

## ST CONSTANTINE AND »THE ARMY OF HEROIC MEN« RAISED BY TIBERIUS II IN 574/575: SOME THOUGHTS ON THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EARLY BYZANTINE SILVER HOARD AT KARLSRUHE\*

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### THE SILVER HOARD AT THE BADISCHES LANDESMUSEUM KARLSRUHE

In 1993, the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe purchased a small hoard of partly damaged early Byzantine silver objects<sup>1</sup>. The original findspot and context of the treasure is unknown but it may be identical with some silver artefacts discovered in the Biqā valley in Lebanon in 1983<sup>2</sup>. The ensemble, which obviously belonged to a church, consists of a censer, a cross, three chalices and a spoon (fig. 1). The silver content of the objects accounts for 93-95 %. The total weight of the treasure adds up to 1644.8 g, i. e. quite precisely five Roman pounds that correlate with a monetary value of 20 solidi<sup>3</sup>. The composition of the hoard is not unusual as comparable hoards consisting of a modest number of pieces of church silver dating to the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries are known from Greater Syria<sup>4</sup>. As a detailed description and discussion of the objects is given elsewhere<sup>5</sup>, a summary of the basic data should suffice here.

\* A shortened version of this article entitled »Early Byzantine church silver offered for the eternal rest of Framarich and Karilos: Evidence of »the army of heroic men« raised by Tiberius II Constantine?« appeared in: S. Esders / Y. Fox / Y. Hen / L. Sarti (eds), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages. The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge 2019) 87-107.

<sup>1</sup> The investigation of the silver objects took place as part of the compilation of the collection catalogue of late antique and Byzantine antiquities at the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (see Fourlas 2017). The enterprise was conducted as part of the research programme of the Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz / Frankfurt: *Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident* – an interdisciplinary research cooperation of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum and the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz. The collection catalogue has been published in 2017 as volume 8, 1 of the series »Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident«.

<sup>2</sup> The silver hoard was purchased from the art dealer Nicolas Koutoulakis (Switzerland) and the objects were in his possession

since 1985 according to Prof. Dr Marlia Mundell Mango (pers. comm.). The conformity of the silver hoard now at Karlsruhe with objects found in the Biqā valley is suggested by M. Mundell Mango (pers. comm. and Mundell Mango 1998, 215 note 41). The information on the discovery is based on the testimony of the Lebanese archaeologist Ibrahim Kawkabani, the witness at the trial dealing with the famous Seuso treasure at the Supreme Court of the State of New York (record of 17 May 1993, 141-151). But I. Kawkabani refers only to five objects (a censer, a cross, a spoon and two others). I am much obliged to Maria Mundell Mango for providing me with a copy of the court records.

<sup>3</sup> One Roman Pound of silver correlates with approximately four solidi: Mundell Mango 1992b, 124. 133. The early Byzantine pound equals 322-324 g according to Schilbach 1970, 166-167.

<sup>4</sup> Mundell Mango 1986, 228-250 nos 57-76.

<sup>5</sup> Fourlas 2017, 145-161 nos IV.115-120.



**Fig. 1** Silver hoard at the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe: general view. – (Photo Th. Goldschmidt, Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe).

**1 Censer** (inv. no. 93/1055)

Height 6 cm, diameter c. 10.5-11 cm, weight 183 g

Date: late 6<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> third of 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Inscription: at upper rim Μεγαλοῦς ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσ(εως) Καριλίου προσένεγκ(εν) τῷ ἀγ(ίω) Κο(ν)σταντίνῳ («Megalous offered this for the [eternal] rest of Karilos to Saint Constantine»).

Decoration: four medallions with nimbed bust images of Christ, a veiled woman (certainly the Mother of God), an angel (Gabriel) and an armed young soldier, certainly St Constantine (fig. 3).

**2 Cross** (inv. no. 93/1060)

Height 13.6 cm, width 11.2 cm, weight 41.8 g

Date: c. 2<sup>nd</sup> third of the 6<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Inscription: cross monogram consisting of the letters Λ, Κ, Ο, C, Α most probably the name of a donor in the genitive.

**fig. 2**

**3 Chalice** (inv. no. 93/1056)

Original height c. 26 cm, diameter c. 20 cm, weight 635.7 g

Date: c. mid-6<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

**4 Chalice** (inv. no. 93/1057)

Height 17 cm, diameter c. 13 cm, weight 332.3 g

Date: probably later 6<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

**5 Chalice** (inv. no. 93/1058)

**fig. 4**

Height 19.7 cm, diameter c. 13-15.5 cm, weight 394.8 g

Date: c. 2<sup>nd</sup> third of the 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Inscription: at upper rim Ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως Φράμαριχ («for the memory and [eternal] rest of Framarich»).

**6 Spoon** (inv. no. 93/1059)

**fig. 5**

Length 22 cm, weight 57 g

Date: c. 2<sup>nd</sup> third of the 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Inscription: Φύσα μὴ καῖς («blow, so that you shall not burn yourself») on the handle and a cross-shaped monogram on the disc consisting of the letters Φ, Ρ, Μ, Α.



**Fig. 2** Silver hoard at the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe: censer no. 1. – (Photo Th. Goldschmidt, Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe).

The dating of the objects is based on typological, stylistic and epigraphical criteria. They show resemblances to early Byzantine silverware especially from Syria from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> to early-7<sup>th</sup> centuries and were, therefore, most probably manufactured in the region. There are several significant similarities with pieces of the Attarouthi treasure (from Taroutia Emporon, modern Karrätin al-Kabira; prov. Idlib/SYR; **fig. 6**) which is dated to the later 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century, in particular, the censers<sup>6</sup>.

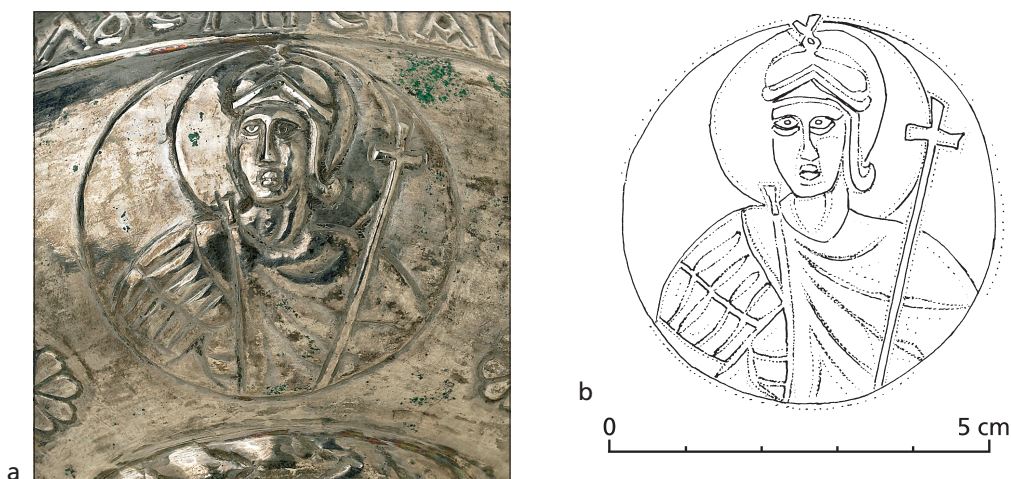
The timeframe for the hiding date of the (possibly incomplete) treasure is narrowed down to the later 6<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest by the dating of censer no. 1<sup>7</sup>. It is usually assumed that several silver treasures of church inventories datable to the period of the 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> century especially from Syria, Lebanon and Turkey<sup>8</sup> were hidden as a consequence of the Sasanian and Arab invasions<sup>9</sup> and the treasure in Karlsruhe fits well into this context. If the treasure was indeed discovered in the Biqā valley it may have been hidden

<sup>6</sup> On these coincides see in detail Fourlas 2017, 152-153. 156-157 nos IV.118-120. – On the place see Todt/Vest 2014, 1807-1808 s.v. Tarutias, komē. – On the Attarouthi treasure see Cat. New York 2012, 41-44 no. 22 (H. C. Evans / H. A. Badamo); Piguët-Panayotova 2009; Elbern 2004. – On the censers see Piguët-Panayotova 1998a, 28-30 appendix 6-11; 1998b, 646-653 figs 11-23.

<sup>7</sup> On the dating of the censer see in detail Fourlas 2017, 156 no. IV.120.

<sup>8</sup> The treasures are listed by Mundell Mango 1992a, XXIV note 21. – Cf. the survey by Witt 2006, 109-113.

<sup>9</sup> Hellenkemper 1986; 1992; Effenberger 1991, 264. – Cf. Drauschke 2013, esp. 140-141.



**Fig. 3** Silver hoard at the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe: depiction of St Constantine on censer no. 1. – (a photo R. Müller, RGZM; b drawing M. Ober, RGZM).

during the Sasanian advance towards Damascus through the Orontes valley in 613, although a burial in the context of the Arab occupation of the Biqā valley in 635-637 appears more likely<sup>10</sup>.

Due to the lack of any information regarding the archaeological context of the hoard in Karlsruhe an interpretation must rely on information provided by the objects themselves. Apart from typological, iconographical and stylistic criteria especially the inscriptions offer significant clues for further discussion. They are remarkable for two reasons. First, they attest the obviously Germanic name Framarich (nos 5-6), which is quite exceptional on early Byzantine church silver<sup>11</sup>. The name Karilos on censer no. 1 is also of western provenance and both names indicate some relation of the local community to foreigners from the west. Second, the inscription on no. 1 seems to witness a saints' cult of the first Christian emperor Constantine otherwise hardly known at that time. Furthermore, the armed soldier depicted on the censer is certainly to be identified with the saint named in the inscription and the object is thus providing one of the earliest images of Constantine as a saint (**fig. 3**). The questions that emerge from this remarkable silver hoard are quite obvious: Why are foreigners from the West commemorated in the East and how can the exceptional veneration of Constantine be explained? In my paper, I will try to reconstruct the historical setting of the community that generated and used this ensemble of silver objects.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions on the censer (no. 1) and the chalice (no. 5) have a commemorative character. The first inscription is addressed to St Constantine in the dative case in view of the salvation of a certain Karilos. This

<sup>10</sup> In autumn 613, the Persian general Sahrbaraz advanced through the Orontes valley and crossed the Anti-Lebanon in order to capture Damascus (Stratos 1968, 107-108). – See Russell 2001, 47-48 on the destruction of some village churches on the Phoenician coast that is considered to be connected with the Persian occupation of the area in the years 614-617. On Arab raids and the occupation of the Biqā valley in 636 see Kaegi 1992, 112.

146. A coin hoard from Heliopolis (last dated coin 630/631) is considered to have been buried shortly before the Arab occupation of the town in 635 (Bates 1968).

<sup>11</sup> The donor inscription of Ardaburius junior (of Alan and Gothic origin) on the silver chalice at Dumbarton Oaks is the only other example I know, cf. Demandt 1986, 113-117.



**Fig. 4** Silver hoard at the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe: chalice no. 5. – (Photo R. Müller, RGZM).

dedication suggests that this gift was offered to a local church dedicated to the sainted emperor. Inscriptions on early Byzantine church silver addressing other saints with τῷ ἁγίῳ, with a toponym added (e. g. »to saint Sergios of the village Kaper Koraon«)<sup>12</sup>, confirm the assumption that the mentioned dedication referred to such a church. This implies that this church was consecrated to Constantine as a warrior saint, as suggested by the figure on the medallion depicted in traditional Roman military armour (**fig. 3**). If the saint is indeed identical with Constantine I (306-337), this would be very early evidence for an established cult of the first Christian emperor (see below).

Usually, the formula ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως is thought to indicate that the mentioned person (in this case Karilos) was already deceased<sup>13</sup>. The name of the donor Megalou is considered to be female in the nominative case and it has been assumed that she was Karilos' wife<sup>14</sup>. However, the name Megalou is not attested anywhere in the nominative case<sup>15</sup>. A 6<sup>th</sup>-century funerary inscription from a cenotaph in Emesa (Homs; prov. Homs/SYR) testifies Μεγαλλοῦς in the genitive case (from Μεγαλλῶ or Μέγαλλης)<sup>16</sup>. But προσήνεγκεν requires a subject in the nominative case<sup>17</sup>. So either the grammar of the inscription is inaccurate or Megalou is indeed a nominative form not yet explicitly attested elsewhere. As occasionally Greek female names end in -οῦς in the nominative case, this possibility is conceivable<sup>18</sup>. If we take into account that the other names on the silver objects are of western origin I would add a further possibility that the ending -οῦς may be due to the phonetical pronunciation of the Latinized Greek masculine name Megalus (then Μέγαλους)<sup>19</sup>. But although this solution would fit to the grammar of the inscription the female gender of Megalou seems more likely.

Karilos appears to be the name Carilos, a variation of Carillus that is composed of the Celtic Carus and the Latin suffix -illus. This name was widespread in Gaul during the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries<sup>20</sup>. The toponym Cariliacum (Charly; dép. Moselle/F), which is attested on Merovingian »national« gold coins dating to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, is derived from the (personal) name Carilos<sup>21</sup>. As far as I can see, no record of either Carilos or Carillus dates after the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. However, the derivation Carellus is familiar in the Latin and in the Post-Roman Romance-speaking regions<sup>22</sup>. The Greek equivalent Καρέλλος is attested only for the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries,

12 On dedicatory inscriptions on early Byzantine church silver naming the receiving saint see Witt 2006, 124-125. 262-263 list 19; Mundell Mango 1986, 5. – Examples for analogies for the formula τῷ ἁγίῳ adding a village to the saints' name: Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Εὐδοξίας προσήνεγκεν τῷ ἁγίῳ Στεφάνῳ κώμ(ης) Ἀτταρρ(ου)θ(ις) (Piguet-Panayotova 2009, 11 no. 3). – Εὐξάμενος Δόμνος υἱὸς Ζαχέου προσήνεγκεν τῷ ἁγίῳ Σεργίῳ χω(ρίου) Βεθ Μισωνα (Mundell Mango 1986, 230 no. 60).

13 Witt 2006, 188-190.

14 Maaß 1994, 194.

15 Prof. Dr Denis Feissel (Paris) is of the same opinion (pers. comm.). – Maaß 1994, 194 states that the name is widespread. But he only refers to one inscription from Emesa (Homs). This inscription, however, is not a conclusive evidence for this name, as it is only tentatively reconstructed from a monogram: IGLS V no. 2488: »Μεγαλοῦς(?) serait un nom féminin en -οῦς [...]. Il paraît moins probable que le 1<sup>er</sup> nom (A) soit, aux génétif, le nom d'homme Μέγας, Μεγάλου, [...]«. – None of the relevant prosopographical lexica contains an entry for Μεγαλοῦς.

16 Saliby 1993, 267 fig. 10; SEG 43 no. 1020; SEG 44 no. 1575.

17 As in the inscriptions of other silver objects from the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup>-century Syrian treasures: Piguet-Panayotova 2009, 11 no. 4: Διόδωρος διάκονος Ἀτταρρ(ου)θ(ις) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ προσήνεγκεν; Mundell Mango 1986, 87-89 no. 7: Κυριακὸς εὐξάμενος προσένεγκεν τῷ ἁγίῳ Σεργίῳ. – See also the second example referred to above note 12.

18 Cf. the nominative form Μυροκαλλοῦς in a late antique funerary inscription from Apameia in Bithynia: Corsten 1987, 134-135 no. 131 (advice by Prof. Dr Denis Feissel, Paris).

19 For an example for the Latinized form from Rome (4<sup>th</sup> century) see PCBE II 1479 s.v. Megalvs. – Examples for the Greek form Μεγάλος are attested by inscriptions from Palestine: SEG 20 nos 458. 465.

20 Hartley 2008, 249-251 (Carillus, Carilius, Carilos). – Künzl 2008, vol. I, 398 (Carilus). – Kakoschke 2007, 213 (Carillus). – Evans 1967, 326-327 (Carilos, Carillus). – Cf. Kajanto 1965, 126-127. 284.

21 Buchmüller-Pfaff 1990, 146. The »national« gold coins (»monnaies de monétaires«) labelled *Cariliaco* are dated to 620-640. Depeyrot 1998, II 60.

22 On the Latin suffix -ellus see Becker 2009, 85-86. She points out that the suffix -illus was only sporadically used in the Middle Ages. – Examples for early evidence of the name »Carellus« are known from Western Europe and the Latin-speaking areas: Paul. 4,47 (Italy, 7<sup>th</sup> century); Becker 2009, 321 (Spain, 943). – The *magister militum* of Italy Carellus (559) possibly originated from the province Moesia Secunda (see note 24), which lies on the borders of the Latin and Greek-speaking areas. – I am indebted to Prof. Dr Wolfgang Haubrichs (Saarbrücken), who confirmed that the name Carilos/Carellus is restricted to the Latin-speaking regions (pers. comm.).

thus the name does not seem to have been very common<sup>23</sup>. The best-known Καρέλλος held the office of *magister militum* in Italy in 559<sup>24</sup>. Lead seals dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century label another Carellus *candidatus* (in Latin) and a third Καρέλλου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων<sup>25</sup>. Further seals solely bare the name Carellus in both Latin and Greek characters<sup>26</sup>. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that the »Karilos« commemorated by the censer (no. 1) may have originated from a predominantly Latin-speaking region part (of the empire or from one of the barbarian kingdoms in Western Europe). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Framarich, who was commemorated on one of the chalices (no. 5), points to a Germanic background.

The first element of the name Frama- happens to be the Romanized form derived from the West Frankish Chramn-<sup>27</sup>. The majority of the records for this name element are to be found in the West Frankish realm and are hardly attested east of the Rhine<sup>28</sup>. The inscription on the chalice (no. 5) provides the oldest evidence for the name Framarich. Further early evidence for this name and its variations is attested for the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries in northern France and Belgium, in particular<sup>29</sup>. Therefore, it seems likely that Framarich came from the Merovingian realm and had roots in Northern Gaul or a neighbouring region. An east-Germanic origin (Gothic or Vandal) can be ruled out<sup>30</sup>. The formula Ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως is common on church silver of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and might indicate that Framarich was already deceased<sup>31</sup>.

The monogram on the spoon (fig. 5) undoubtedly refers to the same Framarich<sup>32</sup>. The inscription »blow, so that you shall not burn yourself« suggests that the spoon was originally designed to be used as part of a dinner set, not for liturgical purpose<sup>33</sup>. If Framarich was indeed already deceased it seems likely that his

23 There is neither entry in The British Academy, A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names vol. I-V (Oxford 1987-2013) nor in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ed.), Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Abt. I vol. 2 (Berlin 2000) or Abt. II vol. 3 (Berlin 2013). Beševliev 1964, 58 refers to an inscription of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century from Raždavica/BG (IG in Bulgaria repertae IV no. 2147) mentioning a Strategos bearing the similar name Καριελος. He considers the name to be either of Thracian or Celtic origin.

24 According to two Greek epitaphs his wife and son were buried in Odessa in the province Moesia Secunda (Varna/BG). PLRE III 272 s. v. Carellus 1. – Beševliev 1964, 58-59 nos 87-88.

25 PLRE III 272 s. v. Carellus 2-3 date both individuals to the 6<sup>th</sup> century but the seals referred to are to be dated rather to the 7<sup>th</sup> century (advice by Dr Alexandra Wassiliou-Seibt, Vienna).

26 Zacos/Veglery 1972, 565 no. 765a-b dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century. It remains unclear if this Carellus is identical with one of the aforementioned individuals. According to Dr Alexandra Wassiliou-Seibt (Vienna), these seals are to be dated rather to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, too. Cf. above note 25. A further example is part of the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (Münzkabinett MK 64).

27 Förstemann/Kaufmann 1968, 119-120 s. v. Fram-. – Förstemann 1966, 514 s. v. Framaricus. – Cf. Piel/Kremer 1976, 131-132.

28 I am grateful for detailed advice given by Prof. Dr Wolfgang Haubrichs (Saarbrücken) on the regional distribution of this name. According to the assessment of Prof. Haubrichs the old German toponyms Framarichesberge in Bavaria und Framarich (Framrach near St. Andrae) in Kärnten/A (12<sup>th</sup> century), that are supposed to derive from the personal name Framarich (see Förstemann 1913, 928-929), are »imports« from the west. They were probably introduced to the language area of old German in connection with the development of the territories during the Merovingian and Carolingian age.

29 Most of the evidence compiled by Förstemann 1966, 514. – *Framaricus*: Orkondenboek van Holland 40-41 no. 65, dated 988; MGH SS 5, 65 (Framericus): Bishop of Thérouanne, France, 964-995; Cartulaire Saint-Victor, 604 no. 608: Marseille, France, 1053. – *Frammarich*: MGH Necr. Suppl., 238 column 278: Jumèges, France, 11<sup>th</sup> century. – *Framericus*: Polyptyque Irminon, 107 no. 235; 150 no. 108: Paris region, France, 823-828. – Chartes Stavelot, 180 no. 79 line 17: Liège, Belgium, 960. – Ibidem 102 no. 40 line 21: Monastery of Stavelot, Belgium, 880/881; ibidem 121 no. 50 line 24: Monastery of Stavelot, Belgium, 907; ibidem 158 no. 68 line 26: Monastery of Stavelot, Belgium, 947; ibidem 184 no. 82 line 22-23: Monastery of Stavelot, Belgium, 966; ibidem 529 no. 283 line 5: Monastery of Stavelot, Belgium, 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries. – Polyptyche Saint-Remi, 49: Reims, France, after 848. – *Framerich*: MGH Necr. Suppl., 212 column 189: Ettenheimmünster, Germany (near Strasbourg), c. 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries.

30 According to Prof. Dr Wolfgang Haubrichs (Saarbrücken) the specific form of the name is restricted to the northern Galloromania and its contact zones. He excludes an east-Germanic origin (pers. comm., 4 June 2014).

31 On the formula see Witt 2006, 188-190.

32 Maaß 1994, 195.

33 Although silver spoons were occasionally part of church treasures, an application in the liturgy cannot be generally proven for the early Byzantine period. For the controversial debate see Mundell Mango 1990, 248 fig. 39; 1986, 118-122 nos 18-19; 239 no. 69; cf. Taft 1996, 215-216; Hauser 1992, 78-87. – Mundell Mango 1986, 120 has drawn attention to the fact that two of the spoons of the »Hama treasure« were presented by individuals who also gave chalices to the church and she assesses them (with further evidence) as indications for an early use of spoons in the Eucharistic service. To these Framarich's spoon and chalice could be added as a further joint donation of such objects.



**Fig. 5** Silver hoard at the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe: monogram of Framarich on spoon no. 6. – (Photo R. Müller, RGZM).

anonymous dependant donated the spoon and the chalice to the church or that he himself dedicated both objects in his last will<sup>34</sup>.

Names are a significant indicator for the identity of a person and express a bond with a specific cultural tradition, although one has to be cautious in drawing conclusions on the ethnicity of a person solely by the name without further evidence<sup>35</sup>. Nevertheless, it is certain that Framarich, and quite certainly Karilos, too, had foreign, i.e. non-Greek roots. As Germanic people living in the Byzantine Empire usually adopted Greek personal names by the second or third generation at the latest<sup>36</sup>, it seems likely that at least Framarich had come to the region as a first-generation »immigrant«.

Interestingly, Framarich's name most probably indicates an origin from Northern Gaul, and the Gallo-Roman root of the name Karilos might point to a provenance from Gaul, as well. But why had Framarich and Karilos travelled so far from home? And what was their mission in Greater Syria?

### »THE ARMY OF HEROIC MEN« RECRUITED BY TIBERIUS II IN 574/575: A POSSIBLE CONNECTION?

First, I would like to discuss the possible reasons for Westerners to travel to and actually settle in the Levant. In the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, people from the Latin-speaking world travelled to the region primarily for two reasons: as pilgrims heading for the holy sites in Palestine<sup>37</sup> or as officials or soldiers in the service of the Roman government. As there was no important supraregional pilgrimage site in the Biqā valley, the area of discovery suggested by Marlia Mundell Mango, it cannot be assumed that the people mentioned in the inscriptions travelled for religious reasons<sup>38</sup>. As trade with the Western Mediterranean in general and Merovingian Gaul in particular was dominated by Greeks and Syrians<sup>39</sup>, it seems likewise improbable that Karilos and Framarich came to the region for business reasons. What seems most likely is that they were soldiers in imperial service<sup>40</sup>. Two factors account for this: First, people of Germanic origin were almost exclusively hired for military service, as numerous names of Germanic origin of officers and soldiers in the

<sup>34</sup> On disposal by the will of silver dishes and spoons to churches see Hauser 1992, 85-86.

<sup>35</sup> Haubrichs 2002, 267-268.

<sup>36</sup> Brandes 2009, 306. – See also below note 50.

<sup>37</sup> On Latin pilgrimage reports of the 6<sup>th</sup> century see Donner 2002, 181-295.

<sup>38</sup> On the supposed discovery in the Biqā valley see note 2. – The pilgrim of Piacenza, chap. 46 (570 AD) obviously travels through the Biqā valley on his way back from the Holy Land. Donner 2002, 293 with note 218. He does not mention any Christian site there.

<sup>39</sup> Drauschke 2011b, 215. – Jones 1964, 865-866.

<sup>40</sup> Already Maaß 1994, 195 (without references) assumed that Framarich was a soldier in Roman service.



6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries attest (tab. 1)<sup>41</sup>. Second, in the frontier provinces in the Near East, many military units were garrisoned. Especially the province of Phoenicia Libanensis (fig. 6), to which most of the supposed area of the discovery of the silver hoard (administratively) belonged, was characterized by a strong military presence<sup>42</sup>. In the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a striking force of c. 6000 cavalries was stationed there, and it seems to have been billeted in rather small units at several sites<sup>43</sup>. In the 6<sup>th</sup> century, this force was occasionally committed to campaigns in Syria or Mesopotamia against the Sasanians<sup>44</sup>. Framarich and Karilos may have been part of this force and may have been permanently based somewhere in the region.

Interestingly, an *ala prima Francorum* was stationed at Cunna in the Biqā valley (the supposed area of discovery) according to the *Notitia dignitatum* by c. 400<sup>45</sup>. Cunna is not identified yet, but it is to be located somewhere between Heliopolis and Laodicea (Scabiosa) in the northern part of the dale and is probably identical with the village of Ras Baalbek (gov. Baalbek-Hermel/RL) at the northern entrance of the Biqā valley (fig. 6)<sup>46</sup>. It is assumed that this unit was raised together with the *ala prima Alamannorum*, the *ala prima Saxonum* and the *cohors quinta pacata Alamannorum* that were likewise deployed in the province<sup>47</sup> as early as the tetrarchy or during the reign of Constantine I, Constantius II or Julian<sup>48</sup>. Nothing is known on the fate on any of these units. Although military units originally composed of Germanic people kept their original name for a long time, they were usually restocked by locally recruited men<sup>49</sup>. In addition, »barbaric« families living in the Greek-speaking part of the empire usually gave up their naming tradition in the second or third generation the latest and took up Greek names<sup>50</sup>. For these reasons, it has to be ruled out that Framarich or Karilos were descendants of soldiers of the *ala prima Francorum*. If the *ala prima Francorum* was still stationed in the Biqā valley by the 6<sup>th</sup> century, it cannot be ruled out that Framarich and Karilos were allocated to the unit. But it would also be possible that they belonged to a newly levied unit of foreigners or were assigned to some other regular regiment garrisoned in the region<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Apart from the individuals listed in tab. 1, further examples of soldiers of the 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries with Germanic names are attested mainly by funerary inscriptions: Çetinkaya 2009 (Constantinople); Scharf 2001, 91-99 esp. nos 2 and 4 (Constantinople); Fiebigler 1939, 40-42 nos 66-67 (Constantinople); Lefebvre 1907, no. 559 (Apollonopolis/EG). – Whitby 1995, 109 points out that the non-Roman names of officers are a significant indication for their ethnic origin. Generally on Germans in Roman military service in Late Antiquity Jones 1964, 619-623. On the enrolment of Barbarian recruits in the 6<sup>th</sup> century see Whitby 1995, 103-110. – According to a revision of an inscription from ar-Ruwayb in northern Syria (Feissel 2016) it testifies a *dux* named Fredoulf. – The inscription on a 6<sup>th</sup> century military grain measure in the British Museum that is said to be from Antioch (1972,0103.1) refers to a *comes* Vadila (probably a Goth): IGLS III 2, no. 1073; Borchardt/Viedebant 1923/1924, 153-164. On the name Reichert 1990, 745. Vadila may have been a civil provincial governor (*comes Orientis?*) or a military commander (*comes rei militaris*). On these *comites* see Seeck 1901, 659-664 nos 64. 77. – The sometimes assumed identity with the Ostrogothic *comes* Adila on Sicily attested in 507/511 (PLRE II 9 s.v. Adila 1-2) is speculative. – *Addendum*: U. Huttner, Germanen in frühbyzantinischen Inschriften: Vom Namen der Person zur Identität der Gruppe. *Gephyra* 16, 2018, 185-204. I became aware of this reference after preparation of the final proofs.

<sup>42</sup> On the impact of military presence on rural infrastructure and epigraphy in the province see Trombley 2004, 86-87. 98-99.

<sup>43</sup> Trombley 1997, 164; Liebeschuetz 1977, 497-499 especially on the significance of the mobile reserve under the command of the *duces* of Phoenicia Libanensis.

<sup>44</sup> Proc., Wars I 13,5; II 8,2; II 16,17; II 19,33.

<sup>45</sup> *Notitia dignitatum*, Or. XXXIV 35. – Generally on the *Notitia dignitatum* see Slootjes 2013, 1133-1145 with the relevant bibliography. – On the most recent state of research and especially the reliability of the Eastern lists see Kaiser 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Cunna is certainly identical with Conna which lies on the road from Damascus to Emesa halfway between Heliopolis and Laodicea (Scabiosa) according to the *Itinerarium Antonini* 199, 7-9. Musil 1928, 273; Benzinger 1901, 885. – This contradicts any assumption that Cunna has to be identified with a fort on the *strata Diocletiana* as Kennedy/Riley 1990, 204 figs 153-154 have stated (Khan El-Qattar).

<sup>47</sup> *Notitia dignitatum* Or. XXXIV 36-37. 41.

<sup>48</sup> Pollard 2000, 29. 140. – Hoffmann 1969, 140.

<sup>49</sup> Kaiser 2012, 117-118; Bagnall/Palme 1996, 7 note 24. – On the continuity of many late Roman military units until the 6<sup>th</sup> century see Jones 1964, 655.

<sup>50</sup> Brandes 2009, 306. – Cf. Scharf 2001, 95-96; a few examples: The *comes* Gibastes (PLRE III 535, 6<sup>th</sup> century?) named his daughter Anthousa (PLRE III 90). In the funerary inscription from Jerusalem (5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries), Thekla is denominated »daughter of Maroulfus the German« (Cotton 2012, 346-347 no. 970). – See *addendum* in note 42.

<sup>51</sup> Barbarians seem to have been joining regular units especially in the 6<sup>th</sup> century Whitby 1995, 72; Haldon 1984, 100.

no.	name	date	operation area	rank/office
1	<i>Aldio</i>	599	Italy	MVM
2	<i>Aligernus</i> (Goth)	552-554	Italy	commander
3	<i>Aloin</i> (Lombard?)	591	Italy	mercenary
4	<i>Aluith</i>	538-539	Italy, Constantinople	commander of Herul federates
5	<i>Amalafridas</i> (Goth/Thuringian)	552	Balkans	commander (MVM?)
6	<i>Ansfrid</i> (Goth or Lombard)	600	Italy	MVM or <i>dux</i>
7	<i>Ansimuth</i>	587	Thrace	infantry commander ( <i>dux</i> ?)
8	<i>Ariarith</i>	546-547	Africa	bodyguard of Ioannes Trogolita
9	<i>Arimuth</i>	552	Illyricum	commander
10	<i>Arioulph</i>	582	East	army commander (MVM?)
11	<i>Auctarit</i> (Lombard?)	late 6 <sup>th</sup> century	Italy	commander
12	<i>Arufus</i>	547	Italy	Herul leader
13	<i>Aruth</i> (Herul)	553	Italy	Herul leader
14	<i>Asbadus</i> 1	550	Thrace	<i>candidatus</i> , cavalry commander
15	<i>Asbadus</i> 2 (Gepid)	552	Italy	leader of Gepids
16	<i>Droctulfus</i> (Sueve/Lombard)	587 598	Thrace, Africa	army commander
17	<i>Eiliphredas</i>	586(-588?)	Phoenicia Libanensis, Mesopotamia	<i>dux</i> of Phoenicia Libanensis
18	<i>Francio</i> 1	c. 568-588	Italy	MVM
19	<i>Fronimuth</i>	546-548	Africa	commander
20	<i>Fulcaris</i>	553	Italy	commander of Herul federates, MVM ( <i>vacans</i> )
21	<i>Geisirith</i>	546-548	Africa	commander
22	<i>Gentzon</i>	593-594	Thrace	MVM
23	<i>Gibastes</i>	6 <sup>th</sup> century?	East	<i>comes et dux Scythiae?</i>
24	<i>Gibimer</i> 2	mid?/late 6 <sup>th</sup> century	Palestine	<i>dux Palaestinae</i>
25	<i>Gibrus</i>	556	Lazica	commander of Lombards and Heruls
26	<i>Gilderich</i>	527/528	Lazica	MVM ( <i>vacans</i> )
27	<i>Godilas</i> 1	528	Thrace	MVM
28	<i>Godilas</i> 2 (Thracian)	547-548	Africa	officer of the bodyguard of Ioannes Trogolita
29	<i>Gudescalcus</i> 1 (Lombard?)	599/600	Italy	<i>dux Campaniae</i>
30	<i>Guduin</i> 1	595, 602	Thrace	commander
31	<i>Guduin</i> 2	603	Italy	<i>dux</i> at Naples
32	<i>Gulfaris</i>	599	Italy	MVM of Istria
33	<i>Guntharis</i> 1	537	Italy	commander of Heruli
34	<i>Guntharis</i> 2	540, 545/546	Africa	bodyguard of Solomon, <i>mag. militum</i> , <i>dux Numidiae</i>
35	<i>Ildiger</i>	534-540 543	Africa, Italy Syria	MVM <i>vacans?</i> <i>dux</i> of Phoenicia Libanensis?
36	<i>Ildigisal</i> (Lombard)	(550/551-)-552	Constantinople	commander of a <i>schola palatina</i>
37	<i>Indulf/Gundulf</i>	549-552	Italy	bodyguard of Belisarius
38	<i>Iugildus Grusingus</i> (Lombard)	591	Italy	mercenary
39	<i>Mundilas</i>	537-539	Italy	officer of Belisarius' bodyguard
40	<i>Mundus</i> (Gepid)	532-536	Balkans	<i>MVM per Illyricum</i>
41	<i>Nordulfus</i> (Lombard?)	590(-595?)	Italy	<i>patricius</i> and commander of troops
42	<i>Ognaris</i>	556	Lazica	officer of Martinus' bodyguard
43	<i>Phanitheus</i> (Herul)	538	Italy	commander of Herul federates

**Tab. 1** Military men in Roman service bearing Germanic names 527-641 according to PLRE III. – MVM = *magister utriusque militiae*.

no.	name	date	operation area	rank/office
44	<i>Pharas</i> (Herul)	530 533-534	Mesopotamia, Africa	Herul leader
45	<i>Philegagus</i> (Gepid)	549	Lazica	cavalry commander
46	<i>Philemuth</i> (Herul)	543 552/553	Mesopotamia, Balkans, Italy	commander of Herul federates (MVM?)
47	<i>Rema</i>	537	Italy	commander
48	<i>Rhecithangus</i> (native of Thrace)	541 552	Syria, Mesopotamia, Balkans	<i>dux</i> of Phoenicia Libanensis
49	<i>Ricilas</i>	544	Italy	officer of Belisarius' bodyguard
50	<i>Sindual</i> (Herul)	(?554-)559(-c. 566)	Italy	Herul leader, MVM
51	<i>Sinduit</i>	547-548	Africa	commander
52	<i>Sinthues</i>	537	Italy	officer of Belisarius' bodyguard
53	<i>Sittas</i> 1 (possibly a Goth)	528-538/539	Armenia, Moesia	<i>MVM per Armeniam</i> , <i>MVM praesentalis</i>
54	<i>Sittas</i> 2	589	Armenia	<i>decarchus</i>
55	<i>Suartuas</i> (Herul)	548/549-552	Balkan	<i>MVM praesentalis</i>
56	<i>Suntas</i> (possibly Germanic)	537-538	Italy	officer of Belisarius' bodyguard
57	<i>Tattimuth</i>	533-534	Tripolitania	commander (tribun?)
58	<i>Theudibaldus</i> 2 (Varnian)	553/554	Italy	Varnian leader
59	<i>Theodimundus</i> (grandson of Mundus)	540/541	Italy	unclear
60	<i>Theodericus</i> 2	(?577/578-)581	Mesopotamia, Persia	<i>comes foederatorum?</i>
61	<i>Thurimuth</i>	544 548-550	Italy	officer of Belisarius' bodyguard, commander at Rhegium
62	<i>Trasatic</i> 2	mid/late 6 <sup>th</sup> century	Italy	<i>magister militum</i> at Rome?
63	<i>Tzitas</i>	591	Italy	<i>miles</i>
64	<i>Tzittanus</i>	568	Italy	<i>comes et tribunus</i>
65	<i>Visandus</i> 1	538-540	Italy	commander of Herul federates
66	<i>Vlaris</i> 1	533(-539)	Africa, Italy	bodyguard of Belisarius'
67	<i>Vlifus</i>	545	Italy	officer of Cyprianus' bodyguard
68	<i>Vligagus</i> (Herul)	550-555	Lazica	commander
69	<i>Vlimuth</i> (native of Thrace)	538	Italy	officer of Belisarius' bodyguard
70	<i>Vlithesus</i>	545-546	Africa	officer of Guntharis' 2 bodyguard
71	<i>Vnigastus</i>	539	Italy	officer of Belisarius' bodyguard
72	<i>Vsigardus</i>	555	Lazica	<i>comes rei militaris?</i>
73	<i>Wintarit</i> (Lombard?)	603	Italy	military commander?
74	<i>Zittas</i>	600	Sicily	MVM

Tab. 1 (continued)

This would not have been an extraordinary case. Germanic soldiers were often deployed to fight in the wars of the 6<sup>th</sup> century against the Sasanians. They were recruited on a regular basis from the Danube region<sup>52</sup>. On the eastern frontier, Goths and Heruli are attested in particular for the time of the reign of Justinian I (527-565)<sup>53</sup>. In addition, Procopius of Caesarea mentions that under the same Emperor five cavalry regiments of Vandal prisoners (*Vandali Iustiniani*) were set up and were destined to be settled permanently in

<sup>52</sup> Whitby 1995, 107-108.

<sup>53</sup> Proc., Wars I 13,19; I 14,39; II 3,21; II 18,24; II 21,4; II 24,12; II 24,14; II 25,26-27. – On the significant role of Herul soldiers in Justinian's wars see Sarantis 2010, 381-393. – Feissel 2016, 189

assumed that the *dux* Fredoulf named in an inscription from ar-Ruwayb in northern Syria that is dated to 551 might have been a Frank. But this is not proven yet.



**Fig. 6** The provinces of the Near East c. 565 showing selected major cities and sites referred to in this paper. Provincial boundaries based on TAVO map B VI 5. – (Map M. Ober, RGZM).

the cities of the praetorian prefecture of the East<sup>54</sup>. The *Scythae Iustiniani* based at Apollonopolis in Egypt seem to have been Goths<sup>55</sup>.

According to the written sources, only on one occasion, large numbers of Germanic men were enrolled after Justinian's wars. In the East, war with the Sasanians broke out anew in 572 and Tiberius II was appointed Caesar by Justin II in 574 to counter the threat<sup>56</sup>. To this end, Caesar used a one-year truce to conduct a major recruiting campaign in 574/575. By spending considerable sums he managed to raise a large field force consisting mainly of Germanic troops<sup>57</sup>. The church historian Evagrius Scholasticus praises Tiberius for having recruited a multiethnic army of formidable cavalry: »And he collected such an army of heroic men,

<sup>54</sup> Proc., Wars IV 14,17-18; Schwarze 2015, 116. – On Vandal soldiers in the East see also Proc., Wars II 21,4. – Hoffmann 1969, 140 suggests that the Germanic auxiliary units deployed in the province of Phoenicia according to the *Notitia dignitatum* (Or. XXXIV 35-37. 41) were likewise formed from prisoners of war under the tetrarchy.

<sup>55</sup> Kaiser 2012, 118. – A fragment of an early 6<sup>th</sup>-century Gothic-Latin bible from Italy found near Antinoë is probably connected to the presence of Gothic soldiers. On the fragment see Kuhl-

mann 1994, 196-207 pls 13-14. – Cf. the funerary inscription of the soldier Rigimer from Apollonopolis Magna (Lefebvre 1907, no. 559) which is thought to be connected with the unit of the *Scythae Iustiniani*.

<sup>56</sup> PLRE III 1323-1326 s.v. Tiberius Constantinus 1. On outbreak and course of the Persian war under Justin II and Tiberius II Whitby 1988, 250-275.

<sup>57</sup> Whitby 1988, 258-259; 1995, 108-109. – Ditten 1993, 126-127. 381.

by recruiting the best men both from the tribes beyond the Alps in the vicinity of the Rhine, and those on this side of the Alps, the Massagetae and other Scythian nations, and those near Paeonia, and Mysians, Illyrians and Isaurians, that he established squadrons of excellent horsemen almost 150,000 in number.«<sup>58</sup> These numbers are exaggerated. The army will rather have numbered 12,000-15,000 men or 15 regiments as recently suggested<sup>59</sup>. These soldiers formed elite units of the field army during the last years of Justin' II reign and under his successors Tiberius II Constantine (578-582) and Maurice (582-602)<sup>60</sup>. Obviously, Tiberius' funds were well invested, as the Sasanians suffered a decisive defeat in Armenia once the army had been put into action in 576<sup>61</sup>.

It is generally assumed that apart from residents within the empire, Franks, Burgundians and possibly Saxons from beyond the Alps, Goths and Lombards from Italy, as well as Bulgars and Gepids from Pannonia and along the Danube were among the newly levied troops<sup>62</sup>. Referring to Evagrius' account, some scholars stress the probability of Frankish mercenaries in the army because of the good relationship between the Austrasian kingdom and Constantinople in the 570s and 580s<sup>63</sup>. As hiring fighting men was common practice in the Frankish realm for both magnates and kings it is conceivable that some of these mercenaries may have been contracted for imperial service<sup>64</sup>. Archaeological remains of Frankish provenance in the Byzantine Empire have not yet been studied systematically, but some objects seem to corroborate the presence of people from North of the Alps in the East in the later 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. I am especially referring to a (belt?) buckle with triangular plate from Anemurium in Isauria (Anamur; İl Mersin/TR; **fig. 6**) dating from around the late 6<sup>th</sup> to the first third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century (**fig. 7a**), a type that is widespread in the Frankish realm (**fig. 7d-e**)<sup>65</sup>. Although it is unclear how this buckle reached Anemurium, J. Russell assumed that it

<sup>58</sup> Evagr. Schol. V 14: »καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀγείρει στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, ἕκ τε τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις ἐθνῶν τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἀριστινίδην στρατολογήσας, τὰ τε ἐντος τῶν Ἄλπεων, Μασσαγετῶν τε καὶ ἐτέρων Σκυθικῶν γενῶν, καὶ τὰ περὶ Παιονίαν, καὶ Μυσοῦς, καὶ Ἰλλυριοῦς, καὶ Ἰσαύρους, ὡς σύνεγγυς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν χιλιάδων ἴλας ἰππέων ἀρίστων ἐγκαταστήσασθαι, [...].« English translation according to Whitby 2000, 273-274. – This major recruiting drive among foreign people is also attested by Theoph. Simm. III 12,3-4. See also J. Eph., Hist. eccl. III 3,26 and J. Epiph. fr. 5. – Evagrius denominates Huns as the former *Μασσαγέται* in book III 2 but actually refers to Ostrogoths invading Thrace during the reign of emperor Zeno (474-491) (ed. Hübner 2007, 334 note 320). – Whitby 2000, 274 note 52 considers the *Μασσαγέται* to be Goths.

<sup>59</sup> Whitby 1995, 89; Haldon 1984, 97. – Schwarze 2015, 122 suggested that these so-called *Tiberiani* comprised of 15 *alae* of approx. 500-600 men each.

<sup>60</sup> Haldon 1984, 96-101.

<sup>61</sup> Theoph. Simm. III 12-14. Cf. J. Eph., Hist. eccl. VI 8. – On the date of the Persian invasion of Armenia in 576 and their defeat Whitby 1988, 262-268.

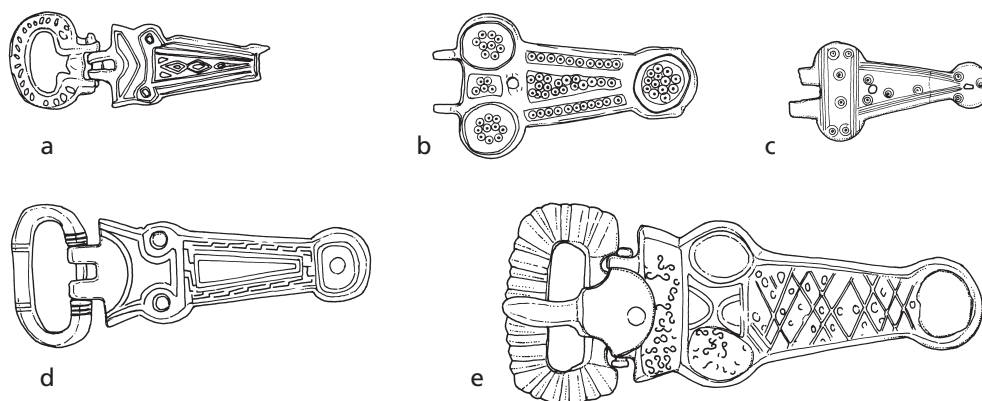
<sup>62</sup> Whitby 1995, 89; 2000, 274 note 52; Ditten 1993, 127. – J. Eph., Hist. eccl. VI 13 mentions an army of 60,000 Lombards commanded by the *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem* Justinian in 575 (PLRE III 744-747 s.v. Iustinianus 3). – On these Lombard mercenaries see Bergamo 2007, esp. 96-100. – J. Eph., Hist. eccl. III 13. 26 also attests Arian Goths leaving their families at Constantinople while being sent on a campaign to the East. – Scharf 2001, 101-104 suggested that these Goths were probably *foederati* withdrawn from the Danube region to Constantinople and that the testimony of John may be connected to some funerary inscriptions of *foederati* from Constantinople dated c. 580-620. – According to CIL III 212 the army of *Oriens*

erected a statue of emperor Justin (most likely Justin II) as a warning towards the Sasanians near Nisibis (probably in summer 578). Trombley 2007, 350-352 considers the unusual Vulgar Latin inscription in Mesopotamia to be a consequence of the presence of large numbers of Western soldiers in the army due to the recruiting campaign of Tiberius II.

<sup>63</sup> Ditten 1993, 127; Stein 1919, 59. – On the tight diplomatic relations between Constantinople and the Merovingian realm, especially from the late 560s-580s, see Drauschke 2015, 110-111 and more detailed Drauschke 2011a, 252-257 with further bibliography.

<sup>64</sup> On bands of mercenaries in Merovingian Gaul see Bachrach 2008, 182-183. – The Frankish prince Gundovald spent his exile from the 570s to 581 in Constantinople (PLRE III 566-567 s.v. Gundovaldus 2). He surely went there with some followings and he might have been able during his long stay in Constantinople to set up a stable network of contacts with the Frankish realm. This may have attracted mercenaries to enter imperial service. – A fragmentary papyrus letter from Hermoupolis (P.Vindob. G 14307) dated to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century also attests Franks (Φράγγοι). But these are considered to be soldiers of a late Roman military unit labelled as *Franci* (either the *ala I Francorum* or the *cohors VII Francorum* attested by the *Notitia dignitatum*), not ethnic Franks: Bagnall/Palme 1996, 4-7.

<sup>65</sup> Russell 1982, 144-145 fig. 8, 28. He refers to some comparable buckles from Switzerland (note 48). Belt buckles with triangular plate are widespread in the Frankish realm in the period of the last third of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. On the type and its chronology see Müssemeier e. al. 2003, 19 Gür3A-B. D figs 7. 9; Koch 2001, 87 fig. 24 Phase SD 7; 284-285 fig. 115; 576 Fundliste 35; Siegmund 1998, 25-27 Gür3.1; 3.3; 204-205 fig. 81 Phase 6. 8.



**Fig. 7** Buckles with triangular plate: **a** Anemurium (Anamur/TR), stray find. – **b** Mainz, RGZM inv. no. O.40054 (presumably from Asia Minor). – **c** Sadovec/BG, unstratified find, Mainz, RGZM inv. no. O.39877. – **d** Forstfeld/F, stray find. – **e** Pleidelsheim/D, grave 64. – (Drawings M. Ober, RGZM; a after Russell 1982, fig. 8.28; c after Uenze 1992, pl. 9, 15; d after Schnitzler/Arbogast/Frey 2009, fig. 100; e after Koch 2001, pl. 25). – Scale 1:2.

may have been »left behind by some wandering mercenary«<sup>66</sup>. The comparatively small size of the buckle indicates that it may have belonged rather to a sword harness or maybe a leg binding (»Wadenbinden-garnitur«) than a belt<sup>67</sup>. To this chance find from Anemurium a comparable West Frankish belt buckle (**fig. 7b**, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century) and the loop of another example (later 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> century), likewise of West Frankish provenance, should be added. They are both parts of the collection of Byzantine belt buckles in the RGZM, a former private collection that has been compiled in the vicinity of Constantinople<sup>68</sup>. The fourth buckle of this type in the RGZM with decoration similar to the belt buckle was found at the late Roman fortress of Sadovec (obl. Pleven/BG) that was occupied until the late 6<sup>th</sup> century (**fig. 7c**)<sup>69</sup>.

Although Evagrius' account is merely indirect evidence, it seems to be the only reference to Franks (i. e. people from the Frankish realm) in the service of the early Byzantine army to be found in the narrative source material after the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>70</sup>. Apart from the recruiting campaign of 574/575, the enlistment of Germanic soldiers (especially Lombards) probably continued to a lesser degree in the later 570s and under the emperor

<sup>66</sup> Russell 1982, 145.

<sup>67</sup> For a buckle of comparable size found on the spatha in grave 48 at Krefeld-Gellep see Menghin 1983, 273 no. 130: 2h. See also Siegmund 1998, 86. 462-463 pl. 249, 3/2; Cat. Mannheim 1996, 1013-1016 no. VIII.5.7: k (H. Gölder). Cf. Müssemeier et al. 2003, 42 Spa1D fig. 9. For a recent reconstruction of the Merovingian sword harness see Lüpkes 2010. For buckles belonging to shoes and leg bindings see the examples from Switzerland J. Russell referred to: Moosbrugger-Leu 1971, 216-219 pl. 55, 2-3 and Müssemeier et al. 2003, 41-42.

<sup>68</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 279-281 nos 586-587. – All Byzantine buckles of the RGZM collection are labelled as »from Asia Minor«.

<sup>69</sup> Uenze 1992, 176. 422 no. B 36 pls 9, 16; 126, 9. The unstratified buckle is wrongly dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries but according to its typology certainly belongs to the 6<sup>th</sup>-century settlement. Like the piece from Anemurium it seems to be too small for a belt buckle.

<sup>70</sup> On Franks in Roman military service in the 4<sup>th</sup> century in general see Zöllner 1970, 15-16. – The name of four Eastern military units suggests that these were raised among the Franks. They were deployed before c. 400 in the East according to the *Notitia dignitatum*: under the command of the *dux Thebaidis* a *cohors VII Francorum* (Or. XXXI 51) and an *ala I Francorum* (Or. XXXI 32). Under the command of the *dux Phoenicis* an *ala I Francorum* (Or. XXXII 35). Under the command of the *dux Mesopotamiae* an *ala VIII Flavia Francorum* (Or. XXXVI 33). – During the advanced 5<sup>th</sup> century another example of enlistment of soldiers from Gaul in eastern imperial service is known to me. Between 466 and 470 Titus from Gaul with his force of *buccelarii* joined imperial service (PLRE II 1122-1123 s.v. Titus 1). Titus and his men might have been hired in connection with the preparation of the large-scale expedition against the Vandals in 468 (Croke 2005, 180). It remains unclear if Titus' *buccelarii* also comprised »Franks«.

Maurice in the 580s<sup>71</sup>. Still, for the early Byzantine period there is no evidence for any large-scale recruitment in the West after 575, and later recruitment campaigns were carried out among other people (e.g. Armenians)<sup>72</sup>. This is confirmed by a review of the »Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire«. Until the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, officers bearing Germanic names are quite often attested in Roman military service, but evidence hardly exists for the 7<sup>th</sup> century or later (tab. 1)<sup>73</sup>. The five funerary inscriptions of the *foederati* at Constantinople dated to c. 580-620 that attest some Germanic names like Valdarich are among the latest examples<sup>74</sup>. As a consequence of Tiberius' recruiting drive some officers bearing Germanic names held high military positions in the Eastern provinces in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century (tab. 1, nos 17. 24. 61)<sup>75</sup>. It is probably not a coincidence that the *dux* of Phoenicia Libanensis (ἄρχων ... τῆς Ἰουδαίας) commanding the left wing of the Roman army at the battle of Solachon in 586 (fig. 6) is bearing the name Eiliphredas (Εἰλιφρέδας) which is the Greek spelling of the undoubtedly Germanic name Ilifred or Hildifrid<sup>76</sup>. The facts exposed above offer an indication why the presence of Western men in Greater Syria is not surprising in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>77</sup>. It seems reasonable to hypothesize that Karilos and Framarich were part of the military force raised by Tiberius II Constantine in 574/575 or the following years. It is likely that a considerable part of the Germanic soldiers enrolled by Tiberius II did not return to their homelands, but settled in the eastern Empire<sup>78</sup>. In addition, Tiberius II, like previous emperors, seems to have offered land to some of the non-Romans enrolled in his recruiting campaign in the 570s<sup>79</sup> so that they and their families also may have settled permanently near their garrison. During the 6<sup>th</sup> century, several new military sites and fortlets usually manned by small units were erected in the Syrian provinces<sup>80</sup>. In Phoenicia Liban-

71 Whitby 1988, 147. 267. – According to Men. 22 Caesar Tiberius II in 577 or 578 sent the Roman *patricius* Pamphronius to Italy with a large amount of gold in order to hire some Lombard rulers and their followers for Roman service in the East: »Χρήματα δὲ ἄλλως ἐπέδωκε Παμφρονίῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ τινος τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ Λογγιβάρδων ἔθνους, εἰ πῶς γε ἔσται αὐτῷ δυνατὰ, πείσοι τοῦ κέρδους ἡμείραντας μεταβαλέσθαι ὡς Ῥωμαίου ξύν τῇ κατ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμει, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔω πολεμῆσιόντας καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατεῖα ἐπικουρῆσαι. [The changing of Lombard leaders to the Roman side as a consequence of imperial gifts is attested by Men. 24.] ἀπειθούντων δὲ τῶν Λογγιβάρδων, οἱ εἰκός, τὴν ἑτέραν ἰέναι, καὶ τινος τῶν Φραγγικῶν ἡγεμόνων διὰ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπιδόσεως ἐταιρίσασθαι καὶ ταύτη ἐκλειῆναί τε καὶ ἐκτρίψαι τῶν Λογγιβάρδων τὴν δύναμιν.« Cf. Scharf 2001, 102; Stein 1919, 106. – As a consequence of the good diplomatic relations between the emperor at Constantinople and the Austrasian King Childebert II, the latter acted as an important confederate of the Byzantines and conducted several campaigns against the Lombards in Italy in the 580s (Drauschke 2011a, 254-257). It is conceivable that in this context some Frankish chiefs and their followers might have been brought into Roman service and found their way to the East.

72 Ditten 1993, 127-128. – Haldon 1979, 22. – Cf. Stein 1919, 119-120.

73 See Brandes 2009, 306 on the difficulties of tracing Germanic people in Byzantium after the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

74 Scharf 2001, 91-99. 104. Cf. above note 62. – On the inscription of Valdarich SEG 51 no. 922. – On the corps of the *foederati* see Scharf 2001, esp. 104-109; Haldon 1984, 100-101 and recently Laniado 2015, 80-104 especially on status and privileges of the *foederati* in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

75 The commander of the Scythian tribes Theoderic (probably *comes foederatorum*) was involved in military operations during summer 579 in Persia: PLRE III 1237 s.v. Theodericus 2. – Trom-

bley 2007, 325 assumes that Theoderic will have commanded a newly raised barbarian force: cf. Scharf 2001, note 295.

76 Theoph. Simm. II 3,1. PLRE III 435 s.v. Eiliphredas. On the Germanic origin of the name see Reichert 1990, 6 s.v. Ilifred and especially the comment on Theophylactus Simmokatia by Schreiner 1985, 260 note 207 who refers to different spellings (Ἰλιφρέδας, Ἰλιφρεδάς) in some manuscripts. – On the West Germanic origin of the primary root *Il-* see Förstemann/Kaufmann 1968, 214. – On the battle at Solachon see Haldon 2001, 52-56.

77 The silver paten of the Phela treasure (dated by imperial stamps to 577) provides additional evidence for military presence in Greater Syria on church silver during the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. According to its inscription, it was donated by an *excubitor* named Theodore. – For Phela, a site on the Mediterranean coast of northern Syria and an identity with the modern village Feilun East of the vicinity of Stuma has been suggested: Mundell Mango 1986, 231. – The presence of the *excubitor* Theodore at Phela is probably due to activities connected with the campaign of Maurice against the Sasanians in 577/578: Mundell Mango 1986, 233-234 no. 63. – On the campaign of Maurice in 577/578 see Whitby 1988, 268-270.

78 Ditten 1993, 381. – In Bithynia a group of *Gothograeci* (Γοτθογραῖκοι) is attested in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century and they are considered to be descendants of the élite corps of Optimates formed by Tiberius II. On these see Haldon 1984, 96-100. 200-202; 1995. Haldon 1984, 96-98 suggested that they were billeted in Bithynia in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. – On epigraphic evidence of barbaric soldiers remaining on western Roman soil in Late Antiquity Quast 2009, 124-125. – Jones 1964, 622 points out that there is no evidence for Germanic officers who returned home after completing their service.

79 Whitby 1995, 108. 115

80 Trombley 1997, 164-165. – Kennedy 1985, 165-166 note 71.

ensis the route along the Orontes via the provincial capital Emesa through to the Biqā valley was controlled by several forts<sup>81</sup>. The foundation of Maurikopolis (Μαυρικιούπολις), a town apparently founded by Emperor Maurikios and usually identified with the early Byzantine fortifications at Gūsija (Jusieh; prov. Homs/SYR) at the northern entrance to the Biqā valley (fig. 6), is a further hint that soldiers may have been newly based or settled in the region until the late 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>82</sup>.

## THE CULT OF ST CONSTANTINE

I would now like to discuss what significance St Constantine may have had for the community that used the silver objects. The discussion of this question is closely connected to the problem of whether this saint is identical with the first Christian emperor. For Marlia Mundell Mango, providing a first brief presentation of the censer (no. 1), there is no doubt that it is »[...] the earliest evidence of the cult of the first Christian emperor [...]«<sup>83</sup>. Denis Feissel, on the other hand, refuses in his brief comments of the inscription to identify the figure as Constantine the Great, as he considers it too early for this cult<sup>84</sup>. How should this problem be approached?

Only very little evidence for the early formation of the cult of St Constantine has survived. D. Feissel's assessment of the inscription on censer no. 1 is obviously based on the assumption, shared by many scholars, that the veneration of Constantine was not established before the late 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>85</sup>. Although some kind of veneration seems to have taken place in Constantinople at the tomb of Constantine in the church of the Holy Apostles and at the porphyry-column on the *Forum Constantini* from the 5<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, it remains unclear when a cult was firmly established and spread to the provinces<sup>86</sup>. The role of Constantine as a patron saint of churches and monasteries seems to be a reliable criterion to determine the origin of the later well-established cult. In Constantinople, the chapel of Constantine at the column on the *Forum Constantini* is attested by the 9<sup>th</sup> century but was certainly erected earlier during the »Dark Ages«<sup>87</sup>. For the provinces, some scattered epigraphical evidence suggests that Constantine functioned as patron saint at least since the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and maybe already since the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>88</sup>. The oldest testimony discussed so far is a lead seal dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century which has been overlooked by art historians and archaeologists but has to be taken into account (fig. 8)<sup>89</sup>. The editors associate the inscription + [T]οῦ ἀγ[ί]ου Κω[ν]σταντ[ί]νου Γερμ[α]νικία(ς) with a monastery or a deaconate of St Constantine at Germanikeia (Kahramanmaraş; İl Kahramanmaraş/TR) in Syria Euphratensis (fig. 6)<sup>90</sup>. They convincingly interpret the image of an emperor on the avers that is obvi-

<sup>81</sup> Mouterde/Poidebard 1945, 31-35.

<sup>82</sup> On the identification of the site that guarded access between Emesa and Baalbek see Burns 2009, 223; Mouterde/Poidebard 1945, 34-35; Honigmann 1930, 2394-2395. – It is assumed that the *Electi Iustiniani* may have been newly based at Gerasa in 576: Haensch/Lichtenberger/Raja 2016, 196.

<sup>83</sup> Mundell Mango 1994, 136.

<sup>84</sup> REG 108 no. 710. – SEG 44 no. 1575.

<sup>85</sup> e.g. Grünbart 2012, 33; Peschlow/Schmalzbauer 2007, 420; Janin 1969, 295. – Cf. Caseau 2013, 340.

<sup>86</sup> Wortley 2009, 355-357.

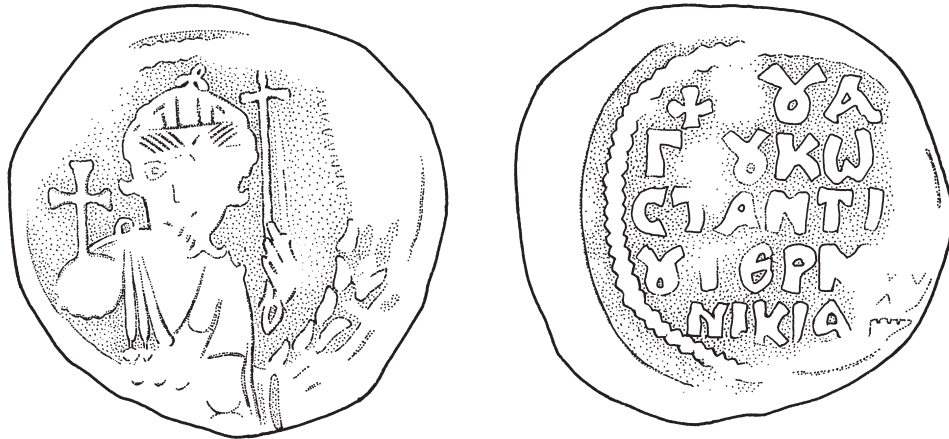
<sup>87</sup> Mango 1980-1981, 103-110.

<sup>88</sup> For a discussion of the art historical and epigraphical evidence see also Fourlas 2017, 159 no. IV.120. – Berger 2008, 12 note 44 assumes that the increasing number of examples for the personal name Constantine since the 7<sup>th</sup> century is provoked predominantly by the reception of Constantine as a saint.

<sup>89</sup> Nesbitt 2003, 39. Edition of the seal McGeer/Nesbitt 2005, 3. – Laurent 1972, 228-229 no. 1922 pl. 39.

<sup>90</sup> Reading after image in high resolution. Reading after McGeer/Nesbitt 2005, 3: Τοῦ ἀγίου Κωνσταντίνου Γερμανικία(ς) (different from Laurent 1972, 228). – On Germanikeia see Todt/Vest 2014, 1193-1206 s.v. Germanikeia. – I am grateful to Prof. Dr Christos Stavrakos (Ioannina) for hints on the seal and Dr Marta Zlotnick (Dumbarton Oaks) for providing images in high resolution.





**Fig. 8** Lead seal of a monastery or diaconate of St Constantine of Germanikeia. – Dumbarton Oaks DO.58.106.362. – (Drawing after photo M. Ober, RGZM). – Scale 2:1.

ously inspired by imperial coin imagery as an image of St Constantine<sup>91</sup>. But the iconography does not correspond to a specific coin type like other lead seals of the period and is rather freely adopted from imperial iconography of the reign of Heraclius and Constans II (officially Constantine IV) (figs 9, 16)<sup>92</sup>. To this lead seal, two further inscriptions must be added: one from a church dedicated to St Constantine in 623 near Rihab (gov. Mafraq/JOR; fig. 6) during the years of the Sasanian occupation<sup>93</sup> and a recently published epitaph from Germia in Asia Minor (Gümüŝkonak; İl Eskiŝehir/TR) of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, witnessing again a monastery of St Constantine at Germanikeia<sup>94</sup>. Furthermore, an invocation of Constantine and his sign (the cross) in the

<sup>91</sup> McGeer/Nesbitt 2005, 3; Laurent 1972, 228. – The depiction of Constantine as a patron saint correlates, for example, with the bust image of the Virgin with Christ on seals of the *diakonia* of the Theotokos of the property of Verus in Constantinople (7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> centuries). McGeer/Nesbitt 2005, 77-78 no. 34.1a-d.

<sup>92</sup> The crown topped by a cross, the *globus cruciger* and the large fibula are common to several types but the cross on long staff is a rather rare imperial attribute. It appears especially on *folles* and always grasped with the right hand of the emperor (e.g. DOC II, 88, 281, 295-306 nos 77b; 78.1; 105-127 pls 11-14). – The combination of *globus cruciger* and long cross-staff (again held by the emperor's right hand) is introduced into coin imagery by Constans II on *folles* with the legend ἐν τούτῳ νίκα (cf. note 119 and fig. 9): DOC II, 406 pls 26-27.

<sup>93</sup> On the church see Michel 2001, 221-222. – The dedicatory inscription has not been edited so far and is only published in translation: »By the grace of God Jesus Christ, this hall of prayer of the saint and victorious Constantine was founded and completed at the time of the most holy archbishop and metropolitan Polieuktos, with the providence and labor of Kaiumos (son) of Procopius the count, for the salvation and succor of himself and his God-beloved household, under the care of John and Germanus, most pious church-wardens, in the month of February, the 28<sup>th</sup>, at the time of the 11<sup>th</sup> indiction of the year 517 of the province [A.D 623].« Piccirillo 2011, 105 fig. 4. – For an Italian translation see Piccirillo 2005, 387 note 64 (advice by Dr Robert Schick, Mainz). – Paweł Nowakowski, *Cult of Saints*, E02273 – <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E02273> (15.1.2019) points out that the identity of St Constantine is uncertain. There is another inscription placed in the central nave of the church that obviously refers to a donor: »Lord help your

servant Constantine« (Piccirillo 2011, 106 fig. 5). Nowakowski concludes that »this fact can be an argument for the possibility that Saint Konstantinos was a local martyr, popular in the region, whose name was given to children, rather than the emperor.« This possibility cannot be ruled out. But as the increasing number of examples for the personal name Constantine since the 7<sup>th</sup> century is considered to be provoked predominantly by the reception of emperor Constantine as a saint (Berger 2008, 12 note 44) it seems more likely to me that the first Christian emperor is the patron saint of this church.

<sup>94</sup> REG 127 no. 581 with the corrected reading by D. Feissel: Σο[λ]ομών πρό(λεως) Γερμανικ[είας] μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου | Κωνσταντίνου. This reading is also accepted by the initial editor Walser 2018, 178 note 26. In the first edition of the epitaph by Walser 2013, 567-569 no. 20 the author doubts an identity with Constantine I because a hagiographical tradition was not yet established by the 6<sup>th</sup> century. He suggests that the monastery might be named after its founder and this view is accepted by Feissel in REG 127 no. 581 and Paweł Nowakowski, *Cult of Saints*, E01150 – <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E01150> (15.1.2019). The aforementioned lead seal (fig. 8) was not considered in this discussion. – The assumption that a hagiographical tradition for Constantine I was not yet established by the 6<sup>th</sup> century is not a profound argument against the emperor as a patron saint of the monastery at Germanikeia. Wortley 2009, 355 has pointed out that not a legend but devotion to a saint is in most cases the first symptom of a hagiological cult. – In addition, Winkelmann 1987, 628-631 suggested that parts of the earliest hagiographical vita of Constantine were composed before the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. Cameron 1992, 262.



**Fig. 9** *Folles* of Constans II with the legend *ἐν τούτῳ νίκα*, Constantinople 641-642 (DOC II, 443 no. 59d.1). – Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin inv. no. 18253079. – (Photo R. Saczewski, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin).



a



b

**Fig. 10** Mural fragments of Constantine's vision of the cross (Karm Al-Ahbarīya/EG): **a** Constantine sleeping. – **b** cross in the sky. – (After Witte Orr 2010, pl. 2a-b).

decoration of a cistern at Salamis on Cyprus (6<sup>th</sup> century) attests his role as intercessor similar to the inscription on censer no. 1, although he is not labelled as ἅγιος<sup>95</sup>.

The scarce epigraphical evidence is complemented by just two but nevertheless important proofs for images of Constantine in monumental church decorations of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The famous epigram of the church of St Polyeuctus in Constantinople provides the earliest known evidence for an adaptation of Constantine as a saintly figure<sup>96</sup>. It refers to a picture cycle at the western front of the church depicting legends associated with Constantine. The epigram alludes to at least two scenes, the baptism of Constantine and probably the victory over Maxentius<sup>97</sup>. A further picture cycle of three scenes from the life of Constantine existed in the

<sup>95</sup> Sacopoulo 1962, 69-70 figs 9-10: † Βο(ρήθο)ν (ἡμας) ὦ Κω(ν)σταντῖνε κ(αὶ) τὸ σίγνο(ν) σου † (advice by Dr Efthymios Rizos, Oxford). The painted inscription belongs to the same phase as the painted decoration and most of the other inscriptions in the cistern that are dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century by Sacopoulo 1962, 82 and du Plat Taylor 1933, 108. Pouilloux/Roesch/Marcillet-Jaubert 1987, 87 no. 238 E followed by Paweł Nowa-

kowski, *Cult of Saints*, E01317 – <http://cls.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E01317> (15.1.2019) with slightly different reading (I prefer the reading by Sacopoulo).

<sup>96</sup> Anth. Gr. I 10.

<sup>97</sup> On the cycle see Fowden 1994, 276-284; Milner 1994, 73-81; Speck 1993, 134-147.



**Fig. 11** *Nummus* of Constantine I, Trier 320 (RIC VII, 186 no. 249). – RGZM inv. no. O.43524. – (Photo R. Müller, RGZM).

church of Karm Al-Ahbarīya (near Abu Mena; gov. Alexandria/EG) according to some fragments of murals (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 6<sup>th</sup> century). From the three scenes of the cycle only the vision of the cross is clearly determinable (**fig. 10a-b**)<sup>98</sup>. These examples confirm an increasing interest in the memory of the first Christian emperor in the church already during the 6<sup>th</sup> century. In light of this pictorial evidence, the depiction of Constantine on censer no. 1 is not unique although still extraordinary: it differs from the images mentioned above in depicting the first Christian emperor as a single figure, recognizable by his helmet, and not in the context of a narrative cycle.

The depiction of Constantine on the censer (**fig. 3**) wearing a helmet is unusual for a warrior saint as these are without exception bareheaded in early and middle Byzantine iconography<sup>99</sup>. The absence of the pearl diadem, a feature common since the time of Constantius II (337-361) on coin images depicting a helmeted emperor, might be explained by supposing that the artist adhered to iconographical prototypes predating its introduction<sup>100</sup>. Constantine the Great is the last emperor who wore a pseudo-Attic helmet similar to the one worn by the saint on the censer, which can be found in particular on coin issues struck between 318 and 322 (**fig. 11**) and from 330 onwards this type was restricted to the iconography of Roma<sup>101</sup>.

Since Eusebius of Caesarea's account of the vision of the cross the helmet of Constantine was connected to the ideology of Christian victory. After describing the monogram of Christ consisting of the letters Chi and Rho fixed to the *labarum* Eusebius briefly states that the emperor was bearing these letters on his helmet subsequently<sup>102</sup>. The famous silver *multiplum* issued by Constantine in 315 or 325/326 confirms this statement (**fig. 12**)<sup>103</sup>. The helmet of the emperor thus became like the *labarum* a symbol for Christian victory. Interestingly, the helmet worn by Constantine on censer no. 1 has a round fitting with V-shaped topping attached to the front of its crest (**fig. 3**). Such fittings were introduced in the 4<sup>th</sup> century as adornments of the high crest-plate of late Roman ridge helmets and they are usually decorated with the Chi-Rho mono-

<sup>98</sup> Witte Orr 2010, 78-84. 147-151 pls 2. 7. 26-27.

<sup>99</sup> Grotowski 2010, 89 points out that the helmet is unusual in the iconography of warrior saints.

<sup>100</sup> On the pearl diadem on the emperors' helmet Bastien 1992, 223. – For a discussion of the iconography see also Fourlas 2017, 159-161 no. IV.120.

<sup>101</sup> On the coin images see Bastien 1992, 209-210 pl. 170, 10. – RIC VII 56-59. 112 no. 231 pl. 4; 438 no. 119 pl. 13; 508 no. 82 pl. 16. – Carlà 2013, 564 fig. II 28. – On coin images, the bejewelled ridge helmet is the characteristic type worn by all late Roman emperors since Constantine: D'Amato/Negin

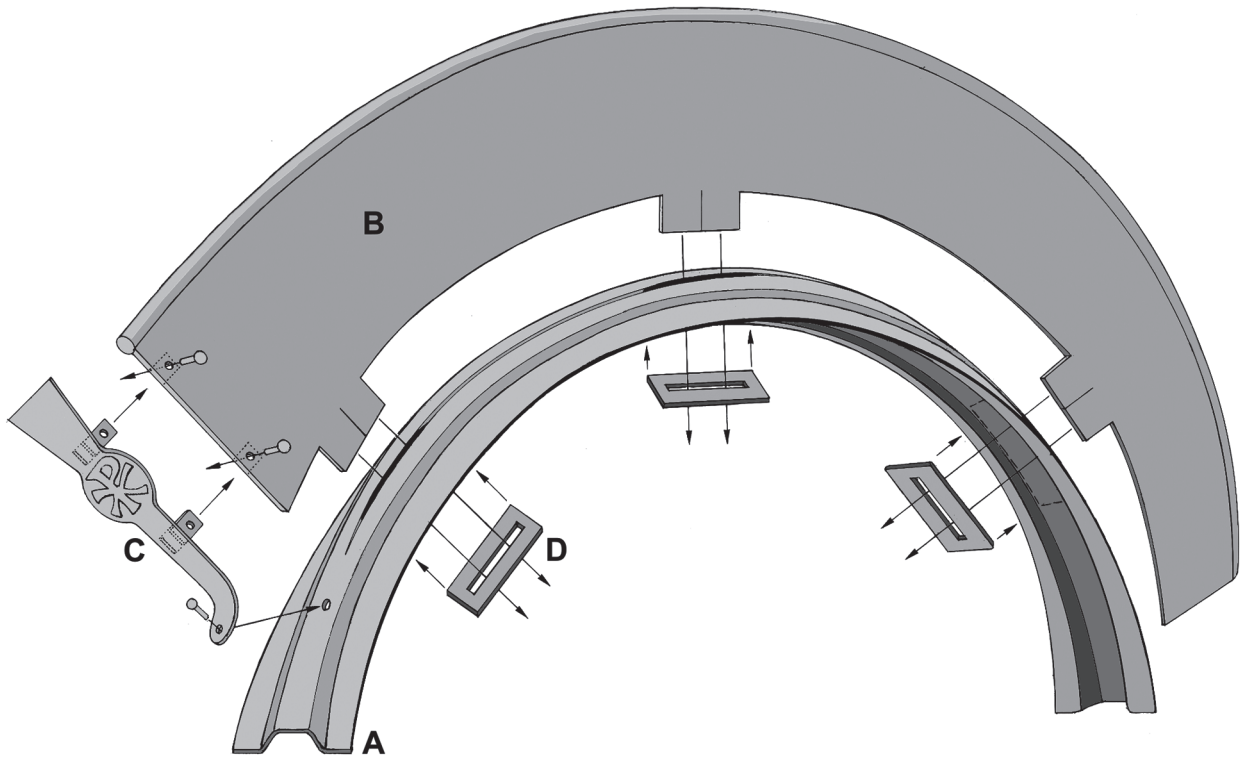
2017, 263-266. – But besides coin images, the pseudo-Attic helmet is known from other iconographical records (in particular as equipment of guardsmen) until the 6<sup>th</sup> century: D'Amato/Negin 2017, 254-255 figs 276-279. – See also the references given in Fourlas 2017, 155 note 812.

<sup>102</sup> Eus., *Vita Const.* I 31: «ἀ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ κράνου φέρειν εἴωθε κὰν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις ὁ βασιλεὺς.» – On the *labarum* see Dinkler/Dinkler-von Schubert 1995, 24-25. – Kruse 1934, 68-79.

<sup>103</sup> RIC VII 364 no. 36. – Carlà 2010, 87-95 fig. 9 suggested the *vicennalia* 325/326 as date of the issue.



**Fig. 12** Silver *multiplum* of Constantine I, Ticinum 315 or 325/326 (RIC VII, 364 no. 36). – Staatliche Münzsammlung München inv. no. 86.627. – (After Kent/Overbeck/Stylow 1973, pl. 136, 632).



**Fig. 13** Graphical presentation of the attachment of the crest-plate and potential further fittings to a late Roman ridge helmet: **A** ridge. – **B** crest-plate. – **C** Chi-Rho fitting. – **D** counter plates. – (After Miks 2008, fig. 15).

gram (fig. 13)<sup>104</sup>. They are not a typical component of Attic helmets<sup>105</sup>. The fact that this fitting is accentuated on this small-scale image suggests that it is meaningful and probably of the same symbolism as the small monogram of Christ on Constantine's ridge helmet on the aforementioned *multiplum* (fig. 12).

<sup>104</sup> Miks 2008, 455-461 figs 7-12. 15. 24; 2014, 26-27 figs 5. 7-9. 13.

<sup>105</sup> On some of the helmets worn by the personifications Roma and Constantinopolis on ivory diptychs of the 6<sup>th</sup> century these adornments are also attached: Volbach 1976, 35 no. 15 pl. 7;

37-38 nos 23-24 pls 10-11; 31-32 no. 31 pl. 16. – The type of these helmets is not clearly determinable but on the diptych of Basilus (Miks 2008, 457 fig. 9) it seems to be a ridge helmet. The distinguished front plate of Attic helmets is not featured by these examples.



**Fig. 14** *Solidus* of Tiberius II Constantine, Constantinople 578-582 (DOC I, 267 no. 4c). – Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin inv. no. 18204093. – (Photo L.-J. Lübke).



**Fig. 15** *Solidus* of Aelia Pulcheria, Constantinople c. 423-429 (RIC X, no. 226). – Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin inv. no. 18213174. – (Photo L.-J. Lübke).

Furthermore, the legend of the discovery of the True Cross was also connected with Constantine's military equipment: nails of the True Cross had been incorporated into the helmet and the bridle of his horse<sup>106</sup>. This symbolic reference to Constantine's helmet would help explain the unusual iconography on the censer, including the warrior saint with a helmet and would corroborate the identification of the depicted saint with the first Christian emperor. There are thus no serious reasons why the identification of the figure proposed by M. Mundell Mango should be doubted. What is more, we know of no other homonymous warrior saint who was already venerated in the early Byzantine period.

Constantine as an imperial model was revived in the later 6<sup>th</sup> century. Tiberius II was the first Caesar (and later emperor) who took up the programmatic name »Constantine« after 150 years. He also was the last sovereign of the early Byzantine period to recruit large numbers of Western barbarians. This raises the question of whether it really can be a coincidence that Framarich and Karilos belonged to a community venerating a warrior saint named Constantine, or whether this was the result of contemporary imperial policy.

Tiberius II was given the name »Constantine« (by Emperor Justin II) during his promotion to the rank of Caesar in December 574, as he was expected to renew the empire of Constantine the Great<sup>107</sup>. This stylization of Tiberius II as a new Constantine appears to have been part of a purposeful propaganda campaign connected to the war against the Sasanians that broke out in 572 (and lasted until 591)<sup>108</sup>. This anti-Persian campaign was, for example, demonstrated by performances in the circus of Constantinople<sup>109</sup> but mainly articulated in coinage. During his reign as sole emperor (578-582), a new iconography was introduced on the back of the gold coinage: the cross on a stepped base with the legend *Victoria Augusti* (fig. 14)<sup>110</sup>. The introduction of a new coin iconography in the context of a war against the Sasanians is not without a precursor. During the reign of Theodosius II (408-450), the type of »Long-Cross-Solidi« showing an image of Victoria holding a large gem-studded cross was introduced to gold coinage by 420 (fig. 15)<sup>111</sup>. K. G. Holum

<sup>106</sup> The sources referring to the nails incorporated into Constantine's helmet and bridle are summarized by Nesbitt 2003, 35-36. – On the original form of Constantine's bridle and its later veneration see Bojcov 2008, 25-30; esp. 61-67 on the reintroduction of the cult of this relic in Constantinople in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. – For an archaeological discussion of the bridle of Constantine venerated since the Middle Ages in Carpentras (départ. Vaucluse/F), Chamalières-sur-Loire (départ. Haute-Loire/F) and Milan see Schulze-Dörrlamm 2011, 110-133. She suggested that the bridle in Carpentras may be identical with the relic venerated in Constantinople in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>107</sup> According to J. Eph., Hist. eccl. III 5. – Whitby 1994, 83; cf. Brandes 2001, 97. – Tiberius is styled New Constantine in an

inscription from Corinth dated to 574-578: Feissel/Philippidis-Braat 1986, 282 no. 18 (advice by Dr Efthymios Rizos, Oxford).

<sup>108</sup> Grabar 1984, 34-35. – On the Persian war of 572-591 see Whitby 1988, 195-304.

<sup>109</sup> Past victories over the Persians were reminded by beginning circus shows with a parade of Elephants captured in the East that bowed before the emperor and made the sign of the cross with their trunks: McCormick 1986, 95-96; J. Eph., Hist. eccl. II 48.

<sup>110</sup> On the introduction of the new motif DOC I, 94-95; Grabar 1984, 34-35 figs 2-3. – On the coins DOC I, 266-268.

<sup>111</sup> RIC X, 75.



**Fig. 16** *Solidus* of Heraclius, Heraclius Constantinus and Heraclonas, Constantinople 639(?)–641 (DOC I, 262 no. 43d). – RGZM inv. no. O.41354\_031. – (Photo R. Müller, RGZM).

John of Ephesus, the emperor was spreading the story that he had received a vision of the new reverse imagery of the coins, an explicit hint to Constantine's vision of the cross before the battle at the Milvian Bridge<sup>115</sup>. In addition, quite a few of Tiberius' coins only bear the name Constantine and omit Tiberius<sup>116</sup>.

The new reverse type introduced by Tiberius II only reappeared under Herakleios (610–641) and his successors (**fig. 16**)<sup>117</sup>. Herakleios used Constantine as a model for his self-representation during the war against the Sasanians and founded a »Constantinian« dynasty by naming three of his sons Constantine<sup>118</sup>.

A major characteristic of the Constantinian indications in imperial self-representation, especially of Tiberius II, Herakleios and his sons, is its military content. The coin imagery and circumscriptions refer to Christian imperial victory, which is based upon divine support for Constantine's campaigns (**fig. 9**)<sup>119</sup>. This concept emerged from the legend of Constantine's vision of the cross<sup>120</sup> and it was linked to Constantine's imperial standard, the *labarum*, as well as to his helmet and the bridle of his horse, as has been explained above.

The battles between Constantine and his pagan rivals Maxentius and Licinius are presented by Eusebius of Caesarea as exemplary conflicts between heathen superstition and Christian miracle<sup>121</sup>. As a consequence, the wars with the Persians were »frequently presented both to soldiers of the Roman armies and to the wider populace in the light of a struggle between Christianity and the forces of evil« according to J. F. Haldon<sup>122</sup>. Thus, it is not surprising that in the Byzantine Empire Constantine was employed as a programmatic model in conflicts with the Sasanians. Since the time of Justinian I Constantine was associated with an unhistorical victorious campaign against the Persians<sup>123</sup> which became part of middle Byzantine vitae of

has convincingly argued that this new imagery was part of an ideological programme in connection with the short war against the Sasanians in 421/422 which also included the erection of a monumental golden cross on the Rock of Golgotha by Theodosius II in 422<sup>112</sup>.

The motif of the cross on a stepped base introduced by Tiberius II alludes to the memorial cross on the Rock of Golgotha<sup>113</sup> besides the Church of the Holy Sepulchre built by Constantine I and its significance as an instrument of imperial victory<sup>114</sup>. According to

<sup>112</sup> Holum 1977; 1982, 102–110. – On this war see also Greatrex 1993.

<sup>113</sup> Klein 2004, 51–52. – Dinkler/Dinkler-von Schubert 1995, 47. – DOC II, 95–96.

<sup>114</sup> Wessel 1978, 784–785.

<sup>115</sup> J. Eph., Hist. eccl. III 14. – Generally on the political significance of dreams and visions of Roman emperors see Weber 2000, esp. 98–133. – On Constantine's vision of the cross *ibidem* 288–290. – According to a narration circulating in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the emperor (erroneously identified as Arcadius) ordered the Long-Cross-Soldi (**fig. 15**) to be struck after a victory against the Persians that was assured by bronze crosses on the cloaks of the soldiers: Holum 1977, 155–157. The allusion to Constantine's vision of the cross is obvious.

<sup>116</sup> e. g. DOC I, 266 nos 1–2; 268 nos 5–6; 269 no. 8; 271–272 nos 12b.2–14c.

<sup>117</sup> Whitby 1994, 92–93 emphasized that Constantine had a »false start« as an imperial model under Tiberius II and became firmly established by the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>118</sup> On Constantine as model for Herakleios Drijvers 2002, 181–184. – Cf. Brandes 2001, 97–99; Whitby 1994, 92–93.

<sup>119</sup> The gold coins of Herakleios depicting the cross on a stepped base bear the legend *Victoria Augusti* and on the silver hexagrams the war cry of the Roman army *Deus Adiuta Romanis* appeared. – Whalin 2019; DOC II, 94; Grabar 1984, 35–36 fig. 6. – The legend *ἐν τούτῳ νίκα* accompanying the image of the emperor Constans II (641–668) on **fig. 9** is a quote from the narration of Constantine's vision of the cross according to Eusebius of Caesarea. Eus., Vita Const. I 28, 2. – Dinkler/Dinkler-von Schubert 1995, 48–49; DOC II, 406. – On the coin image see also Brandes 2001, 100–101.

<sup>120</sup> Grabar 1971, 32–39; Gagé 1921, esp. 382–391. – Cf. Brandes 2001, 94. – The different traditions of Constantine's vision of the cross are discussed by Kazhdan 1987, 218–230.

<sup>121</sup> Eus., Vita Const. I 27–38; II 1–18. – Cf. Bleckmann 2004, 199–200.

<sup>122</sup> Haldon 1999, 18.

<sup>123</sup> Mal., Chron. XIII 3.



Fig. 17 Chludov-Psalter, depiction of St Constantine defeating Orientals. – Moscow, State Historical Museum, GIM 86795, Chlud. 129 d, fol. 58v. – (After Peschlow/Schmalzbauer 2007, 422).

St Constantine<sup>124</sup>. Reference to Constantine fighting the Persians already occurs in 7<sup>th</sup>-century Coptic texts<sup>125</sup>. A homily on the cross by Pseudo-Cyril even connects Constantine's vision of the cross to a battle against the Persians near Antioch<sup>126</sup>. It has been suggested that these Coptic texts presented Constantine as triumphing over the Persians because Egyptian Christians needed a heroic figure spending hope during the Sasanian occupation of Egypt and the subsequent conquest of the province by the Muslims in the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> The core of this extended middle Byzantine narration on Constantine's victory over the Persians is considered to be a reflection of the successful campaigns of Herakleios: Lieu 1998, 167-168; 2006, 313-317.  
<sup>125</sup> Wilfong 1998, 178. 181. 185-186. – Buzi/Bausi 2013, 412.

<sup>126</sup> Buzi/Bausi 2013, 409. – Ps.-Cyrill, In laud. cruce 69-74. – The editor Campagnano 1980, 14 suggested a final redaction of the text in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>127</sup> Wilfong 1998, 186-187.

This idea of Constantine defeating the Sasanians is not limited to written testimonies but also expressed in art. In a miniature of the Chludov-Psalter, one of the very few examples of St Constantine shown in military garb on horseback (fig. 17)<sup>128</sup>, the emperor is depicted as vanquishing Orientals with Phrygian caps and baggy trousers shooting arrows at him. In the context of the 9<sup>th</sup>-century psalter the scene is accompanying Psalm 60,4 («Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, that they may flee from before the bow») <sup>129</sup> and the image was obviously selected because the reference to the banner or sign (σημείωσιν) could be connected to the vision of the cross<sup>130</sup>. But it can be assumed that the image is probably based on an early Byzantine prototype<sup>131</sup>. If so, the prototype would have been suitable to illustrate the idea behind a short Coptic text on an ostrakon found in the Theban monastery of Epiphanius in Egypt (7<sup>th</sup> century): «Constantine, the righteous king, believed in God with all his heart. God guided him in all his ways and protected him from wars with de[mons and] wars [...] with heathens [...] because of his faith in God. He humbled his enemies under his feet. And when the Persians shot arrows at him, God send a cloud and took him out from among them, with his horse. And those barbarians were subject to him and gave him tribute for all of his time. And they did not make war at all during his time.»<sup>132</sup> To the image of the Chludov-Psalter another can be added. Traces of depictions of Constantine and the Persians in a presumably early Byzantine pictorial programme in a cave near Antinoë (El Sheikh Ibada; gov. Minya/EG) by the ruins of the monastery Deir-el-Dik existed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>133</sup>. In view of the highly probable connection of Framarich and Karilos to the «army of heroic men» recruited by Tiberius II to fight the Sasanians it seems reasonable to assume that the veneration of St Constantine and his depiction in military attire on censer no. 1 (fig. 3) allude to the idea of victory over the Sasanians just as the miniature in the Chludov-Psalter and certainly, also the lost paintings in the cave by the ruins of the monastery Deir-el-Dik.

Obviously, the aforementioned written and pictorial sources testify an increasing reference to Constantine since the 6<sup>th</sup> and especially the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries accompanied by an adaption of the general idea of Christian victory associated with him to a specific anti-Sasanian narrative with the first Christian emperor as protagonist<sup>134</sup>. This reception and construction of Constantine as victorious hero in connection to wars against the heathen Sasanians and later the Muslims during the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries seem to have been a response to cope with existential military threat and the occupation of core territories of the empire in order to demar-

<sup>128</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, GIM 86795, Chlud. 129 d, fol. 58v (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century). – On the image see Cat. Magdeburg 2012, 343 no. III.6 (V. Tsamakda) with the relevant bibliography and Walter 2006, 63-64 with references to the known depictions of Constantine as a warrior on horseback.

<sup>129</sup> Psalm 59,6 of the Septuagint: «ἔδωκας τοῖς φοβουμένοις σε σημείωσιν τοῦ φυγεῖν ἀπὸ προσώπου τόξου». The common English translation «Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth» is unprecise as it omits reference to the bow. Cf. the comment of the revised edition of the King James Bible of 1895, 432 with the literal translation of the second part quoted above.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Walter 2006, 64.

<sup>131</sup> A cycle of scenes of the life of Constantine is suggested as a model for the depiction of Constantine by Peschlow/Schmalzbauer 2007, 423. The iconography would suit to early Byzantine art. The long hair is remindful of the late portraits of Constantine introduced for his *tricennalia*: Knudsen 1988, 240-241. Stirrups introduced around 600 are missing. Especially the corrugated lancehead is attested in images of

the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, e.g. Dodd 1961, 85 no. 16; 178 no. 58; 182-185 nos 60-61.

<sup>132</sup> Text and translation Crum/Evelyn White 1926, 25. 171-172 no. 80. Translation quoted according to Wilfong 1998, 185.

<sup>133</sup> On the frescoes, poorly preserved already in 1910 (and today in all probability lost), the Greek inscriptions were legible. According to Lefebure 1910, 270-271 an image inscribed Πέσσαι was placed just beside a depiction of Constantine. On the monastery see also Coquin/Martin 1991.

<sup>134</sup> Interestingly, the picture cycle in the church of St Polyeuctus at Constantinople referred to above (see notes 96-97) was probably executed during the Persian war of 525-532. The church is dated to 524-527 by Mango/Ševčenko 1961, 244-245. – Based on the evidence of the brickstamps Bardill 2004, 111-116 argues for the period 517/518-521/522 for the construction of the superstructure. – On the war of 525-532 see Greatrex 1998, 139-165. – On the probably triumphalist meaning of Constantine in the decoration of St Polyeuctus see Fowden 1994, 283.



cate oneself from the enemy and to strengthen Roman self-identity<sup>135</sup>. The utilization of old iconography for the depiction of Constantine on censer no. 1 expressed by traditional Roman armour (especially the pseudo-Attic helmet) probably indicates a purposeful selection of past imagery and a visual reference to the very roots of the Roman-Christian Empire. Therefore, in the context of the war fought by Tiberius II and Maurice successively Constantine would have been a most suitable patron saint. This is particularly true for a community partly consisting of non-Roman members of the military. The veneration of the first Christian emperor, attested by the inscription on censer no. 1, could be the expression of a specific group identity with strong ideological ties to Constantinople, the empire and the emperor<sup>136</sup>. Maybe Constantine was purposefully chosen (possibly by a military chaplain) as a patron of the local church<sup>137</sup> because he was able to represent Roman-Christian identity like no other saint, alongside loyalty to the emperor (the new Constantine)<sup>138</sup>, while his adherents were hoping for divine support during the war against heathen enemies<sup>139</sup>. The cult may also have functioned as an appropriate instrument to tie foreign soldiers ideologically to the empire and to promote their Roman identity<sup>140</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

It is most unfortunate that the hoard discussed here was not properly excavated and that no further data regarding the original context is available today. This may have provided valuable additional clues, especially

<sup>135</sup> The reference of Tiberius II to Constantine as heroic and victorious founder of the Christian empire is reminiscent of the construction of Arminius as German national hero in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the representation of the emperor Wilhelm I as his successor; see Zelle 2015, 57-59 figs 7-11.

<sup>136</sup> Taking into account the supposed finding of the objects in the Biqā valley, a local tradition may also have played a role, as Constantine founded a church near Heliopolis (Baalbek) at the site of a temple of Aphrodite according to Eus., Vita Const. III 58, 3. The church has not been identified archaeologically yet and nothing is known about the later fate of the church from the written sources. On the church see Wallraff 2011, 13-14 note 21. – A deployment of troops at the Biqā valley and an explicit expression of loyalty to empire and emperor would have made sense in connection with the forcible oppression of the pagan insurgency in Heliopolis in 579 attested by J. Eph., Hist. Eccl. III 27. As no further data regarding the finding spot and the archaeological context of the silver objects is available, both thoughts have to remain speculative.

<sup>137</sup> Chaplains were regularly assigned to military units in Late Antiquity. It is conceivable that they were involved in the selection of the patron saint of the troop. On military chaplains and churches of specific military formations see Haensch/Lichtenberger/Raja 2016, 187-189 note 45; 192-193; Rance 2014, esp. 126-128 with further bibliography.

<sup>138</sup> Contemporary Byzantine authors regularly define their own side as »the Christians« or »the Romans« in contrast to the Sasanian enemies: Haldon 1999, 18-19. – Greatrex 2000, 268. 274 stresses that loyalty to the emperor and not ethnic origin was the determining factor of Roman identity especially of soldiers in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. On Greatrex point and Roman identity of barbarian soldiers cf. the recent comments by Parnell 2015. – See also Leppin 2012, 252-254 especially on the Roman identity of the multiethnic army raised by Tiberius II. Generally on the Roman identity of the Byzantine army Kaldellis 2017, 187-190.

<sup>139</sup> It appears that Constantine's vision of the cross functioned as a source of hope, especially for the Byzantine army. The invocation of a *comes* to be victorious in the sign of the cross from Kapropera (al-Kafr/al-Bāra; prov. Idlib/SYR: Todt/Vest 2014, 1362-1366) indicates the legends' function as a source for hope in perspective of the success of a military commander just as for the emperor Constans II on the aforementioned coins (see note 119 and fig. 9). IGLS IV, no. 1457: + Μεγάλη ἡ δύναμις τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος + Ὁ κόμισ Πρίσκος ἐν τούτῳ νικᾷ + (probably 6<sup>th</sup> century). The named *comes* is possibly identical with the *magister militum* and *comes excubitorum* of the late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> century (PLRE III 1052-1057 s.v. Priscus 6). – In the late antique fort of Viničko Kale (Vinica municipality/MK) 49 terracotta reliefs (presumably 6<sup>th</sup> century) were discovered that possibly belonged to the wall decoration of the local church. Seven of them depict a cross with a Latin inscription alluding to Constantine's vision of the cross. – Cat. Munich 1993, 61-62 nos 69-75 pl. 10: »*Crux Christi, vince et vincere presta omnibus sperantibus in te*«. – Dimitrova 1992/1993, 61-62. – On the fort see Mikulčić 2002, 55. 256-260 no. 169 figs 147-150. – In a liturgical text (10<sup>th</sup> century) composed for the service of soldiers before battle victory is explicitly associated with the vision of the cross. Acoluthia 155 line 15-21: »Ὁ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ πρώτῳ χριστιανῶν βασιλεῖ / σταυρὸν τὸν θεῖον δείξας οὐρανόθεν τε φήσας / Ἷθαρρῶν ἐν τούτῳ νικά· / σὺ ὁ θεὸς τῆς δυνάμει καὶ νῦν / νίκην καὶ βῶμην καὶ θεῖαν ὄντως ἰσχὺν / τῷ στρατῷ σου (δὸς) ὡς εὐσπλαγγνος.«

<sup>140</sup> Generally on the role of the local church as forum for expressing loyalty to the imperial government: McCormick 1986, 237-238. – The role of the clergy in strengthening the loyalty of Roman soldiers becomes apparent in the speech of bishop Gregory of Antioch (571-593) to the soldiers mutinying against their commander Priscus in Syria in 589 (Evagr. Schol. VI 12). Gregory upholds the Roman identity of the mutineers and acted as a mediator between emperor and army: Leppin 2012, 253-254.

for a more precise dating, which can only be attempted with stylistic and typological comparisons. Together with the information gained from the inscriptions the material presented above provides insights into social and religious practice as well as the self-conception of an early Byzantine community in Greater Syria. With high probability, the inscriptions found on the objects bear witness to the migration to Greater Syria of at least two individuals originating from the Frankish realm or Latin-speaking regions in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. It is likely, however, that Framarich and Karilos had been part of a larger group from the West who served as soldiers in the imperial forces. The presence of Framarich (and quite probably Karilos too) in the East affirms earlier hypotheses that people from the Frankish realm were among the soldiers raised by Tiberius II Constantine in 575. Framarich and Karilos were obviously fully integrated in the commemorative practice of a Greek-speaking community as attested by the existence of family or relatives commemorating them.

The exceptional cult of Constantine as a patron saint attested by the Karlsruhe silver hoard suggests that the idea of the Christian Roman Empire, imperial victory and loyalty to the imperial government was an important part of this community's identity. This self-conception mirrored in religious practice appears not to be an isolated phenomenon but linked to the overall process of »liturgification«, the interfusion of all aspects of social life (including military) in the eastern Roman Empire with Christian rituals and symbols since the late Justinianic period<sup>141</sup>. This process is explained as an attempt to stabilize society during a quickly evolving transformation of the established order caused by numerous crises<sup>142</sup>. Decisive military successes of the Sasanians against their Roman adversaries such as their invasion of Syria and the capture and destruction of Antioch in 540 are considered to have contributed to the crises that shook the traditional Roman world view in the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>143</sup>. As a consequence, a fundamental transformation of the Christianized Roman Empire to a sacred Roman-Christian Realm took place in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>144</sup>. In fact, by the 7<sup>th</sup> century the Roman state in the East blended with the church and Christian community<sup>145</sup>. In view of this, the sanctification of its founder Constantine and his establishment as a patron saint is consequential while the sacralization of the reigning emperor was substantially enhanced during the process of »liturgification«<sup>146</sup>. According to Averil Cameron the presentation of the reigning emperor as an embodiment of Christ on Earth since the reign of Justin II marks a turning point in imperial art and ideology<sup>147</sup>.

The revaluation of the first Christian emperor, the emphasis of the concept of Christian victory associated with him and the anti-Sasanian adaption of this legend was obviously provoked by the fundamental military threat of the Eastern Roman Empire by the Sasanians and later the Muslims Arabs in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. The veneration and reception of Constantine as a Christian hero and saint in the eastern provinces, in particular those affected by Sasanian and later Muslim attacks or experiencing long-lasting occupation (e. g. Germanikeia, Rihab, Egypt) provided a society under stress with a new means of identification<sup>148</sup>. This seems to have worked both for imperial propaganda as well as on a local level in the provinces and (in the 7<sup>th</sup> century) in occupied territories not controlled by imperial authorities.

<sup>141</sup> On the phenomenon see Meier 2012, 230-236 note 153 (with further bibliography); 2004a, 608-614; 2004b, 133-164 note 1 (with further bibliography) and fundamentally Cameron 1979. – The »liturgification« also affected warfare and religious practices of the military: Meier 2009, 267-270; 2012, 232-233. – Dennis 1993, esp. 111-115.

<sup>142</sup> On the stabilizing function of the »liturgification« see Meier 2012, 229-230.

<sup>143</sup> Meier 2004a, 313-320. 340-341.

<sup>144</sup> Meier 2004b, 162-164.

<sup>145</sup> Haldon 2016, 97. 291-292.

<sup>146</sup> On the intensified sacralization of the emperor since the late Justinianic period see especially Meier 2004a, 608-638; 2012, 230-231; Cameron 1979, 6-18. – Also Haldon 1994, 96-97; 2016, 96-97.

<sup>147</sup> Cameron 1980, 76. 82-84.

<sup>148</sup> On new identification poles created by the process of »liturgification« Meier 2012, 230. See also Haldon 2016, 289. 291 on the role of Christian-Roman identity and imperial political theology as important factors of cultural cohesion of eastern Roman society during the crisis of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG / SUMMARY / RÉSUMÉ

### **Der Heilige Konstantin und das von Tiberius II. 574/575 aufgestellte »Heer heldenhafter Männer«: einige Überlegungen zur historischen Bedeutung des frühbyzantinischen Silberhorts in Karlsruhe**

Der 1993 vom Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe erworbene sechsteilige Silberhort mit typologischen und stilistischen Bezügen zum Großraum Syrien gehörte zum Inventar einer Kirche des heiligen Konstantin. Das Inventar ist vor allem aufgrund der Inschriften von besonderer Bedeutung. Zwei der Objekte sind ihren griechischen Votivinschriften zufolge zum Gedenken eines Framarich und eines Karilos geweiht. Beide Namen weisen auf eine Herkunft der Männer aus dem lateinischsprachigen Raum bzw. dem Frankenreich hin. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass diese Männer im Zuge der großen Rekrutierungskampagne des Caesars Tiberius II. Constantinus 574/575 während des Krieges gegen die Sasaniden als Soldaten in den Großraum Syrien gelangten.

Eine der Votivinschriften belegt den heiligen Konstantin als Patronatsheiligen, der auch im Bild als gerüsteter Soldat gezeigt wird. Es handelt sich um ein exzeptionell frühes Zeugnis für die Heiligenverehrung und Darstellung des ersten christlichen Kaisers als Heiligen. Im Konstantinskult spiegeln sich offensichtlich Werte und Selbstbild der Gemeinde, nämlich die Idee des christlich-römischen Reiches, des Konzepts kaiserlicher Sieghaftigkeit sowie der Loyalität zum Kaiser. Intention der Auswahl des Patronatsheiligen könnte eine bewusste Bindung der fremden Soldaten an Kaiser und Reich gewesen sein. Generell stehen Aufkommen und Verbreitung des Heiligenkults Konstantins im 6. und vor allem im 7. Jahrhundert offensichtlich in einem Zusammenhang mit der massiven militärischen Bedrohung und langjährigen Besetzung von Kernterritorien des Reiches durch die Sasaniden und anschließend die muslimischen Araber.

### **St Constantine and »The Army of Heroic Men« Raised by Tiberius II in 574/575:**

#### **Some Thoughts on the Historical Significance of the Early Byzantine Silver Hoard at Karlsruhe**

The silver hoard comprising six pieces, which the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe acquired in 1993, belonged to the inventory of a church dedicated to St Constantine. The hoard relates stylistically as well as typologically to Greater Syria and is particularly significant due to its inscriptions. Two of the objects feature Greek votive inscriptions that bear dedications to the memory of a certain Framarich and a certain Karilos. Both names suggest that their bearers originated from a Latin-speaking region, perhaps the Frankish kingdom. These men probably came to Greater Syria as soldiers during Caesar Tiberius II Constantine's great recruiting campaign in the context of the Sasanian war in 574/575.

According to one votive inscription, St Constantine was the patron of the church and he is even depicted as a soldier in armour. This is an extraordinarily early example for his cult and for the depiction of this first Christian emperor to become a saint. The cult of St Constantine clearly reflects the values and the self-perception of the congregation: the idea of a Christian-Roman empire, the concept of the victorious emperor and loyalty to him. The intention behind choosing this holy patron could have been a conscious binding of the foreign soldiers to the emperor and the empire. In general, the emergence and spread of the cult of St Constantine during the 6<sup>th</sup> and especially the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries was obviously related to the massive military threat posed and the eventual occupation of core territories of the empire by the Sasanians and later by the Muslim Arabs.

#### **Saint Constantin et « l'armée de héros » constituée par Tibère II en 574/575:**

##### **quelques réflexions sur l'importance historique du trésor d'argent byzantin précoce à Karlsruhe**

Le trésor composé de six pièces, présentant des liens typologiques et stylistiques avec la région syrienne, fut acquis en 1993 par le Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe et faisait partie du mobilier de l'église de saint Constantin. Ce sont surtout les inscriptions qui donnent tant d'importance à ce mobilier. Deux objets sont, par leurs inscriptions votives en grec, dédiés à la mémoire de Framarich et Karilos. Ces deux noms indiquent une origine latine, voire franque. Il est probable que ces deux hommes soient arrivés comme soldats en Syrie à la suite de la campagne de recrutement lancée par l'empereur Tibère II Constantin en 574/575 lors de la guerre contre les Sassanides.

L'une des inscriptions votives atteste Constantin comme saint patron, représenté d'ailleurs en armes. C'est un exemple extraordinairement précoce du culte et de la représentation du premier empereur chrétien en personnage saint. Le culte de saint Constantin reflète les valeurs et la perception qu'a la congrégation d'elle-même: l'idée d'un empire romain et chrétien, le concept de l'empereur victorieux et de la loyauté qui lui est due. On peut penser qu'en choisissant ce saint patron les soldats étrangers s'attachaient intentionnellement à l'empereur et son empire. L'émergence et la diffusion du culte de saint Constantin au 6<sup>e</sup>, et spécialement au 7<sup>e</sup> siècle, étaient visiblement liées à l'immense menace venant des Sassanides et, plus tard, des Arabes musulmans, ainsi qu'à leur longue occupation des territoires centraux de l'empire.

Traduction: Y. Gautier