

A List of ἄπληκτα

George Huxley

THE ONLY complete manuscript of the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the *Lipsiensis* of saec. XII,¹ includes, ff.1–21 *recto*, three texts which do not belong to the ceremonial treatise, although Reiske oddly entitled them *Appendix ad librum primum*.² All three texts are closely related in subject matter.

The first is *ὑπόθεσις τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων καὶ ὑπόμνησις τῶν ἀπλήκτων* (pp.444–45 ed. Bonn). The second is *ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν βασιλέως μέλλοντος ταξειδεύειν* (pp.445–54). The third, *ὅσα δεῖ γίνεσθαι, τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψηλοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων μέλλοντος φορρατεῦσαι* (pp.455–508), is a treatise dedicated to Romanos, the emperor's son. The three texts together form material assembled for a treatise, which Bury entitled *περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων*; he suggested that the first and second sections had been prepared for incorporation in the third. They were, however, not incorporated, but, Bury further suggested, the redactor who is responsible for the form in which the *De Ceremoniis* has come down had found all three pieces in physical juxtaposition.³

Here I am concerned only with the text of the first of the three pieces, the list of ἄπληκτα (*ἀπλικτα* < *applicatus*), 'étapes' or 'stations', at which the emperor halts on his way through Asia Minor. Since the list provides valuable evidence for East Roman military organisation in Asia Minor, it is important that historical conclusions should not be drawn from a defective text. The list has been discussed by W. M. Ramsay,⁴ by H. Gelzer,⁵ most thoroughly from the textual point of

¹ Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I (Quellen)² (Berlin 1958) 382, is mistaken in stating that *L "... während des zweiten Weltkrieges bei der Bombardierung von Leipzig zugrunde gegangen ist." The manuscript still exists, as Professor Cyril Mango has kindly informed me.

² Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ed. Reiske, I (Bonn 1829) 444.

³ J. B. Bury, *The English Historical Review* 22 (1907) 438–39.

⁴ *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London 1890) 202–03.

⁵ *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (Leipzig 1899, reprint Amsterdam 1966) 108–14.

view by Bury,⁶ and more recently by Speros Vryonis Jr⁷ and by Arnold Toynbee.⁸

Vryonis relies heavily on Ramsay's discussion without taking due account of Bury's article, though he notes its existence; Toynbee on the other hand, while justly describing the text of the list as "desperately muddled," does not use Bury's article, and his discussion of the evidence is weakened by a confusion of Koloneia in the list with the theme and fort of that name in northeastern Asia Minor—in fact the Koloneia in the list of *étapes* is Colonia Archelais (Ak Saray), as Gelzer saw.⁹ Gelzer correctly rejected Ramsay's alteration of *Κολώνιαν* to *Σανιάναν* in the list, since the change lacks geographical or palaeogeographical justification (Saniana is close to the Halys, but the main road whose *étapes* are given in the list passes well to the south of the Halys); unfortunately Vryonis follows Ramsay in assuming, incorrectly, that Saniana was one of the *étapes*. Clearly there is a need to go back to Reiske's text and to Bury's discussion of it. Here, then, is the list of *ἀπληκτα* as it is given in the Bonn edition (pp.444–45). This is what Gelzer described, with understandable scorn, as "Reiske's monströsen Text" (*op.cit.* p.108 n.1); Reiske simply preserves the errors of *Lipsiensis*.

MS.I. 'Υπόθεσις τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων καὶ ὑπόμνησις τῶν ἀπλήκτων. p. 444 R.

*Ἐ*ἰς τὰ ἀπληκτα· πρῶτον ἀπληκτον εἰς τὰ Μαλάγινα, δεύτερον τὸ Δορύλειον, τρίτον εἰς τὸ Καβόρκιν, τέταρτον εἰς Κολώνιαν, πέμπτον εἰς Καιάρειαν, ἕκτον εἰς Ἀρμενιακοὺς εἰς τὸν Δαζιμῶνα. ὅτε ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Θρακησίων καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὰ Μαλάγινα. ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Σελευκείας ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὸ Καβόρκιν. ὅτε εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ταξειδίον εἰς Ταρσόν, τὰ λοιπὰ θέματα ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι εἰς Κολώνιαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ μὲν Καππάδοξ καὶ ὁ Χαρσιανίτης καὶ ὁ Βουκελλάρις εἰς Κολώνιαν, ὁ δὲ p. 445 R.

⁶ *Byzantis* 2 (1911) 216–24. Dr Judith Herrin kindly provided me with a copy of this article.

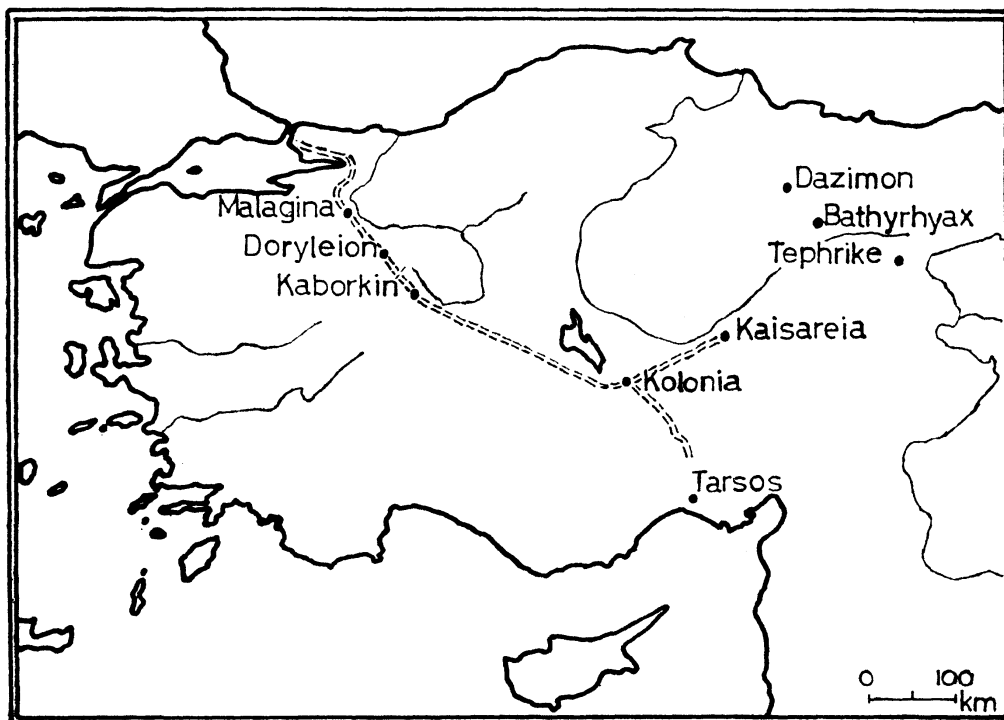
⁷ *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley 1971) 31–32.

⁸ *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (London 1973) 301–02.

⁹ *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5) 110.

*Ἀρμενιακὸς καὶ ὁ Παφλαγῶν καὶ ὁ Σεβαστείας εἰς Καισάρειαν.
ὅτε τὰ Ἀρμενιακὰ θέματα ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι εἰς Τεφρικὴν
εἰς τὸν βαθὺν Ῥύακα.*

The list of *étapes* at the start is straightforward: (1) Malagina, (2) Doryleion, (3) Kaborki(o)n, (4) Kolon(e)ia, (5) Kaisar(e)ia, (6) Dazimon (Tokat) in the Armeniak(on) district, in northeastern Asia Minor. Obviously the emperor did not stay at every one of these places on his way to the Arab frontier in every campaign, and there is no need to follow Gelzer, who bracketed (6) because Bathyrhyax is geographically remote from the others.



MAP OF ΑΠΛΗΚΤΑ IN ASIA MINOR

Ἀνατολικῶν appears twice, at p.445,1 and at p.445,3. One of the mentions must be amended, and it is evident that the first mention of the theme-name is a mistake for the name of some other theme.¹⁰ At p.444,5 *ὅτε* must be corrected to *ὅτι* (i.e. *ἰστέον ὅτι*), and again at p.445,4 *ὅτε* must be replaced by *ὅτι*. Yet again at p.445,9 *ὅτι* for *ὅτε* is

¹⁰ Bury, *art.cit.* (*supra* n.6) 217.

required. A reference to Doryleion (*étape* no.2) has fallen out, since we are not told which theme-army assembles there.

Different historical strata in the text show it to be a compilation. The list of *étapes* at the beginning (p.444,2–5 Reiske) suits a situation after 838; for the Anatolic *στρατηγοί* were based in Kaborkin only after the Saracens had taken Amorion, the original residence of the Anatolic theme-commanders, in that year. The reference to Tephrike, however, shows that part of the document originated long before the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, because the Paulician redoubt at Tephrike was won back to the Empire in the time of the Emperor Basil I. The reference to campaigns against Tephrike thus originated no later than the defeat of the Paulicians. A later detail is the mention of a *στρατηγός* (that is, a theme-commander) in Seleukeia (p.445,3), since this district was not raised in status from a kleisourarchy to a theme until the reign of Romanos I.¹¹

Ramsay suggested that the *optimatoi* were to meet the emperor at Malagina, but it is doubtful that this service corps of noncombatants, who anyway were commanded by a *δομέστικος*, not by a *στρατηγός*, were mentioned at all in the text. Ramsay correctly insisted however that the *Thrakesioi* (p.444,5) cannot have met the emperor at Malagina, since the place lay too far to the north. Doryleion (Dorylaion) is the obvious place for them to join the campaign. In Reiske's text there is no mention of the Opsikian theme, but this cannot have been omitted from the original document: the Opsikians would have most conveniently assembled at the *ἄπληκτον* Malagina, not far from Nikaia, where their commander resided. In p.445,1 *ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν* must be corrected to *ὁ στρατηγὸς* (or rather *ὁ κόμης*) *τῶν Ὀψικιάνων* (or *τοῦ Ὀψικίου*). The Thrakesians are most easily detached from Malagina (p.444,5) if, with Bury, we emend *ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Θρακησίων* to *ὁ στρατηγὸς Θράκης*.

As far as the mention of Kaborkin (p.445,4) the text lists the *ἄπληκτα* which were the same whether the expedition was heading for Cilicia or Commagene. The next section (p.445,4–9) distinguishes two possible objectives: (1) Tarsos, (2) *τὰ μέρη τῆς ἀνατολῆς*. If the objective was Tarsos then 'the remaining themes' (those that have not already been mentioned) must gather at Koloneia, whence the whole army would march by way of Tyana and Podandos to the Cilician gates.

¹¹ Const.Porphyr., *De Themat.* p.77 Pertusi. See also Bury, *art.cit.* (*supra* n.6) 218, and Oikonomidès, *op.cit.* (*infra* n.17) 350.

τὰ λοιπὰ θέματα in this campaign would include Boukellarians, Cappadocians, Charsianians, Armeniak, Sebasteians and Paphlagonians, all of whom are mentioned in p.445,7–9.

If, however, the emperor wished to campaign towards the east, he would travel by way of Arabissos or Germanikeia, heading for Melitene or Samosata. In this campaign he would again be joined by the Boukellarians at Koloneia, together with the Cappadocians and the men of Charsianon, but the men of Armeniak and those of Paphlagonia and Sebasteia would meet him at Kaisareia.

If the campaign is directed towards Tephrike (p.445,9–11), 'the Armeniak *themata*' (Armeniak, Paphlagonians, Sebasteians mentioned in the previous sentence) gather at Bathyrhyax. <εἰ> εἰς Τεφρικὴν here is an abbreviation of εἶ ἐστι τὸ ταξείδιον εἰς Τεφρικὴν.¹²

The expression τὰ Ἀρμενικὰ θέματα (p.445,10 Reiske) is a convenient way of referring to those themes which had formed subordinate units of the originally much larger Armeniak thema founded in the seventh century. Amongst such Armeniak *themata* were (the reduced) Armeniak, Paphlagonia and Sebasteia, all of which are mentioned in the text (p.445,8–9).

The list does not make clear where 'the other *themata*' (other than 'the Armeniak *themata*') assemble for a campaign against Tephrike, but we would expect the Boukellarians, as before, to assemble with the Cappadocians at Koloneia. If the men of Charsianon, however, marched to Koloneia to await the emperor, they would then have to retrace their steps in the direction of Tephrike. It is possible therefore that they awaited the emperor at Kaisareia before an attack on Tephrike. The reception of the Emperor Basil I on his return to Constantinople after a campaign against Tephrike and Germanikeia is described in the so-called 'Appendix' to *De Cerimoniis* I (pp.498–503); there is also an account of the entry of the Emperor Theophilos into the city after a Cilician campaign in the 'Appendix' (I pp.503–08).

We can now reconstruct the original text of the list so as to make Bury's argument more explicit.

Ὑπόθεσις τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξείδιων καὶ ὑπόμνησις
τῶν ἀπλήκτων.

Εἰς τὰ ἀπλήκτα·

πρῶτον ἀπλήκτον εἰς τὰ Μαλάγυνα,

¹² Bury, *art.cit.* 223–24.

δεύτερον <εἰς> τὸ Δορύλειον,
 τρίτον εἰς τὸ Καβόρκιν,
 τέταρτον εἰς Κολώνιαν,
 πέμπτον εἰς Καισάρειαν,
 ἕκτον εἰς Ἀρμενιάκου¹³
 εἰς τὸν Δαζιμῶνα.

ὅτι [ὁ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς¹⁴ τῶν
 Ὀψικιάνων ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ
 εἰς τὰ Μαλάγινα·
 ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν¹⁵ καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς
 <τῶν Θρακησίων εἰς τὸ Δορύλειον·
 ὁ στρατηγὸς> τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς
 Σελευκείας ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς
 τὸ Καβόρκιν.

ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ταξείδιον εἰς Ταρσόν, τὰ λοιπὰ
 θέματα ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι εἰς Κολώνιαν,
 εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὀφείλουσιν
 ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ μὲν Καππάδοξ καὶ ὁ
 Χαρσιανίτης καὶ ὁ Βουκελλάρις εἰς Κολώνιαν, ὁ
 δὲ Ἀρμενιάκος καὶ ὁ Παφλαγῶν καὶ ὁ Σεβαστείας
 εἰς Καισάρειαν.

ὅτι τὰ Ἀρμενιάκα θέματα ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι,
 <εἰ> εἰς Τεφρικὴν, εἰς τὸν Βαθὺν Ῥύακα.

Bury notes that the list has nothing to say about the northerly routes that led eastwards from Chalkedon (by way of Ankyra or Gangra) to Bathyrhyax in the Armeniak theme. The Ἀρμενιάκα

¹³ Ἀρμενιακοὺς, and Ἀρμενιακὰ at p.445,10 Reiske. For the accentuation of the theme-name see Gelzer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5) 23, and for the earliest evidence for its existence W. E. Kaegi Jr, "Al-Bāladhuri and the Armeniak Theme," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 273–77. In *De Thematibus*, the forms Δαζύμων (1.2.33, p.64 Pertusi) and Δορυλάειον (1.4.28, p.69 P.) are also found.

¹⁴ Bury, *art.cit.* (*supra* n.6) 222 n.1, suggests a possible addition here of Μακεδονίας καὶ ὁ στρατηγός.

¹⁵ Note, however, that in Gelzer's reconstruction (*op.cit.* [*supra* n.5] 108) the Domestic of the Schools (who leads the *Tagmata*) joins at Malagina. This is textually possible, even if Gelzer's version omits the Thracians, who deserve a mention; in the campaign against Omar of Melitene in 863 the men of *thema* Thrake and *thema* Makedonia were, together with the four imperial *πάγματα*, under the command of Petronas, whose own theme was the Thrakesian (*Theophan.Cont.* pp. 179–81 ed. Bonn).

θέματα assemble at Bathyrhyax for a campaign against Tephrike, but if the emperor came by the great road from Malagina through Kaborkin to Koloneia and Kaisareia, they would have joined him somewhere between Kaisareia and the objective at Tephrike. Amongst the Ἀρμενιάκα θέματα were Chaldia and Koloneia in the northeast of Asia Minor. Both had achieved the status of themes before 863,¹⁶ and though they are not mentioned by name in the list, they would be included in the 'Armeniak' forces due to assemble at Bathyrhyax.

Charsianon was still a *kleisoura* in 863, and the expression ὁ Χαρσιανίτης would originally have referred to a commander subordinate to a στρατηγός; but Charsianon is already a theme in 899 in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos.¹⁷ The latest of the military administrations mentioned in the list to have achieved the status of themes are Sebasteia and Seleukeia. The former had ceased to be a *kleisoura* in the reign of Leo VI, and it appears as a theme in the *Taktikon Beneševič* (p.247,13 ed. Oikonomidès) and in *De Thematibus*; it was detached from the Armeniak theme. Seleukeia became a στρατηγία in the reign of Romanos I,¹⁸ and the list of ἄπληκτα in its present form may well have been put together under his rule. An editor who worked under Constantine Porphyrogenitus saw the relevance of the list to a treatise on βασιλικά ταξείδια but failed to incorporate the document in the treatise.¹⁹

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST
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¹⁶ *Theophan.Cont.* p.181 Bonn, and see Toynbee, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) 256–57. Α πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Χαλδίας is found in the *Taktikon Uspenskij* (p.49,10 ed. Oikonomidès, *op.cit.* [*infra* n.17]), which Oikonomidès assigns to 842/3.

¹⁷ ed. Bury (*Brit.Ac. Suppl.Papers* I, 1911) 136,27. N. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris 1972) p.101,12.

¹⁸ Gelzer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.5) 128, and Toynbee, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) 258, on Const.Porphyr. *De Themat.* p.77 Pertusi. See also Oikonomidès, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.17) 350.

¹⁹ I am obliged to Professor Cyril Mango for reading a draft of this paper. He suggests that Kaborkin may have been preferred to Amorion as an ἄπληκτον (even before 838) because the water supply at the latter was limited. For the position of Malagina, within or close to the Mesonesos formed by the confluence of the Kara Su and Sangarios rivers, he referred me to the words ἐν τῇ κατὰ Μαλάγινα Μεσονήσῳ in ch.109,8 of the *Posthumous Miracles of St Peter of Atroa*, ed. V. Laurent in *La Vita retracta et les Miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* (Subsidia Hagiographica 31, Brussels 1958) 161–63. See also Laurent, *op.cit.* App. II (pp.66–74). I thank my wife for drawing the map.