ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΥ

Συγγραφή : *Μακρυπούλιας Χρήστος*
Μετάφραση : *Βελέντζας Γεώργιος*
Για παραπομπή : *Μακρυπούλιας Χρήστος , "Maniakes Family ", Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Μ. Ασία*
URL: <http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=7767>

Περίληψη :

The Byzantine family of Maniakes came from central Asia Minor and emerged in the early 11th century. Its first known member is Goudelios Maniakes. His son, George, distinguished himself during the wars against the Arabs on the eastern border and in Sicily. In 1042-1043 he rebelled and was finally killed while fighting against the imperial troops. Theophylaktos Maniakes, another distinguished member of the family, became a strategos in 1057. After the 11th century, we lose trace of the Maniakes family.

Τόπος και Χρόνος Γέννησης

10th century

Τόπος και Χρόνος Θανάτου

11th century

Κύρια Ιδιότητα

Aristocrats, military officers, revolters

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1. Emergence of the Family

The Maniakes family, whose residence was in Asia Minor, became powerful in the Middle Byzantine period, particularly at the end of 10th and in the 11th century, while its members distinguished themselves as military officers. Having become powerful, some of them rebelled against the imperial authority.

2. Prominent Members

The first known member of the family is Goudelios Maniakes, who was possibly born in the third quarter of the 10th century. There is no information about his roots, although some scholars believe that he was of Slavic (probably Bulgarian) origin.[1] Nothing is known about his birthplace or whether he was of noble descent.

There is more information about the son of Goudelios, George, who was born towards the late 10th or the early 11th century and is known to have owned large estates. It is also known that his property and that of Romanos Skleros abutted in the theme of Anatolikon, in central Asia Minor. There is no more information about the marital status of George, apart from the fact that he was married and a brief reference to his wife.[2] As a result, nothing is known about his relations with the other identified member of the family, Theophylaktos Maniakes, who must have been born in the first quarter of the 11th century.

There is no evidence about the education or the upbringing of the family members. In all probability, they must have received an education higher than the usual general studies, as they made a career in the army as officers.

3. Activity of the Maniakes Family

Historical sources provide scant information about the career of Goudelios Maniakes, unless he is actually identified with the aristocrat accused of conspiracy against Constantine VIII (1025-1028). His son, George Maniakes, was serving in 1030 as a strategos of the theme of Telouch. In August of the same year he eliminated a force of 800 Arabs, who were returning triumphantly after their victory over Emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034). As a reward he was awarded the title protospatharios and commander of the cities along the border of the Euphrates River, with Samosata of Mesopotamia as his base. Towards the late October 1031[3] he managed to occupy Edessa and repel a counterattack by the local Arab emir. For this success George Maniakes was awarded the honorary title patrikios.

In 1034-1035, by order of the new Emperor Michael IV Paphlagon (1034-1041), he was transferred from Edessa to Vaspurakan.

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In 1037-1038, at the head of an expeditionary corps, he was sent to recapture Sicily, occupied by Muslims at the time . Thanks to his military skill, George Maniakes was highly successful and subordinated several cities of east Sicily by defeating the Arabs of Sicily and North Africa in Rametta in 1038 and in Dragines in 1040. However, his conflict with patrikios Stephen, commander of the fleet in Sicily and brother-in-law of the emperor, resulted in his being slandered by the latter. Towards the end of 1040 he was recalled to Constantinople and was imprisoned as a suspect for rebellion.

In the beginning of 1042 the new Emperor Michael V Calaphates (1041-1042), son of patrikios Stephen, set him free and sent him back to the West. Michael V was deposed in April 1042, but shortly later Empress Zoe appointed Maniakes as commander in Italy and honoured him with the title of magistros.

In the summer of 1042, in Italy, George Maniakes confronted successfully the revolted Norman mercenaries but showed cruelty to the populations of the cities he reoccupied. However, Maniakes did not manage to complete his mission because he was recalled when Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) ascended to the throne. In August-September 1042 he was removed from the command of the troops in South Italy because of Romanos Skleros, who took advantage of his influence over the emperor (his sister was the mistress of Monomachus) and took revenge for earlier disputes over land property. The reaction of Maniakes was to openly rebel against the emperor. During the battle (between April and June 1043) in the area of Marmari, near Amphipolis of the Struma (Strymon) River, George Maniakes was fatally injured.

As regards the activity of Theophylaktos Maniakes, the third identified member of the family, who was loyal to Emperor Michael VI (1056-1057), it is known that in the summer of 1057 he failed to deal successfully with the rebel Isaac Komnenos in Bithynia and resorted to Constantinople.

In general, after the 11th century, the Maniakes family does not seem to have played any active role in the political and military matters of the empire.

4. Evaluation and Opinions

In Byzantine sources comments are made only about George Maniakes. We are given definitely favourable opinions, as all historians underline his military skills and his courage. Even the scholar Michael Psellos, who was a mamber of the emperor Constantine IX Monomachus' court, seems to be impressed by the great size and the spirit of Maniakes, whom he knew personally. What is more, the scholar reports that Maniakes rightly earned his promotions and offices, while the accusations made against him at times came from aspersions cast on him or calumnies. Only the sources of western origin are against George Maniakes and they repeatedly report the atrocities he committed in South Italy. The fact is that his name remained indelibly graven on the memory of the people in the areas where he lived and was active.[4]

Most modern scholars don't argue against the positive depiction of George Maniakes in Byzantine sources. Although there are certain historians who disagree with the opinion that the court of Constantine IX was the only one responsible for the developments that led to Maniakes' rebellion and death, most of them evaluate his actions positively and recognise his military skills.

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1. Goudelios Maniakes is usually erroneously identified with Goudelios who was punished as a conspirator by the Emperor Constantine VIII (1025-1028). See Α. Γ. Κ. Σαββίδης, *Γεώργιος Μανιάκης. Κατακτήσεις και υπονόμευση στο Βυζάντιο του 11ου αιώνα* (Athens 2004), pp. 29-32 including criticism of the earlier theory supporting the Maniakes family was of Turkish origin.

2. The information that Maniakes was married and that his wife remained in the family estates in Asia Minor while he was away in Italy, is provided by Skylitzes, I. Thurn, (ed.) *Iohannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5, Berlin - New York 1973), p. 427, 65-66. According to C. Brand – A. Cutler, 'Maniakes George', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (New York - Oxford 1991), p. 1285, there was some George Maniakes possessing land in Central Greece, who may have been a grandson bearing the same name, unless he can be identified with the

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strategos. In case he was a grandson, he may have possessed the seal presented by K. M. Κωνσταντόπουλος, 'Η σφραγίς του στρατηγού Μανιάκη', *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 9 (1932), pp. 123-128, which probably did not belong to strategos Maniakes.

3. The exact chronology is based on the analysis of the Arabic sources by W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt in früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Byzantina Vindobonensia 14, Wien 1981), pp. 128, 143-145; Δ. Ζακυθηνός, *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία* 324-1971 (Athens 1972), p. 467, and Αικατερίνη Χριστοφιλοπούλου, *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία*^{2} 2 (Thessaloniki 1997), p. 197, believe that Edessa fell in 1032.

4. The name 'Maniakes tower' has been preserved for buildings in Edessa, Syracuse, Dragines and Messina of Sicily. In Messina there is a church called Santa Maria di Maniace. Moreover, it seems that notable citizens of Italian cities were given the general's name as their baptismal or family name and this must explain the existence of some Giorgio Maniace in Taranto in the 12th c. Finally, the name of George Maniakes is found in the Scandinavian epics of the 13th c. See Α. Γ. Κ. Σαββίδης, *Γεώργιος Μανιάκης. Κατακτήσεις και υπονόμευση στο Βυζάντιο του 11ου αιώνα* (Athens 2004), pp. 22, 35, 45-46, 63.

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Γλωσσάριο :

magistros

Higher office that Philotheos in his Kletorologion places above the anthypatos. This title lost its importance from the 10th century and gradually disappeared - most probably in the middle of the 12th century.

patrikios

(from lat. *patricius*) Higher title of honour, placed, according to the "*Tactika*" of the 9th and the 10th centuries, between *anthypatos* and *protospatharios*. It was given to the most important governors and generals. Gradually, however, it fell into disuse and from the 12th century did not exist any more.

protospatharios

The first spatharios. A higher byzantine official of the imperial hierarchy which usually permitted participation in the senate. It was awarded even to eunuchs. After the 11th century, it gradually lost its importance. It was also an honorary title.

strategos ("general")

During the Roman period his duties were mainly political. Office of the Byzantine state´s provincial administration. At first the title was given to the military and political administrator of the themes, namely of the big geographic and administrative unities of the Byzantine empire. Gradually the title lost its power and, already in the 11th century, strategoi were turned to simple commanders of military units, responsible for the defence of a region.

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Παραθέματα

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Information from sources about members of the Maniakes family

1. Accounts of John Skylitzes

1.1. The Victory of George Maniakes against a Force of 800 Arabs, August 1030

Τότε δὴ Γεωργίου τοῦ Μανιάκη τοῦ θέματος στρατηγοῦντος
Τελούχ, Ἄραβες ὀκτακόσιοι μετὰ γαύρου τοῦ φρονήματος ὑποστρέ-
ψαντες ἀπὸ τῆς τροπῆς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενόμενοι εἴκειν τὴν ταχί-
στην ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν τοῦ βασιλέως ἑαλωκότος καὶ
παντὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατεύματος ἄρδην ἀπολωλότος, καὶ μὴ ἑαυτὸν (5)
προφανεῖ κινδύνῳ ἐκδεδωκέναι. ἡμέρας γὰρ διαλαμπούσης οἰκτρῶς
αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπολοῦνται περιστοιχηθέντες. ὁ δὲ δέχεσθαι
τάχα τὴν παραίνεσιν δόξας καὶ ποιήσειν τὸ κελευόμενον ὑποπτευθείς,
σῖτά τε καὶ ποτὰ τούτοις ἀποχρώντως ἐκπέμψας διαναπαύειν ἐκέλευεν
ἑαυτούς, ὡς ἁμ' ἡμέρᾳ αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τοῖς συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἀπαλλαγήσεται, (10)
αὐτοὺς δὲ κυρίους καταστήσει τῆς πόλεως Τελοὺχ καὶ πάντων τῶν
Ῥωμαϊκῶν χρημάτων. οἱ δὲ τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις φενακισθέντες,
καὶ ὡς αὔριον τάχα ἀπολήψεσθαι τὰ πάντα ὑπειληφότες, πρὸς πότους
καὶ μέθας ἐτράπησαν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ διενυκτέρευον. ὁ
δὲ περὶ μέσας νύκτας οἰνωμένοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀφροντίστως ἐπιτίθεται (15)
κοιμωμένοις, καὶ τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀπέσφαξεν, ὑφείλετο δὲ καὶ δια-
κοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα καμήλους πεφορτωμένας καὶ πλήρεις ἀγαθῶν παν-
τοίων Ῥωμαϊκῶν. τὰς δὲ ῥῖνας καὶ τὰ ὦτα τῶν πεσόντων ἀποτεμὼν
διεκόμισεν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς κατειληφότι
τὸν τοῦ Φωκᾶ οἶκον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ διατρίβοντι. ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἔργου (20)
ἀποδεξάμενος κατεπάνω τῆς κάτω Μηδίας ἀποδείκνυσιν.

Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, *Σύνοψις Ιστοριών*, ed. I. Thurn, Iohannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5, Berlin - New York 1973), p. 381, 38 – p. 382, 58.

Translation: While strategos George Maniakes was the ruler of the theme of Telouch, 800 Arabs returning with a mood of bellicosity from their victory [against the Byzantine troops] arrived in his region and ordered him to leave quickly and abandon the city because, as they claimed, the emperor had been captured and the Byzantine expeditionary corps had been eliminated. He was advised to avoid being exposed to an obvious danger because the following day he and his troops would be encircled and perish in a horrible way. Maniakes pretended that he accepted their advice and obeyed their orders. What is more, he sent them food and drinks and advised them to rest because on the following day he and his men would leave the place, while the Arabs could capture the city of Telouch and acquire the Byzantine riches. The Arabs were deceived by his words and deeds and, believing that everything would fall into their hands, they started to drink and booze and spent their night without fear and precautions. However, Maniakes attacked the sleeping and drunken Arabs, who had not taken any precautions, in the dead of night and killed them all. Two hundred and eighty camels loaded with all kinds of plunder taken from the Byzantines fell into his hands. He severed the noses and the ears of the dead soldiers and took them to the emperor, who had fled to the house of Phokas in Cappadocia. The emperor recognised his deed and appointed him as katepano of Lower Media.

1.2. The Fall of Edessa to George Maniakes in October 1030

τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει καὶ Γεώργιος (5)
πρωτοσπαθάριος ὁ Μανιάκης, ὁ Γουδελίου τοῦ Μανιάκη υἱός, τῶν
παρευφρατιδίων στρατηγῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐν Σαμοσάτῳ τὰς οἰκήσεις

ἔχων τῆς παρὰ τῇ Ὀσροηνῇ πόλεως ἀπεπειράθη Ἐδέσσης. ταύτης γὰρ
τὴν ἐπιστασίαν Σαλαμάνης ἔχων ὁ Τοῦρκος, παρὰ τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ Μαρτυ-
ρουπόλεως ἤτοι Μιεφερκεὶμ ἐπιτετραμμένην αὐτῷ, καὶ δώροις καὶ ὑπο- (10)
σχέσεσι καὶ τιμαῖς διαφθαρεὶς παραδίδωσι τῷ Μανιάκῃ ἀωρὶ τῶν νυ-
κτῶν, ὃς τρεῖς πύργους λίαν ὀχυρωτάτους κατασχὼν εὐψύχως τοὺς
πολιορκοῦντας ἠμύνετο, βοήθειαν ἔξωθεν ἐπικαλούμενος. Ἀπομερβάνης
δὲ ὁ τοῦ Μιεφερκεὶμ ἀμηρᾶς τὴν ἅλωσιν μαθὼν καὶ ὀξὺς ἐπιφανεὶς μετὰ
δυνάμεως οὐκ ὀλίγης ἐπεχείρησε μὲν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν πύργων, γεν- (15)
ναίως δὲ ὑποστάντος τοῦ Γεωργίου ἀποκρουσθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἔχων, ὅ τι
καὶ δράσειεν, ἀποκείρας τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν οἰκημάτων καὶ διαφθείρας
τὸν τῆς πόλεως κόσμον καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, καὶ καμήλοις
ἐπιθεὶς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὰ περίλοιπα τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ παραδούς,
ὑπεχώρησεν εἰς Μαρτυρούπολιν. ἀδείας δὲ τυχὼν ὁ Μανιάκης, τὸ ἐν (20)
μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως κείμενον φρούριον ἐν λοφώδει [κείμενον] πέτρᾳ κατα-
σχών, δύναμίν τε ἔξωθεν προσκαλεσάμενος, ἀσφαλῶς τὴν πόλιν κατ-
έσχεν. εὑρὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰδιόγραφον ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ κυρίου
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν πρὸς Αὔγαρον πεμφθεῖσαν, τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν Βυζαν-
τίῳ ἀπέστειλεν. (25)

Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, *Σύνοψις Ιστοριών*, ed. I. Thurn, Iohannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5, Berlin - New York 1973), p. 387, 86-11.

Translation: In that year the protospatharios George Maniakes, son of Goudelios Maniakes and strategos of the cities on the Euphrates, with his base in the city of Samosata of Osrhoene, tried to capture Edessa. The city was governed by Salamane the Turk, who had been appointed by the emir of Martyroupolis, a city also known as Mieferkeim. After he was given gifts, promises and honours, Salamane was convinced to surrender the city to Maniakes during the night. He captured three mighty towers and repelled the conquerors bravely, at the same time asking for reinforcement from outside. When Apomerbanes, the emir of Mieferkeim, was informed about the fall of Edessa, he arrived without delay with a large force and tried to recapture the towers. However, as he was repelled thanks to the brave resistance of Maniakes, and because he was unable to do anything else, he destroyed the most beautiful buildings, plundered the wealth of the city and the large church and, after he had loaded the camels with the most valuable lootings, set the city on fire before he returned to Martyroupolis. Maniakes was free to capture the acropolis, built on a rocky hill in the middle of the city, asked for reinforcement from outside and safely completed the capture of the city. He also sent to the emperor in Constantinople the letter he had found, which Jesus had written to Abgar.

1.3. Transfer of George Maniakes from Edessa to Vaspurakan

μεταστέλλεται δὲ ἐξ Ἐδέσσης καὶ Γεώργιον
πατρίκιον τὸν Μανιάκην, καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἄρχειν ἐκπέμπει τῆς ἄνω Μηδίας
τῆς καὶ Βαασπρακανίας, ἐν Ἐδέσσῃ δὲ πέμπει Λέοντα τὸν Λεπενδρηνόν.

Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, *Σύνοψις Ιστοριών*, ed. I. Thurn, Iohannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5, Berlin - New York 1973), p. 397, 49-51.

Translation: Moreover, patrikios George Maniakes is transferred from Edessa and is sent to rulr the region of Upper Media, known as Vasprakan, while Leon Lependrenos is sent to Edessa.

1.4. Mission of George Maniakes to Magna Graecia

Ἀπολάφαρ δὲ Μουχούμετ ὁ Σικελίας ἄρχων, ὁμαιχμίαν μετὰ τοῦ
βασιλέως θέμενος, ἐτιμήθη μάγιστρος. τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀπόχαψ
ἀντάραντος αὐτῷ κατισχυόμενος ἐς τὴν βασιλέως βοήθειαν καταφεύγει.
καὶ δὴ στέλλεται μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐν Λογγιβαρδίᾳ Γεώργιος πατρίκιος
ὁ Μανιάκης στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ἄρχων τοῦ στόλου (5)
Στέφανος πατρίκιος, ὁ ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρός.

Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, *Σύνοψις Ιστοριών*, ed. I. Thurn, Iohannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5, Berlin - New York 1973), p. 398, 88-93.

Translation: After Abu al- Aouar Mohammed, the ruler of Sicily, allied with the emperor, he was awarded the honorary title of magister. But when his brother, Abu Haphs, revolted against him and defeated him, he asked for help from the emperor. It was then that patrikios George Maniakes was sent with troops to S. Italy as chief commander. Patrikios Stephen, husband of the emperor's sister, was also sent there as fleet commander.

1.5. Successful Expedition of George Maniakes against Sicily

Ἀρτι δὲ καὶ Γεωργίου πατρικίου τοῦ Μανιάκη τὴν Σικελίαν
καταλαβόντος, οἱ ταύτης ἄρχοντες καὶ αὐτάδελφοι σπεισάμενοι πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ἔσπευδον ἀπελάσαι τοῦτον τῆς νήσου. διὸ καὶ συμμαχίαν
ἐξ Ἀφρικῆς μετεπέμψαντο χιλιάδας πεντήκοντα. ἧς ἐλθούσης γίνεται
συμβολὴ κραταιὰ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα Ῥήματα, καὶ τρέπεται κατὰ κράτος (5)
τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ὁ Μανιάκης, τοσούτου γενομένου φόνου, ὡς τὸν
παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν πλημμυρῆσαι τῷ αἵματι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἷλε
πόλεις Σικελικὰς τρισκαίδεκα, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν προϊὼν πᾶσαν ἐχειρώ-
σατο τὴν νῆσον.

Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, *Σύνοψις Ιστοριών*, ed. I. Thurn, Iohannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5, Berlin - New York 1973), p. 403, 22-30.

Translation: As soon as patrikios George Maniakes arrived in Sicily, the potentates of the island, the two brothers, reconciled and tried to turn him out. They sent for an allied force of 50,000 men from N. Africa. When the force arrived a great battle was fought in the area of the so-called Rhimata and Maniakes devastated the Arabs of Africa. It was a horrible massacre and the nearby river turned red from the blood. Then Maniakes captured thirteen cities of Sicily and gradually gained control over the entire island.

1.6. Victory of George Maniakes at Dragines and Developments after the Battle

Ἐν δὲ Σικελίᾳ ἀναλαβὼν πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Καρχηδόνιος, καὶ δύνα-
μιν πολλῷ μείζονα τῆς προτέρας ἀθροίσας, ἔρχεται πρὸς Σικελίαν τὸν
Μανιάκην ἐκεῖθεν ἐξωθήσων. καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἔν τινι πεδιάδι
ὑπτίᾳ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένῃ (Δραγῖναι ἡ πεδιὰς ἐκαλεῖτο) ἐκαιροσκόπει τὸν
πόλεμον. τοῦτο δὲ μαθὼν καὶ ὁ Μανιάκης, ἄρας τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνά- (5)
μεις ὑπαντιάζει, ἐπισκήψας πρότερον τῷ πατρικίῳ Στεφάνῳ τῷ τοῦ
βασιλέως γαμβρῷ, τοῦ στόλου, ὡς εἴπομεν, ἄρχοντι, ἀσφαλῶς τηρεῖν
τὴν παράλιον, μή πως πολέμου κροτηθέντος τραπεὶς ὁ Καρχηδόνιος
λάθῃ διαδρὰς καὶ οἴκαδε παλινοστήσῃ. καὶ δὴ συμβαλὼν τρέπεται
τοῦτον ἀνὰ κράτος. καὶ πίπτει μὲν τῶν Ἄφρων πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τὰς πεν- (10)
τήκοντα χιλιάδας, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ τούτων ἄρχων διαδρὰς τὸν κίνδυνον

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ἔρχεται ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ καὶ κελητίῳ ἐπιβὰς καὶ τὰς τοῦ Στεφάνου λαθὼν
φυλακὰς ἀπέδρασε πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν. ὅπερ μαθὼν ὁ Μανιάκης
ἐν δεινῷ τε ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τὸν Στέφανον συμμίξαντα τούτῳ ὕβρεσί
τε ἀτόποις κατέκλυσε καὶ τὸν σειρομάστην ἀνατείνας ἔπαισεν αὐτὸν (15)
κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐκ ὀλίγας, ῥᾳθυμον ἀποκαλῶν καὶ ἄνανδρον καὶ
τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως προδότην πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐνεγκὼν μετρίως
τὸν προπηλακισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὕβριν γράμματα πέμπει ταχὺ πρὸς τὸν
ὀρφανοτρόφον μηνύοντα, ὡς ἀπόστασιν εἴη μελετῶν ὁ Μανιάκης κατὰ
τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς δέσμιος εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα εἰσάγεται καὶ (20)
καθείργνυται σὺν Βασιλείῳ πατρικίῳ τῷ Θεοδωροκάνῳ, ἡ δὲ πᾶσα τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἐξουσία εἰς τὸν Στέφανον μετατίθεται, συνεκπεμφθέντος αὐτῷ
καί τινος εὐνούχου Βασιλείου πραιποσίτου τοῦ Πεδιαδίτου. οἵτινες οὐκ
ἐν βραχεῖ τὰ πράγματα διεφθάρκασιν, αἰσχροκερδείᾳ καὶ δειλίᾳ καὶ
ῥᾳστώνῃ καταπροδόντες τὴν Σικελίαν. ὁ γὰρ Μανιάκης αἱρῶν τὰς τῆς (25)
νήσου πόλεις ἀκροπόλεις ἐν αὐταῖς ᾠκοδόμει καὶ φρουροὺς ἐφίστα τοὺς
ἱκανούς, ἵνα μὴ οἱ ἐγχώριοι δύναιντ' ἂν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὰς
πόλεις. τούτου δὲ δεσμίου, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀναχθέντος, τῆς
ὀλιγωρίας καὶ ῥᾳθυμίας τῶν ἀρχόντων καταδραμόντες οἱ ἐγχώριοι,
καὶ δύναμιν Καρχηδονίων προσειληφότες ἐπιτίθενται ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ (30)
τάς τε ἄκρας κατέσκαψαν, τῶν φρουρῶν κρατήσαντες, καὶ τὰς πόλεις
πάσας ἐπανεσώσαντο, πλὴν Μεσήνης [...] καὶ οὕτω μὲν
ἡ πᾶσα Σικελία δι' ὀλίγου χειρωθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Μανιάκη, ἐν βραχεῖ
χρόνῳ ἀμελείᾳ καὶ κακότητι στρατηγῶν γέγονε πάλιν ὑπὸ Σαρακηνοὺς,
μόνης τῆς Μεσήνης ὑπολειφθείσης καθ' ὃν τρόπον εἰρήκαμεν, τοῦ Στε-
φάνου καὶ τοῦ Πεδιαδίτου φυγόντων ἐν Λογγιβαρδίᾳ.

Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, *Σύνοψις Ιστοριών*, ed. I. Thurn, Iohannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantina 5, Berlin - New York 1973), p. 405, 80 – p. 407, 49.

Translation: In Sicily, when the Arabs of North Africa recovered from the previous defeat and after they had gathered a force larger than before, they landed again on Sicily aiming to turn Maniakes out. The Arabs camped on a flat and vast plain called Dragines and waited. When Maniakes was informed about the developments, he gathered his troops and marched towards them, after he had previously ordered patrikios Stephen, the emperor's son-in-law and fleet commander, to closely supervise the coast in case the Arabs escaped and returned to their base after the battle. Maniakes actually confronted the Arabs and defeated them. Fifty thousand Arabs were killed then, but their leader ran away and, after he got on a fast boat, escaped from Stephen's patrol vessels and went to his country. Maniakes considered it a bad development. When Stephen went to meet him, Maniakes threw a lot of epithets at him and whipped him repeatedly on the head calling him lazy and coward and accusing him of betraying the emperor's interests. Because Stephen could not swallow the insulting and the abusive language, he immediately sent a letter to Orphanotrophos accusing Maniakes of preparing a revolt against the emperor. Maniakes was chained and transferred to Constantinople without delay, where he was imprisoned together with patrikios Basileios Theodorokanos, while Stephen and praepositus Basileios Pediadites, an eunuch sent as a co-commander, led the expeditionary corps. The only thing they managed to do was to lead everything to destruction by betraying Sicily because of dishonest speculation, cowardice and indolence. When Maniakes captured a city on the island, he used to build an acropolis and put the necessary guards so that the locals would not be able to conspire and recapture the city. However, when he was chained and taken to Constantinople, the locals took advantage of the neglectful and inert strategoi and, after they summoned the Arabs of North Africa to help them, attacked the cities, captured the guards, destroyed the acropolises and recaptured all the cities except for Messina [...]. In this way, the entire Sicily, which was nearly completely conquered by Maniakes, soon came under the Arabs again because of the careless and inefficient strategoi. Messina was the only city that was saved, as mentioned above. Stephen and Pediadites escaped to South Italy.

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1.7. Discharge of George Maniakes and Mission to Italy as the Supreme Ruler

τὸν δὲ πατρίκιον Γεώργιον τὸν (15)
Μανιάκην, ἤδη παρὰ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ φθάσαντα τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀπολυθῆναι,
μάγιστρον τιμήσασα στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ταγμάτων
ἐκπέμπει.

Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, *Σύνοψις Ιστοριών*, ed. I. Thurn, Iohannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5, Berlin - New York 1973), p. 422, 23-26.

Translation: Patrikios George Maniakes, already relieved of charges by Michael, was honoured with the title of magister and was sent as chief commander of the army in Italy.

1.8. Extensive Account of the Activity of George Maniakes in Italy, his Revolt and his End

Γεώργιος δὲ μάγιστρος ὁ Μανιάκης ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν
εἴρηται λόγοις, παρὰ Ζωῆς τῆς βασιλίδος πεμφθεὶς ἐφ' ᾧ καταστήσα-
σθαι τὰ ἐκεῖ (ἐνόσει γὰρ τὰ πάντα καὶ κακῶς ἐφέρετο ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ φαυλότη-
τι ἀρχηγῶν), πρὸς ἀποστασίαν ἀπεῖδεν. ἄξιον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐπιδραμόντας καὶ
τὰς αἰτίας εἰς ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν τῶν τῷ βιβλίῳ ἐντυγχανόντων. ὅτε γὰρ (5)
οὗτος πρῶτον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπέμφθη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Μιχαὴλ συμμαχή-
σων Ἀπολάφαρ Μουχούμετ τῷ τῆς Σικελίας ἄρχοντι πολεμουμένῳ παρὰ
τοῦ οἰκείου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἄφρων, ἔτυχε προσεταιρισάμενος καὶ
Φράγγους πεντακοσίους ἀπὸ τῶν πέραν τῶν Ἄλπεων Γαλλιῶν
μεταπεμφθέντας καὶ ἀρχηγὸν ἔχοντας Ἀρδουῖνον τὴν κλῆσιν, χώρας (10)
τινὸς ἄρχοντα καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀγόμενον, μεθ' ὧν τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν
εἰργάσατο τρόπαια. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος συκοφαντηθεὶς παρελύθη τῆς ἀρχῆς
καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσαχθεὶς καθείρχθη, καὶ ἄρχειν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἐπέμφθη Μιχαὴλ πρωτοσπαθάριος ὁ Δοκειανός, ἀνεπιτήδειος ἄνθρωπος
καὶ πρὸς μεταχείρησιν πραγμάτων οὐκ εὐφυής, οὐκ ἐδεήθη χρόνου συγχέαι (15)
καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὰ πάντα. μὴ παρέχων γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν τοῖς Φράγγοις
τὸ παρεχόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ἕκαστον μῆνα σιτηρέσιον, μᾶλλον δέ, ὥς φασι,
καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τούτων, ἀφιγμένον ὡς αὐτὸν ἐφ' ᾧ παρακαλέσαι ἠπίως
χρῆσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ μὴ ἀποστερεῖν τούτους τοῦ τῶν πόνων
μισθοῦ, ὑβρίσας καὶ μαστιγώσας ἀτίμως ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (20)
ἀποστατῆσαι. ὧν ὅπλα κεκινηκότων οὗτος ἁπάσας ἀθροῖσαι τὰς
Ῥωμαϊκὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τούτοις συμμῖξαι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἓν εἰληφὼς
τάγμα τὸ τοῦ Ὀψικίου καὶ μέρος τῶν Θρᾳκησίων, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς
ἐν Κάνναις περὶ τὸν Ἀμφιδον ποταμόν, ἔνθα καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πάλαι χρόνους
Ἀννίβας τὰς πολλὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέκοψε μυριάδας, ἡττήθη καὶ τὸ (25)
πλέον ἀπέβαλε τῆς στρατιᾶς, αἰσχίστως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Κάνναις διασω-
θείς. οὕτω δὲ πληγεὶς οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν πληγὴν κατὰ τὸν ἐν παροιμίαις
ἁλιέα νοῦν ἔσχεν, οὐδ' ὀχυρώσας ἑαυτὸν πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ προσέβαλε
τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θράσους, ὡς ἔοικε, στρατηγούμενος αὐτούς τε τοὺς
ἡττηθέντας πάλιν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ Πισσίδας καὶ Λυκαόνας, οἵπερ ἀναπληροῦ- (30)
σι τὸ τάγμα τῶν φοιδεράτων, περὶ τὰς λεγομένας Ὥρας προσρήγνυται
τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ τρέπεται αὖθις κατὰ κράτος, προσεταιρισαμένων τῶν
Φράγγων καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰταλῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν
Πάδον τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰς ὑπωρείας οἰκούντων τῶν Ἄλπεων. τοῦτο δὲ

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πυθόμενος Μιχαὴλ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτον μὲν μετέστησε τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἔπεμψε (35) δὲ τὸν Βοϊωάννην, δοκοῦντα πρακτικὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι καὶ ἐν πολέμοις εὐδόκιμον, καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφέροντα τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀναφορὰν τὸν ἐπὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πεμφθέντα Βοϊωάννην, ὃς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν μέχρι Ῥώμης τότε τῷ βασιλεῖ παρεστήσατο. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος ἀπελθὼν κατὰ χώραν καὶ νεαλῆ καὶ ἀκμαίαν δύναμιν μὴ λαβών, ἀλλ' (40) ἀναγκασθεὶς μετὰ τῶν προηττημένων συμβαλεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς κατὰ τὴν Μονόπολιν ἤδη κραταιωθεῖσι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὡς ἰδίας ἀντεχομένοις, ἡττηθεὶς ἐάλω, καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατός, ὅσοι μὴ σιδήρου γεγόνασι παρανάλωμα, ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ διεσκεδάσθησαν, διασωθέντες ἐν τοῖς ἔτι τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονοῦσι φρουρίοις. καὶ λοιπὸν οἱ Φράγγοι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς (45) δορυκτήτου ἀντεποιοῦντο κτήματος, τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὧν μὲν ἑκουσίως, ὧν δὲ βίᾳ καὶ ἀνάγκη προσχωρούντων αὐτοῖς, πλὴν Βρενδισίου καὶ Ἰδροῦντος καὶ Τάραντός τε καὶ Βάρεως. αὗται γὰρ αἱ τέτταρες πόλεις παρέμειναν πίστεις Ῥωμαίοις φυλάττουσαι. Μιχαὴλ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐξωσθέντος τῆς βασιλείας, ὁ Μανιάκης, (50) ὡς ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, πεμφθεὶς εἰς Ἰταλίαν παρὰ τῆς Ζωῆς, εἰ καὶ μὴ δύναμιν ἀξιόχρεων εἶχεν, ὅμως μετὰ τῆς παρούσης στρατηγικαῖς μηχαναῖς χρησάμενος ἐκδιῶξαι ἴσχυσε τοὺς Φράγγους τῆς Ἰταλίας περὶ Καπύην καὶ Βενεβενδὸν καὶ Νεάπολιν, καὶ μετρίαν κατάστασιν καὶ γαλήνην παρέσχε τοῖς πράγμασιν. οὗτος ὁ Μανιάκης κατὰ τὸ θέμα τῶν Ἀνατολι- (55) κῶν τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχων καὶ Ῥωμανῷ γειτονῶν τῷ Σκληρῷ, διαφερόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλάκις ἐπεχείρησεν τοῦτον ἀνελεῖν, εἰ μὴ φυγῇ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπορίσατο σωτηρίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα ἐς Κωνσταντῖνον ἦλθε τὸν Μονομάχον καὶ ὁ Σκληρὸς ἐπὶ μέγα τύχης ἦρτο (ἐπαλλακεύετο γὰρ τῷ Μονομάχῳ ἡ τοῦ Σκληροῦ ἀδελφή) μάγιστρος τιμηθεὶς καὶ (60) πρωτοστράτωρ, τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν μεμνημένος τοῦ Γεωργίου καταδρομῶν, καταχρώμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀπουσίαν κατατρέχων τοῦ Μανιάκη, τά τε ἀνήκοντα αὐτῷ ἐδῄου καὶ ἔκειρε χωρία καὶ εἰς τὴν τούτου κοίτην ἀνέδην ἐξύβρισεν. ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πυθόμενος ἤσχαλε καὶ διεπρίετο τῷ θυμῷ. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ σπουδῇ τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ παραλυθεὶς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ (65) τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπεγνωκώς (ᾔδει γάρ, ὡς οὐκ εἰς χρηστὸν αὐτῷ τέλος ἡ εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἄφιξις τελευτήσει), τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δυνάμεις ἀνασείσας καὶ διαφθείρας, διψώντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς οἰκείας ἰδεῖν πατρίδας, ὅπλα κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κινεῖ. καὶ τὸν μὲν πεμφθέντα διάδοχον αὐτοῦ (ἦν δὲ ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Πάρδος, ἀνὴρ Βυζάντιος, καὶ δι' ἄλλο μὲν (70) οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι δὲ γνώριμος ἦν τῷ βασιλεῖ, τηλικαύτης χώρας ἄρχειν πεμφθείς) ἀναιρεῖ, αὐτὸς δ' ἑαυτῷ διάδημα περιθεὶς καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας παράσημα ἀναλαβὼν ἀναγορεύεται βασιλεύς, καὶ πλοίοις ἐμβιβάσας τὰς δυνάμεις περαιοῦται ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ. τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς ταραχὴν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐνέπεσε. καὶ γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπει παντὸς (75) ἀπολύοντα φόβου τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, παρακαλοῦντά τε ἀποθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ ὑπισχνούμενα πᾶσαν εὐεργεσίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος ἄτεγκτος ἦν καὶ οὐ μεθίετο τοῦ σκοποῦ, ἀγηοχὼς καὶ αὐτός, ἃς εἶχε δυνάμεις, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐταῖς ἐπιστήσας αὐτοκράτορα τὸν σεβαστοφόρον Στέφανον τὸν ἐν Δαμοκρανείᾳ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας εὐαγγέλια τούτῳ (80) διακομίσαντα, ἐκπέμπει κατὰ τοῦ ἀποστάτου. καὶ συναντῶσι τὰ στρατεύματα κατὰ τὸν λεγόμενον Ὄστροβὸν ἐν τῷ Μαρμαρίῳ καὶ συμπλοκῆς γενομένης τρέπονται οἱ περὶ τὸν Στέφανον, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μανιάκη προηγουμένου καὶ τὰς φάλαγγας διακόπτοντος. καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς

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βασιλέα εὐφήμουν. ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, αἰφνιδίως ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου πεσὼν (85)
οὗτος ἀπέθανε, μηδενὸς φανέντος τοῦ τοῦτον τρώσαντος. εὑρέθη γὰρ
ἔχων κατὰ τοῦ στήθους καιρίαν πληγήν. τούτου δὲ γνωσθέντος τῷ
ἐναντίῳ στρατεύματι, ἀποτέμνεται μὲν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Γεωργίου, συλλαμ-
βάνονται δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ αὐτῷ συναράμενοι, ἅμα τῇ πτώσει τοῦ
ἀρχηγοῦ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαντες. καὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ (90)
ἄγγελος ἐπέμφθη κομίζων τὰ εὐαγγέλια τῆς νίκης, εἴσεισι δὲ μεθ' ἡμέρας
τινὰς καὶ ὁ Στέφανος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἄγων τοῦ Μανιάκη καὶ τοὺς κρατηθέν-
τας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς Πλατείας θριαμβεύσας προηγου-
μένης τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄνωθεν δόρατος, καὶ τῶν ἀποστατῶν ὄνοις ἐποχου-
μένων, αὐτὸς ὄπισθεν εἵπετο, ἵππῳ λευκῷ ἐφεζόμενος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν (95)
Μανιάκην τοιοῦτον εἴληφε τέλος.

Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, *Σύνοψις Ιστοριών*, ed. I. Thurn, Iohannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5, Berlin - New York 1973), p. 425, 3 – p. 428, 3.

Translation: Magister George Maniakes, who had been sent by Empress Zoe to Italy to deal with the situation (which was difficult because of the inexperienced and corrupt strategoi), decided to revolt. It is worth mentioning in brief the causes of the defection. When he was sent for the first time to Italy by Emperor Michael in order to fight at the side of Abu al- Aouar Mohammed, the ruler of Sicily, who was at war with his brother and the Arabs of N. Africa, Maniakes also recruited 500 Franks invited from France under some Ardoin, the ruler of some independent region. With their help Maniakes managed to defeat the Arabs. However, when he was defamed and was deprived of his leadership and was driven to Constantinople, where he was imprisoned, protospatharios Michael Dokeianos was sent to replace him as the commander of Italy. The latter was unable to handle complicated matters. He soon made a mess of everything. He was late with the monthly wages of the Franks, while their leader, who went to beg him to treat his soldiers better and reward their efforts, is said to have been dishonoured by Dokeianos, who insulted and whipped him. In this way, he made the people revolt. When they recoursed to arms, Dokeianos avoided concentrating all Byzantine troops in order to confront them, but took the battalion of Opsikion and some Thracians and confronted the rebels at Cannes, near the Amphidos River, in the position where Hannibal had eliminated many thousands of Romans. After Dokeianos was defeated and lost most of his army, he escaped humiliated in Cannes. Although he suffered such a terrible blow, he did not change his attitude. He neither marched against the enemy when he was reinforced with his entire army, but it seems that he was guided by irrational courage and, after he took with him the same defeated soldiers as well as the Pisidians and the Lycaonians, who were the battalion of the foederatoi, and fought against his enemies near the so-called Hores, where he was totally defeated once again, because the Franks had been reinforced with the Italian people of the region of the Po River and the feet of the Alps. When Emperor Michael was informed of these developments, he withdrew Dokeianos and replaced him with Boioannes, who was considered practical and useful for war and was descended from the deceased Boioannes who had been sent to Italy by Emperor Basil and had submitted the entire Italy as far as Rome in the name of the emperor. However, when he arrived in Italy he did not have a new and powerful army, but had to fight in the area of Monopolis followed by soldiers already defeated by the enemy who had settled and defended the country as if it was theirs. Boioannes was defeated and captured, while his soldiers who were not killed were scattered in the strongholds that were still under the Byzantines. From then on the Franks considered Italy their loot and the locals, either voluntarily or violently, submitted to them except for Brindisi, Otranto, Taranto and Bari. These four cities remained loyal to the Byzantines. When Emperor Michael died and his successor lost the throne, Maniakes, as mentioned above, was sent to Italy by Empress Zoe. Although he did not lead a remarkable army, he devised effective strategies and managed to turn the Franks out of Italy; they went to the regions of Capua and Benevento of Napoli, and thus the worst passed. This Maniakes had his estates in the theme of Anatolikon, abutted with those of Romanos Skleros. They had a feud and Maniakes tried to kill Romanos several times, but the latter escaped and was saved. However, when Constantine IX Monomachus assumed power and Skleros realised that his future would improve (because Skleros' sister was Monomachus' mistress) and when he was awarded the title of magister and was appointed as prototrator, he remembered the raids of Maniakes and, on taking advantage of his administrative authority and the absence of Maniakes, plundered and burned the property that belonged to Maniakes and, furthermore, dishonoured his wedding bed. When Maniakes, who was

in Italy, was informed of the news, he was discontent and became furious. Shortly later, when on Skleros' accusations he was replaced, and because he was in a desperate position (because he knew that his return to Constantinople would not have a happy ending for him), he revolted against the emperor after he had triggered agitations and a rebellion among the troops of Italy, as the soldiers wanted avidly to return home. He killed his replacement (the protospatharios Pardos, who came from Constantinople and took advantage of his acquaintance with the emperor in order to assume power in such a province), while he was crowned and was proclaimed emperor after appropriating the imperial symbols. He then embarked his troops on boats and landed on the opposite Balkan territories. When the emperor was informed of the news, he became anxious and sent a letter to Maniakes in which he guaranteed him and his followers that they would be granted amnesty. He also summoned them to lay down arms and promised them great honours. However, because Maniakes was indivertible in his opinion, the emperor also gathered troops and, after appointing sebastophoros Stephen, who had announced him in Damokraneia the news that he would become an emperor, as the absolute commander, he sent him against the revolter. The two armies were met in the region of the so-called Ostrobos, in Marmarion, and the soldiers of Stephen fled in disorder after the battle, while Maniakes was at the head of his side and scattered his enemies. His soldiers were applauding him calling him emperor when Maniakes suddenly fell off his horse and died without obvious reason, although he was fatally wounded on the chest. When the news spread on the opposite side, Maniakes was beheaded and all those who had followed him in the revolt were captured after they had laid down arms and surrendered when they saw their commander dying. A messenger announced the happy news of the victory to the emperor, while some days later Stephen entered Constantinople bringing the head of Maniakes and the prisoners of war. A triumphal procession passed all along the Plateias road, while the head of Maniakes impaled on a spear was at the head of the procession. Then came the revolters sitting on donkeys and Stephen riding a white horse. This is how the events connected with Maniakes came to an end.

1.9. Reference to Theophylaktos Maniakes

οἱ δὲ
στρατηγοὶ ἀπήεσαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἄγγελοι τῆς ἀφίξεως τοῦ (80)
Κομνηνοῦ τούτῳ γινόμενοι. ἦσαν δὲ Λυκάνθης τε ὁ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν
κατάρχων ταγμάτων, Θεοφύλακτος ὁ Μανιάκης καὶ Πνυέμιος ὁ Ἴβηρ
τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Χαρσιανιτῶν ἡγεμονεύων, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ οὐ λίαν
ἔχοντες τὸ ἐπίσημον.

Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, *Σύνοψις Ιστοριών*, ed. I. Thurn, Iohannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5, Berlin - New York 1973), p. 492, 62-67.

Translation: The strategoi resorted to the emperor and announced him the arrival of Komnenos. The strategoi were Lykanthes, commander of the forces of the theme of Anatolikon, Theophylaktos Maniakes and Pnyemios the Georgian, commander of the troops of the theme of Charsianon, as well as several other inferior officers.

2. Reference of Michael Psellos to George Maniakes. Evaluation and Valuable Information about the Life and Activity of the *Strategos*

(76t.) Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Μανιάκη ἀποστασίας.
(76.) Ὁ Μανιάκης οὗτος Γεώργιος οὐκ ἀθρόον ἀπὸ (2)
τῶν σκευοφόρων εἰς τὸ στρατηγεῖν παρεληλυθὼς, οὐδὲ
χθὲς μὲν τῇ σάλπιγγι χρώμενος καὶ τὴν τοῦ κήρυκος τάξιν
ἀναπληρῶν, σήμερον δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα πιστευθεὶς, ἀλλ' (5)
ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σημείου ἀρξάμενος καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προϊὼν
καὶ τοὺς βαθμοὺς βραβευόμενος, ἕως δὴ πρὸς τὸ κεφάλαιον
τῆς στρατηγικῆς ἀπήντησε τάξεως· ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ τι κατώρθου,
καὶ στεφανηφορῶν αὖθις δεσμὰ περιέκειτο, ἐπανήει νικη-

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φόρος τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ ᾧκει τὸ δεσμωτήριον, προεπέμ- (10)
πετο στρατηγήσων καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἀρξόμενος δυνάμεως καὶ
ἐκ θατέρου πλευροῦ παρειστήκεισαν οἱ τῶν κορυφαίων τοῦ
στρατεύματος ὑπογενειάζοντες καὶ κινοῦντες οὐχ ὅπη δέον
χωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔνθα πρὸς τοὐναντίον ἡμῖν τε κἀκείνῳ χωρήσει
τὰ πράγματα. Ἔδεσσα ἥλω, καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς ἦν, Σικελίαν (15)
αἱρήσων ἐπέμπετο, καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρ' ἐκείνου ἁλοίη, ἀτίμως
αὖθις ἀνεκαλεῖτο.
(77.) Τοῦτον ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τεθέαμαι καὶ τε-
θαύμακα· συνενήνοχε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ φύσις ὁπόσα συμπρέπει
τῷ στρατηγήσοντι· ἦν γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰς δέκατον ἀνεστη-
κὼς πόδα, καὶ οἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες ὥσπερ εἰς κολωνὸν ἢ
κορυφὴν ὄρους ἀνέβλεπον· τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτῷ οὐ τρυφερὸν (5)
καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐοικὸς πρηστῆρι· ἐβρόντα δὲ καὶ
τῷ φθέγματι, αἵ τε χεῖρες οἷαι διασεῖσαι τείχη καὶ πύλας
συντρῖψαι χαλκᾶς, τὸ δὲ ὅρμημα τούτῳ ὁποῖον λέοντος, καὶ
τὸ ἐπισκύνιον βλοσυρόν· καὶ τἄλλα δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ συνῳδὰ
τούτοις καὶ σύνδρομα, καὶ ἡ φήμη πλείων τῶν ὁρωμένων, (10)
καὶ πᾶς ἐδεδίει τὸν ἄνδρα βάρβαρος, ὁ μὲν καὶ ἰδὼν καὶ
θαυμάσας, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἱστορούντων ἐκεῖνον ἀκούσας καὶ ἐκ-
πλαγείς.
(78.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀποσεσυλήμεθα καὶ
τὸ σεμνότατον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφῃρήμεθα μέρος, πέμπει τοῦτον
ὁ δεύτερος Μιχαὴλ πολεμήσοντα μὲν τοῖς ἡρπακόσιν αὐτὴν,
τῷ δὲ κράτει τὸ μέρος ἐπανασώσοντα· λέγω δὲ νῦν Ἰταλίαν,
οὐ τὴν ἀκτὴν ξύμπασαν, ἀλλὰ μόνον δὴ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς (5)
τμῆμα τὸ κοινὸν ἰδιωσάμενον ὄνομα. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τοῖς
ἐκεῖσε μέρεσι μετὰ παντὸς ἐπιστὰς τοῦ στρατεύματος,
πᾶσιν ἐχρᾶτο τοῖς στρατηγήμασι, καὶ δῆλος ἦν τοὺς μὲν
κατασχόντας ἀπελάσων, τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα ἀντ' ἄλλου
τινὸς ἐρύματος ἀντιστήσων ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιδρομαῖς. (10)
(79.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν Μιχαὴλ ἐξώσθη τοῦ κράτους,
εἰς δὲ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντῖνον, περὶ οὗ γράφειν
προῄρημαι, τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεῖδε πράγματα, δέον εὐθὺς
πάσαις ἀποστολιμαίαις ἐκεῖνον καταγεραίρειν γραφαῖς καὶ
στεφάνοις ἀναδεῖσθαι μυρίοις καὶ τἄλλα ποιεῖν ὁπόσα δὴ (5)
ἐκεῖνον θεραπεύσειν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ὅ γε αὐτοκράτωρ παντά-
πασι τούτου κατολιγωρήσας τοῦ μέρους, ἐκείνῳ τε ὑποψίας
κατέσπειρεν ἀφορμὰς, καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ πόρρωθεν κατεβάλ-
λετο πράγματα· ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε καὶ εἰς μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἐλήλυ-
θεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἐν κακοῖς ἐγνωρίζετο, τυραννικά τε φρονῶν (10)
ἐγινώσκετο, οὐδ' οὕτω δεξιῶς τὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μετεχει-
ρίσατο· οὐ γὰρ προσποιεῖται τὸ τέως μελετώμενον ἀγνοεῖν,
ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς ἤδη τυραννήσαντα ἀναρρήγνυται.
(80.) Πέμπει γοῦν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὔτε τοὺς θεραπεύ-
σοντας, οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλως ἐξομαλίσοντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ δέον
μεταρρυθμίσοντας, ἀλλ', ἵν' οὕτως εἴποιμι, τοὺς ἀποκτενοῦν-
τας, ἢ, τό γε μετριώτερον, ἐξονειδίσοντας αὐτῷ τὴν δυσμέ-
νειαν καὶ μονονοὺ μαστιγώσοντας καὶ δεσμήσοντας καὶ τῆς (5)
Πόλεως ἐξελάσοντας· καὶ ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν πρέσβεων οὐ τῶν

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ἐν τοιούτοις ἐξητασμένων, οὐδὲ τῶν προλαβόντων τῷ χρόνῳ πολιτικῶν ἢ στρατιωτικῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ τριόδων ἀθρόον ἐπεισπεσόντων εἰς τὰ βασίλεια.
(81.) Καταπλεύσας γοῦν πρὸς τὸν τέως τυραννεῖν ἐπειλημμένον, στρατευμάτων ἤδη κατάρχοντα, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ὑποπτεύσαντα ἄφιξιν, οὔτε προδιασαφεῖ τούτῳ ὡς εἰρηνικὰ ἀπαγγέλλων ἐλήλυθεν, οὔθ' ὅλως προδιαγγέλλει ὅτι ἐλήλυθεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ λαθὼν τὴν ἔφοδον ἱππότης αὐτῷ (5) ἀθρόον προσήλασε, καὶ τῶν ἐξομαλιζόντων οὐδὲν εἰρηκὼς, οὐδὲ τοιοῦτόν τι προοιμιασάμενος δι' οὗ καταστήσειν ἑαυτῷ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐντυχίαν ἔμελλε, παίει αὐτίκα λαμπρῶς τοῖς ὀνείδεσι καὶ ἐπαπειλεῖται τὰ χαλεπώτατα. Ὁ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἤδη κατειληφὼς ὅπερ ὑπώπτευεν, εἶτα δὴ καὶ (10) δείσας περὶ τῶν λανθανόντων, διαπυροῦται τῷ θυμῷ καὶ ἐπανατείνει τὴν χεῖρα τούτῳ, οὐχ ὡς πλήξων, ἀλλ' ὡς φοβήσων· ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τοῦτον ἐντεῦθεν ἑλὼν τύραννον, διεμαρτύρατο τὴν θρασύτητα, καὶ προστίθησιν ὡς οὐκ ἀποφεύξεται ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις ἁλούς· ἀπογνωστέα γοῦν (15) τούτῳ τε καὶ τῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατῷ τὰ πράγματα ἔδοξε, καὶ συγκινηθέντες, τὸν μὲν πρεσβευτὴν ἀναιροῦσιν, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς χρησομένου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, τυραννεῖν ἤδη κατάρχονται.
(82.) Οἷα δὴ ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ κορυφαίῳ τὴν στρατηγικὴν τέχνην πολλοὶ συνερρυήκεσαν, οὐχ ὅσοι στρατεύσιμον εἶχον τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ οἱ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῆς ἀκμῆς· ὁ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ μὴ τοῖς πλήθεσιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τέχναις καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἤδει τὰ τρόπαια κατορθούμενα, τοὺς (5) ἐμπειροτάτους πρὸς πόλεμον συλλεξάμενος καὶ μεθ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος πολλὰς μὲν διεπόρθησε πόλεις, πλειόνων δὲ χρημάτων τε καὶ σωμάτων γέγονεν ἐγκρατὴς, ἅμα τούτοις συντεταγμένος, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέρας γίνεται ἤπειρον, πάντας μὲν διαλαθὼν τῆς ὄχθης φύλακας, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀντιστρατευο- (10) μένων ἐκείνῳ ἐξιέναι τολμήσαντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑποπτηξάντων ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐκποδὼν γεγονότων.
(83.) Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ἐκεῖνον τοιαῦτα· ὁ δέ γε αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πρέσβεως ἐμεμαθήκει ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ τυραννοῦντος ἀπόνοιαν, στράτευμα κατ' ἐκείνου μυρίανδρον συγκροτεῖ· εἶτα δὴ δείσας περὶ τοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων ἄρξοντος, μὴ ἐκεῖνον τροπωσάμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν (5) χρήσηται τὸν πεπομφότα τῷ κατορθώματι καὶ τύραννος αὐτῷ ἐπιστῇ τοῦ προτέρου βαρύτερος, ἀπείρου συλλεγέντος στρατεύματος καὶ πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν ἐφορμήσειεν εὐθὺς κατορθώσαντος, τῶν μὲν γενναιοτέρων οὐδένα ταῖς τάξεσι δίδωσιν, ἐφίστησι δὲ ταύταις ἄνδρα, πιστὸν μὲν τὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον (10) καὶ ἐκτομίαν, οὐδενὶ δὲ τῶν πάντων σεμνολογούμενον. Οὗτος ἄρας ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τυραννοῦντα σὺν πολλῷ χωρεῖ τῷ στρατεύματι. Ὁ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐμεμαθήκει ὡς εἴη συγκεκινημένον ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ξύμπαν στρατόπεδον, οὔτε ἀποδειλιᾷ τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε τὴν συγκίνησιν ὑποπτήσσει, (15) ἀλλὰ πάντα κατόπιν τῶν τυραννικῶν πεποιηκὼς λογισμῶν,

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πειρᾶται ἀσυντάκτους καταλαβεῖν, καὶ σὺν εὐζώνῳ τῇ στρατιᾷ οὔπω προσδοκηθεὶς τούτοις ἐφίσταται.
(84.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ κἀκεῖνοι κατὰ βραχὺ συνταχθέντες ἀντέστησαν, θεαταὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ ἀγωνισταὶ ἐγεγόνεισαν, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ τὴν θέαν ὑπετέμνετο· οὕτως ἀστραπαῖος αὐτοῖς ἔδοξε, βροντῶν μὲν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς ἐμβοήμασι, καθιππεύων δὲ τὰς φάλαγγας, καὶ οἷς ἂν ὀφθείη (5) ἐκταράσσων τούτους εὐθύς. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος ἐκ προοιμίων τροποῦται τῇ γενναιότητι, ἡττᾶται δὲ τῶν ἄνωθεν διοικήσεων καὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἴσμεν· ὡς γὰρ ἐπειδὴ περιϊὼν τὰς ἡμετέρας διετάραττε φάλαγγας, καὶ ὅπη δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος ὁρμήσειε διελύετο ὁ συνασπισμὸς καὶ εἰς (10) τοὐπίσω τὸ συντετειχισμένον ἐχώρει τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν ἤδη κατὰ μέρη διετέμνετό τε καὶ κατεφθείρετο, πληγὴν ἀθρόως κατὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς λαγόνος εἰσδέχεται, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς βάθος, ὅθεν ἀθρόον πλεῖστον ἐκεῖθεν αἷμα κατέρρει· καὶ ὃς, ὥσπερ οὐκ αἰσθανθεὶς τῆς πληγῆς, (15) ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα καταρρέον ἰδὼν, εἶτα δὴ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιθεὶς ὅθεν κεκένωτο, καὶ καιρίαν γνοὺς τὴν βολὴν, τοῖς ὅλοις ἀπειρηκὼς, ἐπειρᾶτο μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐπανιέναι χάρακα, καὶ βραχὺ δή τι τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀπῆγεν ἑαυτόν· ὡς δ' οὐκ εἶχεν ἤδη ὅπως μετενέγκοι τὸν ἵππον, τοῦ σώματος (20) αὐτῷ πάντη ἐξασθενήσαντος, καὶ ἀχλύος πληρωθείσης τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἠρέμα ἐπιστενάξας καὶ ὅσον παρεῖχεν ἡ δύναμις, ἀκρατής τε εὐθὺς τοῦ χαλινοῦ γίνεται, καὶ τῆς ἕδρας ἀπολισθήσας, θέαμα ἐλεεινὸν τῇ γῇ κατέρριπτο.
(85.) Τὸ δέ γε ἡμεδαπὸν στράτευμα οὐδ' οὕτως ἐθάρρει τὸν κείμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖθις ἐπεῖχον τοὺς χαλινοὺς, δεδοικότες μή ποτε κλέμμα εἴη τὸ θέαμα· ὡς δ' ὅ τε ἱπποκόμος ἀπῆν, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἐλευθέρῳ ποδὶ ἀτάκτως ἀνὰ τὸ μεταίχμιον ἔθει, παμπληθεὶ πάντες ὁρμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν (5) νεκρὸν, εἶτα δὴ ἰδόντες καὶ θαυμάσαντες ὁπόσον μέρος τῆς γῆς ἐπεῖχεν ἐκτεταμένος, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες τῷ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡγεμόνι προσάγουσιν. Εἶτα δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ οἱ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπεκτονότες ἐσχεδιάσθησαν, καὶ λόγοι ἐπὶ τούτῳ συνετίθεντό τε καὶ συνεπλάττοντο· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἦν (10) ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὰ λεγόμενα, ἀγνώστους τινὰς ἱππέας ἐπ' ἄντην ὡρμηκότας ἐλογοποίουν ἐκκεφαλίσαι· καὶ πολλῶν οὕτω πλαττομένων λόγων, ἀπόδειξις οὐδεμία τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐπῆν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν τὴν λαγόνα διήρητο, τομὴν ἐντεῦθεν κατηγόρουν αἰχμῆς, ὁ δὲ τρώσας ἀφανὴς τέως ἐστὶν (15) ἄχρι τῆσδε τῆς συγγραφῆς.
(86.) Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν οὕτω δὴ τὰ μὲν παθὼν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσας τῶν κατηγορίαν ἐχόντων, τοιούτῳ δὴ τέλει τὸν βίον κατέλυσε· τὸ δὲ περὶ ἐκεῖνον στρατόπεδον, μέρη μέν τινα ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκείας πατρίδας ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἀφανῶς, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον μέρος τοῖς ἡμετέροις προσέθετο· (5) καὶ πρὶν ἢ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐπανελθεῖν τὰ στρατεύματα, ἡ τοῦ τυραννήσαντος ἐκπέμπεται κεφαλή· καὶ ὃς

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καθαπερεί τινος καλύπτοντος ἀπαλλαγεὶς κύματος καὶ
βραχύ τι ἐξαναπνεύσας, τῷ μὲν Θεῷ εὐχαριστηρίους ἀνα-
πέμπει φωνὰς, τὴν δέ γε κεφαλὴν ἐν μετεώρῳ τοῦ μεγάλου (10)
θεάτρου πήγνυσιν, ὡς ἂν ἔχοιεν ξύμπαντες καὶ πόρρωθεν
ταύτην διὰ πολλοῦ μέσον τοῦ ἀέρος ὁρᾶν.

Μιχαήλ Ψελλός, *Χρονογραφία*, ed. É. Renauld, Michel Psellos, *Chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance* (976-1077) 2 (Paris 1928), 1, 2-6, 12.

Translation: This George Maniakes was not a servant who had suddenly become a strategos and was not one of those people who serve as promoters with their trumpets and the following day they become the commanders of the army. He started step by step and gradually ascended to the rank of strategos after assuming all the intermediate titles because he deserved it. However, when he achieved something and gained his laurels, he would find himself chained and sent to prison by the emperor. On the one hand he was sent as strategos holding absolute power in order to command the army, while, on the other hand, he would be betrayed by those who led him to trouble. He captured Edessa and faced accusations; he was sent to conquer Sicily and was recalled in the most humiliating way so that the island would not be occupied by him. I saw and admired this man because nature had given him all the merits of someone who wanted to become a military leader. He was ten feet tall and those who faced him raised their eyes high as if they looked at a hill or a summit. His face was neither pleasant nor sweet, but looked like thunder. He had a loud voice and his hands were so strong that they could shake a wall and shatter bronze gates. He was as vehement as a lion and he had a stern look. All his features confirmed and agreed with the above, while his fame magnified his physical presence. All the barbarians were very much afraid of him, either because they had seen or admired him or because they had heard of him and had been terrified. When we lost Italy and were deprived of the most valuable part of the territory, the second Michael sent him to fight against those who had captured it and return those regions to the imperial power. When I say 'Italy' I do not mean the entire peninsula but only the part that is closer to us and has adopted the name of the entire country. When Maniakes arrived there with his soldiers, he started to implement all kinds of strategies and it was obvious that he would turn the conquerors out. Moreover, he would repel the enemy's attacks with his own hands. But when Michael was dethroned and Emperor Constantine assumed power, whose history I have decided to write, the latter should reward him [Maniakes] with all kinds of letters and crown him with myriads of wreaths and, generally, do everything in order to recompense him. However, the emperor was completely indifferent and filled Maniakes with suspicions about his power and future disasters. Even when he remembered him and learnt that he was discontent and planned a revolt, he did not deal successfully with the problem. Instead of pretending that he ignored the plans, he exploded against Maniakes as if the latter had already revolted. So he did not send representatives to wheedle, calm and recall him to order, but, to say the least, to kill him or blame him for his discontent, almost whip him and lead him chained to Constantinople. In charge of the mission was a man who was not experienced in similar situations and did not have any political or military power; he was one of those scoundrels who suddenly found themselves in the palace. As soon as he reached the revolter, who was in command of the army and worried about the reason of the representative's arrival, he did not made it clear to him that he was there in order to start peace negotiations nor had he informed him about his arrival. He arrived without warning and, after rushing to him on horseback without saying anything about reconciliation, without any introduction so that the discussion could be helped, he attacked openly showering abuses upon him and threatening him. Maniakes grew certain about his previous suspicions and, fearing for an intrigue, became furious and raised his hand to frighten him. The representative, as if he had already arrested him red-handed, blamed him for his audacity and told him that he would not escape after such a serious crime. When Maniakes and his army realised there was no hope, they killed the representative and, certain that the emperor would retaliate, revolted. Because Maniakes was brave and a great military governor, his army was flooded with both underage and old men and not only with people eligible for the army. However, because Maniakes knew that strategy and experience, and not numbers, won victories in battles, he gathered the most experienced men, with whom he had captured lots of cities and loot and captives, and landed on the opposite bank as he had escaped the attention of the ships surveying the coast. None of those who had been sent against them dared to confront him, but let him advance undisturbed. These were the actions of Maniakes. As for the emperor, when he was informed about the murder of his representative and the desperate deed of Maniakes, he gathered a big army against him. Then, he was afraid that the commander of that army, after he had managed to iron out the revolter, could take advantage of his deed and

become an even more reboutable renegade, as he would command a huge army that could help him achieve anything he wanted. That is why he did not give the command to some of his bravest strategoi, but to an eunuch loyal to him, but who was not respected by anybody. The latter left Constantinople and marched against the revolter with a big army. When Maniakes learnt that the entire Byzantine army was against him, he was not afraid either by the number of his opponents or the extent of the mobilisation. He only thought about the usurpation of the throne and tried to take his opponents by surprise when they were still disorganised. He suddenly appeared in front of them, for his army marched without transport facilities. When the opponents managed to draw up and resist, they faced the rage of the man who was said to be impossible to face. Maniakes was shouting dreadful war cries and crossed the army on horseback spreading fear to all who faced him. He immediately scatered his opponents thanks to his bravery, but was defeated by a superior will, which remains a fathomless mystery to all us mortals. As he rattled and surrounded our troops fiercely, he scattered the dense phalanx of our soldiers, while the entire army was cut up. He then suddenly suffered a serious and deep blow on the right side and his blood started to flow. As if he had not felt the blow and had only seen his blood flowing, he put his hand on the wound and, on realising it was a fatal blow, lost all his hopes and tried to return to his camp walking away on the troops. But he was unable to ride his horse, as his body was very weak and he felt dizzy. He heaved a soft sigh and after he left the reins and slipped off the saddle, he dropped dead. It was a deplorable sight. Even when they saw him dead, our soldiers did not manage to find their lost courage; they pulled on the reins fearing that what they saw was a trick. Finally, when they realised that Maniakes' servant had fled and the horse ran free among the soldiers, they all rushed to the dead man and were amazed at the area his body occupied. They cut his head and took it to their commander. Later, many people claimed that they had killed Maniakes, while there were lots of invented versions of his death. As there was no way to find if this is true, a story was invented about some unknown riders who darted up to him and beheaded him. However, these fables are not grounded. As for the wound on his side, it had been caused by a spear, although the perpetrator remains unknown until today. This is how his life came to an end, while he had repeatedly suffered injustices and had committed few of the things he was accused of. As for his army, some soldiers escaped secretly to their birthplaces, although most of them joined our forces and, before the troops returned to the emperor, the revolter's head was sent to him. The emperor, as if he had got rid of a wave that had covered him, took a deep breath and thanked God. He put the head at the highest point of the Hippodrome so that everybody could see it even from afar.

3. Michael Attaleiates

3.1. Reference and Evaluation of the Activity of George Maniakes in Sicily

Μιχαήλ Ατταλειάτης, Ιστορία, ed. I. Bekker, Michaelis Attaliotae Historia (Bonn 1853), 8, 18-9, 15:

Ἄρτι τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα διέποντος τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς
λήξεως βασιλέως Μιχαήλ, ᾧ πατρὶς ἡ τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἐγ-
νωρίζετο ἐπαρχία, κατεπολεμήθη τὸ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν φῦλον (20)
πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ναυτικαῖς τε καὶ πεζικαῖς Ῥωμαίων
(9.) δυνάμεσι· καὶ εἰ μὴ διαβληθεὶς περὶ τυραννίδος ὁ τὴν στρα-
τηγίαν τῶν ὅλων ἐμπιστευθεὶς Γεώργιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Μανιάκης
ἐκ μέσου γέγονε, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνετέθη τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, κἂν
ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐτέλει νυνὶ νῆσος οὕτω μεγάλη καὶ περιβόητος
καὶ πόλεσι περιεζωσμένη μεγίσταις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρηστῶν (5)
οὐδενὸς ἀποδέουσα. νῦν δὲ ὁ φθόνος καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὰς
πράξεις καὶ τοσοῦτον κατειργάσατο ἔργον· αἰσχρῶς γὰρ καὶ
ἀγεννῶς βουλευσαμένων τῶν ὕστερον στρατηγῶν σὺν αὐτῇ
καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀπολώλει Ῥωμαίοις. οὐ
μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἵ ποτε σύμμαχοι καὶ τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας ἡμῖν (10)
συμμετέχοντες, ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θρησκείας, Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ
Λατῖνοι ὅσοι μετὰ τὴν ἑσπερίαν Ῥώμην τοῖς Ἰταλικοῖς πλη-
σιάζουσι μέρεσι, πολέμιοι παραλογώτατοι ἐχρημάτισαν ἐμπε-

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παρωνηκότος εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα τούτων τοῦ τότε τὴν στρατη-
γίαν ἰθύνοντος Μιχαὴλ δουκὸς τοῦ Δοκειανοῦ. (15)

Μιχαήλ Ατταλειάτης, Ιστορία, ed. I. Bekker, Michaelis Attaliotae Historia (Bonn 1853), 8, 18-9 15.

Translation: As soon as the deceased Emperor Michael, who came from the province of Paphlagonia, had assumed the throne in Byzantium the Arabs of the West were defeated in Sicily by the Byzantine infantry and fleet. If the chief strategos, the deceased George Maniakes, had not been wrongly accused of revolt, and had not been eliminated so that the war could be made by others, the large and famous island, which is adorned with big cities and does not lack anything, would be under the Byzantines today. But envy destroyed the man and his actions as well as this great task, because the strategoi that succeeded him were so inefficient and coward that the largest part of the army was lost together with the island. Moreover, the once allies and subjects of our country as well as our Christian brothers, Albanians and Latins who inhabit the Italian land to the south of Rome, became our bitter enemies because of the bad behaviour of the then strategos, the duke Michael Dokeianos, towards their leader.

3.2. Discharge of George Maniakes and Appointment as Katepano of Italy

ἐξήγαγε γὰρ καὶ τῆς χρονίας φρουρᾶς (15)
τόν τε Κωνσταντῖνον ἐκεῖνον τὸν Δαλασσηνόν, ὡς ὕποπτον
περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐν πύργῳ ἀποκλεισθέντα παρὰ τοῦ θείου
αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν πατρίκιον ἐκεῖνον Γεώργιον τὸν Μανιάκην,
ὃν καὶ τῷ τῶν μαγίστρων τετιμηκὼς ἀξιώματι καὶ κατεπάνω
Ἰταλίας προεχειρίσατο.

Μιχαήλ Ατταλειάτης, *Ιστορία*, ed. I. Bekker, Michaelis Attaliotae *Historia* (Bonn 1853), 11, 15-20.

Translation: Moreover, [Michael V] freed from their long imprisonment the deceased Constantine Dalassenos, who had been accused of instigating a coup and had been imprisoned by his uncle Michael V in a castle, as well as George Maniakes, who had been awarded the title of magister and had been appointed as katepano of Italy.

3.3. Return of George Maniakes from Magna Graecia to the Capital

Εὐεργετικώτερος δὲ τοῦ προβεβασιλευκότος ὁ Μονομά-
χος ἀποδειχθείς, καὶ πάντας σχεδὸν βασιλικοῖς ἀξιώμασι καὶ
δωρήμασι φιλοτίμοις ἀποσεμνύνας, ἠγάθυνε τὸ ὑπήκοον· ἐξ-
αίφνης δὲ νέφος ἐκ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἐγείρεται τετριγὸς καὶ ὀλέ-
θριον καὶ πανωλεθρίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπέλασιν (15)
ἀπειλοῦν, ἀνὴρ αἱμοχαρὴς καὶ γενναῖος, ὁ προμνημονευθεὶς
Γεώργιος, ᾧ Μανιάκης ἐπώνυμον, ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς ἀρχῆς
ἐπαναστὰς μετὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε συνόντων στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίων
καὶ Ἀλβανῶν, διὰ παρόρασιν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνιαθεὶς καὶ
προηγησαμένας ἔχθρας μετ' αὐτοῦ δεδιώς. καὶ τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ (20)
τῶν συναντησάντων στρατεύματα συνετάραξε καὶ κατέβαλε,
πρὸ δύο δὲ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἡμερῶν στρατοπεδευσάμενος
περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν προσβάλλει τῷ μεγίστῳ βασιλικῷ στρατο-
(19.) πέδῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐξεστρατευμένος ὁ παρὰ βασιλέως ἀπο-
σταλεὶς μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν δυνάμεων εἰς ἀντιπαράταξιν.
καὶ πολλὰ δράσας τοῖς βασιλικοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ καταπλή-
ξας τῇ ἀνυποίστῳ τούτου φορᾷ καὶ τοῖς οἰκειοχείροις πλη-

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γαῖς (καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τοῦ πλήθους προεπολέμει τε καὶ προε- (5)
κινδύνευε, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὃς τῷ φασγάνῳ τούτου τραυματισθεὶς
οὐ τῷ ἡμίσει καὶ πλείονι περιερρήγνυτο σώματι· τοιοῦτος
ἀκαταγώνιστος καὶ σταθηρὸς ἐγινώσκετο, μέγας ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐ-
ρύνωτος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν φοβερὸς καθιστάμενος, κἀν ταῖς βου-
λαῖς διαφέρων), καὶ κατορθῶσαι τὴν νίκην ἤδη τότε κα- (10)
ταλειφθείς, καὶ παρὰ τῶν πλείστων ἐναντίων ἐπευφημούμε-
νος, ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἀγώνων τοῦ ἵππου αὐτομάτως κατέρευ-
σεν, οἷα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίματα, καὶ ἀθιγὴς ἔκειτο, σκαιωρίαν
εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῶν ἀντιθέτων οἰομένων καὶ σόφισμα. ὡς
δὲ παρεγυμνοῦτο τὸ ἀληθές, ἐκδραμόντες πολλοὶ κείμενον αὐ- (15)
τὸν ἐπ' ἐδάφους κατέλαβον, αἵματι διάβροχον καὶ καιρίαν
ἔχοντα κατὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς. τῇ πτώσει τοίνυν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀμφ'
αὐτὸν διασκεδασθέντων, καὶ παλιντρόπου γενομένης τῆς νίκης,
ἐπανῆλθον οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως χαρᾷ καὶ φόβῳ διηγηματικῶς
συνεχόμενοι· τῷ προτερήματι γὰρ μὴ ἐπαιρόμενοι τὸ πᾶν (20)
τῇ θείᾳ δεξιᾷ ἐπεγράφοντο.

Μιχαήλ Ατταλειάτης, *Ιστορία*, ed. I. Bekker, Michaelis Attaliotae *Historia* (Bonn 1853), 18, 11-19, 21.

Translation: Monomachus proved more generous than the previous emperor and pleased his subjects by offering state positions and valuable gifts to almost all of them. Suddenly a dark and terrible danger appeared from the West threatening to eliminate and dethrone him. It was George Maniakes with his Byzantine and Albanian soldiers, a brave and bloodthirsty man, who was on his way back from Italy, which he ruled. He was discontent because he had not been honoured by the emperor and was afraid of their previous enmity. He had defeated all the troops he had found in his way. He camped within a distance of two-day march from Thessaloniki and late in the afternoon he confronted the main body of the imperial forces under their leader who had been sent by the emperor to confront him. His valour against the imperial soldiers was admired by them, while his uncontrollable vehemence and the blows he delivered with his own hand (he fought in front of his soldiers and his life was at risk on the front line) astonished them. All those who suffered his sword strokes were almost cut in two, while he seemed so invincible, redoubtable and sturdy, as he was tall and big and very intelligent, that when he had almost won the victory his opponents cheered him as an emperor. It was towards the end of the battle that he fell off his horse, without reason, it must have been God's will, and landed on the ground without being touched. His opponents believed that it was some trick of his, but when they realised the truth, they ran to him and found him in blood because he had been fatally wounded on his side. When his men saw that he was killed and they would be defeated, they were scattered, while the imperial soldiers did not boast about their victory and returned full of joy and fear, believing that their victory had come thanks to God's intervention.

4. A Version of the Fall of Magna Graecia to George Maniakes and the Following Revolt

Κατεσχέθη δὲ ἡ Λογγιβαρδία πρὸς τοῦ Ῥουμπέρτου τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. Γεώργιος ὁ Μανιάκης ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πραγμάτων ἀποσταλείς, παρὰ τῆς αὐγούστης Ζωῆς μάγιστρος τιμηθείς, προσηταιρίσατο μὲν Φράγκους πολλούς, καθημέρωσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Δοκειανοῦ κακωθέντας καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἔν τισι θέμασι τῆς Ἰταλίας παρεσκεύασεν· ἐδεδίεσαν γὰρ αὐτὸν πεῖραν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν πολέμοις γενναιότητος ἔχοντες. Ἀντάραντος δὲ τῷ Μονομάχῳ καὶ κατηγωνισμένου, οἱ μὲν σὺν αὐτῷ περαιωθέντες τῷ βασιλεῖ δουλωθέντες Μανιακάτοι τε ἐπωνομάσθησαν καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ ἐναπέμειναν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὑπελείφθησαν.

Συνεχιστής Ιωάννου Σκυλίτζη, ed. Εύ. Τσολάκης, *Η Συνέχεια της Χρονογραφίας του Ιωάννου Σκυλίτζη* (Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου 105, Thessaloniki 1968), 167, 6-16.

Translation: South Italy was conquered by Robert Guiscard as follows. When George Maniakes was sent to restore the the

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Italian matters to stability, after he was awarded the title of magister by Empress Zoe, he was followed by lots of Franks and managed to calm those who had been harmed by Dokeianos and peacefully settle them in some of the themes of Italy, as they were afraid of him because they knew that he was a very brave fighter. However, when he revolted against Monomachus and was defeated, some of those who had followed him from Italy submitted to the emperor; they were renamed Maniakatoi and remained in Byzantine territories, while the rest of them remained in Italy.

Χρονολόγιο

3rd quarter of the 10th c.: Birth of Goudelios Maniakes.

Late 10th – early 11th c.: Birth of George Maniakes.

1st quarter of 11th c.: Birth of Theophylaktos Maniakes.

August 1030: George Maniakes repels an attack against Telouch. Commander of the cities along the Euphrates border.

Late October 1031: George Maniakes captures Edessa of Mesopotamia.

1034-1035: George Maniakes is transferred to Vaspurakan.

1038-1039: George Maniakes campaigns in Sicily, where he repeatedly defeats the Arabs.

1040: George Maniakes defeats the Arabs at Dragines and captures Syracuse. He is falsely accused by his second in command and is imprisoned in Constantinople.

1042: George Maniakes is sent to S. Italy, where he defeats the Normans. He revolts because of conflicts with the imperial court.

Early 1043: The army of Maniakes lands on the Balkan Peninsula and marches against Constantinople.

Between April and June 1043: Death of George Maniakes during a battle against the imperial forces near Amphipolis of the Struma River.

Summer 1057: General Theophylaktos Maniakes remains loyal to Emperor Michael VI but his forces fail to defeat the rebel Isaac Komnenos in Asia Minor.