## ЧЕЛОВЕК И ОБЩЕСТВО

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# FROM CONQUEST TO THE FAILED USURPATION: CAREER OF A TYPICAL BYZANTINE COMMANDER GEORGE MANIAKES

George Maniakes is one of the most interesting figures of the Byzantine Middle Ages. He appears for the first time in the sources in 1030 during a campaign of Romanos III Argyros against Aleppo. Maniakes held at the time the post of strategos of Teluch<sup>1</sup>. When the Romanos III withdrew from Syria as a result of the failure of his campaign<sup>2</sup>, the band of Arabs marched against Teluch and falsely told Maniakes that while the Emperor was killed he should surrender the city to them. Maniakes pretended to be obedient by promising to them a surrender of the city in the next day and by sending them supply, including wine, in the meantime. Arabs believing that the city is practically under their control joined the feast and when asleep drunk Maniakes attacked them with his crew and slew all. He cut off the noses of defeated enemies and sent them to the Emperor who was then residing in the Phokades estates. The Emperor rewarded Maniakes with promotion to the position of katepno of the important border province of Vaspurakan in Armenia («Lower Media» in Skylitzes' account)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes. Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum / Ed. J. Thurn, in: Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Berlin, 1973. Vol. 5. P. 38–39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Michael Psellos*. Michele Psello Imperatori di Bisanzio / Ed. S. Impellizzeri, S. Ronchey. Roma, 1984. No 3.11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 381.38–382.58. Argyros' grant is confirmed by a seal: Шандровская, В. С. К истории фемы Васпуракан, В кн.: Византийский Временник, 1994. Т. 55. С. 155; Jordanov, I. Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria: Vol. I: Byzantine seals with geographical names. Sofia, 2003. P. 43. Cf. Арутюнова-Фиданян, В. А. Фема Васпуракан, В кн.: Византийский Временник, 1973. Т. 38. С. 87–88.

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Maniakes did not manage the Armenian province for too long because a year later he was restored to the post on the upper Euphrates, an area which at that time was at the centre of the interest of Argyros' Eastern policy<sup>4</sup>. Maniakes held the position of *strategos* of the cities on the Euphrates with the seat in the city of Samosata in the rank of protospatharios<sup>5</sup>. During this time he managed to conquer for the Empire the city of Edessa, an important stronghold on the Byzantine-Syrian border. He achieved this thanks to an agreement with Turkish governor of the city Sulayman ibn al-Kurji, known in Byzantine sources as Salaman. The sources are not quite in an agreement on how he captured the city. According to Skylitzes, Salaman received the city from the emir of Martyropolis Apomerbanes (Nasr ad-Dawla ibn Marwan from Marwanid dynasty)6. On the other hand, Aristakes claims that Salaman was the lover of the wife of previous emir and she made him the successor to the deceased husband<sup>7</sup>. The second of accounts seems unlikely when compared to the one presented by Matthew of Edessa. According to his account, Edessa at the time was governed by two warring emirs: Shabal and Utair. Salaman was a supporter of Shabal and the commander of one of the towers belonging to him. Utair emerged victorious from a fierce rivalry and murdered Shabal, however, he was unable to took possession

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The city of Aleppo in particular, see: *Shepard*, *J*. A Suspected source of Scylitzes' Synopsis Historion: The great Catacalon Cecaumenos, in: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 1992. Vol. 16. P. 171–181. Of different opinion is: *Bonarek*, *J*. Bizancjum w dobie bitwy pod Mantzikert. Kraków, 2011. P. 110. On the Byzantine policy towards Aleppo at the end of the tenth century see: *Farag*, *W*. The Aleppo question: a Byzantine-Fatimid conflict of interests in Northern Syria in the later tenth century A.D., in: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 1990. Vol. 14. P. 44–60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 387.87–88; Аристакес Ластивертци. Повествование Вардапета Аристакэса Ластивертци / Отв. ред. К. Н. Юзбашян. Москва: Наука, 1968. № 7; Matthew of Edessa. The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa / Ed. A. E. Dostourian. New York, 1993. No 1.59; Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art: T. 4: The East / Ed. E. McGeer, E. J. Nesbit, et al. Washington, 2001. No 69.1; Stavrakos, C. Unpublizierte Bleisiegel der Familie Maniakes: Der Fall Georgios Maniakes, in: Studies in Byzantine Sigillography / Hrsg. von J. Cheynet, C. Sode. München und Leipzig, 2004. Bd. 8. Bd. 8. S. 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 387.94–95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Аристакес Ластивертци. Повествование. № 7.

of the tower held by Salaman. Besieged Turk found support in person of emir of Martyropolis, who sent to Edessa Bal-al-Rais as his representative, who soon mastered the entire Edessa and treacherously murdered Utair. Subsequently, the wife of Utair took arms against Bal-al-Raisa and when he was unable to deal with her Nasr ad-Dawla ibn Marwan recalled him and sent Salaman instead<sup>8</sup>. The account of Skylitzes, although much more simplified, is in accordance with that of Matthew of Edessa. Whereas Aristakes' account is unreliable. Maniakes was able to acquire Edessa without a fight because it was given to him by Salamanes. The latter made a proposal to the strategos of Samosata that he will surrender the city in exchange for honours and the estate on the Byzantine territory<sup>9</sup>. Occupation of the city by the Byzantine forces was met with violent reaction of the Muslim world<sup>10</sup>. Maniakes managed to keep possession of all the towers but the city was burned and pillaged. According to Matthew of Edessa, many Armenian citizens of the city were killed by fire in the church of St. Sophia where they found refugee11. After the withdrawal of Muslims forces Maniakes sized control of the rest of Edessa<sup>12</sup>.

In September of 1034 John the Orphanotrophos, the brother of the Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian, entrusted the command of Vaspurakan theme to Maniakes (it was his second lieutenancy in this province), and passed Edessa to Leo Lependrenos<sup>13</sup>. According to V. Ariutiunova-Fidanian Maniakes held the command of the Vaspurakan in the years 1035–1037 replacing *patrikios* Constantine Kabasilas<sup>14</sup>. If indeed

<sup>11</sup> Matthew of Edessa. The Chronicle. No 1.58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Matthew of Edessa. The Chronicle. No 1.58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 387.91-94; Matthew of Edessa. The Chronicle. No 1.58; Apucmaкес Ластивертци. Повествование. № 7. While Yahya al-Antaki. Histoire de Yahya ibn Said d'Antioche / Éd. I. Kratchkovsky; F. Micheau; G. Troupeau. Turnhout. No 47.4, insists that it was Maniakes who proposed this arrangement to Salaman.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *Matthew of Edessa*. The Chronicle. No 1.58 presents long list of minor Muslim rulers who besieged Edessa; *Shepard*, *J*. A Suspected source. P. 387.94–95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Yahya al-Antaki. Histoire. P. 513; *Ripper, T.* Die Marwaniden von Diyar Bakr: Eine kurdische Dynastie im islamischen Mittelalter. Würzburg, 2009. S. 299–303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 397.49–51. According to Matthew of Edessa. The Chronicle. No 1.58, Maniakes left Edessa when Michael IV still ruled the Empire and was replaced by certain Abukab, the tent-guard of David the curopalates. <sup>14</sup> Арутюнова-Фиданян, В. А. Фема Васпуракан. С. 87.

it was a case, than Maniakes was responsible for the temporary loss of the city of Berkri acquired by predecessor<sup>15</sup>. Very interesting is the report of Aristakes about how the city was lost. Kabasilas took Berkri with the exception of the citadel which was commanded by a certain Khetrik. *Stragegos* of Vaspurakan was replaced by another commander (probably Maniakes), who went with part of his army to Arcak in order to replenish supplies. The greater part of the army remained at Berkri and lacking discipline devoted itself to drunkenness and feasting. While in this state, the Byzantine soldiers were unable to defend themselves from Muslim army which arrived from Persia. According to the testimony of Aristakes, twenty–four thousand Byzantine soldiers were slain and only the arrival of reinforcements sent by the Emperor allowed the recapture of the city and conquest of the citadel<sup>16</sup>. The situation, though eventually saved, was similar to the defeat of the Arab host at Teluch.

In 1038 Maniakes was sent to Sicily<sup>17</sup>. Reason for the start of military action against the island were plundering expeditions of African and Sicilian pirates on the Byzantine coasts<sup>18</sup>. Constantinople initially tried to form their relations with the Sicilian emir Ahmad al-Akhal peace-fully by dispatching George Probatas with diplomatic mission. He managed to negotiate a treaty of friendship with the emir who received the rank of *magistros* and sent his son to Constantinople as a hostage<sup>19</sup>. The agreement with Byzantium was viewed as a weakness among Sicilian elite and soon the rebellion against Ahmad al-Achal was founded

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This event was described by *Аристакес Ластивертци*. Повествование. № 9, although he does not call successor of Kabasilas by name; cf. *Matthew of Edessa*. The Chronicle. N. 1.65, who, however, described only an attempt of a conquest of the city by Armenian prince Gandzi and does not inform that in the end the Byzantine troops captured Berkri.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Аристакес Ластивертци. Повествование. № 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> About the campaign on Sicily see: *Chalandon, F.* Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile. Paris, 1907. P. 90–95; *Falkenhausen, V., von* La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo. Bari, 1978. P. 95–96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> It was the last Muslim incursion on the Aegean confirmed by the courses, see: *Pryor*, *J.*, *Jeffreys*, *E*. The Age of the Dromon: The Byzantine Navy ca. 500–1204. Leiden, 2006. P. 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> *Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 398.79–82, 88–89; *Felix, W.* Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert: Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen von 1001 bis 1055. Wien, 1981. S. 205.

by his brother Abu Hafs with the support of Zirids from Africa. The defeated emir found shelter at the court of *katepano* of Longobardia Constantine Opos (also known in some sources as Leo)<sup>20</sup> who intervened on his behalf<sup>21</sup>. After initial success Opos was forced to withdraw from the island because brothers reached an agreement and started preparation for a joint attack on him. His retreat allowed the Zirids to take control over the island<sup>22</sup>.

In 1038 Maniakes landed in Sicily with an army made up of troops from the Eastern themes, the Normans, Varangians led by Harald Hardrada, the future king of Norway and pretender to the English throne, from the company of Arduin of Milan and from the Byzantine fleet commanded by the Emperor's brother Stephen<sup>23</sup>. His first success was the seizure of Messina, which enabled him to march south towards Syracuse, the most important centre of Greek culture on the island. His march was halted by the Zirid army at Rhemata, where he won a great victory allowing him to conquer thirteen towns<sup>24</sup>. In 1040 the African Emir Abdallah Ben al-Mu'izz returned to Sicily with a stronger contingent in order to drive out Maniakes from the island. The two leaders met at Draginai (present Troina), where the Byzantine army achieved complete victory. However, not everything went according to Maniakes' plan who expected from Stephen that he will prevent the evacuation of Zirid army by sea. According to the report of Skylitzes, Maniakes accused Stephen of laziness, incompetence and betraval of the interests of the Emperor dealing him few blows to the head. For the humiliation of the Emperor's brother Maniakes was relieved of his command. Stephen wrote a letter to his brother John in which he accused Maniakes of forging the revolt. Maniakes was recalled to Constantinople where he was arrested<sup>25</sup>. As a result of his dismissal the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Cheynet, J. La place des catépans d'Italie dans la hiérarchie militaire et sociale de Byzance, in: Νέα Ρώμη Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche, 2007. Vol. 4. P. 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> *Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 398.89–90; *Felix, W.* Byzanz und die islamische Welt. S. 204–205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 401.58-66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Novello, G. Giorgio Maniace, in: Porphyra, 2007. Vol. 9. P. 87-88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 408.22-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 406.5-6.

high command was entrusted to Stephen, whose incompetence has led to the loss of all previous gains, with the exception of Messina defended by Katakalon Kekaumenos<sup>26</sup>.

Any attempts of a counteroffensive were prevented by the unrest in the South of the Italian peninsula where the rebellions of local troops — *konteratori* and of mercenaries led by Arduin (in March 1941) were launched<sup>27</sup>. Arduin was able to defeat two subsequent katepans Michael Dokeianos and Basil Boioannes. Defeats in Italy, as well as a change of government in Constantinople after the death of Michael IV and the removal of his brother John Orphanotrophos resulted not only in a release of Maniakes from prison but also came with his restoration to the post in Italy<sup>28</sup>. In the meantime Argyros, son of Meles, took up the arms against the Byzantine government and sized control of the city of Bari with the support of the Normans<sup>29</sup>. After landing in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> *Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 406.16–407.50, Kekaumenos' garrison consisted of three hundred cavalry and five hundred infantryman. Interesting is a similarity in Skylitzes' description of the defence of Messina by Kekaumenos and of Teluch by Maniakes. Kekaumenos attacked drunken Muslim forces at night thus relieving the city from siege. Historian devotes much space to this man which was explained by Skylitzes' reliance on the source associated with Kekaumenos, see: *Shepard, J.* A Suspected source. P. 173; it is possible that the similarity in the description of both sieges arouse under the influence of single source.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The reasons of Arduin's rebellion are provided by *Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 426.1–23, who accuses Dokeianos of provoking the mercenaries but the Latin source ascribes fault to Maniakes who does not wanted to share with Arduin and his men the booty gained on Muslims, *Gauffredo Malaterra*. De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius / Ed. E. Pontieri; L. A. Muratori, in: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. Bologna, 1927–1928. Vol. 5(1). No 1.7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> *Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 417.1–2, says that he returned to his estates in the Armeniakon theme, while the office of *katepano* of Longobardia he received from the Empress Zoe; *Michael Attaleiates*. The History / Ed. A. Kaldellis, D. Krallis. Cambridge, 2012. N 4.3 [Bonn edition: *Michael Attaleiates*. Historia / Ed. I. Bekker, in: *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn, 1853. P. 11], on the other hand insists that Maniakes acquired governorship of Italy when Michael IV was still alive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Chalandon, F. Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile. Paris, 1907. P. 96; Cheynet, J. Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210). Paris, 1990. P. 48.

Apulia, Maniakes restored the Byzantine rule in many cities in the South of the peninsula, although he avoided direct confrontation with Argyros and the Normans who conquered the northern part of Apulia<sup>30</sup>. After these successes he was again removed from office due to suspicions of conspiracy and for the second time his achievements were lost. Maniakes on the hearing of this news launched the rebellion and proclaimed himself emperor.

The Byzantine sources presents the causes of Maniakes' rebellion in different ways although they appear to be coherent. Michael Psellos claims that Constantine IX Monomachos acted inappropriately towards katepno of Italy. He did not bestow on him honours which he deserved thus sowing in him seeds of distrust<sup>31</sup>. Michael Attaleiates gives similar reasons for the rebellion. He states that Constantine IX was a generous ruler, even more generous than his predecessors, but George Maniakes did not benefit from this generosity and was neglected by the ruler. Attaleiates also mentions the grudge existing between both men but does not specify what kind of animosity it was<sup>32</sup>. The most interesting and complete picture of the situation was presented by John Skylitzes. Romanos Skleros, Maniakes' neighbour from the Anatolikon theme, was his great enemy and tried to kill him on many occasions. The importance of Romanos at the court of Constantinople grew enormously when his sister Maria became the Emperor's mistress. Monomachos at this time bestowed on Skleros the dignity of magistros and office of protostratos. When the aristocrat felt that his power is limitless he invaded the estates of Maniakes, burned villages belonging to him and raped his wife. Maniakes reacted with a fury when heard about this and was even more infuriated when the orders came from Constantinople about his dismissal, sent from Skleros' instigation. In the opinion of Skylitzes, Maniakes had no other option than to initiate a rebellion perceiving that he could not seek justice from the Emperor associated with Skleroi<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> *Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 427.55–56, mentions Capua, Benevento and Naples.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Michael Psellos. Imperatori di Bisanzio. No 6.79.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Michael Attaleiates. The History. No 5.1 [Bonn edition: Michael Attaleiates. Historia.
P. 18].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 427.57-428.1.

After the murdering of the emperor's emissary protosaptarios Pardos<sup>34</sup>, Maniakes crossed the Adriatic Sea and landed in Dyrrachium in February 1043. The battle with the Emperor's army commanded by the eunuch Stephen took place at Ostrovo in the theme of Bulgaria<sup>35</sup>. Michael Psellos presented the most detailed description of the battle. Historian underlined the fear that prevailed among imperial soldiers on the sight of Maniakes, who broke through imperial soldiers like a storm causing them to flee. While pursuing the remnants of Stephen's army he suddenly received a blow to his side and fell from horse. The imperial soldiers were afraid to approach the lying Maniakes viewing this as a sort of a trick. However, when they saw that his horse ran away and there is no sight of his squire, they rushed toward him and cut off his head. Allegedly, the soldier who dealt him fatal blow was never found<sup>36</sup>. Seeing this rebel soldiers either rushed to escape or went over to the emperor. The winning sebastophoros Stephen took a solemn triumph in the capital. At the front of the procession Maniakes' head was carried on a pike while his officers and soldiers rode on donkeys backwards and their heads were shaved<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> According to *Michael Psellos*. Imperatori di Bisanzio. No 6.80–81, Pardos was sent in order to kill Maniakes or at least to humiliate him in the presence of his troops, arrest him and bring to Constantinople; *Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 428–1–3, says that Pardos was appointed by Constantine IX Monomachos as a new governor of Italy; cf. a seal of Pardos as a *protospatarios* and exkoubitor of Longobardia, *Laurent, V.* Contribution à la prosopographie du thème de Longobardie, in: *Byzantino-sicula II. Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi /* Éd. G. Rossi Taibbi. Palermo, 1975. P. 317.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> *Michael Psellos.* Imperatori di Bisanzio. No 6.83, relates that Consantine IX appointed him not because of his commanding skills which he in fact lacked but because he feared to entrust a command to someone skilled and experienced and thus risking another usurpation. Ironical is the fact that even eunuch Sephen could not be trusted because soon after the death of Maniakes he arranged a plot which goal was to install Leo Lampros as an Emperor, *Michael Attaleiates.* The History. No 5.2. [Bonn Edition: *Michael Attaleiates.* Historia. P. 20.]; *Ioannes Skylitzes.* Synopsis Historiarum. P. 429.29–430.34.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Michael Psellos. Imperatori di Bisanzio. No 6.84–86, as was previously stated relates that Maniakes was struck in the side and his version is followed by Michael Attaleiates. The History. No 5.1 [Bonn Edition: Michael Attaleiates. Historia. P. 19]; while Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 428.83–98, insists that he was wounded in the head.
<sup>37</sup> Michael Psellos. Imperatori di Bisanzio. No 6.87; Michael Attaleiates. The History. No 5.2. [Bonn Edition: Michael Attaleiates. Historia. P. 20]; Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 428.95–98.

George Maniakes shared the fate of many Byzantine commanders who felt unappreciated by the government in Constantinople<sup>38</sup>. Many scholars have seen the reasons for this in the struggle between the military and civil aristocracy from which the latter dominated public offices in Byzantium for the most part of the eleventh century<sup>39</sup>. The change came with the rebellion of Isaac Komnenos. The famous commander appeared with his subordinates at the court of the Emperor Michael VI the Old and asked for honours for himself and his fellow soldiers but was send away. This caused a rebellion which, unlike that of Maniakes, resulted in the victory of Komnenos and his associates, although not lasting one<sup>40</sup>. Soon the Emperor abdicated in favour of his friend Constantine X Doukas who modified policy of his predecessor towards civil aristocracy trying to gain acceptance of both parties<sup>41</sup>. It was the seizure of power by Alexios I Komnenos, nephew of Isaac which signalised final triumph of the military aristocracy, at least that part of it which was related to the Komnenoi by marriage or blood.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> This is particularly evident during the reign of Constantine VIII who faced many real and imagined conspiracies during his short reign due to his mistrust towards aristocracy and reliance on eunuchs in administrative matters, Skylitzes mentions prosecutions of Nikephoros Komnenos (*Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 371.54–372.70), who according to *Apucmakec Macmusepmuu*. Повествование. № 5, was innocent, Bardas Phokas (*Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 372.70–73), Basil Skleros (*Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 372.70–73), Basil Skleros (*Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 372.80–86), Romanos Kourkouas (*Ioannes Skylitzes*. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 372.87–88); for the full list of plots against Constantine VIII see: *Cheynet*, J. Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance. P. 38–41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> For the summary of the past and recent scholarship on this topic see: *Angold M*. Belle Époque or Crisis? (1025–1118) // Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire / Ed. J. Shepard. Cambridge, 2008. P. 583–610.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> On the rebellion of Isaac Komenos see: Michael Psellos. Imperatori di Bisanzio. No 7.4-43; Michael Attaleiates. The History. No 11.4-9 [Bonn Edition: Michael Attaleiates. Historia. P. 54-59]; Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis Historiarum. P. 487.18-500.93; Ostrogorsky, G. Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates. München, 1963. S. 279; Shepard, J. Isaac Comnenus' Coronation Day, in: Byzantinoslavica, 1977. Vol. 38. P. 22-30; Angold, M. The Byzantine Empire 1025-1118: A Political History. London, 1984. P. 71-73; Inoue, K. The Rebellion of Isaakios Komnenos and the Provincial Aristocratic Oikoi, in: Byzantinoslavica, 1993. Vol. 54. No 54. P. 268-278; Cheynet, J. Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance. P. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Angold, M. Belle Époque or Crisis? (1025–1118), in: Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire / Ed. by J. Shepard. Cambridge, 2008. P. 583–626. P. 607.

### Информация о статье

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В настоящей работе рассматривается карьера известного византийского аристократа Георгия Маниака. Его жизнь и судьба демонстрирует все те проблемы, которые стояли перед Византийской империей в середине XI в. Автор дает развернутую биографию византийского деятеля, возглавлявшего войну с арабами, норманнами и др., и сообщает о его военных достижениях и участии в придворной политике. Несмотря на то что Георгий Маниак был победоносным военачальником, все его достижения не были по достоинству оценены Константинопольским правительством: напротив, аристократия видела в нем угрозу, поскольку он обладал талантом и военной силой в тот нестабильный с политической точки зрения период. После восстания Исаака Комненоса известный командующий был осужден, лишен всех титулов и отправлен в ссылку. Однако после переворота, осуществленного Алексеем I Комнином, племянником императора Исаака, военная аристократия, с которой Георгий Маниак был связан родственными или династическими отношениями, снова пришла к власти.

*Ключевые слова:* Византийская империя, военное дело Византии, византийская аристократия, Георгий Маниак, Михаил IV

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The present paper considers the career of the famous Byzantine aristocrat George Maniakes. His life and fate demonstrates all the problems that faced the Byzantine Empire in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The author gives a detailed biography of the Byzantine leader, who led a war with the Arabs, Normans and others, announces his military achievements and participation in court politics. Despite the fact that George Maniakes was a victorious commander, his achievements were not appreciated by the Constantinople Government: on the contrary, the aristocracy saw it as a threat, because he had the talent and military force in the unstable from a political point of view, period. After the rebellion of Isaac Komnenos, the famous commander was convicted, stripped of all titles and sent into exile. However, after the coup, carried out by Alexis I Comnenus, a nephew of the emperor Isaac, military aristocracy with which George Maniakes was connected by family or dynastic relations again came to power.

Key words: Byzantine Empire, Byzantine Warfare, Byzantine Aristocracy, George Maniakes, Michael IV

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