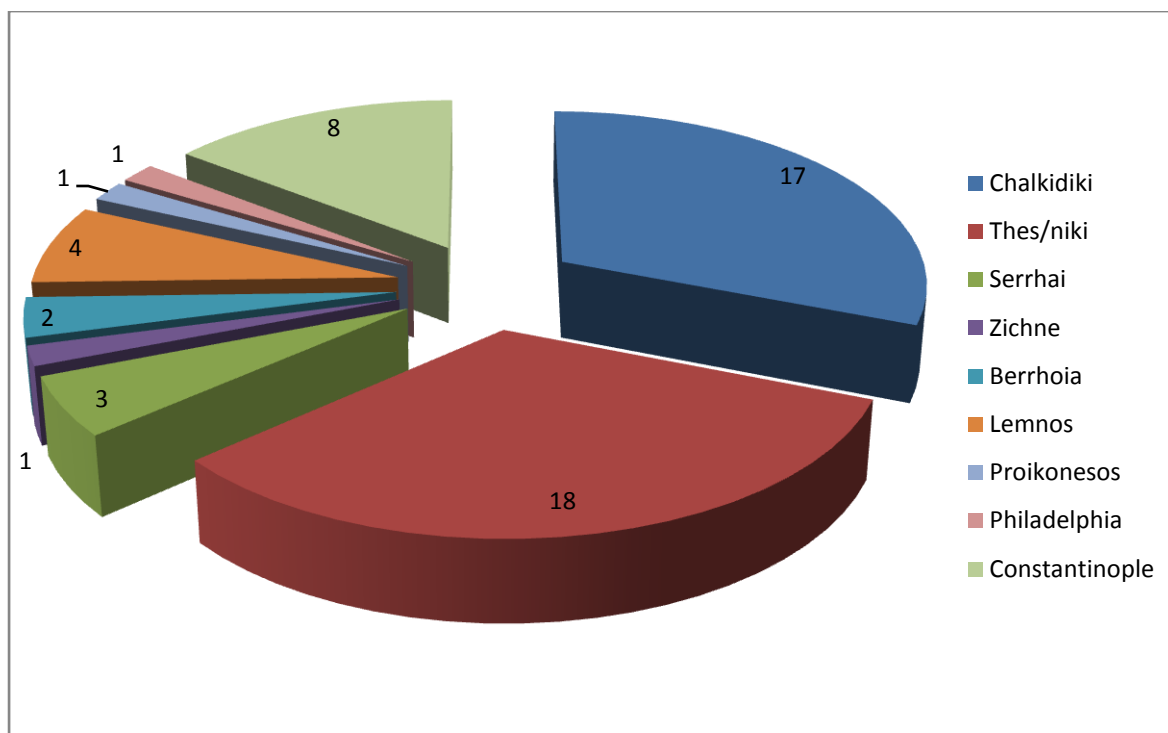


Chart 8: Activities of 57 *oikēioi*, distributed among towns, 1341-1390

There are fifty-seven *oikēioi* whose activities were recorded by the sources between 1341 and 1390. One person might be attested to be involved in more than one town, and for some *oikēioi* there was no documentation; therefore there are a total of fifty-five activities. These concentrated mainly and understandably within Thessaloniki and Chalkidiki peninsula. Of these activities fifty-two are represented below with a graph.

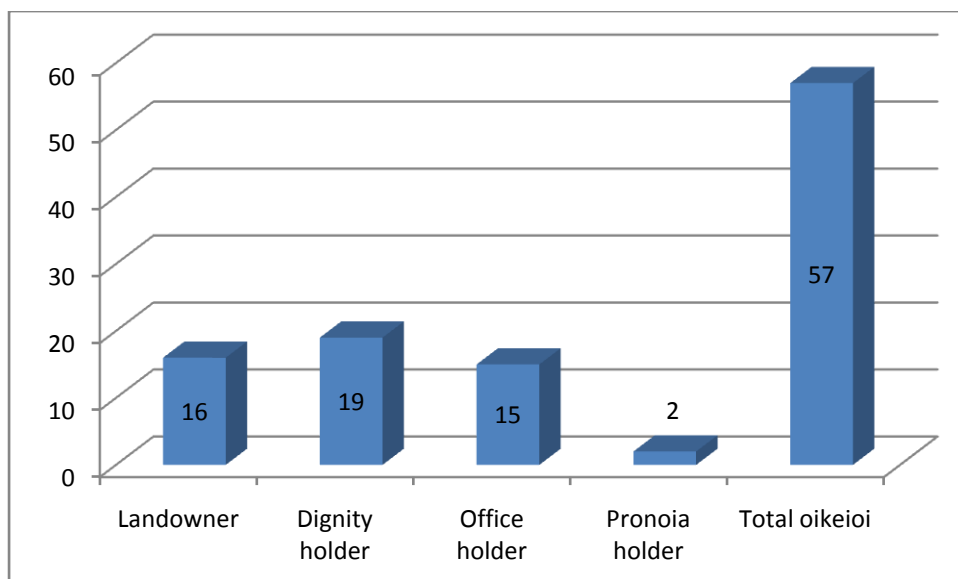


Chart 9: Occupational activities of 57 *oikeioi*, 1341-1390

Evidence of landownership in Chalkidiki was striking in this period. There are fourteen *oikeioi* whose activities are recorded in connection to the Chalkidiki peninsula between the years 1341 and 1390.¹²³ Of these thirteen were attested in the sources as landowners in the area¹²⁴; some had estates in more than one village¹²⁵. One of them was holding his estate as *pronoia* in 1378.¹²⁶

As for governmental offices that they exercised, not surprisingly, three *oikeioi* were documented as governors, respectively, of Thessaloniki between 1345 and 1350, island of Lemnos in 1346, and Serrhai in 1375.¹²⁷ Primary sources also testify the existence of three

¹²³ PLP numbers of these fourteen are: 10083, 26498, 16849, 21425, 5169, 11490, 91757, 13611, 27490, 27501, 27754, 24781, 11491, 8208

¹²⁴ Ioannes Katzaras, PLP 11491, was attested in the sources as having involved in a dispute of ownership with the monastery of Docheiariu over a plot of land in Chalkidiki, which had once belonged to his father. Yet it seems that he lost his claim.

¹²⁵ Manuel Deblitzenos, PLP 91757, owned estates in four different villages in Chalkidiki peninsula.

¹²⁶ Manuel Tarchaneiotos, PLP 27501, was recorded as holding his estate in the village of Loroton in Chalkidiki as *pronoia*.

¹²⁷ Andreas Palaialogos, PLP 21425, was attested in the sources as governor of Thessaloniki, Georgios Dukas Philanthropenos, PLP 29759, as governor of Lemnos, and Manuel Dukas Tarchaneiotos, PLP 27502, as governor of Serrhai.

fiscal officials: in Lemnos between 1368 and 1369, in again Lemnos between 1387 and 1388.

The place of office of the third *apographeus* was not specified in the sources.¹²⁸

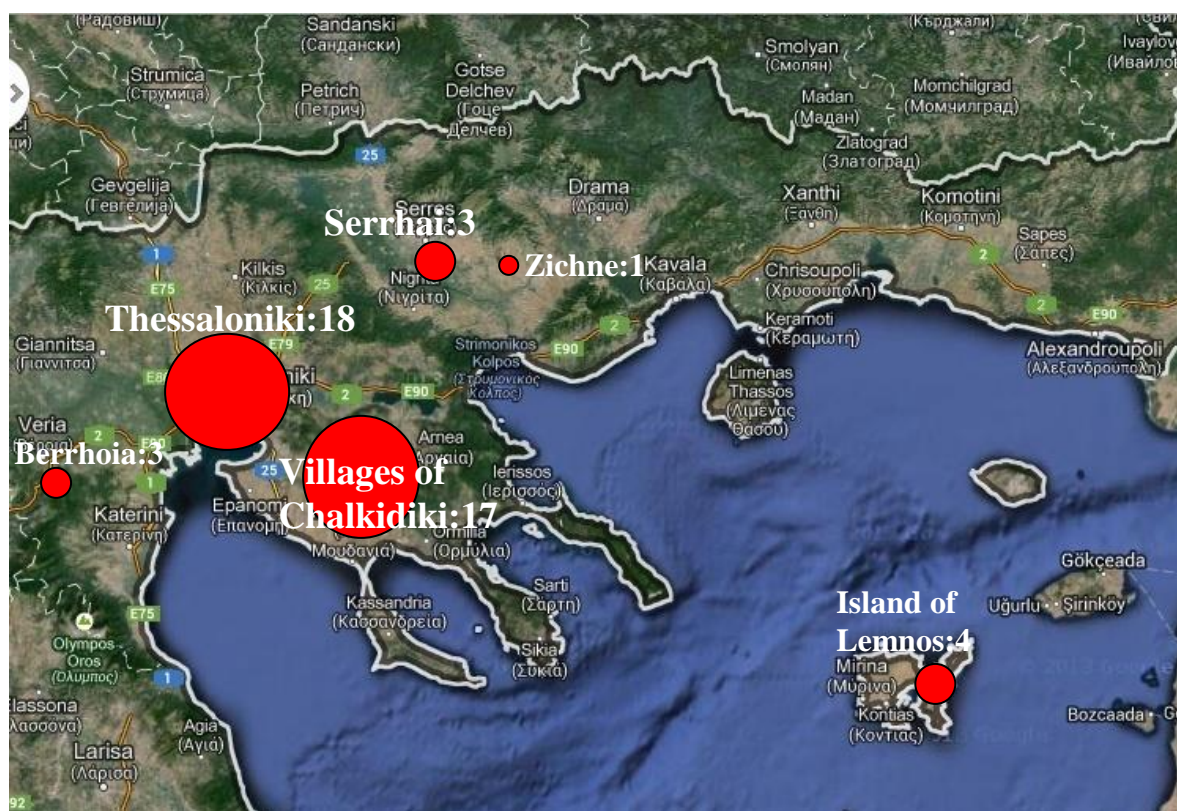


Chart 10: Spatial activities in Macedonia of *oikeioi*, 1341-1390

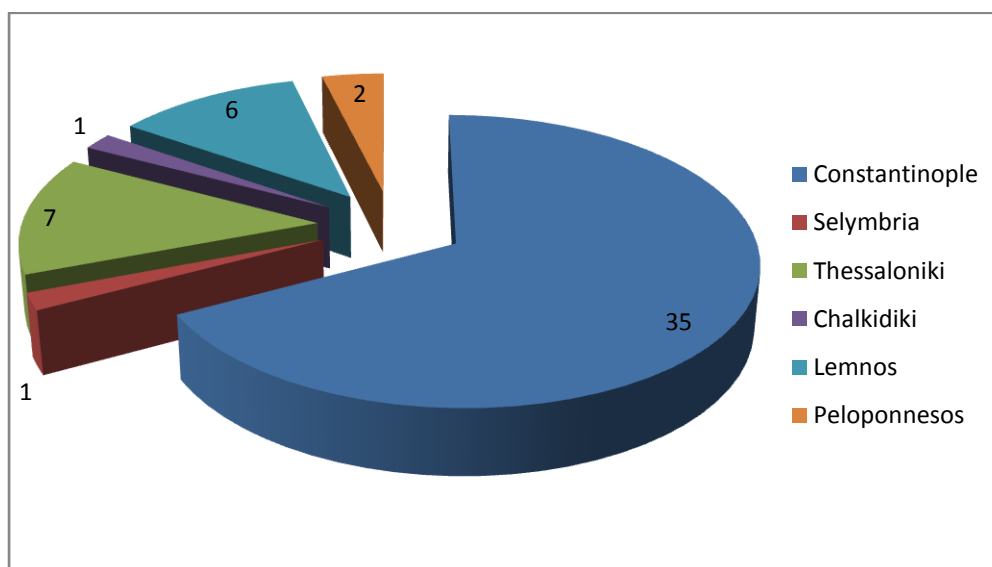


Chart 11: Activities of 59 *oikeioi*, distributed among towns, 1391-1453

¹²⁸PLP 25086 and PLP 30765. The third *apographeus* was a certain Konstantinos, PLP 14177, who was attested as *orphanotrophos* in 1342.

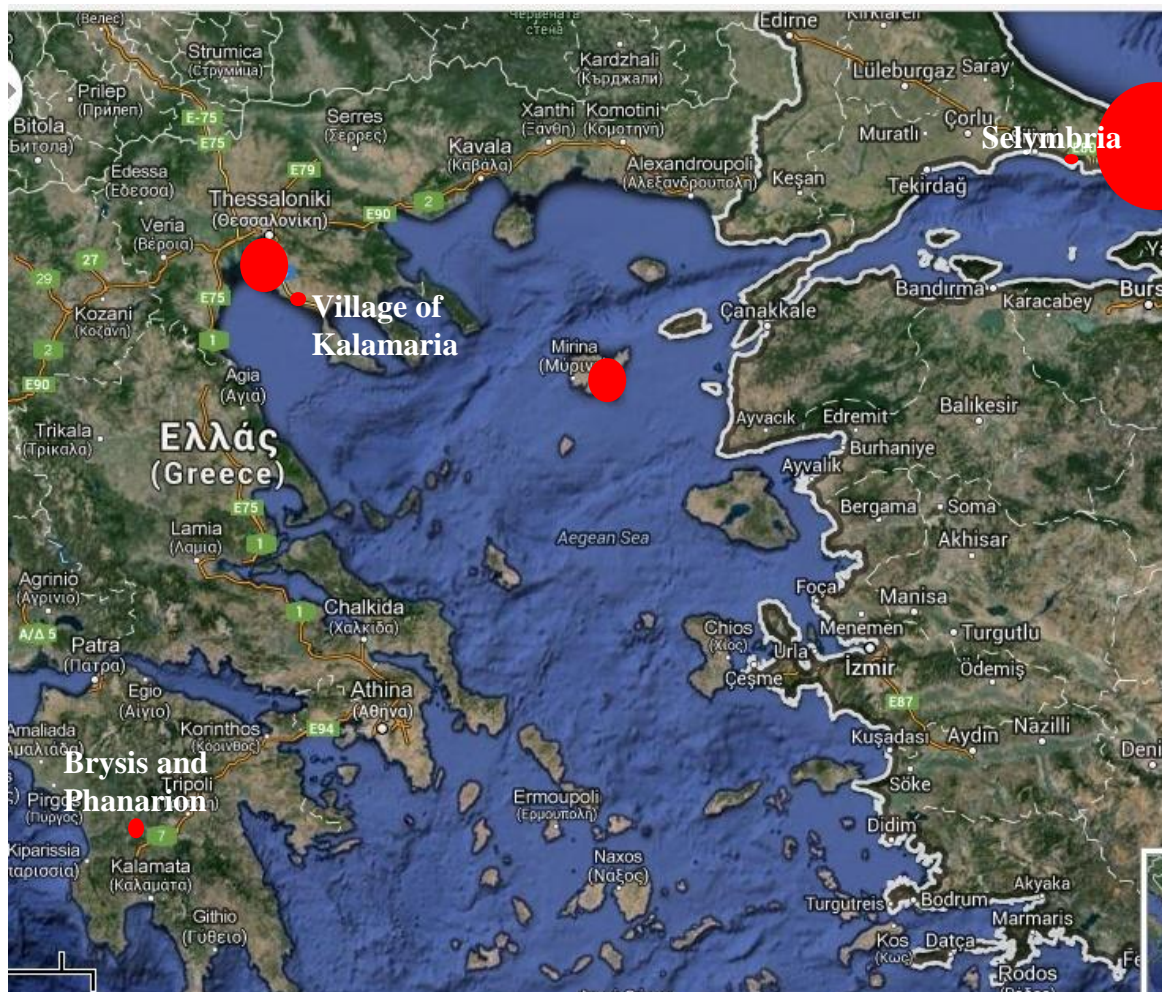


Chart 12: Activities of 59 *oikeioi*, 1391-1453

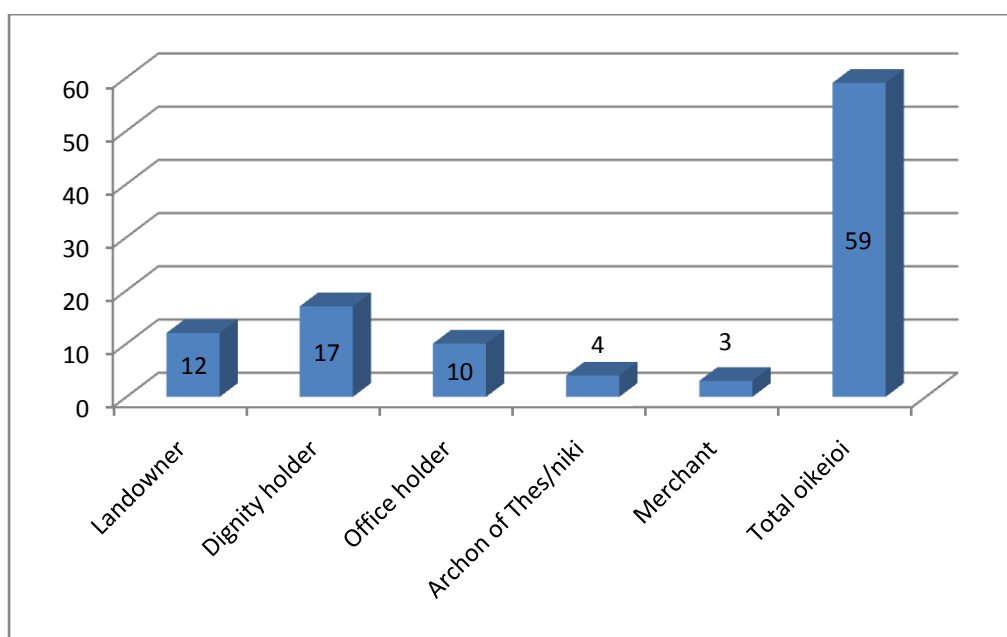


Chart 13: Occupational activities of 59 *oikioi*, 1391-1453

After 1390s *oikeioi* who were attested in the sources concentrated mainly in Constantinople, with occasional remarks for other places.

Selymbria: Leontares Bryennios, PLP 14669, was recorded as the governor of the town in 1399.

Chalkidiki: Radosthlabos Sampias, PLP 24781, was attested to have had estates in the village of Kalamaria in the peninsula in 1405.

Lemnos: Manuel Eskammatismenos, PLP 6145, was recorded as governor of the island in 1394. Alexios Iagupes, PLP 7819, was fiscal officer of the island in 1396. Antonios Kalothetos, PLP 10603, was fiscal officer for the years 1406 and 1407.

Thessaloniki: Four *archontes* of the town were recorded as *oikeioi* in the same year, in 1421.¹²⁹

As for the other three references: Abovementioned Radosthlabos was attested in 1405/1406 to have owned houses in the town, abovementioned Eskammatismenos was recorded in the sources as governor of the town between 1409 and 1414, and Demetrios Chrysoloras, PLP 31156, was *mesazon* of John VII in Thessaloniki between 1403 and 1408.

Peloponnesos: Brothers Andronikos and Demetrios Gemistos (PLP 3629 and 3632) are attested as governors of, respectively, Brysis and Phanarion in Morea between 1433 and 1450.¹³⁰

Constantinople: Nearly all property owners (eleven out of twelve), and all of the merchants (three)¹³¹ in this time (1391-1453) are attested to have been based in the City. Dignitaries, including senators, were also attested to have concentrated in the City (twelve out of seventeen).

¹²⁹ PLP numbers: 7822, 17978, 23747, 29382

¹³⁰ For a short reference to their governorships see p. 26 above

¹³¹ Ioannes Sophianos, PLP 26406, in 1400-1401; Ioannes Gudeles, PLP 4337, in 1401-1407; and Nikolaos Notaras, PLP 20733, from 1390 were all attested in the sources as having involved in long distance trade.

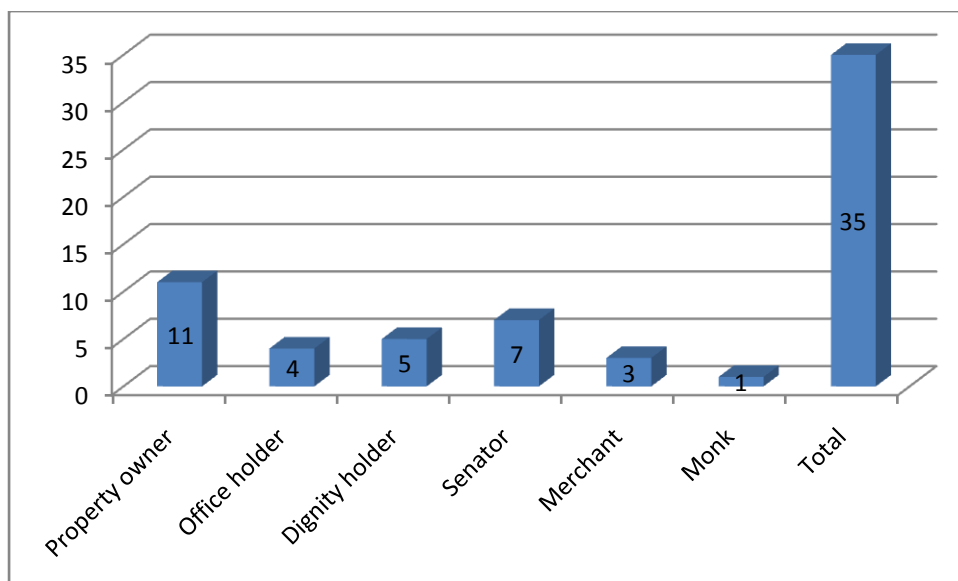


Chart 14: Occupational activities of 35 *oikeioi* who had connections to the City, 1391-1453
Constantinople-based and provincial *oikeioi*

In the following pages the involvement of the *oikeioi* in the central and provincial administration will be analyzed. If the initial assumption regarding the significance of the *oikeioi* holds true, then it is supposed that they constituted a sizable majority of the Constantinopolitan and provincial administration along with the members of the high aristocracy.

Before looking at the exact chronological distribution of the *oikeioi* over the Palaiologan period it is important to explain the principle along which they are classified in this study. Those who are described in the PLP as *oikeios* in Constantinople, or holding a court title, or exercising a City based office are termed, in this thesis, as “Constantinople-based *oikeioi*”, and those who do not fulfil either of these three criteria are called “Provincial *oikeioi*”. This terminology applied might be inadequate and/or misleading in some details, yet in terms of classification it seems, for this study, that it serves its purpose.

The information used on the following pages is derived from the PLP only, which obtained the data from a diligent research on the available primary and secondary sources of documentary and literary nature; therefore this chapter contains all the possible shortcomings. Moreover a significant caveat for this chapter is that all the information on the following pages should be understood as “in so far as the available primary sources permit” and not as the exact and definite information.

However deceptive it might be, a look at the chronological distribution of the known *oikeioi* is useful. The chart below shows that, in effect, the number of *oikeioi* was fairly evenly distributed throughout the Palaiologan period and the distribution is analogous to the duration of a given emperor’s rule. For a couple of reasons, nonetheless, only 185 *oikeioi* were included in the calculation and 16 *oikeioi* were excluded:¹³² the main reasons for this are; a) some of the *oikeioi* were described in the PLP as being *oikeios* of the Serbian rulers, or of certain Byzantine individuals of high aristocratic status, rather than of the emperor, and b) it is not possible for some *oikeioi* to assign an exact year. Although for John VIII, who ruled 23 years, only 5 *oikeioi* are attested it does not mean that there were no other *oikeioi* during his reign. There must have been many who were *oikeioi* in the reign of Manuel II and continued to be *oikeioi* in the reign of John VIII. *Oikeioi* listed in the chart below are classified by the date, when they are first attested in the documents as *oikeios*; if the exact year is not known, the year they assumed a title or an administrative office.

¹³²16 excluded *oikeioi* are chronologically listed (with their respective PLP numbers) as follows: 29458, 3636, 16063, 10865, 10338, 23447, 29271, 26653, 93861, 22236, 27482, 10022, 14522, 94304, 7390, 94566.

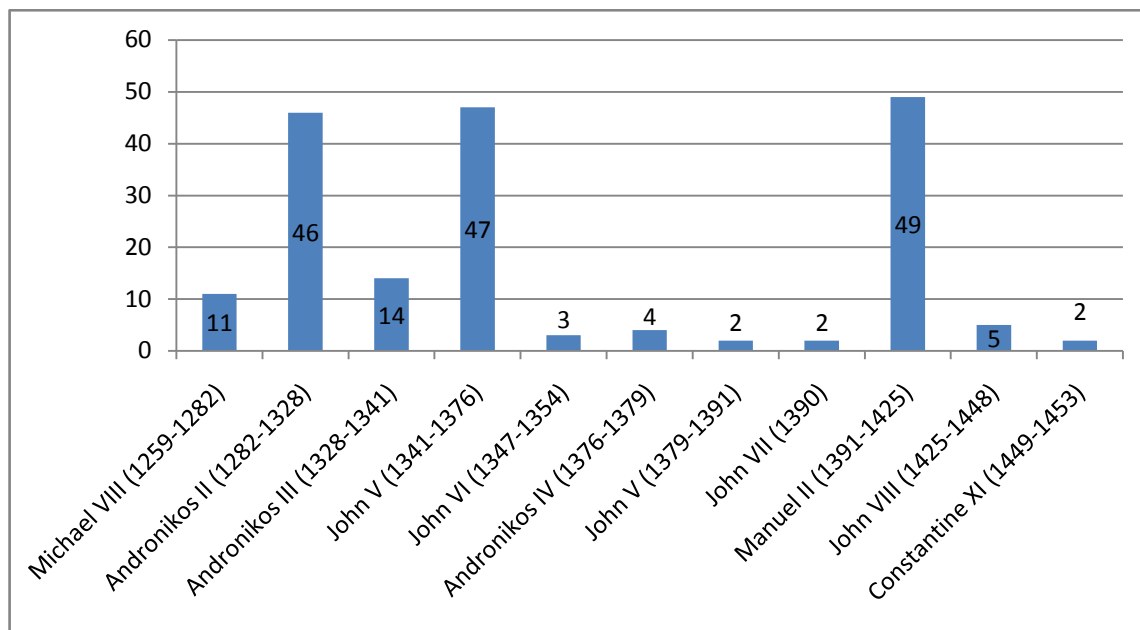


Chart 15: Chronological Distribution of *oikeioi*

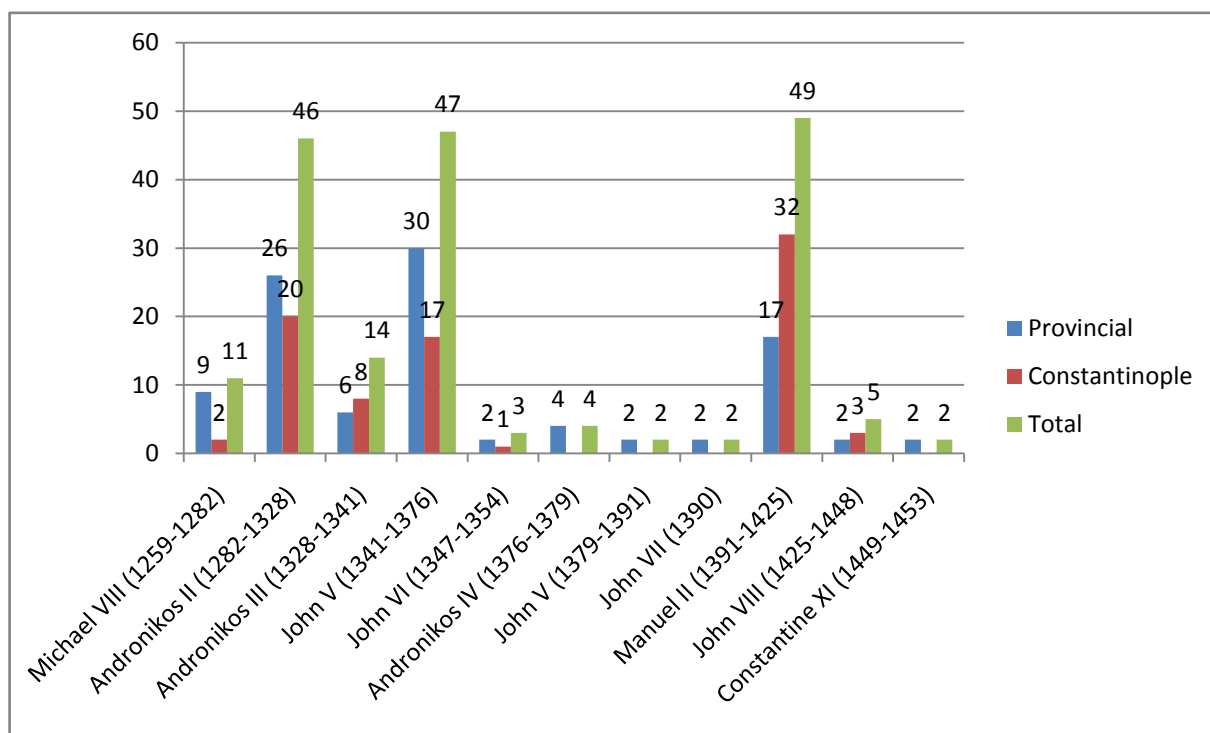


Chart 16: Chronological Distribution of *oikeioi*

Constantinople-based *oikeioi*

There is a total of 54 individuals who appear in the PLP as being *oikeioi* the City; with or without occupying a certain administrative office (whether with the capacity of being an *oikeios* or before assuming this appellation cannot always be precisely discerned). If we take the year 1354 as a dividing line¹³³ (the abdication of the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos) in the Palaiologan era, then there appear 14 *oikeioi* before that year (in a period of 93 years) and 40 of them until the fall of the City to the Turks (in 99 years). At first glance these numbers alone do not speak for their significant involvement in the central administration, since, for example, Kyritses has estimated that the available number of court offices, at least for the earlier Palaiologan period, might have been, at any given time, around 70, or a little more.¹³⁴ Nevertheless in cases where the PLP fails to localize the *oikeioi*, we can deduct from the titles they held and offices they exercised that some *oikeioi* must also have been stationed in Constantinople at some point in their lives. Even if they did not stay personally in the City, since they had a hierarchical court title they might also be regarded as Constantinople-based. Although it is not possible to assume that the court titles in an appendix to the *Hexabiblos*,¹³⁵ in all cases indicate an actual administrative office in the City or at the court (presumably quite often they reflected an honorary title without signifying an actual duty in the City), the number of the Constantinople-based *oikeioi* who, at different times, stayed in or visited the City by virtue of court titles they held rises to 86 individuals. Therefore it can be argued that out of the 191 *oikeioi* that PLP lists¹³⁶, 86 were Constantinople-based, with certain reservations (42 of them between the years 1261 to

¹³³ Nicol, M. D. "A. D. 1354 – annus fatalis for the Byzantine empire", in W. Seibt, ed. *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienna, 1996: pp. 163–9; Nicol calls this year "*annus fatalis* for the Byzantine Empire" and asserts that "The year 1354 conveniently and tragically divided that era [i.e. of Palaiologan]" because of certain fateful events that led up to the demise of the empire.

¹³⁴ Kyritses, *Byzantine Aristocracy*: p. 212

¹³⁵ *Pseudo-Kodinos*, pp. 300–2

¹³⁶ The PLP lists a total of 201 *oikeioi*, yet 14 of them were affiliated to a Serbian ruler or a Byzantine aristocrat; therefore they are not included in the calculation.

1354, and the remaining 44 between 1354 and 1453, and these 86 Constantinople-based *oikeioi* amount to 46% of our total sample of the *oikeioi* list).¹³⁷ The rest of the list can be regarded as provincial *oikeioi* since the extant documents do not allow to determine their court titles even if they held one: the provincial *oikeioi* group thus comprises a total of 101 individuals, equalling 54%.¹³⁸ 14 *oikeioi* that the PLP lists are excluded from the calculations because the PLP notes that these were affiliated to either Serbian rulers, or Byzantine aristocrats; but not to the emperors.

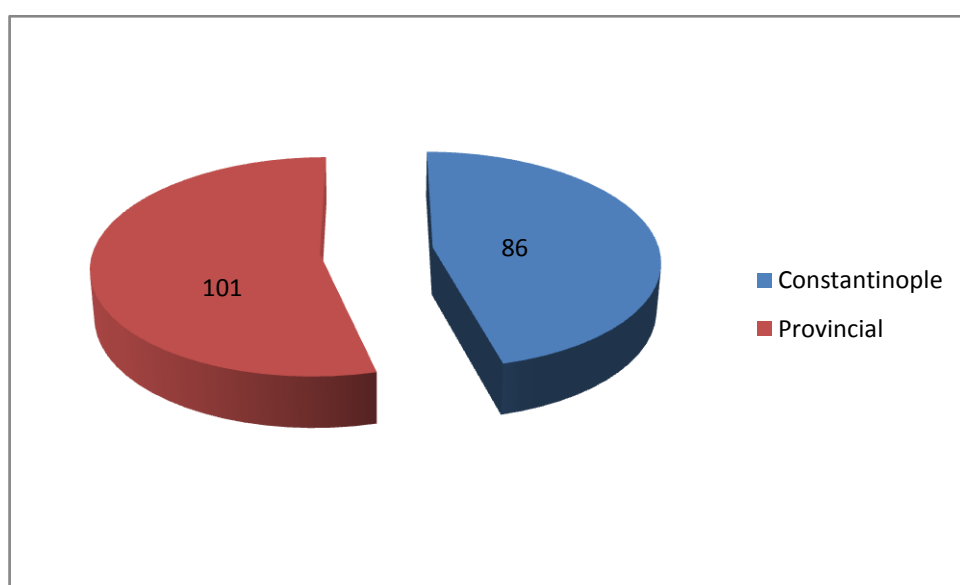


Chart 17: Constantinople-based and provincial *oikeioi*

¹³⁷ See Appendix 1

¹³⁸ See Appendix 2

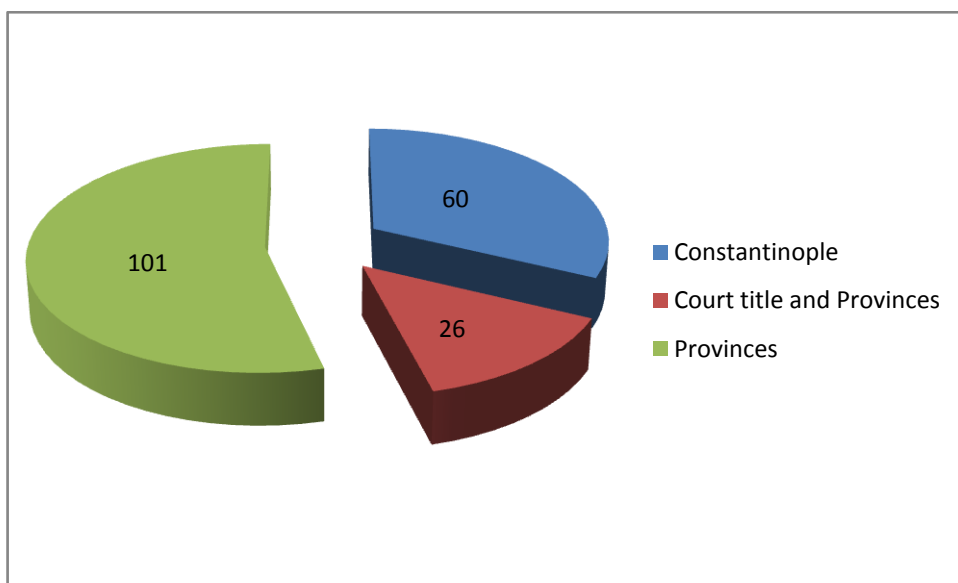


Chart 18: Sub-division of Constantinople-based *oikeioi*

Out of 86 Constantinople-based *oikeioi*, for 60 the PLP does not indicate any connection to other places; yet 26 individuals also had connections, either by virtue of being a governor, or a *pronoiaros*, or of having landed property, to the provinces. The chart below illustrates their connections to these other localities. An important detail here is that at least five *oikeioi* who bore court titles had connections to more than one province: two of them had connections to both Thessaloniki and Macedonia,¹³⁹ three had connections to both Macedonia and Thrace.¹⁴⁰ Therefore the chart below illustrates a total of 91 connections.

¹³⁹ Alexios Tzemplakon, PLP 27748, was governor of Serrhai-Macedonia and landowner in Thessaloniki, and Michael Senachereim Monomachos, PLP 19306, was governor of Thessaloniki and landowner in Macedonia. Although he was also governor of Thessaly between 1333 and 1342, this province is not included in the chart.

¹⁴⁰ Ioannes Panaretos, PLP 21641, was fiscal official in both Thrace and Macedonia; Georgios Strategos, PLP 26902, was fiscal official in both Thrace and Macedonia and landowner in Thrace; and Andronikos Kantakouzenos, PLP 10956, was governor in both Thrace and Macedonia.

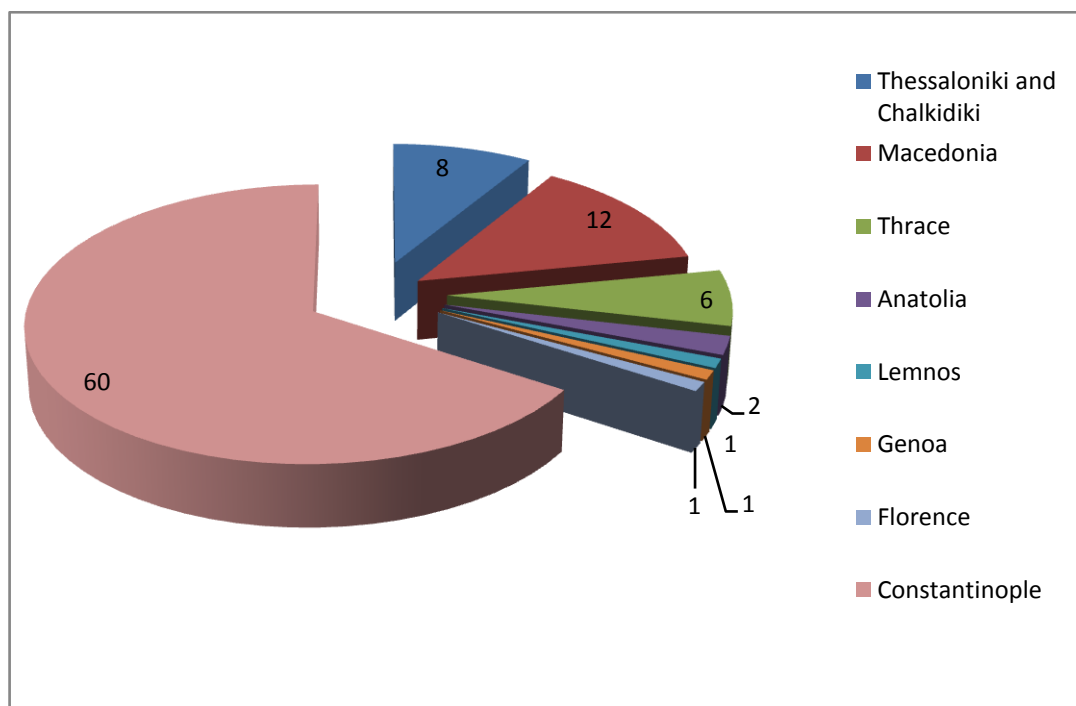


Chart 19: Constantinople-based *oikeioi* who had connections to other localities

Although many *oikeioi* were attested in sources holding titles and offices (available sources nevertheless do not mention a title other than *oikeios* for some of them), it is not always possible to discern whether a particular title denoted an actual office, or they just held it for the sake of an imperial benevolence without exercising an actual administrative duty, or (maybe the most commonly) they were active in the imperial administration but the titles they had did not always correspond to the particular nature of their tasks (i.e. administrators or ambassadors were rewarded with certain titles due to their fulfilment of various official tasks). Nevertheless the inseparable link between the quality of *oikeios* and so-called imperial oath suggests that *oikeios* were chosen, potentially, for actual administrative and/or military service for the emperor.¹⁴¹

Yet it seems that the most important issue for aspirants in relation to the imperial administration was not acquiring an actual administrative post, but obtaining a court title

¹⁴¹Levi, "Cinque Lettere", p. 65

that enabled them to enter the official hierarchy and obtain the privileges (not least in dress) that came with it.¹⁴² People often sought after a higher title and vied for it. State affairs could have been assigned to any of those who had an appropriate court title or of those who were relatives of the dynasty. The “Sphrantzes affair” best illustrates this; he looked after and requested from the emperor a higher court title and not an increase in his administrative duty.¹⁴³

It can be assumed that there were three basic levels in the Palaiologan imperial administration. First court titles, the existence and hierarchy of which is discerned from the treatise known as Pseudo-Kodinos and contemporary history books; second the quality of *oikeios*, which seems to have been independent of the court titles since some of the *oikeioi* did not have a court title; and third active administrative posts, such as governor, tax assessor, military commander and ambassador.

One person who was closely associated with the ruling emperor might be assigned more than one administrative duty.¹⁴⁴ Yet again, as is seen in the case study of Sphrantzes in the Conclusion, Sphrantzes served as a soldier fighting side by side with the future emperor Constantine, then he was appointed governor of Patras in Morea, and he was sent a couple of times as an ambassador to the Ottoman sultan, to Trebizond and to Georgia. Yet his court title was *protovestiarites*, and he remained so until the fall of the City. Whether or not he was an *oikeios* is debatable, but most probably he was.

¹⁴² See Parani, M. G., “Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007): p. 95, Parani argues that in the Late Byzantine administration “[c]eremonial costume is principally rhetorical in function, serving as a vehicle for the symbolic expression of the moral, religious and political values of social groups [which were basically defined by their holding of certain court dignities]. Within the framework of pre-modern, hierarchical states in particular, the ceremonial costume of the members of the ruling class came to be the visual manifestation of their status”, and she further states, in Parani “Cultural Identity”, p. 122, that “[c]ourt ritual was of paramount importance [...] because it heightened the participants’ sense of belonging to an inner circle of power with the emperor at its centre and provided the framework of imperial munificence manifested in the grant of titles, privileges, and money”.

¹⁴³ See Conclusion for details

¹⁴⁴ See Conclusion for details

Demetrios Kabasilas, an *oikeios*, had a court title, *megas papias*, and he was a military commander who supported emperor John VI Kantakouzenos during the civil war. Although he possessed a court title there was no evidence that he happened to be in Constantinople and assumed an office, rather he was a landowner, a *pronoiaros*, and native of Thessaloniki.¹⁴⁵

Not all the *oikeioi* had a court title. A good example is George Gemistos who was referred to as an *oikeios* in an *argyroboullos logos* issued in November 1427¹⁴⁶ and in a *chrysoboullos logos* issued in October 1428,¹⁴⁷ yet apart from being defined as *kyr* he apparently did not have a court title. However he was appointed governor of two towns in Morea, and was granted the area, with hereditary rights, in condition of service.¹⁴⁸ In another chrysobull that was issued in 1449 he was still referred to as an *oikeios* without a court title. Further in two documents, issued in 1427 and 1428, his sons, Demetrios and Andronikos, were only referred to as *kyr* and not *oikeios*. But later they both acquired the appellation of *oikeios*.¹⁴⁹ This demonstrates that some *oikeioi* were entrusted with significant administrative duties although they did not hold a court title. Moreover this example illustrates the family connections of the *oikeioi*; sons followed their father.

Kiousopoulou in her book has divided the court officials, according to their respective functions, into three classes: The first group is “connected with the functioning of the state” and it includes *mesazon*, *megas stratopedarches*, *megas logothetes*, *megas domestikos*, *megas doux*, *megas konostaulos*, *diermeneutes*, *apokrisiarioi*, and *logariastes tes aules*. The second group is about “the functioning of the imperial institutions or [about] court ceremonial”

¹⁴⁵ See page 31

¹⁴⁶ MM V3, p. 173

¹⁴⁷ MM V3, p. 174

¹⁴⁸ Bartusis, M. C. *Land and Privilege*, p. 428: Bartusis argues that “the service obligation appears [in the documents] whenever the entirety of a grant was made hereditary”, although there were exceptions to it. Bartusis further comments that “[a] man who received hereditary rights over his entire grant [...] might think that he now held the grant free of all obligation. The service clause made sure he did not feel this way”.

¹⁴⁹ MM V3, p 225

and it includes *protostrator*, *protovestiarites*, *megas primmikerios* and *megas heteriarches*. Third and the last group consists of “dignities having to do with personal services to the emperor” and they might include *epi tou kanikleiou*, *protovestiaris* and *epi tes trapezes*.¹⁵⁰

The most important office that a Constantinopolitan *oikeios* might expect to hold was that of *mesazon*, and it was held by Georgios Goudeles in, probably, 1386. In the official documents, in 1400 and in 1423, he was always referred to as *oikeios* in contrast to other high aristocrats, one of whom from his own family and one from the imperial dynasty, who did not have that appellation.¹⁵¹ The families of Goudeles and Notaras were primarily of mercantile origin, and based their career on international trade opportunities on the one hand and the emperors’ needs for intermediaries to secure foreign loans and western political aid on the other hand. Therefore their rise to power symbolises both the weakness of the empire and triumph of the mercantile aristocracy¹⁵² in the last analysis. In this vein Kiousopoulou states that “Goudeles’ role in the commercial ventures of John VII no doubt explains his designation as the emperor’s *oikeios*”.¹⁵³

Another important office was that of *epi ton deeseon* (ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων) and Georgios Chatzikes held the office between 1321 and 1325. Morris states that this office maintained “frequent and intimate contact with the emperor” and “the emperor required [him] to be always close at hand”, because the holder of this office always accompanied the emperor during ceremonies and campaigns and he was the person through whom and whose office petitions were processed. This physical closeness, first of all, entails that he has to be one of the most trusted officials of the emperor and he must be capable enough to execute the

¹⁵⁰Kiousopoulou, *Emperor or Manager*, p. 82

¹⁵¹ MM II, p. 361-366, 546-549; MM III, p. 172

¹⁵² See, for instance, Harris, J. “Constantinople as City-State, c.1360-1453”, in J. Harris, C. Holmes and E. Russell eds. *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, Oxford, 2012: pp. 121-130; Kiousopoulou, *Emperor or Manager*, pp. 32, 34-38; Matschke, K.-P., “The Notaras Family and Its Italian Connection”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 59-72

¹⁵³ Kiousopoulou, *Emperor or Manager*, p. 35

emperor's orders in relation to the petitions. Morris has also observed that the post had been held previously, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, by the members of very prominent families, like those of Choirosphaktes, Taronites, Komnenos and Skleros.¹⁵⁴ A certain Constantine Choirosphaktes who was *epi ton deeseon* in 1088 was also an *oikeios anthropos* (οἰκείου ἀνθρώπου τῆς βασιλείας μου) of Alexios I Komnenos.¹⁵⁵

Some members of the *oikeioi* can be argued to have assumed military duties and held the titles of *megas hetaireiarches*¹⁵⁶ (four *oikeioi*), *megas papias*¹⁵⁷ (two *oikeioi*), *megas stratopedarches*¹⁵⁸ (two *oikeioi*), *stratopedarches* (one *oikeios*), *megas konostaulos*¹⁵⁹ (one *oikeios*), and *megas chartoularios*¹⁶⁰ (one *oikeios*), and *stratopedarches ton monokaballon* (one *oikeios*)¹⁶¹. Thus in total 12 individuals appear in the documents as holding these seven titles and they amount to 14% of the Constantinopolitan *oikeioi*. It is possible that not all these individuals were actually involved in battles but for the sake of classification they might be regarded as *oikeioi* of military nature, as Kyritses¹⁶² argues in his dissertation that these titles had a predominantly military nature.

¹⁵⁴Morris, R. "What did the *epi ton deeseon* actually do?" in D. Feissel and J. Gascou, eds., *La petition à Byzance*, Paris, 2004: pp. 131-132, also see Macrides, R. "The Ritual of Petition", in P. Roilos and D. Yatromanolakis, eds., *Greek Ritual Poetics*, Cambridge: Mass. 2004: pp. 356-370.

¹⁵⁵*Byzantina Eggrapha tes Mones Patmou*, V1, E. Vranoussi ed., Athens, 1980: p. 60

¹⁵⁶According to the appendix to *Hexabiblos* this title comes 27 in court hierarchy. The aforementioned titles holders are: PLP 5537, PLP 24901, PLP 29759 and PLP 25282

¹⁵⁷ Although this is not originally a military title it is included in the military category following Kyritses' list of titles in his dissertation (See footnote 120 below). This title comes 24 in hierarchy. Title holders are: PLP 27748 and PLP 92224

¹⁵⁸This title comes 10 in hierarchy: Title holders are: PLP 7811 and PLP 17980

¹⁵⁹This title comes 12 in hierarchy, and the holder of this title is PLP 19306

¹⁶⁰This title comes 30 in hierarchy, and the title holder is PLP 10956

¹⁶¹ This title comes 65 in hierarchy, and the title holder is PLP 30953

¹⁶² Kyritses, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 395-408

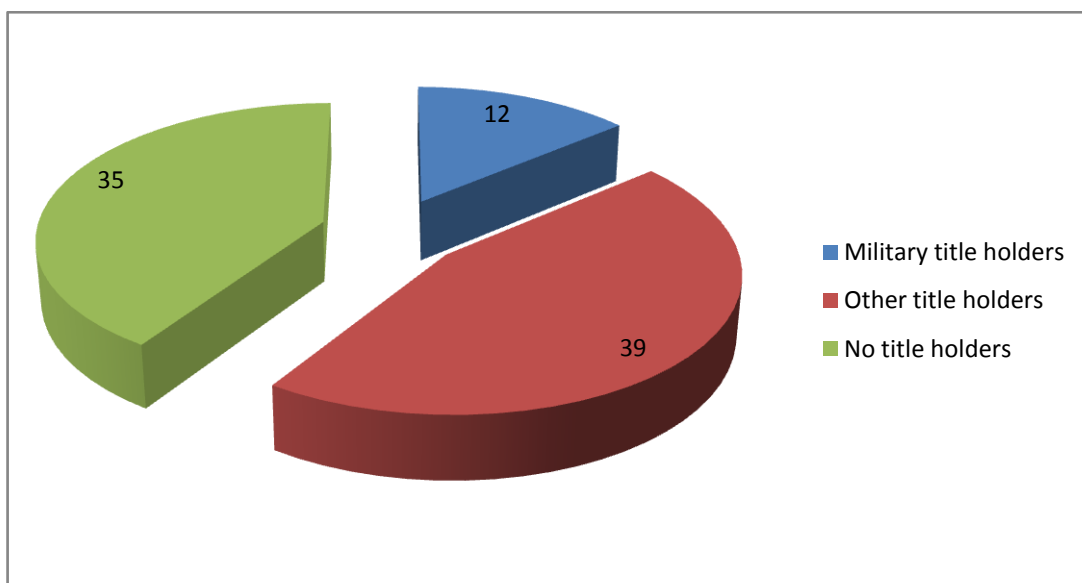


Chart 20: Court titles held by Constantinople-based *oikeioi*

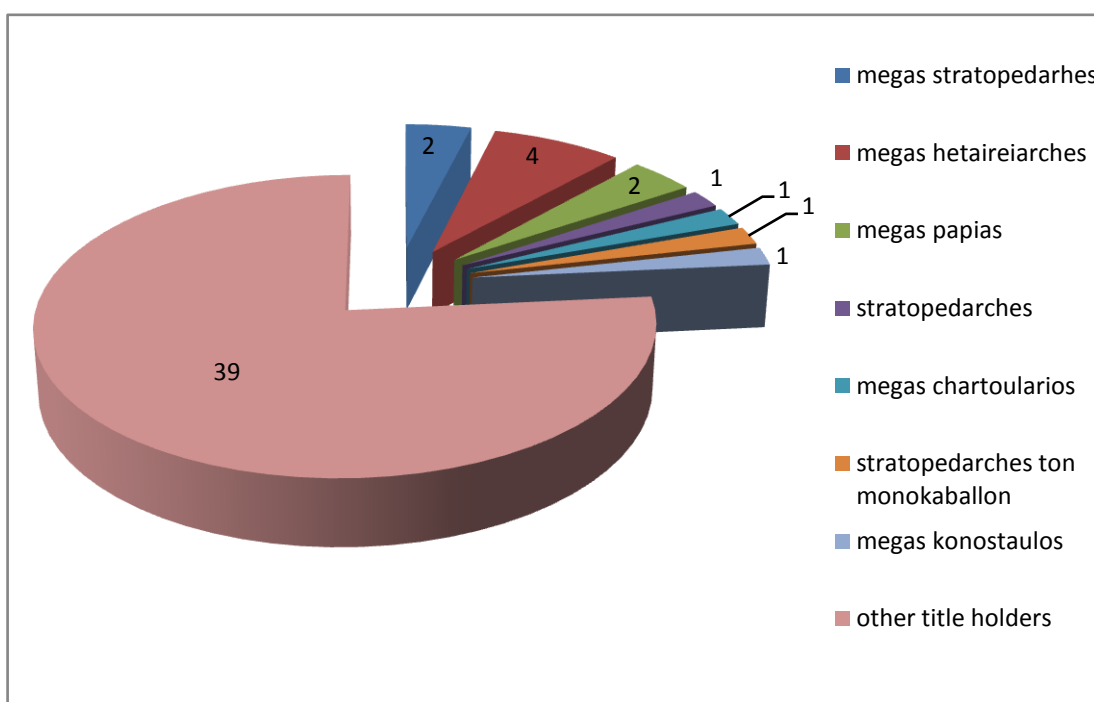


Chart 21: Sub-division of the military court titles held by Constantinople-based *oikeioi*

Apart from the titles some *oikeioi* had concrete administrative offices; for instance as a governor (κεφαλή) or as a fiscal official (ἀπογραφεύς). Out of the 86 individuals two acted as *mesazon*, one as *epi ton deeseon*, one as *eparchos*, eight as fiscal official, eight as governors, three as interpreters, and one as ambassador. Although some of these *oikeioi* had more than

one administrative posts in their career, in terms of clarity only one office they exercised is taken into consideration in the chart below. They amount to 26 individuals and to 30% of the Constantinople-based *oikeioi*. It is interesting to observe here that out of the eight governors, five had court titles of military nature: *megas hetaireiarches*, *megas papias*, *megas stratopedarches*, *megas chartoularios* and *megas konostaulos*. This fact can further support that these court titles were actually of military nature and the holders of these titles were assigned important administrative and military duties. One of the governors (Manuel Sergopoulos, PLP 25210) had a *pronoia* on the island of Proikonesos, in the Marmara Sea, and apparently by virtue of this *pronoia* grant he was appointed governor of the island.¹⁶³ Again it is interesting to note that seven governors are attested only between the years 1315 and 1347: in 1315 Thessaloniki (PLP 19306), in 1320 Thessaloniki (PLP 14549), in 1322 Mosynopolis-Thrace and Serrhai-Macedonia (PLP 10956), in 1326 Strumitza-Macedonia (PLP 17980), in 1326 Serrhai-Macedonia (PLP 27748), in 1346 Lemnos (PLP 29759), in 1347 the island of Proikonesos (island of Μαρμαρᾶς - Marmara) and the last one in 1399 in Selymbria (PLP 25210). Fiscal officials are attested between the years 1312 and 1437; four of them were provincial tax assessors (ἀπογραφεὺς) attested in 1312-1313 (PLP 21641), 1316-1317 (PLP 26902) and 1325-1326 (PLP 27486) in Thrace and Macedonia, one is described as fiscal official without a location between 1319-1324 (PLP 20095), and three were recorded as based in Constantinople in the years 1341 (PLP 22358), 1397-1400 (PLP 16368) and 1437-1438 (PLP 286). These *oikeioi* apparently held civil court titles, such as *hetaireiarches*¹⁶⁴ (PLP 21641), *megas adnoumiastes*¹⁶⁵ (PLP 20095), *domestikos ton dytikon (dysikon) thematon* (δομέστικός τῶν

¹⁶³ See Magdalino, P. "An Unpublished Pronoia Grant of the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century", *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 18 (1978), 155-63; Bartusis, M. C., *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, pp. 419-420; for a general survey of the Palaiologan administration on the islands see Maksimović, L. *Provincial Administration*, pp. 83-88

¹⁶⁴ Rank 82 in court hierarchy

¹⁶⁵ Rank 50 in court hierarchy

δυτικῶν (δυσικῶν) θεμάτων¹⁶⁶, which was held by two *oikeioi*; PLP 27486 and PLP 26902), *tamias ton koinon chrematon* (ταμίας τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων, PLP 22358), and *ektimetes* (ἐκτιμητής, PLP 16368). These last two titles are not listed in the treatise on the court ceremonial, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, yet they might correspond to actual fiscal offices in Constantinople.

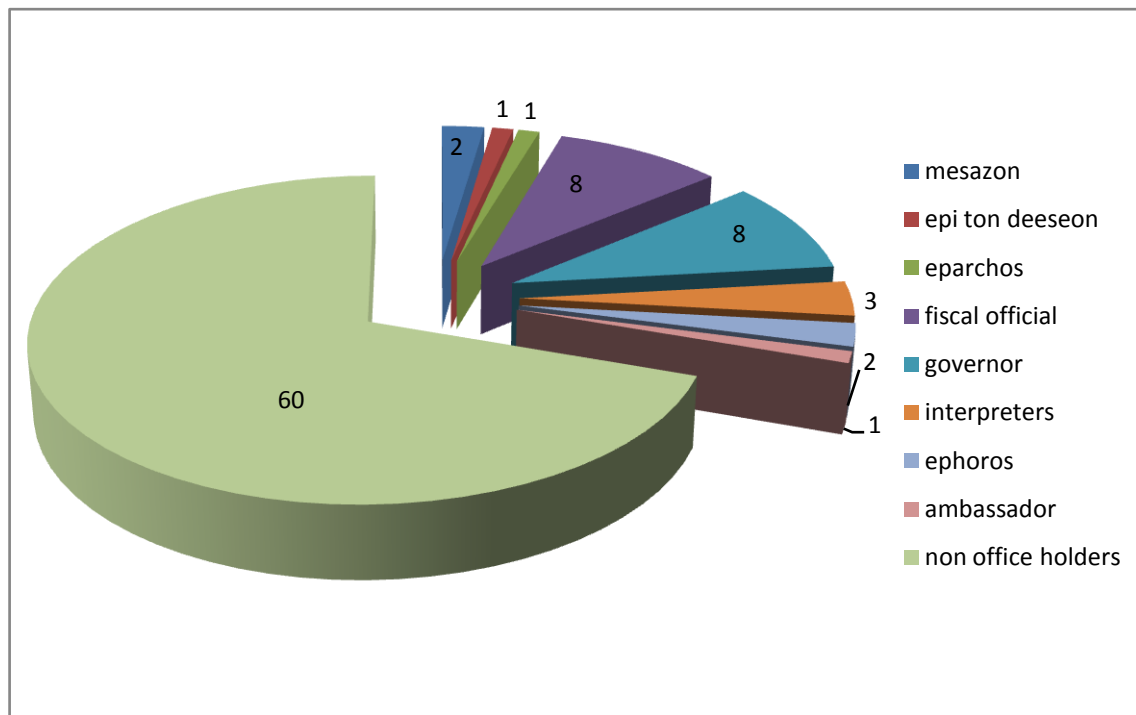


Chart 22: Administrative duties conferred upon Constantinople-based *oikeioi*

As for the means of livelihood, apart from having an administrative office or bearing a court title, twenty four *oikeioi* are recorded as having owned land or houses, and three are recorded as merchants. In total they amount to twenty-seven individuals and comprise 31% of the all the Constantinople-based *oikeioi*.

¹⁶⁶ Rank 75 in court hierarchy

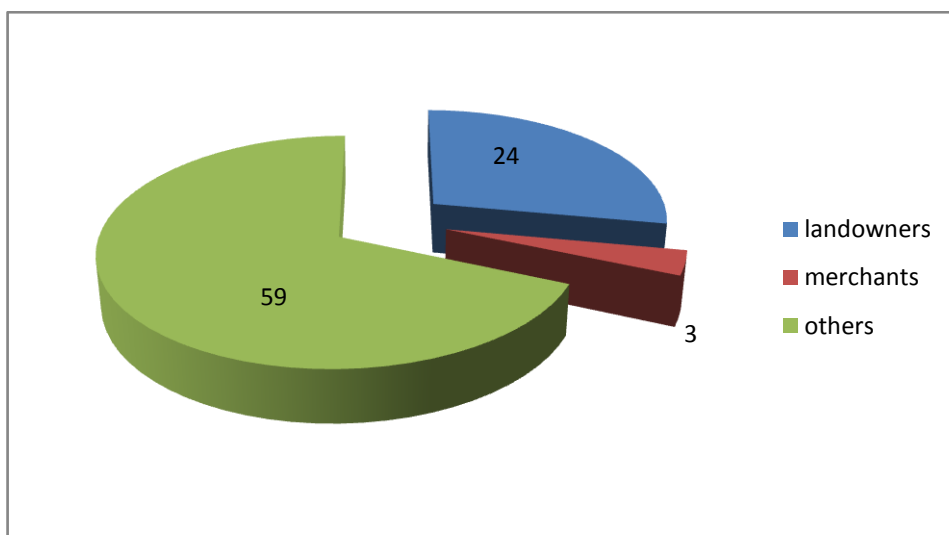


Chart 23: Livelihood options

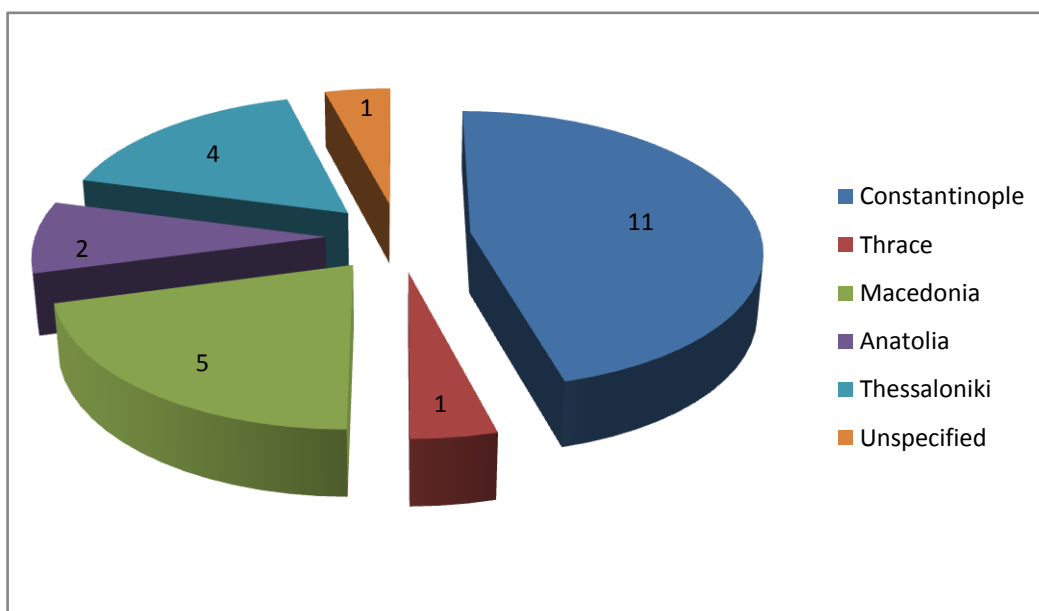


Chart 24: Spatial distribution of properties belonging to the twenty four Constantinople-based *oikeioi*

Landed properties (such as farms, gardens, houses) seem to have concentrated in Constantinople. Patriarchal registers inform that some *oikeioi* seem to have plunged into poverty during the harsh days caused by the siege of the City by the Turks (1394-1402)¹⁶⁷ and they had to sell their properties in the City. For instance an *oikeios* of the emperor

¹⁶⁷ For a recent study on the siege of the City see Necipoğlu, N. *Byzantium*, pp. 149-183

Manuel II, Manuel Palaiologos Raoul, sold his farm (χωράφιον) in Constantinople in October 1399, which was 44 *modioi*, to a monastery for 800 *hyperpyra*, and made preparations to depart the City in order to live in relatively better conditions, apparently, in his estate in a province.¹⁶⁸ Yet again in times of difficulty an *oikeios* of the emperor, Manuel Bouzenos, struck by poverty due to the Turkish siege and blockade of the City, decided to sell some of his houses that constituted part of his wife's dowry.¹⁶⁹

Provincial *oikeioi*

There appear 101 provincial *oikeioi* about which less information is available than Constantinople-based *oikeioi* yield. In the following charts very few facts will emerge and the basic reason for this, as touched upon above, is the lack of documentation; therefore whatever information given below should be treated with utmost care.

Not surprisingly most *oikeioi* are attested in three provinces: Macedonia, Thessaloniki-Chalkidiki, and the island of Lemnos: a total of 55 individuals which amount to 54% of provincial *oikeioi*. This is so because the majority of available documentation comes from the archives of the Athonite monasteries which had estates in those three provinces. Some *oikeioi*, for example, are recorded in those documents because they donated their properties to one of those monasteries, or they received a *pronoia* and this was recorded in a monastic document. So comes the information about that particular *oikeios*; yet if there is no other source there is nothing more to be known about him. For example an *oikeios* Constantine Peplatysmenos, PLP 22389, received a *pronoia* grant in 1261 in Miletos, western Anatolia, and this was recorded by Patmos monastery. This is the only reference to his being an *oikeios*. Similarly, another *oikeios* Theodoros Kalothetos, PLP 10609, donated his estate to the

¹⁶⁸MM V2, p. 304; for details see Bernicolas-Hatzopoulos, D. "The First Siege of Constantinople by the Turks (1394-1402) and Its Repercussions on the Civilian Population of the City", *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 10 (1983): p. 42

¹⁶⁹MM V2, p. 492-493. Manuel Bouzenos, PLP 3018, is not listed in the *oikeioi* by PLP. For details see Bernicolas-Hatzopoulos, D. "The First Siege of Constantinople", p. 46

monastery of Vatopedi before the year 1356, so the monastic document which contains the particulars about this donation mentioned him as being an *oikeios*. The chart below illustrates the provinces/regions that the provincial *oikeioi* were affiliated to.

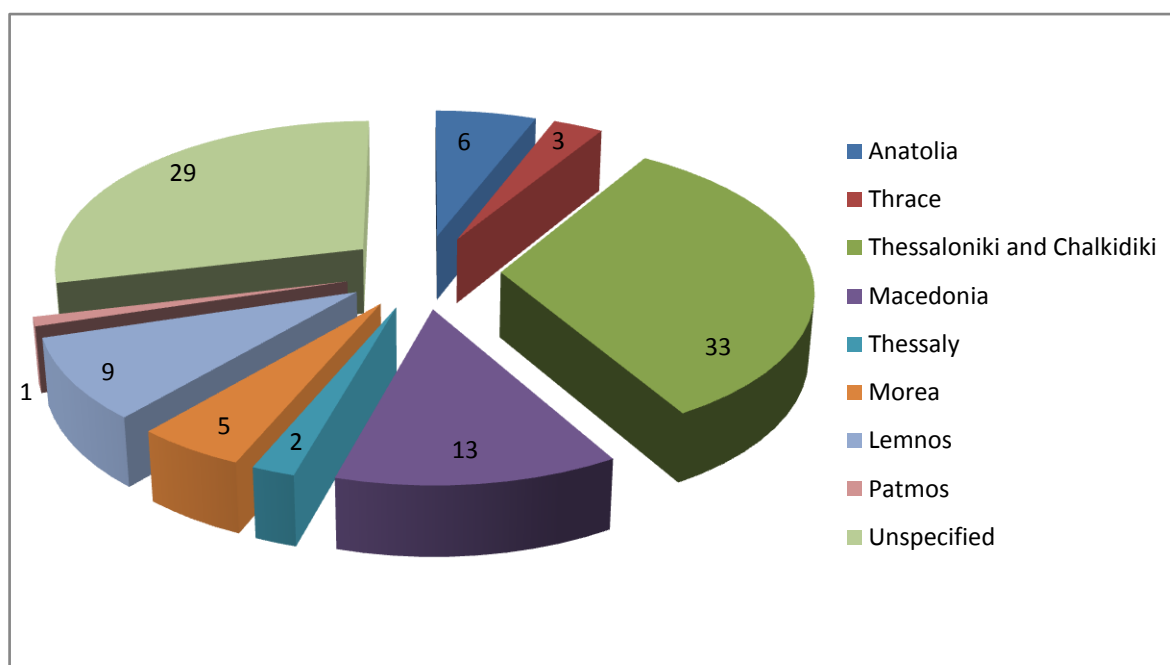


Chart 25: Localities with which provincial *oikeioi* were affiliated, either, mostly, by virtue of having a landed property, or being an administrator

Below is the chart about the landed properties of the Provincial *oikeioi*, and the majority of the estates are located in Thessaloniki-Chalkidiki, Macedonia and Lemnos. A total of 26 *oikeioi* have been recorded as having a landed property in those three provinces; these amount to 77% of all the *oikeioi* who are known to have possessed an estate (a total of 33 *oikeioi*).

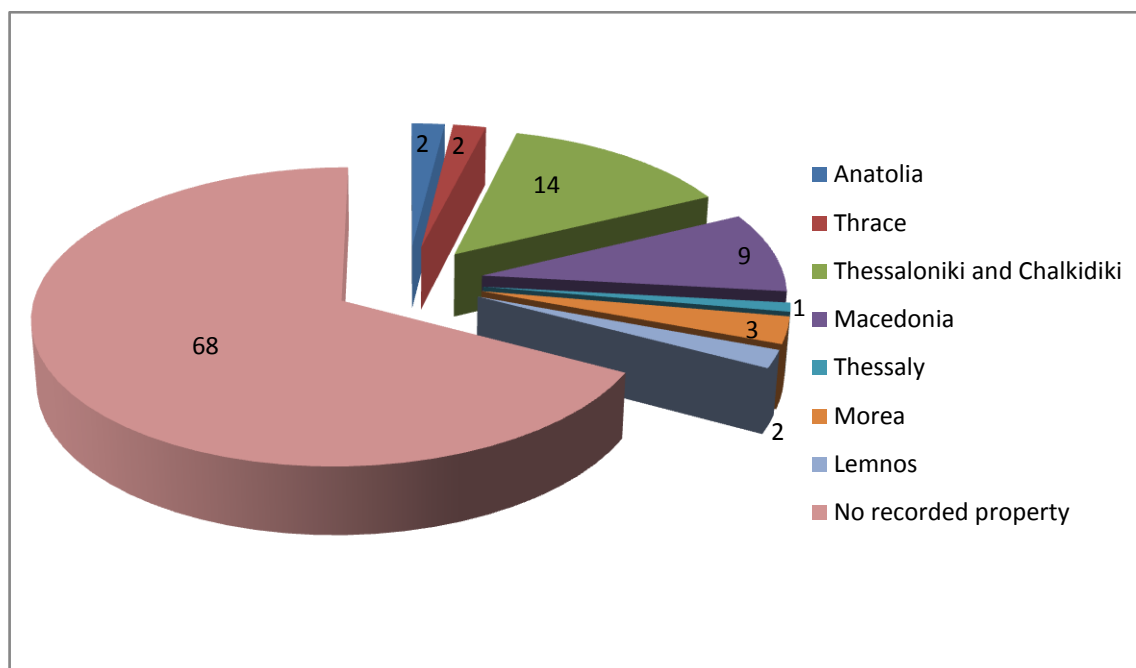


Chart 26: Distribution of landed properties of provincial *oikeioi*

In the documents only a few provincial *oikeioi* seem to have assumed official administrative duties as illustrated below. Nevertheless fiscal officials¹⁷⁰ (eight *oikeioi*) and governors (eight *oikeioi*) comprise the majority of the administrative offices. They amount to 53% of all the *oikeioi* who are recorded as having an administrative post (a total of 30 individuals). In this case, however, governors did not have high court titles of military nature. These eight governors were recorded in 1294 (Mosynopolis-Thrace, PLP 6560), 1303 (Lemnos, PLP 28160), 1319 (Lemnos, PLP 21292), 1345 (Thessaloniki, PLP 21425), 1375 (Serrhai-Macedonia, PLP 27502), 1394 (Lemnos)¹⁷¹, and 1433 (Morea, PLP 3629 and PLP 3632) in the sources. Fiscal officials are attested in the years 1261 in Anatolia (PLP 27213), one official without a place and year (PLP 28160, this person was also governor of Lemnos, therefore he might have been stationed in Lemnos as well for his fiscal office), in 1317 Thessaloniki (PLP 13477), in

¹⁷⁰ Oikonomides states that “[the] process of surveying (*anagraphe/apographe*) could be an exceptionally profitable activity for those engaged in it, and as a result of it often came into the hands of high officials in the provincial administration”, see Oikonomides, N. “The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy” in ed. in chief A. E. Laiou *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* Washington:D.C., 2002: p. 1027

¹⁷¹ This governor was Manuel Eskammatismenos, PLP 91872; being governor of Lemnos in 1394 he was later appointed governor to Thessaloniki in 1409 as well

1320 (PLP 11711, no place name is mentioned), in 1368 Lemnos(PLP 25086), 1387 in Lemnos (PLP 30765), 1396 Lemnos (PLP 7819) and 1406 in Lemnos (PLP 10603). Athos monasteries acquired properties in the island of Lemnos, therefore more information about this island is known in contrast to other places. Although *archon* is not an administrative office, *archontes* of Thessaloniki¹⁷² are on purpose included in the chart below because of their importance in the political life of the late empire.

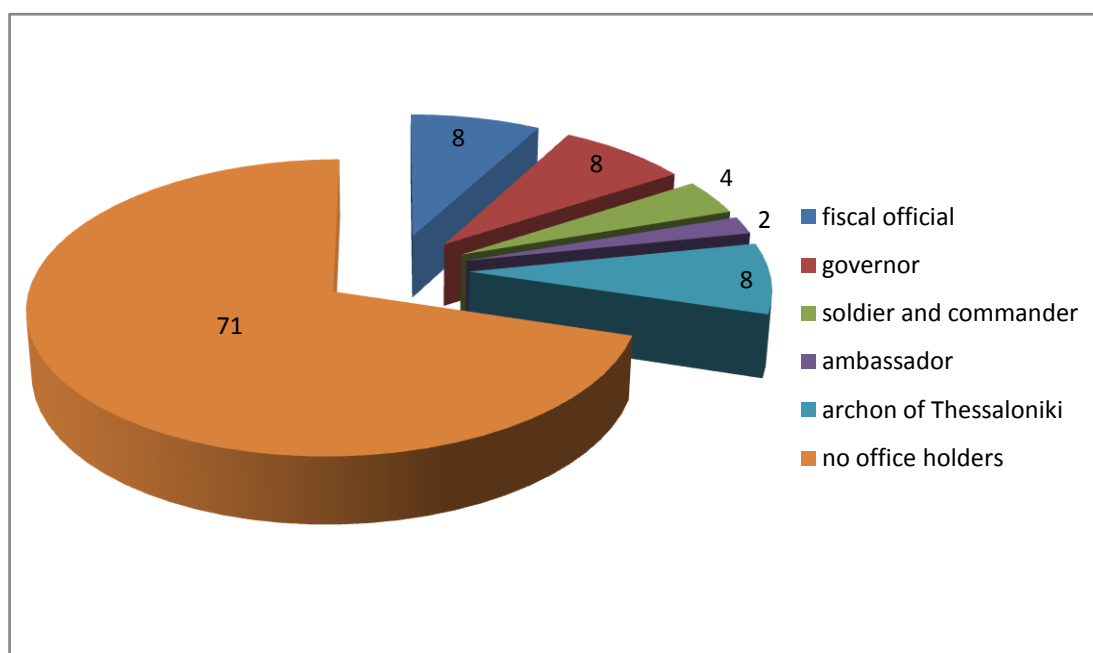


Chart 27: Administrative offices that provincial *oikeioi* exercised

Since the definition of the provincial *oikeioi* is those who did not have court dignities, there appears either no title for the majority of the provincial *oikeioi* (76 individuals who amount to 75%) or less important titles (apart from the *archontes* of Thessaloniki, 8 of whom are included in the sample here, who amount to 32% of all the title bearer *oikeioi*, a total of 25 individuals). The most frequently recorded title is *pansebastos sebastos*¹⁷³, which is attested for 13 *oikeioi* who amount to 52% of the 25 *oikeioi* bearing a title. Only four of these

¹⁷² For a recent study on the *archontes* of Thessaloniki see Necipoğlu, N., *Byzantium*, pp. 77-83

¹⁷³ The Appendix to *Hexabiblos* includes dignities of *sebastokrator* (2nd in hierarchy), *panhypersebastos* (4th in hierarchy), and *sebastos* (88th in hierarchy), but not that of *pansebastos sebastos*. See *Pseudo-Kodinos*, pp. 300-302

pansebastoi Sebastoi are attested in the documents as exercising an administrative office: one was both a governor and fiscal officer (PLP 28160), another one a fiscal officer (PLP 13477), the third a soldier (PLP 17201), and the fourth an ambassador (PLP 27218). The remaining nine *pansebastoi Sebastoi* appear to have assumed no military or administrative duty.

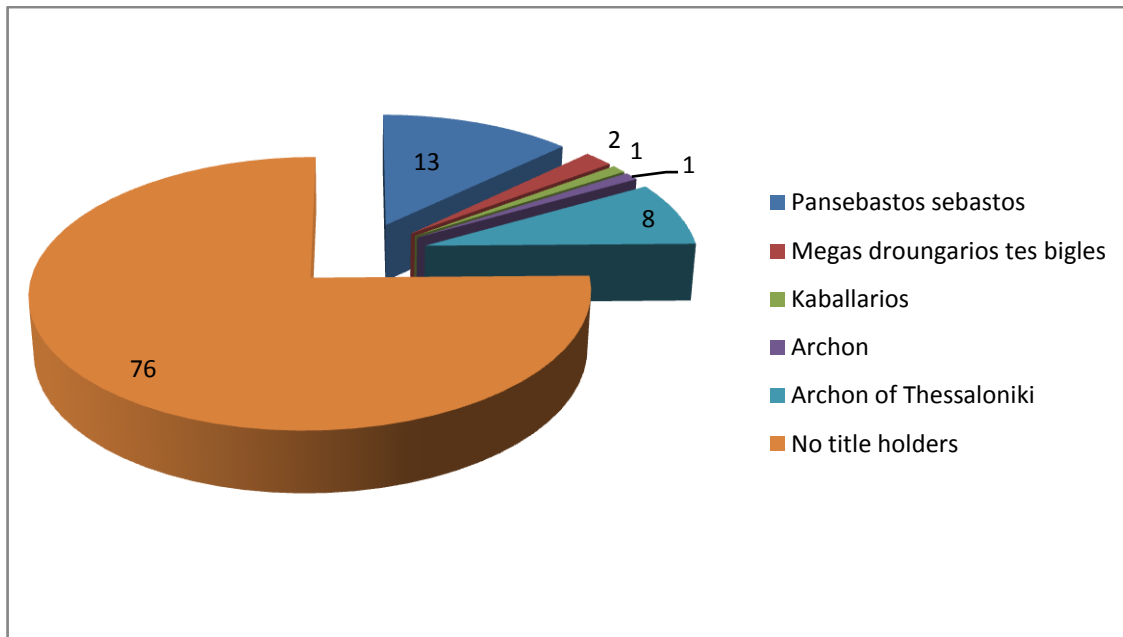


Chart 28: Title holder provincial *oikeioi*

CONCLUSION

Oikeios seems to have been a quality; whoever acquired it was seen as a potential candidate for actual official duties for the empire. Available sources permit us only to have a vague glimpse of their functions in society. They were governors, fiscal officials, land owners, merchants, soldiers, ambassadors; yet one of the common features for them is their appellation in the documentary sources: In chrysobulls they were always referred to as ὁ οἰκεῖος τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου (the trusted man of my majesty), and in the patriarchal registers and monastic *praktika* as ὁ οἰκεῖος τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ μου αὐτοκράτορι (the trusted man of my mighty and holy emperor). Therefore there was a common agreement that they were closely affiliated to the person of a particular emperor or to the imperial office (i.e. they were not *oikeios* to a particular emperor only, but they attached themselves to the imperial office, hence they can be *oikeios* to whoever happen to be the legitimate emperor). These grammatical and ideological constructions alone speak for their high status in the Byzantine society, yet because of both lack of primary sources, and lack of a comprehensive research on the extant documents, it is tricky, for the time, to determine their exact status in the late Byzantine administration.

Although the *oikeioi* attached themselves to a particular emperor, it does not necessarily mean that when the emperor was succeeded by another one the functions of the *oikeioi* would be null and void. They continued serving the new emperor.

It is interesting to note here that there were very few *oikeioi* who had ‘Palaiologos’ for surname. This confirms that the quality of *oikeios* was largely reserved for those who were not kinsmen.

It seems that a *modus operandi* in state administration existed in virtually every political entity (so-called feudal or not) in Middle Ages and even in early modern period; personal relations with and oaths of loyalty to the ruler determined the base of the political administration. For example in the early period of the Ottomans sultans were but first among the equals. Powerful regional *beys* exercised an authority on their provinces which was almost equal to that of the sultan. Yet they did not rebel against the sultan for, most probably, there existed a mutual agreement of reciprocal loyalty between them, albeit not in a written form. In later periods loyalty of provincial *beys* were replaced by loyalty of sultans' households (*kapukulları* – men of the court) which one might be tempted to translate as Ottoman *oikeioi*. About so-called feudal vassalage and homage relations there is a vast literature. The practice of oath takings in Byzantium, not only in times of danger but in times of relative peace as well, as Angelov, Oikonomides and Verpeaux suggest, demonstrate a Byzantine aspect of that *modus operandi*.

A meaningful case study might summarize what has been written in this present text. *Oikeios* of Manuel II, John VIII and Constantine XI: Georgios Sphrantzes (PLP 27278). He was, basically, a man of confidence of Despot Constantine, future emperor as Constantine XI (r. 1449-1453), and undertook various important duties for him. Since the times of their youths there were mutual love and trust between them, as he wrote in his memoirs.¹⁷⁴ The brother of Sphrantzes' father was pedagogue (*tatas*) of Constantine and the former's sons were being educated and raised together with the latter.¹⁷⁵ Through this family connection Sphrantzes himself was admitted to the service of the emperor Manuel II¹⁷⁶ and, following the latter's death entered into the service of his son John VIII. Nevertheless his intention

¹⁷⁴Giorgio Sfranze, *Cronaca*, ed. R. Maisano, Rome, 1990: p. 54

¹⁷⁵Sfranze *Cronaca*, p. 54

¹⁷⁶Sfranze *Cronaca*, p. 34. Nicolić argues that Sphrantzes was actually an *oikeios*. She bases her argument on a passage in Sphrantzes' memoirs which he recorded that he "became one of the 'οἰκείωσι' of the emperor Manuel II". See Nicolić, M. "Georgios Sphrantzes or How to Become an Archon in Byzantium in the XV Century", *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 47 (2010): p. 281

was to serve Despot Constantine, as he remarked in his book, and his wish came true in 1427.¹⁷⁷ Later on he demonstrated his bravery and loyalty when he saved Constantine from being captured by the soldiers from Patras (there was a tense situation and quasi civil war in Morea, and Constantine was campaigning against the city of Patras) and he himself was taken prisoner although he was released little more than a month later¹⁷⁸. After a negotiation for peace the city surrendered to the administration of Constantine and, following a ceremony in the church of Saint Nikolaos during which the inhabitant of the area swore an oath of loyalty, Sphrantzes was told that he would be appointed as governor (*kephale*) of the city.¹⁷⁹ The Despot also planned to send him as an ambassador to the court of the Ottoman Sultan Murad II to deliberate the issues about the Morea (or rather to justify his actions before the Sultan).¹⁸⁰ During these years, in the early career of Sphrantzes, he appears to have had no other title than that of *archon*.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless he exercised a number of significant duties. He seems to be a close aide-de-camp of the emperor since he rode with him side by side during his campaign against the city of Patras, and he saved his life by putting his own life in danger. He was nominated as an ambassador and finally he was chosen as a governor of a town. Certainly Constantine was not emperor at that time therefore he could not bestow him an honour or title, but Sphrantzes chose to serve him and not the then emperor in Constantinople, John VIII in the first place.

That Despot Constantine personally trusted him became apparent when he was sent to the Ottoman sultan in relation to the intricate and delicate matter of Patras along with an *oikeios*, Markos Palaiologos Iagros (PLP 7811) who joined him in Constantinople, in 1429.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷Sfranze Cronaca, p. 42

¹⁷⁸Sfranze Cronaca, p. 46

¹⁷⁹Sfranze Cronaca, p. 62

¹⁸⁰Sfranze Cronaca, p. 66

¹⁸¹Sfranze Cronaca, p. 58, 66

¹⁸²Sfranze Cronaca, p. 66

Following his embassy he was officially appointed as governor (*kephale*) of Patras in 1430.¹⁸³ He received his first court title from the emperor John VIII, in 1432, and was made *protovestiarites*¹⁸⁴ in 1432 and was sent again as ambassador to the sultan. It is clear that, although he used the word *offikion* to describe the title *protovestiarites*, this particular title had nothing to do with his actual administrative function or with court ceremonial; he continued to do what he was asked to do, as he had done before. Therefore he was just honoured by that title due to his loyal and successful service. It can also be observed here that although he was in Despot Constantine's service in Morea he also acted on behalf of the emperor John VIII and was honoured with a high court title by the emperor himself; so it is not possible to draw a distinctive line of obedience and service for the administrators who might be *employed* both by the Despots and the emperor.

Sphrantzes continued his service as governor of Mistras and the surrounding area, and all the revenues of the town and surrounding places were donated to him in 1445. This is definitely a very generous appointment and benefaction, which is certainly another sign of Constantine's trust in him, as he commented that nobody, save the Despots of course, before him was ever given such a governorship in Mistras.¹⁸⁵ With the accession of Constantine he was promoted, in 1451, to *megas logothetes*¹⁸⁶. He details, in his memoirs, how he lobbied for his promotion with the emperor and the *megas doux* (6th rank in hierarchy) Loukas Notaras.¹⁸⁷ Constantine wished to honour him with a new title that befitted to his position and Sphrantzes wanted the *offikion* of *megas kontostavlos* (12th rank in hierarchy). However, since this had been granted to Constantine's father-in-law by the then emperor

¹⁸³ Sfranze Cronaca, p. 70

¹⁸⁴ Sfranze Cronaca, p. 72; This title comes 20 in court hierarchy

¹⁸⁵ Sfranze Cronaca, p. 120

¹⁸⁶ Sfranze Cronaca, p. 124, this title comes 9 in the court hierarchy

¹⁸⁷ Gaul states for this very episode that "this passage shows the most explicit reference to the court hierarchy being succinctly numbered", see Gaul, N. "The Partridge's Purple Stockings: observations on the historical, literary, and manuscript context of Pseudo-Kodinos' Handbook on Court Ceremonial", in M. Grünbart ed., *Theatron: rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, Berlin: 2007: p. 98

Manuel II, Constantine was reluctant to give it to anyone, but making a courtesy offered Sphrantzes a higher title of *megas logothetes* (9th rank in hierarchy). This time Notaras objected on the grounds that *megas stratopedarches* (10th rank in hierarchy) Palaiologos Metochites might be offended because in that case his title would be below to that of Sphrantzes (Notaras also wanted the titles of *megas logothetes* and *megas kontostavlos* to be given to his two sons). As a result Sphrantzes was offered the title of *megas primikerios* (11th rank in hierarchy) but he refused it saying that some other person had already had that title and added that he wanted to be honoured with a title that no-one possessed (an indication that some of the dignities was held by more than one person). In the end emperor found a solution and said to Sphrantzes in secret that he honoured him with the title of *megas logothetes* but he should keep it secret and should not officially salute the emperor in the ceremonies with that title until a better solution could be reached.¹⁸⁸ That these titles were of honorary nature and that they did not denote actual administrative offices are evident from the simple fact that they were offered to him without an implication of him being offered different types of jobs corresponding to these.

It seems, however, that his promotion was not officially accepted and recorded due, most probably, to the lack of time in that conditions quickly worsened and City fell two years later. That he mentioned himself as *protovestiarites* and a monk in the opening lines of his memoirs and that he did not mention his having been *megas logothetes* might indicate that his appointment never took full effect.

To sum up the career of Sphrantzes, he chose to serve Despot Constantine and became one of his most trusted men. He was appointed as governor of important towns (Patras, Mistras, Selymbria), he was sent as ambassador with significant tasks to the Ottomans, to Trebizond and to Georgia, and was honoured with high court titles. All of these episodes suggest that

¹⁸⁸Sfranze Cronaca, p. 124

he had to be an *oikeios*, because he possessed every quality that we assume, from the beginning, an *oikeios* must have had, although he did not mention his being an *oikeios* in his memoirs. This is very odd because he ardently endeavoured to obtain a distinctive and high title (*offikion megaloteron*) and he even dared to enter into a bargain over it with the emperor and with Loukas Notaras. Therefore it is evident that to be honoured with a high title was of crucial importance for him and he recounted the episode in his memoirs in detail. Kiousopoulou has remarked for Gennadios Scholarios that, in the same vein, “[i]t was exactly authority and money that Scholarios was after, when he tried in the 1430s to obtain a position at court”.¹⁸⁹ Harris, on the one hand comments on the Sphrantzes’ endeavours and states that his promotion only earned him honour but not essentially monetary gain.¹⁹⁰ The last point worth mentioning is that after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, Sphrantzes continued to serve the Byzantine Despots in Morea. That his country was overrun and his emperor died did not hold him back from offering his service to any ‘legitimate’ Byzantine ruler; possibly as a continuation of his initiation to the quality of *oikeios*.

¹⁸⁹Kiousopoulou, *Emperor or Manager*, p. 77

¹⁹⁰Harris, *City-State*, p. 123

APPENDIX 1: CONSTANTINOPLE-BASED ΟΙΚΕΙΟΙ

Year	Name - Latinized	Name – Greek	PLP No.	Title	Office / Occupation
1259	Chadenos Konstantinos	Χαδηνός Κωνσταντίνος	30346	Prothierakarios in 1274 Megas Logariastes, 1269; Pansebastos Sebastos, 1269 - 1274,	Eparchos of Kpl. in 1261
1274	Panaretos Nikolaos	Πανάρετος Νικόλαος	21652	προκαθήμενος τοῦ βεστιάριου in 1274 Pansebastos Sebastos	Landowner in Γογγύλη/Paphlagonien in 1274
1279	Sarantenos Theodoros	Σαραντηνός Θεόδωρος	24906	Skuterios, 1324 - 1325 Pansebastos	Landowner in Berrhoia, 1279 - 1325 House owner in Berrhoia, 1325 Mill owner in Berrhoia, 1325
1286	Rimpsas	Ῥιμψᾶς	24291	Πραίτωρ τοῦ δήμου in Kpl, 1286 Pansebastos,	
1300	Panaretos Ioannes	Πανάρετος Ἰωάννης	21641	Hetaireiarches, 1313 Pansebastos Sebastos	Apographeus of the Themes Bolon, Mosynopolis/Thrace, Serrhai and Strymon, 1312 - 1313,
1305	Pankalos Konstantinos	Πάγκαλος Κωνσταντίνος	21264	Pansebastos Sebastos, 1305	Landowner in Serrhai, 1305 - 1313
1305	Chatzikes Georgios	Χατζίκης Γεώργιος [Χατζύκης]	30724	Pansebastos Sebastos, προκαθήμενος τοῦ κοιτῶνος in Kpl, 1305 – 1310	ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων in Kpl, 1321
1309	Neokaisareites Michael	Νεοκαισαρείτης Μιχαήλ	20095	Megas Adnumiastes, 1324	Apographeus, 1319 - 1324
1311	Polemianites Ioannes	Πολεμιανίτης Ἰωάννης	23468	Pansebastos Sebastos, 1311 - 1316;	House owner in Kpl, 1316
1312	Strategos Georgios	Στρατηγός Γεώργιος	26902	Domestikos τῶν δυτικῶν θεμάτων, 1312 - 1330 Pansebastos Sebastos	Apographeus of the Themes Bolon, Mosynopolis/Thrakien, Serrhai, Strymon, 1316 - 1317 Landowner in Bera/Thrakien, 1329
1316	Kaballarios Basileios	Καβαλλάριος Βασίλειος	10038		

1320	Laskaris, Manuel Dukas Komnenos	Λάσκαρις, Μανουήλ Δούκας Κομνηνός	14549	Domestikos τῶν δυσικῶν σχολῶν, 1320	Governor of Thes/nike, 1320
1321	Kallikrenites Michael	Καλλικρηνίτης Μιχαήλ	10371	προκαθήμενος τοῦ κοιτῶνος in Kpl, 1321 - 1330/31 Pansebastos Sebastos;	
1322	Kantakuzenos Andronikos	Καντακουζηνός Ἀνδρόνικος	10956	Protobestiarites, 1324 - 1328 Megas Chartularios, 1322	Governor of Boleron, Mosynopolis/Thrakien, Serrhai, Strymon u. Krusobon/Strymon, 1322.
1322	Tarchaneiotes Ioannes	Ταρχανειώτης Ἰωάννης	27486	Domestikos <τῶν δυτικῶν θεμάτων> in Thrace and Macedonia, 1322 - 1326;	Fiscal Officer in Boleron, Serrhai, 1325 - 1326
1324	Disypatos	Δισύπατος	5527		
1324	Philanthropenos Ioannes	Φιλανθρωπηνός Ἰωάννης	29766	Megas Drungarios τοῦ στόλου, 1324	
1325	Kaballarios Georgios	Καβαλλάριος Γεώργιος	10039	Megas Drungarios τοῦ στόλου, 1324	
1325	Kapantrites Theodoros	Καπαντρίτης Θεόδωρος	11010	Pansebastos Sebastos, 1325, σκουτέριος;	
1325	Palaiologos	Παλαιολόγος	21414		
1325	Sarantenos Georgios	Σαραντηνός Γεώργιος	24901	Megas Hetaireiarches, 1325, Pansebastos	
1326	Metochites, Demetrios Angelos	Μετοχίτης, Δημήτριος Ἄγγελος	17980	Megas Stratopedarches, 1355;	Governor of Strumitza/Macedonia, 1326; Governor of Serrhai, 1328/29;
1326	Tzamplakon Alexios	Τζαμπλάκων Ἀλέξιος	27748	Megas Papias, 1327 - 1332 μέγας τζαούσιος	Governor (κεφαλή) of Serrhai, Popolia , 1326 Landowner in Thes/nike, in 1330
1327	Monomachos, Michael Senachereim	Μονομάχος, Μιχαήλ Σεναχηρείμ	19306	Megas Konostaulos, in 1342/43 τατάς τῆς αὐλῆς, 1321 - 1342 Pansebastos, 1333 - 1340	Eparchos, 1327 Governor (κεφαλή) of Thes/nike, 1315 - 1332 and 1342/43 Governor of Thessalien, 1333 - 1342 Landowner in Chantax/Strymon u. Nesion/Strymon, 1333 - 1341/42.
1328	Pepagomenos Georgios	Πεπαγωμένος Γεώργιος	22358		Fiscal Official (ταμίας τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων) in Kpl, 1341

1332	Mpalisteres Iakobos	Μπαλιστέρης Ἰάκωβος	19620	Megas Diermeneutes, 1343 πραίτωρ τοῦ δήμου of Romania, 1349	Clerk in Kpl, 1332 - 1349 Notary Interpreter (διερμηνευτής), 1332
1337	Glabas	Γλαβᾶς	4214	Hetaireiarches, 1337	
1337	Manuel	Μανουήλ	16680	Bestiarios, 1337,	Landowner in Ῥωσαίου/Chalkidike and Hermeleia/Chalkidike, before 1337
1337	Trichas Ioannes	Τριχᾶς Ἰωάννης	29349	Sebastos in Kpl, 1337	
1341	Kabasilas, Demetrios Dukas	Καβάσιλας, Δημήτριος Δούκας	10083 (replaced by 92224)	Megas Papias, 1347 - 1369 Megas Archon, 1369.	Landowner in Chalkidike, in 1347
1342	Konstantinos	Κωνσταντῖνος	14177	Orphanotrophos, 1342 Pansebastos Sebastos	Apographeus
1344	Chumnos Ioannes	Χοῦμνος Ἰωάννης	30953	Stratopedarches τῶν μονοκαβάλλων, 1344 Pansebastos Sebastos	Landowner
1344	Tarchaneiotes	Ταρχανειώτης	27472	Stratopedarches, ca. 1344,	
1346	Philanthropenos, Georgios Dukas	Φιλανθρωπηνός, Γεώργιος Δούκας	29759	Megas Hetaireiarches, 1346	Kephale of Lemnos, 1346
1347	Sergopulos Manuel	Σεργόπουλος Μανουήλ	25210	Parakoimomenos τῆς μεγάλης σφενδόνης, 1347 - 1354 Archon	Governor of Μαρμαρᾶς (Proikonesos), 1347 - 1354, Pronoiar Apokrisiar (ambassador) of Καντακουζηνός Ἰωάννης VI. to Sultan of Egypt, 1349,
1347	Sigeros Nikolaos	Σιγηρὸς Νικόλαος [Νικόλος]	25282	Megas Hetaireiarches, 1355 - 1357 Megas Diermeneutes, 1347 - 1357 Πραίτωρ τοῦ δήμου, 1352	Clerk, 1357 Philologue
1348	Monasteriotes	Μοναστηριώτης	19260		Landowner (?) in Kpl, before 1383
1348	Monembasiotes	Μονεμβασιώτης	19275		

	Nikolaos	Νικόλαος			
1348	Soteriotes Niketas	Σωτηριώτης Νικήτας	27341	Protonotarios, 1361 - 1375 Tabularios καθολικός κριτής von Thes/nike, 1374 - 1375	Cleric in Thes/nike, 1349,
1351	Indanes Andreas	Ἰνδάνης Ἀνδρέας	8208	Skuterios, 1351.	
1351	Katzaras Georgios	Κατζαράς Γεώργιος	11490	Megas Adnumiastes, 1351 - 1373	Landowner in Kalamaria/Chalkidike, 1351 - 1373
1352	Exotrochos	Ἐξώτροχος	6080		
1361	Sophianos Alexios	Σοφιανός Ἀλέξιος	26403		Ephoros of Theotokos Barangiotissa-monastery in Kpl, after 1361
1362	Dermokaites Theophylaktos	Δερμοκάτης Θεοφύλακτος; also known as: Δρομοκάτης	5209 (replaced by 91760)	καθολικός κριτής τῶν Ῥωμαίων, 1362 - 1366 Parakoimomenos, 1367	
1365	Peplegmenos Theodoros	Πεπλεγμένος Θεόδωρος	22394		
1370	Phakrases, Manuel Kantakuzenos	Φακρασής, Μανουήλ Καντακουζηνός	29586	Synkletikos in Kpl, 1409	
1370	Tzemplakon, Alexios Kaballarios	Τζαμπλάκων, Ἀλέξιος Καβαλλάριος	27749	Senator in Kpl, 1397 - 1409;	Garden owner in Berrhoia, 1376 House owner
1373	Chrysoloras Leon	Χρυσολωρᾶς Λέων	31164		
1381	Mamalis Georgios	Μάμαλις Γεώργιος	16556		Landowner in Kpl, 1381 - 1401
1384	Chrysoloras Demetrios	Χρυσολωρᾶς Δημήτριος	31156	Senator in Kpl, 1409	Author Astronom Mesazon of Παλαιολόγος Ἰωάννης VII. in Thes/nike, 1403 - 1408;
1386	Gudeles Georgios	Γουδέλης Γεώργιος	4334 (replaced by 91696)		Mesazon in Kpl, 1386(?) Landowner in Kpl, 1386(?) - 1423 House owner Citizen of Genoa in Kpl, 1400 - 1423
1390	Notaras Nikolaos	Νοταράς Νικόλαος	20733	Kaballarios, 1418	Interpreter (διερμηνευτής), 1397 - 1418

					Merchant, from 1390
1391	Triakontaphyllos Georgios	Τριακοντάφυλλος Γεώργιος; monk name: Γαλακτίων	29267		
1393	Synadenos Manuel	Συναδηνός Μανουήλ	27132		
1397	Iagaris, Markos Palaiologos	Ίαγαρις, Μάρκος Παλαιολόγος; also known as: Ίαγρος	7811	Protobestiaries, 1429 Protostrator, 1429/1430 Megas Stratopedarches, after 1430	Ambassador, 1417 - 1438
1397	Makrenos Nikolaos	Μακρηνός Νικόλαος	16368		Fiscal official in Kpl, 1397 - 1400 (έκτιμητής)
1397	Melissenos, Andonikos Apokaukos	Μελισσηνός, Ἀνδρόνικος Ἀπόκαυκος	17809	Senator in Kpl, 1397	
1397	Philanthropenos, Andronikos Tarchaneiotes	Φιλανθρωπηνός, Ἀνδρόνικος Ταρχανειώτης	29754	Synkletikos in Kpl, 1397 - 1409	
1399	Leontares Bryennios	Λεοντάρης Βρυέννιος	14669 (replaced by 92519)		Governor of Selymbria, 1399 Governor of Kpl, 1408 - 1415 Defensor in Selymbria, before 1400
1399	Oinaiores	Οἰναιώτης	21020	κριτής τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σεκρέτου in Kpl, 1400	
1399	Palaiologos Michael	Παλαιολόγος Μιχαήλ	21523		Landowner in Kpl, 1399 - 1401
1399	Raul, Manuel Palaiologos	Ῥαούλ, Μανουήλ Παλαιολόγος; also known as: Ῥάλης	24134		Landowner
1399	Sophianos Nikolaos	Σοφιανός Νικόλαος	26412	Senator in Kpl, 1409	Ephoros Drug house owner in Kpl, 1400
1400	Chrysokephalos	Χρυσοκέφαλος	31135	κριτής τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σεκρέτου in Kpl, 1400, καθολικός κριτής (?).	
1400	Gudeles Ioannes; also known by foreigners as Jane Godelli/Callojane.	Γουδέλης Ἰωάννης	4337 (replaced by 91697)		Merchant, 1401-1407

1400	Mamales Theodoros	Μαμάλης Θεόδωρος	16549		
1400	Palaiologos	Παλαιολόγος	21415		
1400	Palaiologos Andronikos	Παλαιολόγος Ἄνδρόνικος	21430		
1400	Palaiologos Gabriel	Παλαιολόγος Γαβριήλ	21442		House owner
1400	Palaiologos Ioannes	Παλαιολόγος Ἰωάννης	21482		
1400	Palaiologos, Michael Raul	Παλαιολόγος, Μιχαήλ Ῥαούλ	21531		House owner
1400	Raul Michael	Ῥαούλ Μιχαήλ	24135		House owner
1400	Sophianos Ioannes	Σοφιανός Ἰωάννης	26406		Merchant
1401	Bulotes, Demetrios Meliknasar	Βουλωτής, Δημήτριος [Μελικνάσαρ]	3084		
1401	Eirenikos, Demetrios Palaiologos	Εἰρηνικός, Δημήτριος Παλαιολόγος	5979		Senator
1401	Kantakuzenos	Καντακουζηνός	10952		Senator
1401	Mamalis, Andreas Dukas	Μάμαλις, Ἀνδρέας Δούκας	16555		Landowner
1401	Palaiologos Andronikos	Παλαιολόγος Ἄνδρόνικος	21431		Landowner
1401	Palaiologos Gabriel	Παλαιολόγος Γαβριήλ	21443		Landowner
1402	Marachas Ioannes	Μαραχᾶς Ἰωάννης	16829	Megas Adnumiastes, 1402,	
1406	Dermokaites Nikolaos	Δερμοκαΐτης Νικόλαος	5214		
1409	Laskaris, Mathaios Palaiologos	Λάσκαρις, Ματθαῖος Παλαιολόγος	14552		Senator
1437	Adam Manuel	Ἀδάμ Μανουήλ	286		Fiscal official of Παλαιολόγος Ἰωάννης VIII., 1437 - 1438,
1437	Disypatos, Ioannes Laskaris	Δισύπατος, Ἰωάννης <Λάσκαρις>	5537	Megas Hetaireiarches, 1437	
1439	Ntemoreles Iakobos	Ντεμορέλης Ἰάκωβος	20757	Comes palatinus of Παλαιολόγος Ἰωάννης VIII. in Kpl, 1439	
1439	Pheedines Brakantios; also known by foreigners as: Pangrazio Michele Fedini	Φηιδίνης Βρακάντιος	29678	Priore delle arti (πρώτος τῶν τεχνῶν) in Florenz, 1439 Comes palatinus in 1439	

APPENDIX 2: PROVINCIAL ΟΙΚΕΙΟΙ

Year	Name – Latinized	Name - Greek	PLP No.	Title	Occupation
1246	Maliasenos, Nikolaos Komnenos Angelos Dukas Bryennios	Μαλιασηνός, Νικόλαος Κομνηνός Ὑπάρχων Ἀγγελοδουκάς Βρυέννιος;	16523		Landowner in Volos, 1268 - 1271
1258	Monochytras Georgios	Μονοχυτράς Γεώργιος	19313		
1259	Cheremon Alexios	Χερήμων Ἀλέξιος	30781		
1261	Peplatysmenos Konstantinos	Πεπλατυσμένος Κωνσταντῖνος	22389		Pronoiar in Palatia (Milet), 1261
1261	Syropoulos Ioannes	Συρόπουλος Ἰωάννης	27213		Finance official in Thrakesion, 1261, Dux (?)
1265	Phrangopulos	Φραγγόπουλος	30093		
1273	Kanabes Gudallios	Κανάβης Γουδάλλιος	10856	Pansebastos Sebastos in Patmos, 1273	
1274	Maliasenos, Ioannes Komnenos Angelos Palaialogos	Μαλιασηνός, Ἰωάννης Κομνηνός Ὑπάρχων Παλαιολόγος	16522		
1281	Branas Michael Komnenos	Βρανᾶς, Μιχαὴλ Κομνηνός	3179		Landowner in Murmunta/Smyrna and Bare/Smyrna and Palatia/Smyrna, 1281 - 1302(?)
1284	Spartenos Demetrios	Σπαρτηνός Δημήτριος	26496	Pansebastos Sebastos in Thes/nike, 1304,	
1294	Laskaris, Konstantinos Komnenos	Λάσκαρις, Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνός	14542		Landowner in Dekalliste/Strymon, until 1294

1294	Zegadenos Andronikos	Ζηγαδηνός Ἀνδρόνικος	6560		δούξ (θεματικός) of Mosynopolis/Thrakien, 1294
1296	Deblitzenos Philippos	Δεβλιτζηνός Φίλιππος	5175		
1303	Tzyrapes Konstantinos	Τζυράπης Κωνσταντῖνος	28160	Sebastos Pansebastos Sebastos, 1321,	Governor (Dux and κεφαλή) of Lemnos, 1303 - 1305, Apographeus,
1304	Angelos, Michael Dukas	Ἄγγελος, Μιχαήλ Δούκας	91041	Pansebastos Sebastos, before 1304	
1304	Machrames	Μαχράμης	17544		civil servant until 1304
1311	Deblitzenos Demetrios	Δεβλιτζηνός Δημήτριος; monkname: Δανιήλ	5169 (replaced by 91756)		(soldier) στρατιώτης (βασιλικός) in Thes/nike, 1311 Landowner in Hermeleia/Chalkidike, 1322/23 – 1349
1312	Trullenos Georgios	Τρουλληνός Γεώργιος [Τρουληνός]	29363		Landowner in Serrhai, 1281 - 1326
1317	Kunales Konstantinos	Κουνάλης Κωνσταντῖνος	13477	Pansebastos Sebastos;	Apographeus of Thes/nike, 1317 – 1319
1317	Martinos Nikephoros	Μαρτῖνος Νικηφόρος	17201	Sebastos, 1325 Pansebastos Sebastos, 1327	Landowner in Serrhai, 1317 - 1325 Soldier (στρατιώτης), 1317
1318	Syropulos Stephanos	Συρόπουλος Στέφανος	27218	Pansebastos Sebastos, 1324 - 1332	Ambassador, 1318 – 1332
1319	Padiates Theodoros	Παδιάτης Θεόδωρος	21292		Governor (Dux u. κεφαλή) of Lemnos, 1319 Pronoiar in Bera/Thrakien, before 1329
1320	Kikalas Konstantinos	Κικαλάς Κωνσταντῖνος	11711		Civil servant τῶν δημοσιακῶν δουλειῶν, in 1320
1320	Staurakios Michael	Σταυράκιος Μιχαήλ [Στραβομίτου]	26710		
1321	Kaballarios Alexios	Καβαλλάριος Ἀλέξιος	10035		

1322	Bullotes Andronikos	Βουλλωτής Ἀνδρόνικος	3083		
1322	Meliteniotes Manuel	Μελιτηνιώτης Μανουήλ	17858		
1322	Tzimiskes Ioannes	Τζιμισκῆς Ἰωάννης [Τζυμισκῆς]	27952	Pansebastos Sebastos, 1322	
1323	Orestes Ioannes	Ὀρέστης Ἰωάννης	21100	Pansebastos Sebastos, 1323;	House owner in Melenikon, 1323; Landowner in Radoviste/Makedonien u. Krusobon/Strymon, 1323
1324	Dragon	Δράγων	5792		Landowner in Melitziani/Strymon, 1324
1324	Dukopulos Demetrios	Δουκόπουλος Δημήτριος	91818		Landowner in Thes/nike, 1324
1324	Sophianos, Michael Kaballarios	Σοφιανός, Μιχαήλ Καβαλλάριος	26411	Pansebastos Sebastos in Peloponnes, 1324, κριτής τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον φοσσάτου	
1324	Tzimiskes Manuel	Τζιμισκῆς Μανουήλ [Τζυμισκῆς, Τζυμισκῆς]	27955	Pansebastos Sebastos, 1324 - 1327,	
1325	Sultanos, Alexios Palaiologos	Σουλτάνος, Ἀλέξιος Παλαιολόγος	26338		Pronoiar in Nesion/Berrhoia, before 1344
1325	Triakontaphyllos Ioannes	Τριακοντάφυλλος Ἰωάννης	29270		
1327	Balsamon Nikephoros	Βαλσαμών Νικηφόρος	2124		
1327	Kaballarios Markos	Καβαλλάριος Μάρκος	10043		
1328	Kalothetos Theodoros	Καλόθετος Θεόδωρος	10609		Landowner Τζαγκαροϊωάννου/Chalkidiki 1328
1329	Branas Theodoros	Βρανᾶς Θεόδωρος	3170		
1330	Kaligopulos Manuel	Καλιγόπουλος Μανουήλ	10338		
1333	Preakotzelos	Πρεακότζελος	23694		

1336	Kokalas Georgios	Κωκαλάς Γεώργιος	14089 (replaced as 92485)	Archon (?) in Thes/nike, 1345	
1339	Deblitzenos Theodoros	Δεβλιτζηνός Θεόδωρος	5170	Pansebastos Sebastos, 1339.	
1340	Monomachos, Georgios Atuemes	Μονομάχος, Γεώργιος Ἀτουέμης	19298		
1341	Kabasilas Georgios	Καβάσιλας Γεώργιος	10078		
1341	Kabasilas Ioannes	Καβάσιλας Ἰωάννης	10095		
1341	Kometopulos	Κομητόπουλος	12028		Military commander of Καντακουζηνός Ἰωάννης VI., 1342
1341	Spartenos, Theodoros Dukas	Σπαρτηνός, Θεόδωρος Δούκας	26498		Landowner in Hagia Maria/Chalkidike, 1341
1341	Tziskos Georgios	Τζίσκος Γεώργιος	27989		
1342	Margarites Georgios	Μαργαρίτης Γεώργιος	16849		Landowner in Kalamaria/Chalkidike, 1342
1342	Margarites Ioannes	Μαργαρίτης Ἰωάννης; monkname: Ἰωάσαφ	16850		Landowner in Makedonien, 1342 - 1348
1342	Prasinos Konstantinos	Πράσινος Κωνσταντίνος	23681	Pansebastos Sebastos, 1342,	
1343	Tarchaneiotes Ioannes	Ταρχανειώτης Ἰωάννης	27491		
1345	Palaiologos Andreas	Παλαιολόγος Ἀνδρέας	21425		Governor of Thes/nike, 1345 - 1350 Zealot leader Landowner in Krabata/Chalkidike, 1345 Leader of sailors of Thes/nike, 1345
1348	Sebasteianos	Σεβαστεϊάνος	25064		
1349	Adrianos, Petros Dukas	Ἀδριανός, Πέτρος Δούκας	316		Kurator of Ἀσανίνα Φιλίππα in Thes/nike, 1349;
1351	Senachereim	Σεναχηρείμ	25143		

1356	Kullurakes Manuel	Κουλλουράκης Μανουήλ	13424 (replaced by 92439)	Archon	
1356	Tzauches Theodoros	Τζαούχης Θεόδωρος	27787		
1361	Trikanas Demetrios	Τρικανᾶς Δημήτριος	29308	Kaballarios in Thes/nike, 1361 - 1366;	
1362	Hierakes Michael	Ἱεράκης Μιχαήλ; also known as: Ἱράκης	8087		Landowner in Lemnos, 1362 - 1366;
1364	Raul Andreas	Ῥαοὺλ Ἀνδρέας	24113		
1366	Astras, Michael Synadenos	Ἀστράς, Μιχαήλ Συναδηνός	1599		
1366	Glabas Demetrios	Γλαβᾶς Δημήτριος	91685	Megas Drungarios τῆς βίγλης in Thes/nike, 1366	
1366	Komes	Κόμης	92398	Megas Drungarios τῆς βίγλης in Thes/nike, 1366,	
1366	Tarchaneiotes Manuel	Ταρχανειώτης Μανουήλ; also known as: Τραχανειώτης	27499	Archon in Thes/nike, 1366 - 1369	
1368	Sebastopulos Phokas	Σεβαστόπουλος Φωκᾶς; also known as: Φώξ	25086		Apographeus in Lemnos, 1368 - 1396 (1403?)
1369	Tzykandyles Philippos	Τζυκανδύλης Φίλιππος [Τζυκανδήλης]	28131		
1370	Meliteniotes Demetrios	Μελιτηνιώτης Δημήτριος	17850		
1370	Tzamlakon, Michael Kaballarios	Τζαμπλάκων, Μιχαήλ Καβαλλάριος, also known as: Καβαλάρης	27760		Landowner
1373	Katzaras Ioannes	Κατζαράς Ἰωάννης	11491 (replaced by 92349)		
1375	Gabras Ioannes	Γαβράς Ἰωάννης	3360		

1375	Tarchaneiotēs, Manuel Dukas	Ταρχανειώτης, Μανουήλ Δούκας	27502		Kephale of Serrhai, 1375
1377	Katrades Demetrios	Κατράρης Δημήτριος	11543		
1377	Pothos Manuel	Πόθος Μανουήλ	23451		
1378	Kustugiannis, Manuel Raul	Κουστούγιαννης, Μανουήλ Ραούλ	13611		Landowner in Loroton/Chalkidike, until 1378
1378	Sampias Radosthlabos	Σάμπιας Ῥαδοσθλάβος; also known as: Σάμπη, Ῥοδοσθλάβος	24781		Landowner in Kalamaria/Chalkidike, 1378 - 1405 House owner in Thes/nike, before 1405/1406
1378	Tarchaneiotēs Ioannes	Ταρχανειώτης Ἰωάννης	27490		
1378	Tarchaneiotēs, Manuel	Ταρχανειώτης Μανουήλ	27501		Pronoiar in Loroton/Chalkidike, 1378
1378	Tzamlakon, Georgios Asomatianos Komnenos Aspietes	Τζαμπλάκων, Γεώργιος Ἀσωματιανὸς (?) Κομνηνὸς Ἀσπιέτης	27754		Landowner in Loroton/Chalkidike, before 1378,
1381	Deblitzenos Manuel	Δεβλιτζηνὸς Μανουήλ [Δοβλυτζηνός, Δοβλιτζηνός]	91757	Archon in Thes/nike, 1382 -1384	Landowner in Galikon/Chalkidike and Kolytaina/Chalkidike, Ompraston/Chalkidike, Hermeleia/Chalkidike, until 1384
1387	Cheilas, Ioannes Dukas Prinkips	Χειλάς, Ἰωάννης Δούκας Πρίγκιψ	30765		Apographeus of Lemnos, 1387 - 1388;
1394	Eskammatismenos Manuel	Ἐσκαμματισμένος Μανουήλ	6145 (replaced by 91872)		Governor of Lemnos, 1394 Kephale of Thes/nike, 1409 - 1414; Landowner in Lemnos, 1415; Representative of the emperor in Venice, 1424
1396	Iagupes Alexios	Ἰαγούπης Ἀλέξιος; also known as: Ἰαγούπ	7819		Apographeus of Lemnos, 1396;
1399	Makrodukas	Μακροδούκας Νικόλαος	16399		

	Nikolaos				
1400	Gabalas Michael	Γαβαλᾶς Μιχαήλ	3310		
1400	Palaiologos Petros	Παλαιολόγος Πέτρος	21535		
1406	Kalothetos Antonios	Καλόθετος Ἀντώνιος	10603		Apographeus of Lemnos, 1406 - 1407
1406	Phakrases, Demetrios Palaiologos	Φακρασῆς, Δημήτριος Παλαιολόγος	29577		
1406	Tarchaneiotes Padiates	Ταρχανειώτης Παδιάτης	27508		
1407	Laskaris Alexandros	Λάσκαρις Ἀλεξανδρῆς	14523	Defensor, 1407 Archon	
1407	Strabomytes Dukas	Στραβομύτης Δούκας [Στραβομίτου]	26853	Defensor, 1407	
1421	Iagupes Theodoros	Ἰαγούπης Θεόδωρος; also known in oral tradition as: Διαγούπης.	7822	συγκλητικὸς ἄρχων in Thes/nike, 1421.	
1421	Metochites Andronikos	Μετοχίτης Ἀνδρόνικος	17978	Archon in Thes/nike, 1421	
1421	Prinkips, Demetrios Palaiologos	Πρίγκιψ, Δημήτριος Παλαιολόγος	23747	Archon in Thes/nike, 1421	
1421	Trypomytes, Michael Angelos	Τρυπομύτης, Μιχαήλ Ἀγγελος	29382	Archon in Thes/nike, 1421	
1427	Gemistos Andronikos	Γεμιστὸς Ἀνδρόνικος	3629		Governor of Brysis/Lakonien, 1433 - 1450;
1427	Gemistos Demetrios	Γεμιστὸς Δημήτριος	3632		Governor of Phanarion/Argolis, 1433 - 1450
14th c. (first half)	Theodoros	Θεόδωρος	7390		Landowner bei Serrhai - (first half of the 14th century)
14th century	Syropulos Manuel	Συρόπουλος Μανουήλ	94566	Pansebastos Sebastos - 14.c.	
15th c.(second half)	Kalothetos, Ioannes Laskaris	Καλόθετος, Ἰωάννης Λάσκαρις	10614	Archon (second half of the fifteenth century)	

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