

Tedo Dundua (Tbilisi)

**THE TALE OF TWO SEBASTOSES AND THE  
ORTHODOX ALLIANCE.  
DAVID THE KING OF GEORGIA AND THEODOROS  
GABRAS**

The Empire of Trapezus is thought to be of a Georgian design as a permanent threat to the Sultanate of Rum. Queen Thamar (1184-1210) engineered everything. Still she had had a certain pattern.

The family of Gabras (Gavras) seems to be involved in the story.

Theodoros Gabras of Chaldia was a brave soldier and a man of a noble birth, but he had never been trusted in the Capital. Alexios I was just happy to get rid of him at a good pretext – victorious over the Turks and thus allotted with a rank of the dux of recaptured Trapezus, Theodoros found himself far away in province. Still, this solution turned out to be less effective. Anna Comnena claims that he considered Trapezus as his possession.<sup>1</sup>

Gregorios, son of Theodoros, had been suggested as the prospective bridegroom for a member of Comneni family. Yet, there was one more failure. Young Gabras found himself in hostile Constantinople as a hostage. Father freed him by sea-borne expedition. Alexios was furious and he did his best to get him back. Poor Gregorios had nothing to do but to plot against the Emperor. He was isolated in Philippopolis.<sup>2</sup>

We do not know much what was Gabras' real power in Trapezus; or how he ran the administration. He is killed<sup>3</sup> while campaigning against the Seljuks, being still a dux.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210). München. 1974, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. *op. cit.* 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> Theodoros, σεβαστός και δοῦξ Χαλδίας, besides a martyr, died in 1098. v. Werner Seibt. Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich. Wien. 1978, 290.

Theodoros was substituted by certain Dabatenos. By the autumn 1103 Gregorios Taronites, either a son of Theodoros Gabras, or a nephew of Alexios' courtier John Taronites, is a dux of Trapezus. Gregorios seems to be related to the family of Gabras.<sup>5</sup>

In 1105/1106 Gregorios was first defeated near colonea, then – imprisoned by John Taronites for obvious disobedience. Still he proved to be hopelessly restive. Released in 1107, residing in Trapezus in 1117, Gregorios started his dangerous participation in Seljuks' matter. First jail, and then huge ransom was his punishment.<sup>6</sup>

The next dux, illustrious general Constantine Gabras<sup>7</sup> feels himself like an independent toparch<sup>8</sup> for several years starting from 1123.<sup>9</sup> After John's glorious campaign in 1139, the Empire controlled the whole southern coast of the Black Sea – Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Pontus. At last Constantine<sup>10</sup> becomes a real dux, without legislature.<sup>11</sup> In 1163/64 Manuel Comnenus sent him as an ambassador to sultan Kilij-Arslan II.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 23-24.

<sup>6</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 24.

<sup>7</sup> Who is he, a nephew of Theodoros Gabras?! In 1118 John Comnenus was proclaimed basileus. Very soon afterwards Constantine became δούξ Χαλδίας. v. Werner Seibt. op. cit., 290.

<sup>8</sup> For more information about toparch v. Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 148 n. 53.

<sup>9</sup> Especially from 1126. Werner Seibt. op. cit., 290.

<sup>10</sup> He is πρωτονωβελίσσιμος by 1118, and πρωτοσεβαστός or πανσέβαστος σεβαστός later. The former title occurs on his lead seal (picture 1).

Obv. Full-length figure of St. George, facing. The Saint wears armour and chlamys; holds spear in his right hand and long sword – in his left.

Legend – Θ	Γ
.	I
E	O
.	C
.	

Rev. +KĒR, Θ,

KW+NANO

REAICIMO

TOΓARP

A

τὸ Γαβρ-

ᾶ

+K(ύρι)ε β(σῆ)θ(ει)

Κων(σταντίνω) (πρωτο)νο-  
βελίσσιμο

v. Werner Seibt. op. cit., 289-290, №154.

<sup>11</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 24-25.

<sup>12</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. op. cit., 25.

In 1175 during the siege of Amaseia, Manuel met next Gabras, Michael, leader of the Trapezuntine contingent. Married to Comnena, Michael had taken part also in Hungarian campaign.<sup>13</sup>

Gabrid's political affiliations were even more complicated. Some of them served the Seljuks; and one was especially unlucky. After their victory over the Turks in 1146, the Byzantines executed Gabras, who had been brought up among the Turks and fought for them.<sup>14</sup>

One more Gabras was a big man, and a courtier of Kilij-Arslan II. He is Muslim for sure, because of his name – Ikhtiyar ad-din Hasan ben Gabras. We are aware of his diplomatic missions to Manuel during the siege of Amaseia, and after the battle at Myriocephalum, also – to Salah ed-Din after the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup> Hasan ben Gavras is thought to be son of the man killed in 1146. Hasan was on good terms with sultan, but not for a long time. The prince intrigued against him. Hasan started for his domain, located southwards from Trapezus. On the way home he was assassinated by the Turks (1189).<sup>16</sup> According to another version, Hasan ben Gavras was charged with poisoning the sultan (1192).<sup>17</sup>

John Gabras is already a Christian, but he too serves sultan. Keikubad delegated him to pope in 1235. It is not probable for him to be descended from Hasan.<sup>18</sup> Maybe John belongs to the principal line, that of Trapezuntine toparchs?! Then, how did they find their way to Melitene, a dwelling place for Michael Gabras, a physician, in 1256?! The only explanation do exist – the Chaldian domains are lost together with the power to Comneni family. Some consider Nicephorus Palaeologus as the last dux of Trapezus.<sup>19</sup>

Comneni cared much also about their Paphlagonian domains. Alexius stayed in Trapezus, while his brother David hasardously marched on westwards. Maybe he even intended to restore Comneni rule over Constantinople?! We shall never know. Nicaeans, Latins and Seljuks calmed him down finally. He is killed near Sinope.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. *op. cit.*, 26. The Hungarian campaign took place in 1161-1167. v. John Julius Norwich. *A Short History of Byzantium*. Printed in England by Claus Ltd., St. Ives plc. Published in Penguin Books. 1998, 286-287; История Византии. т. 2. М. 1967, 326.

<sup>14</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. *op. cit.*, 25.

<sup>15</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. *op. cit.*, 26; Manuel lost the battle of Myriocephalum in 1176, and Jerusalem fell in 1187. John Julius Norwich. *op. cit.*, 289, 295.

<sup>16</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. *op. cit.*, 26-27.

<sup>17</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. *op. cit.*, 27.

<sup>18</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. *op. cit.*, 27.

<sup>19</sup> Ф. И. Успенский. *Очерки из Истории Трапезунтской Империи*. Л. 1929, 31.

<sup>20</sup> Jürgen Hoffmann. *op. cit.*, 72-76. Comneni Imperial ambitions fit properly the schedule of the Fourth Crusade – on 8 November 1202 the army of the Fourth Crusade set sail from Venice.

*Family Tree*The duxes

Theodoros Gabras, contemporary  
of Alexios, + 1098

Constantine Gabras (1118(?)/1123-1163/64)

Michael Gabras (1167-1175)

| (?)

John Gabras, delegated to pope 1235

| (?)

Michael, a physician from Melitene

Those from Rum

Gabras + 1146

|

Ikhtiyar ad-din Hasan ben  
Gavras (1175-1189/92)

After many years a plenty of Gavras dwelt in Northern Black Sea coast.<sup>21</sup>

We all are largely indebted to Anna Comnena, John Zonaras, John Kinnamos, Michael of Syria, Niketas Choniates etc. for their works.

After Manzikert (1071) the economic system of Byzantium showed every sign of political disintegration. The result was as follows: (I) either a creation of *de jure* and *de facto* independent provincial political structures, or (II) a genesis of a border "baron", Imperial dux, with *de facto* legislature. He is a toparch. Even the Norman soldier of fortune Roussel de Bailleul tried to establish such a rule in Anatolia, opposing Michael Ducas.<sup>22</sup> Would not it be

On 24 June 1203 the fleet dropped anchor off Constantinople. On 5 July the Crusading army crossed the Bosphorus and landed below Galata, on the north-eastern side of the Golden Horn. On 6 July the chain that barred the entrance to the Golden Horn was lowered and the fleet swept in. Soon the assault came, it was directed against the weakest point in the Byzantine defenses – the sea frontage of the Palace of Blachernae, at the extreme north-west corner of the city. Crusaders poured into the city. On 1 August 1203 Alexius IV Angelus was crowned. Crusaders, his allies, withdrew to Galata to await their promised reward. January 1204 – Alexius Ducas Murzuphlus was crowned, he refused to pay. April 9, 1204 – fall of Constantinople. v. John Julius Norwich. *op. cit.*, 300-305. The same April saw Alexius Comnenus in Trapezus. *Georgica. Scriptorum Byzantinorum Excerpta Ad Georgiam Pertinentia*. Tomus VII. *Textum graecum cum versione iberica edidit commentariisque instruxit Sim. Kauchtschischwili. Tbilisiis. MCMLXVII, 165-166; John Julius Norwich. op. cit.*, 307-308. Georgian chronicle puzzles us even more – She (i.e. Tamar, T. D.) sent a few of them from West Georgia, and they captured Lazica, Trapezus, Limen, Samsun, Sinope, Kerasount, Kotiora, Amastris, Herakleia and all the places of Paphlagonia and Pontus. She gave (those lands – T. D.) to her relative Alexius Comnenus... As soon as the Franks learnt about the relief expedition to assist the Greeks, the Venetians captured the city (Constantinople – T. D.). *The Life of Kartli (Kartlis Tskhovreba) /in Georg./*. edit. S. Kaukhchishvili. Tbilisi. 1959. v. II, 142.

<sup>21</sup> *Georgica. Scriptorum Byzantinorum Excerpta Ad Georgiam Pertinentia. Tomus VI. Textum graecum cum versione iberica edidit commentariisque instruxit Sim. Kauchtschischwili. Tbilisiis. MCMLXVI, 111 n. 1.*

<sup>22</sup> J. J. Norwich. *op. cit.*, 243; *История Византии*. т. 2, 289.

much easier for a local Chaldian authority, Theodoros Gabras, to do the same?!

The reason of a disintegration is as follows: Byzantine prosperity had been linked with Anatolian agriculture which could find a market in Constantinople and prosperous cities of the coast. With no constitutional estates and special privileges for agricultural section, the prices on the industrial goods were comparatively high, and money used to be invested mostly in manufacturing. I cycle of Capitalism<sup>23</sup> never cared much about technical improvements – only few hands were engaged in, and the steam-engines – completely ignored.<sup>24</sup> Who needs to restrict the comfort and the services, while a country is at the top, with no one being in pursue?! Eventually, the growth of population reduced amount of the industrial goods per capita and stipulated even higher prices of manufactures. The stratiots bankrupted. A strategus, who had money, snapped up every available acre while the peasant smallholders were left to survive as best they might. This military aristocracy declared war on coastal strip high class. Iconoclasm, the Anatolian rebels – the Phocas and Skleroi, provincial Emperors demonstrate the very clash. No changes took place. The moment of crisis had come. Irritated and obviously in a great despair, the Anatolians were ready even to be converted to Islam. Soon almost the whole world allied itself with them.

Byzantium, old European pattern, died hard, menacing Italy and the Balkans. New Europe, with new economic concept, thought of Eurasian alliance to force the metropolis a heavy receptio. The decline begins...

In the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Justinian fased "Barbaric" Europe and Iran acting in harmony. The result was as follows – Slavs swarmed into Imperial territory via the Danube Frontier. Byzantium lost the most important recruitment areas – Moesia and Thrace.

In the 7<sup>th</sup> c. the Empire evacuated its armies from Syria and Egypt.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> c. Byzantium found itself caught between two fires – the Crusaders and the Turks. The Empire had to be calmed finally.

The Crusaders (after 1204) and the Turks (after Manzikert, 1071) did this job properly overpopulating the country. Anatolia had been lost for the centre. Military aristocracy welcomed the Turks willingly with the natural desire to join the upper classes.<sup>25</sup> Economic complex never disintegrated, but Sultanate of Rum already offered to Constantinople comparatively high prices on food and raw materials. The metropolis had nothing to do, but to accept this new

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<sup>23</sup> Tedo Dundua. *The Cyclic Dialectics*. Тб. 1996.

<sup>24</sup> *Словарь Античности*. Перевод с Немецкого. М. 1989, "Сила Пара".

<sup>25</sup> Steven Runciman. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*. Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge. 1996, 26-27.

unfavourable conjuncture. Towards the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. Byzantium is nothing but a lot of principalities with very different confessional visage (Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim). In the 11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> cc., with no expansions on the agenda, capitalistic complex now discussed disintegrated politically. Reception-system laid its own contribution.<sup>26</sup> As soon as Syria and Egypt were destined for the Ottoman use, they reintegrated almost the same economic system, and from this time on, Hellas has been re-established as a different economic structure.

Chaldia secession is just a part of the whole story.

New Europe emerged; Byzantium had been sacrificed, without any Georgian participation. *The different climate zones are found around the world. Climate can have a major effect on people's lives. One factor that affects climate is latitude. Lands close to the Equator have tropical climate with high temperatures and rainfall. Areas farther north or south of the Equator have temperate climates, with a warm and a cold season. Nearness to oceans also affects climate. Ocean currents carry warm or cool water in circular patterns around the world. These warm and cold currents influence the climate of nearby coastal areas. Elevation, or height above the sea level, also influences climate. The seas have helped to shape European societies since ancient times. Much of the Atlantic coast has a mild marine climate, with warm winters and springs, cool summers, and plentiful rainfall. North Mediterranean climate means even warmer winters and springs with many rainy days.*

*Towards the hinterland, they do not benefit from ocean winds that carry much moisture and moderate the extremes of heat and cold. Humidity is still O.K., but much of inland Europe has a cold continental climate. Along the northern coast of Africa small areas enjoy a sort of mild Mediterranean climate, but it is as dry as that of East Mediterranean coast and hinterland towards east with hot springs. As the southern tip of Africa the climate is already mild. America and Australia are the mirror images of the scheme. Heavy vegetation for New England is due to arctic winds from Canada.*

*To a large degree, it is rainfall – or lack of it – that determines climate and we have Europe and Asia beyond the continental division.*

*New technologies are due to greater number of hands in industry. As farming and crafts improved, some villages grew into towns and cities. City dwellers relied on the surplus food that farmers raised. Cities were a key features of the civilization – that means specialized industrial skills and jobs. People developed new technologies, and they had important effects on agri-*

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<sup>26</sup> Tedo Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material (the 6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. - 1453) Tb. 1997 /in Geogr./, 18.

*culture. New technologies has been developing gradually. Surplus food and skilled craftworkers, where could they appear first?*

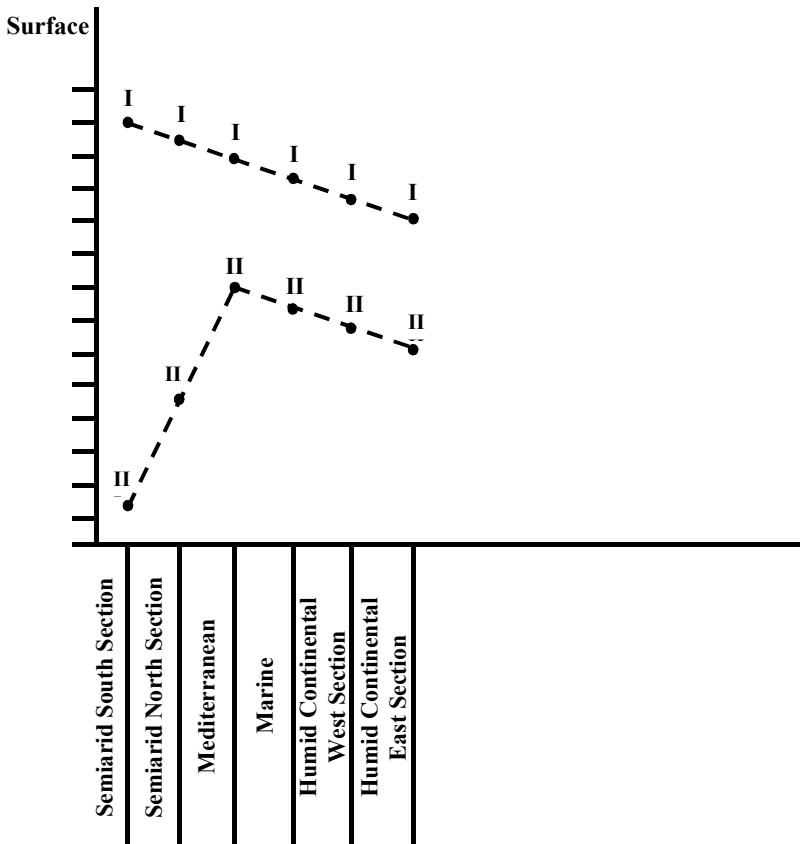
*Vegetation beneath the heat while near a surface is a heavy life for a seed, but still – less heavier than the same position during the cold spring. Heat works deep, unlike cold. That means as follows: hot south emerges civilizations just to lose the top position to much cooler north. Thus, geography determines zone confrontation – "the clash of civilizations".*

*In semiarid areas the civilizations and social structures are already there even with a seed placed nearly on a surface. Situated a bit northwards and besides, possessing elevation, Iran faces some very cold days in mostly hot spring. Eventually, the seed had to go even deeper there. An emergence of civilization is one thing, and the best temperature for vegetation – another. And the best temperature is that produced by burning humous layers. This is achieved in Iran at lesser depth, than, perhaps, in Egypt, where the climate is hotter. Agricultural tools are shaped in the same way either in Egypt at bay, or Iran. But copper was used in the south and bronze – in the north. Agricultural characteristic of the Mediterranean with its warm spring corresponds to comparatively prominent depth of the first level, and also comparatively superficial second level. Marine and Humid Continental Europe enlarges both parameters, but the second one has never surpassed that of Asiatic. Iran contributed mostly to civilizations in Europe.*

*From the 8th c. B.C. Hellas and Italy had been expanding, gradually becoming the capitalistic superpowers. Marine Europe was retarded. So the Greeks and the Romans had to colonize it. Equipped with the best farming tools, they put a seed at a safe depth. Gaul and Britain chose Italy as industrial metropolis, like Thrace, Moesia, and Anatolian inland – Hellas and Ionia. Should this had been maintained, we might be facing bilingual, Graeco-Latin Europe. But it did not. Only few hands used to be engaged in production of the instruments in Athens, or maybe, in Rome without any industrial revolution. Again, the population in metropolis was on the increase, thus reducing amount of industrial goods per capita, and stipulating their high prices. Prices on food were kept under. This was followed by European tension and disintegration of the Empire.*

*The same happened later with Byzantine Commonwealth. New Europe focused upon industrial revolution. Technologies now have been much better than those of I cycle of capitalism.*

*From Alaska eastwards to Japan, from the straits of Messana northwards to the fiords, from the Black and the Caspian Seas to the Arctic Ocean Marine, Mediterranean and Humid Continental climates have always been contributing to maintenance of very special evolutions, to a specific zone of inte-*



gration – Europe in a broad sense. Extreme north confronts south. And the extreme south already possesses an industrial profile.

Georgia never wished to lose strong neighbour and partner with whom she shared even the money types – universal Orthodox symbols prevail, like Cross potent, St. Virgin Blachernitissa etc.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Tedo Dundua. Review of Georgian Coins with Byzantine Iconography. *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche*. XXIX. 2000. Quaderni Ticinesi, 387-396.



**St. Virgin Blachernitissa.**  
The Byzantine Case

1. Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) – 2/3 miliaresion
2. Theodora (1055-1056) – 2/3 miliaresion
3. Michael VI Stratioticus (1056-1057). – 2/3 miliaresion
4. Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067) – 1/3 miliaresion
5. Romanus IV Diogenes (1068-1071) – 1/3 miliaresion
6. Michael VII Ducas (1071-1078) – 1/3 miliaresion
7. Nicephorus III Botaneiates – 2/3 miliaresion (1078-1081)<sup>28</sup>
8. Alexios I Comnenus (1081-1118) tetarteron<sup>29</sup>

**St. Virgin Blachernitissa.**  
The Georgian Case

1. Bagrat IV. I emission. Tetri (2/3 miliaresion). 1055. Kutaisi (West Georgia) "... king and Nobilissimos"
2. Bagrat IV. II emission. Tetri. 1068/69. Kutaisi. "... king and Sebastos"
3. Giorgi II. I emission. Tetri. 1073. Kutaisi. "... king and Nobilissimos"
4. Giorgi II. II emission. Tetri. 1074. Kutaisi. "... king and Sebastos"
5. Giorgi II. III emission. Tetri and half tetri (1/3 miliaresion). 1075-1089. Kutaisi. "... king and Caesaros"
6. David IV. I emission. Half tetri. 1089-1099. Kutaisi. "... king and Sebastos"
7. David IV. II emission. Kutaisi. 1089-1099. "... king and ... " Cross on Rev.<sup>30</sup>

It is quite clear that for Georgia Virgin type had been rather taken again and again, than –maintained.<sup>31</sup> David IV of Georgia (1089-1125) copies Alex-

<sup>28</sup> Philip Grierson. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whitmore Collection. Volume Three. Part 2. Washington. 1973, 747, 753, 758, 773, 795, 817, 831.

<sup>29</sup> Michael Hendy. Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261. Washington. 1969, 88. Alexios never intended to issue good silver. v. Philip Grierson. Byzantine Coinage. Washington. 1982, 11.

<sup>30</sup> T. Dundua. Review...., 389-391.

<sup>31</sup> Still the Georgian and Greek legends of the 10<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> cc. differ. Greek legends are mostly as follows:

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τοῖς βασιλεῦσι – Basil II and Constantine VIII

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τὰς βασίλισσας Ζώνη καὶ Θεωδώραν – Zoe and Theodora

ios I in his issues.<sup>32</sup> But whom he copies while placing cross on reverse? Again Theodoros Gabras appears with his coins as a prototype<sup>33</sup>; i.e. any of the Byzantine "rudiments" seems to be allied with Georgia.

Georgia had been in touch with Trapezus and suburbs from the very ancient times, and the Mingrelian (West Georgian) language had been once spoken mostly along the southern and eastern coasts of the Black Sea. Colchis (West Georgia) could find a market of its agricultural products in the prosperous cities of Pontus. During the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator Pontus and Colchis were bound together by the most special bonds. And the starting point for the Roman *Limes Ponticus* was also Trapezus. Mithras from Trapezus had been worshiped thoroughly in Colchis. Within the Byzantine Commonwealth the city was the nearest Roman site. Gabrids from Chaldia, first, and then Comneni of Trapezus allied themselves to Georgians. Genoa organized silk and spice supply of Europe via the North Caspian regions and the Northern Caucasus to Crimea (Caffa). And the rest of the route was as follows: Sebastopolis (Sukhumi, Georgia) – Trapezus – Galata – Italy. Because this route ran via both, Sebastopolis and Trapezus, common transit perception of the sites emerged. In the 17<sup>th</sup> c. boats from Trabzon were heavily loaded with the Mingrelian goods. Now Trabzon is a busy center for Georgian-Turkish commercial relations.

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Θεοτόκε βοήθει Κωνσταντῖνων δεσπότη τῷ Μονομάχῳ – Constantine IX  
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει Θεοδώρα δέσποινη τῆ πορφυρογεννήτῳ – Theodora  
 Κύριε βοήθει Ἰσαακῷ ὀρθοδοξῷ δεσπότη τῷ Κομνηνῷ – Isaak I  
 Κύριε βοήθει Ῥωμανῷ δεσπότη τῷ Διογένηι – Romanus IV  
 Κύριε βοήθει Μιχαὴλ δεσπότη τῷ Δούκα – Michael VII  
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Νικηφόρῳ δεσπότη τῷ Βοταναίατε – Nikephorus III  
 Σταυρὲ φύλαττε Νικηφόρον δεσπότην.  
 Philip Grierson. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins ..., 875, 877, 881-882.

i.e. "God, do assist...."

"Holy Virgin, do assist... "

"Cross, protect...."

And we have another pious formula on Georgian money: ქრისტე შეიწყალებო... ქრისტე აღიბე...

"Christ, forgive..., "Christ exalt..."

v. Tedo Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural ..., 138 №23, 142 №№24-25, 148 №№26-28, pp. 149-150 №№29-30.

<sup>32</sup> T. Dundua. Review of the Georgian Coins..., 391.

<sup>33</sup> The author is largely indebted to information from Vaso Penas (Athens). And for a distinctive group of hyperpyrons issued in the name of Alexios there does exist a certain attribution to the mint of Trapezus. And for Michael Henty that is unlikely. v. Michael Henty. op. cit., 93-94.

Gabras is Byzantine and he speaks Greek. But even now some folk in Trabzon speak Mingrelian while at home. Maybe, Gabrids from Chaldia<sup>34</sup> were also bilinguals?!<sup>35</sup> We shall never know.

### Appendix I

Anatolian upper classes allied themselves with the Turks. This story has been already told. But still there were some men ready to retreat westwards in spite of losing their lands, Skleroi among them. The seals and narrative provide few information (v. Werner Seibt. *Die Skleroi. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie*. Wien. 1976).

At least, two of Skleroi kept a position of strategus in Peloponnesos in the 9<sup>th</sup> c. with the domain in Sebastea. And Antonios Skleros is στρατηγὸς Ἑλλάδος towards the closing years of the same century. Next branch provided the akritai, border barons, sometimes even being subjugated to the Arabs.

Celebrated Bardas seems to be very busy in administration. He had been holding several offices, like μάγιστρος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς; commander-in-chief; δοῦξ Ἀντιοχείας. Towards the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> c. Bardas is in the western provinces. His son, Romanus, married a Muslim girl; and his grandson Basil wished to see himself as a strategus of Bucellarian.

Skleroi enjoyed their domains in Anatolikon under Monomachus' reign.

But then the Turks started to march, and Leon Skleros had to move westwards – to Opsikion and Bucellarian.

The rest of Skleroi enjoyed high positions either in the Balkans or in centre, that is drungarios, senator, strategus in Peloponnesos, etc.

<sup>34</sup> This theme emerged in the 9<sup>th</sup> c. In the 10<sup>th</sup> c. 16 themes are mentioned in Asia, including Chaldia. George Ostrogorsky. *History of the Byzantine State*. Translated from German by Yaan Hussey. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick. New Jersey. 1957, 184, 219.

<sup>35</sup> Some want to see them Georgians. v. *Georgica* VI, 111, n. 1. Many of the Georgians from Georgia properly took service in the imperial structures, and many of them became celebrities. But we do not know much about Constantine Iberopulos, a contemporary of David IV of Georgia and Theodoros Gabras.

Description of his lead seal is as follows (picture 2):

Obv.	+K̅E̅R̅O	+K(ύρι)ε βο-
	HΘ, K̅W̅+H̅	ἡθ(ετ) Κων(σταντίνω)
	ΔVCV	δυσσ-
	ΠAT	πάτ(ω)
Rev.	TWI	τῶ ἱ-
	REPO	βερο-
	ΠOAW	πούλλ(ω).

Werner Seibt. op. cit, 239-240 №110.

In 1308 certain Michael Gabras sent a letter to Skleros who dwelt in the city.

## **Appendix II**

General chronology of the Crusades and Eurasian confrontation is given here. For the world history dates v. Rodney Castleden. The Concise Encyclopedia of World History. London 1998.

- 1080 Rudolf of Swabia (anti-king) is defeated and killed, ending the civil war in the German states. Henry IV, having regained his position, is once again deposed and excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand), but this time the Pope is deposed by a synod which attempts to install a new Pope. Turks devastate Georgia. King Giorgi II can not deal with them.
- 1081 The Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus III abdicates, Alexius I Comnenus succeeds. The German king Henry IV invades Italy; he accepts the Lombard crown at Pavia and sets up a council to recognize the archbishop of Ravenna as Pope Clement III.
- 1082 The German king Henry IV besieges Rome and finally gains entry. Romans agree to call a synod to rule on the dispute between Henry and Gregory. Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, with his Norman knights defeats the Byzantine forces of Alexius I Comnenus and takes Durazzo.
- 1083 A synod meets in Rome to resolve the quarrel between Pope Gregory and the German king Henry IV. Giorgi II of Georgia promises the Seljuk sultan to pay tribute.
- 1084 The synod of Rome declares Pope Gregory deposed and recognizes the anti-pope Clement III. Clement crowns Henry. The newly recognized Emperor attacks fortresses still in Gregory's control but withdraws across the Alps as Robert Guiscard's Norman forces advance from Southern Italy. Normans sack Rome. Pope Gregory is unable to remain in Rome; he leaves for Salerno.
- 1085 Alfonso VI king of Castile takes Toledo; the centre of Arab science and learning falls into Christian hands. Pope Gregory VII dies at Salerno; Henry IV extends the "Peace of God" over the Holy Roman Empire. Robert Guiscard dies of fever; the duke is succeeded by his brother Roger, who has conquered Sicily.

- 1086 The Oath of Salisbury makes English vassals directly responsible to the crown, prohibiting them from private wars. The Almoravid army in Spain defeats Alfonso VI of Castile's army at Zallaka.
- 1087 William I of England dies. Genoa and Pisa take control of the Western Mediterranean from the Arabs.
- 1089 David IV, son of Giorgi II, ascends the Georgian throne.
- 1091 Duke Roger completes his conquest of Sicily and goes on to take Malta.
- 1094 Castilian soldier Ruy Diaz de Bivar, better known as El Cid, takes Valencia after a nine-month siege. The anti-pope Clement III is deposed and Pope Urban II is installed in his place.
- 1095 The Byzantine Emperor Alexius requests aid against Seljuks. Pope Urban proclaims the crusade at the Synod of Clermont.
- 1096 Alexius Comnenus provides food and escort for the crusaders, exacting an oath of fealty from the leaders in an attempt to protect his rights over any "lost provinces" of the Greek Empire.
- 1097 Battle of Nicaea: a combined force of crusaders and Greeks take the Turks' capital.
- 1098 After a nine-month siege by Bohemund of Taranto, Antioch falls to the crusaders.
- 1099 El Cid is defeated by the Almoravids at Cuenca and dies. Jerusalem falls to the crusaders. A kingdom of Jerusalem is founded under the Norman knight Godfrey de Bouillon: he is elected king and assumes the little Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. On hearing that Jerusalem falls to Christians, David IV of Georgia refuses to pay tribute to Seljuks. He begins a war against them.
- 1100 Godfrey de Bouillon king of Jerusalem dies, and is succeeded by his brother Henry count of Flanders.
- 1102 Alfonso VI lifts the Almoravids siege of Valencia, he empties and burns the city.
- 1103 The council of the Georgian Orthodox Church, summoned by David IV, places church under king's strict control.
- 1104 Baldwin I of Jerusalem takes Acre; Raymond of Toulouse takes Byblos. Bohemund of Taranto appears at Epirus with an enormous army raised in Italy to challenge the supremacy of the Byzantine Emperor.

- 1105 The Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV is captured by his son, also called Henry, who declares that he owes his excommunicated father no allegiance. The diet at Mainz forces the Emperor to abdicate, but the conditions of the abdication are broken and the ex-Emperor is imprisoned. Battle of Ertzukhi, Georgians defeat the Asiatic Turks.
- 1106 Henry IV escapes and begins to gather an army, but soon he dies. He is succeeded by his son as Henry V.
- 1108 The Byzantine Emperor Alexius defeats Bohemund of Taranto at Durazzo.
- 1109 Crusaders take Tripoli and Beirut.
- 1110 Henry V invades Italy and concludes an agreement with Pope Paschal II. The Pope promises to crown him Emperor.
- 1111 Henry V arrives at St. Peter's, Rome, for his coronation. The Pope is unable to crown him, so Henry leaves Rome taking the Pope with him as a hostage; the Pope crowns him under duress.
- 1112 The Holy Roman Emperor Henry V is excommunicated by the Synod of Vienna.
- 1113 The knights of the Hospital of St. John resolve to fight for the defense of the Holy Land.
- 1114 Toledo withstands an attack by the Almoravids.
- 1118 The Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus dies. He is succeeded by his son, John II Comnenus. Alfonso of Aragon retakes Saragossa from the Almoravids, and makes the town his capital. King David IV of Georgia invites Cumans as settlers to form a light cavalry.
- 1121 The Byzantine Emperor John II Comnenus takes south-west Anatolia back from Turks. In the battle of Didgori David IV, with his Georgians and some 200 crusaders in the army, attacks the Asiatic Seljuks more than twice as much in size; Turks are decisively defeated.
- 1122 The Emperor John II Comnenus and his Byzantine troops wipe out the Pechenegs in the Balkans. Concordat of worms ends the dispute between Holy Roman Empire and Papacy. David's army takes Tbilisi; Muslim rule is brought to end.
- 1123 The Byzantine Emperor John II defeats Serbian forces in the Balkans.
- 1124 Hungarians are defeated by Byzantine Emperor John II. David IV of Georgia invades Armenia and Shirvan to exercise Georgian rule.

- 1125 Venetian forces pillage Rhodes, occupy Chios and attack Lesbos and Samos. The Holy Roman Emperor Henry V dies. David IV, king of Georgia, dies; his son, Demetre I, ascends the Georgian throne.
- 1126 Peace treaty ends the war between the Byzantine Emperor and the Venetians and Hungarians.
- 1133 Lothair II, the German king, arrives in Rome, he is crowned by the Pope
- 1135 The Byzantine Emperor John II implores the Holy Roman Emperor Lothair II to help get rid of Roger II of Sicily.
- 1136 In response to the appeal of the Byzantine Emperor the previous year, the Emperor Lothair II invades southern Italy and takes Apulia from Roger II, king of Sicily.
- 1137 Antioch is forced to pay homage to the Byzantine Emperor John II. The Holy Roman Emperor Lothair dies.
- 1138 The house of Hohenstaufen in Swabia begins its century-long domination of the German states when Conrad is chosen German king. A struggle between "Ghibellines" (the Hohenstaufens) and "Guelphs" (Henry's family) ensues.
- 1139 Demetre I of Georgia takes Ganja in Azerbaijan.
- 1143 The Byzantine Emperor John II dies, and is succeeded by his son Manuel.
- 1144 Zangi sultan of Mosul takes Edessa after conquering Muslim northern Syria; this prompts calls for another crusade.
- 1145 Almoravid rulers lose their hold over Spain.
- 1147 The Second Crusade begins under leadership of Louis VII of France and Conrad III, but there is no overall command. The diversion of the Second Crusade enables king Roger II of Sicily to seize the Greek islands and pillage Corinth, Thebes and Athens. The war begins between Sicily and the Byzantine Empire.
- 1148 The Byzantine Emperor Manuel I buys Venetian aid to resist Roger II.
- 1149 The Venetian mercenaries retake Corfu for the Byzantines.
- 1152 The Holy Roman Emperor Conrad III dies, and is succeeded by his nephew Frederick III, Duke of Swabia.

- 1153 Baldwin III king of Jerusalem takes Ascalon, the last remaining Fatimid possession in the Holy land.
- 1154 Damascus surrenders to the Sultan of Aleppo.
- 1156 King William of Sicily destroys the Byzantine fleet at Brindisi and recovers Bari from Greeks who have been encouraged to revolt by the Pope. Demetre I, king of Georgia, dies; his son, Giorgi III, ascends to throne.
- 1157 Frederick III Barbarossa's army is wiped out by plague in Rome.
- 1158 Frederick Barbarossa leaves on a second expedition to Italy, beginning a long struggle with the Pope.
- 1160 Frederick Barbarossa destroys the city of Crema, Italy. Georgians face the Asiatic Turks; Seljuks are defeated again.
- 1162 Barbarossa destroys Milan, dispersing its citizens among four villages.
- 1163 Georgia's victory over the Turks of Erzerum.
- 1165 The Byzantine Emperor Manuel I forms an alliance with Venice against Frederick Barbarossa.
- 1167 Frederick Barbarossa enters Rome by force on his fourth Italian expedition. He has the anti-pope Paschal III enthroned, but a sudden outbreak of plague destroys his army and he returns to Germany.
- 1169 Salah ed-Din becomes vizier of the Fatimid Caliph of Cairo; as vizier, Salah ed-Din holds more real power than the Caliph, who is mainly a ceremonial figure.
- 1171 Salah ed-Din abolishes the Caliphate, becoming effective sovereign of Egypt.
- 1172 Georgians are victorious near the Armenian city of Dvin.
- 1173 Salah ed-Din seizes Aden. Giorgi, king of the Georgians, attacks Derbend; he is accompanied by his close friend and relative Andronicus Comnenus, future Emperor.
- 1174 Barbarossa buys Sardinia, Corsica, Spoleto and Tuscany.
- 1175 Salah ed-Din gradually welds Egypt and Syria into a single pan-Arab power, with serious implications for the Holy land in the middle; Salah ed-Din plans to take the Holy Land for himself.



- 1176 Battle of Legnano: the Lombard League defeats Frederick Barbarossa, who is severely wounded. Salah ed-Din mounts a campaign to drive Christians from the kingdom of Jerusalem.
- 1177 Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III sign the treaty of Venice, settling a six-year peace between the Lombard League and the Holy Roman Emperor. Salah ed-Din is defeated by Baldwin IV of Jerusalem at Ramleh.
- 1178 From this time on Giorgi of Georgia rules the country together with his daughter Tamar. He has no male issue.
- 1180 The Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus dies. He is succeeded by his son with his mother as the regent.
- 1182 Andronicus Comnenus leads a revolt against the Empress. This prompts a massacre of Italians. The emperor Alexius, now 14 years old, is forced to sign a death warrant for his mother's execution. Andronicus is proclaimed Emperor; he co-rules with Alexius.
- 1183 Alexius II Comnenus is strangled by agents of Andronicus. He now assumes sole power. The peace of Constance ends the conflict between Lombards, Pope and Barbarossa. Salah ed-Din conquers Syria, takes Aleppo and becomes Sultan.
- 1184 Giorgi III of Georgia dies; Georgians make young Tamar their queen; she raises Georgia's prestige and political power to a peak.
- 1185 The Norman army attacks the Byzantine Empire, taking Durazzo, storming Thessalonica and routing the Greeks. Isaac Angelus deposes Andronicus I, who is executed. A large-scale Bulgarian rebellion begins, many Greeks in the Balkans will be annihilated. Salah ed-Din seizes Mosul and begins his conquest of Mesopotamia.
- 1186 Barbarossa prepares for the Third Crusade.
- 1187 Salah ed-Din takes Jerusalem.
- 1188 Philip II of France imposes a Salah ed-Din tithe to raise money for the Third Crusade.
- 1189 Richard I becomes king of England.
- 1190 The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa drowns, while crossing, or bathing in the river Calycadnus in Cilicia. He is succeeded by his son Henry VI. Philip II prepares to join the crusade.

- 1191 Richard I of England embarks on the Third Crusade but spends a winter quarrelling with Philip II in Sicily. Then he leaves Messina and conquers Cyprus. Richard joins the siege of Acre and plays a major part in reducing Acre. Philip II falls ill and returns to Paris after concluding an alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI against Richard. Richard meanwhile gains a victory over Salah ed-Din at Arsuf and leads the crusaders to within a few miles of Jerusalem.
- 1192 The crusaders follow unreliable and dishonest guides into the desert; famine, disease and desertion reduce their numbers. Richard I makes a truce with Salah ed-Din; under it the Christians are allowed to keep the ports they have taken and have unrestricted access to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.
- 1193 Salah ed-Din, the sultan of Egypt, dies, and his empire is divided among the quarrelling relatives.
- 1194 Norman rule in Italy ends as Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI reduces Sicily with help from Genoa and Pisa. Henry is crowned king of Sicily and plans a huge empire with its base in Italy.
- 1195 Isaac II Angelus is deposed by his brother Alexius. He captures Isaac, has his eyes put out and imprisons him. Battle of Shamkhor; Georgians are victorious, Asiatic Turks – decisively defeated.
- 1197 Henry prepares to set off on a crusade against usurper Alexius III Angelus, but soon he dies.
- 1202 Pope Innocent III offers the commands of the Fourth Crusade to Boniface III count of Montferrat. The doge of Venice Enrico Dandolo agrees to provide ships in exchange for half of all the booty and an undertaking from the crusaders that they first sack Zara on the Dalmatian coast for him. The crusaders sack Zara; in consequence, the Pope excommunicates the Fourth Crusade. Battle of Basiani; Georgians face the sultan of Rum Rukn ad-Din, Turks are defeated.



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