[EIRENE?], FIRST WIFE OF EMPEROR ISAAKIOS II ANGELOS, IS A PROBABLE TORNIKINA AND GATEWAY TO ANTIQUITY

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ABSTRACT

In most printed histories and reference works the first wife of Byzantine Emperor Isaakios II Angelos is described as unknown. She had married Isaakios, borne him several children, and died, all before Isaakios became emperor. In Section 1 we review evidence relating to the name of this first wife and some relationships that might involve her, concluding that she is very likely the daughter of Demetrios Tornikes, *logothetes* of the *dromos* (foreign minister) of emperors Isaakios II and Alexios III. In Section 2 we present a genealogical sketch of the Tornikes family, noting biographical details that further support this parentage.

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1. Her Name and Some Relationships and Titles

Five sources from the time of Emperor Isaakios II Angelos (d.1204) or slightly thereafter give or might give information about his first wife:

1. Her name was given as Herina [Eirene] in the necrology of Speyer Cathedral, where her son-in-law Philipp, second husband of her daughter Eirene-Maria, is buried.
2. The Byzantine official Konstantinos Tornikes was called the *theios* (uncle) of Emp. Alexios IV Angelos (son of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos and the latter's first wife) in December 1203 in an act of the monastery of Patmos.
3. Euthymios Tornikes, brother of Konstantinos, called himself *despotes* in a eulogy for Emp. Alexios III in 1201.
4. Demetrios Tornikes, father of Konstantinos, was called an *oikeios* (literally "member of the household or family") of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos in a report on a synod held in 1191.
5. Andronikos Palaiologos was called a beloved *gambros* (which often means brother-in-law) of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos in this same 1191 synod report.

In Section 1 we itemise the several different relationships that correspond to each use of a relationship term in the sources above and argue for what we think is overall the most likely interpretation of these sources, namely that Andronikos Palaiologos *is not* a brother of Emp. Isaakios' first wife but that Konstantinos Tornikes *is* a brother of this wife and that Demetrios Tornikes is her father. (See Figure 2 for a summary chart of the Tornikes family in this period and our conclusion about Herina/Eirene's place in it.)

In the following subsections we discuss these five sources in more detail.

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For any additions or corrections to this article see http://fmg.ac/FMG/Journal/Updates.htm.

1.1. Her name appears in the necrology of Speyer Cathedral

The name of the first wife of Emperor Isaakios II is specified in the necrology of Speyer Cathedral in Germany, discussed in a 1997 article by Rudolf Hiestand.[2] The focus in the necrology is a daughter of Isaakios II, Eirene-Maria, wife of Philipp, Duke of Swabia and King of Germany. Specifically named under Aug. 27 (the date of her death in 1208) are Maria ("*Maria regina Philippi regis contectalis obiit, nata de Grecia*"), her parents Isaakios and Eirene ("*statuit preterea, ut in octava Martini* [Nov. 18] *anniversarium patris eius et matris eius celebretur, patre scilicet Ysaac et matre Herina*"),[3] her elder sister Euphrosyne and her brother Manuel. Under Nov. 18 Eirene-Maria's mother's name is spelled slightly differently ("*Ysaac pater Marie regine et Herima mater eiusdem, quorum anniversorium ipsa celebrari constituit*").[4] Boehmer wrote that the necrology calendar of Speyer Cathedral, which includes the name of the first wife of Emperor Isaakios II, was compiled starting about the middle of the 13th century; there is one page for each date in a year; entries for earlier years (*eg* 1208) were copied from an older necrology.[5] An error could have occurred during this copying and might explain *Herima*. "*There remains some doubt about whether Eirene can have been the name of Isaakios' wife, as the original baptismal name of her daughter, 'Maria regina', is recorded as Eirene…*"[6] At this time in Byzantium children were not normally named for their parents.[7] Christian Settipani had suggested that possibly Herina was a

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2 Rudolf Hiestand, "Die Erste Ehe Isaaks II Angelos und Seine Kinder," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 47 (1997): 199-208.

3 Joh. Friedrich Boehmer, *Fontes Rerum Germanicarum: Geschichtsquellen Deutschlands* 4 (1868): 323.

4 Boehmer, *op. cit.* (1868), 325. The Latin extracts given by Hiestand are slightly corrected to meet modern standards for Latin spelling, grammar and punctuation.

5 Boehmer, *op. cit.* (1868), xl-xli.

6 Charles Cawley, *Medieval Lands: A prosopography of medieval European noble and royal families*, http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTIUM%2010571204.htm#IsaakiosIIdied1204 (accessed March 2010).

7 We tabulated some naming data from Demetrios I. Polemis' *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (1968). There are 59 entries in Polemis for men whose father's name is known (excluding cases where the Doukas name is borne by someone outside of the Byzantine empire); only two of these entries involve a son with the same name as his father: *#48* (Michael II Komnenos Doukas of Epirus, illegitimate son of Michael I Komnenos Doukas of Epirus) and *#194* (Ioannes Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos Synadenos, son of Ioannes *193*). There are 18 entries in Polemis for women whose mother's name is known; none of the daughters have the mother's name.

We did a similar analysis of references to X as son of Y in the online *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* database (<http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk> 2006.1) in November 2010. Excluding cases outside of the Byzantine empire, there are 398 cases where the son's name is different from the father's, one case where it is uncertain whether the son's name is the same as the father's (Nikephoros Bryennios, husband of Anna Komnene, was the son or perhaps grandson of another Nikephoros), and two cases where the son's name is definitely the same as the father's (Georgios 213, son of Georgios 212, and Pantaleon 20101, son of Pantaleon 20102).

A 15th century case where a daughter had her mother's name is found in the Massarelli papers in the Vatican library: the mother of Georgios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos' daughter Maria was herself named Maria. The daughter Maria also had a paternal aunt named Maria, who might be the source of the daughter's name. (Likewise, Eirene-Maria had a paternal aunt named Eirene.) See Charles Cawley, *Medieval Lands: A prosopography of medieval European noble and royal families*, http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTIUM%2012611453.htm, which cites Angelo Massarelli's *Dell'Imperadori Constantinopolitani*, Codex Vaticanus Latinus 12127 fols. 349^{v}-353.

misreading of Helina,[8] but we have obtained digital images of the relevant Speyer necrology pages, and Boehmer's transcriptions of Herina and Herima are accurate.

Several sources call this daughter Eirene or something similar. She was called Urania when the Italian *Chronicle of Richard of S. Germano* described her marriage, placed in 1191 at Brindisi, to Roger, son of Tancred of Sicily: "*Ysacho Constantinopolitano imperatorie de Urania filia sua.*"[9] (Urania is not very different from Erina, the form of her name sometimes used in Germany.) The second continuation of the Annals of Montecassino (codices 4 & 5) reported that this marriage occurred in 1193: "*Rex Tancredus in Apuliam veniens, recepit filiam imperatoris Constantinopolitani in uxorem Roggerio filio suo, dudum in regem coronato.*"[10] She was called "*Emperor Isaakios's daughter Irene,*" by Niketas Choniates when he chronicled her abduction from Palermo, Sicily, as a young widow in 1194 and her betrothal to Philipp of Swabia.[11] Burchard of Ursberg called her Erina when describing the same abduction: "*Philippo quoque fratri suo dedit uxorem dominam Erinam, filiam regis Grecorum, quam reperit in palatio Panormitano.*"[12] This account may have been derived from the Weingarten continuation (written *c.*1200) of the chronicle of Hugo, which called Philipp's bride Hyrene: "*imperator Heinricus...filiam imperatoris Greciae, nomine Hyrene, infra nubilies annos positam, quam in palatio Palernensi invenit, Phylippo fratri suo in matrimonio coniunxit, in beneficio traditis ei Tuscia cum Spoleto et omni domo domnae Mahthildis.*"[13]

According to the article on Philipp by Christoph Waldecker in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Eirene married him at Pentecost in 1197 under the name Maria ("*Sie wurde mit Philipp verlobt und zu Pfingsten 1197 unter dem Namen Maria seine Frau*"); no authority is cited for this information.[14] Gilles d'Orval called her Maria in relating her coronation in 1198.[15] The St Pantaleon continuation (1219) of the *Chronica regia Coloniensis* called her Maria when reporting on Philipp's 1205

For some background on Massarelli's papers see M. L. Bierbrier's "Genealogical Flights of Fancy. Old Assumptions, New Sources," *Foundations* (2008) 2 (5): 384.

[8] Christian Settipani, *Continuité des élites à Byzance durant les siècles obscurs* (2006), 475, n. 1.

[9] *The Chronicle of Richard of S. Germano*, under 1191 (http://www.leeds.ac.uk/history/weblearning/MedievalHistoryTextCentre/ricsgermano.doc).

[10] 'Annales Casinenses, continuatio secunda, annorum 1183-1212', ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (hereafter *MGH*) *SS* XIX (1866): 317 (http://bsbdmgh.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/dmgh_new/app/web?action=loadBook&bookId=00000860).

[11] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 481 [van Dieten (1975) pagination]; Harry J. Magoulias, trans., *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniatēs* (1984), 264. Hereafter Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias.

[12] *Burchardi praepositi Urspergensis chronicon,* ed. Oswald Holder-Egger & Bernhard von Simson, *MGH SS rer. Germ.* XVI (2nd Edn., 1916): 73 (http://bsbdmgh.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/dmgh_new/app/web?action=loadBook&bookId=00000767).

[13] Ludwig Weiland, ed., *Monumenta Welforum antiqua, MGH SS rer. Germ.* XLIII (1869): 59 (http://bsbdmgh.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/dmgh_new/app/web?action=loadBook&bookId=00000745). (NB the text quoted is from the Weingarten continuation of the chronicle by Hugues de Saint-Victor).

[14] Traugott Bautz, ed., *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 25 (2005): columns 1070-1095 (http://www.bbkl.de/p/philipp_v_schw.shtml).

[15] *MGH SS* XXV (1880): 116, although this narrative was written in 1251 and Gilles only added the name to an account taken from the annals of Renier of Saint-Jacques compiled in 1230, *MGH SS* XVI (1859): 654.

coronation at Aachen, performed by the Archbishop of Cologne.[16] She received a letter from Pope Innocent III, written in February 1208, addressed to her as "*Illustri reginae Mariae;*" [17] Schütte discusses her name, noting that Maria was generally associated with an intensified devotion to the Virgin Mary and the Greek name Irene would have been unfamiliar north of the Alps.[18]

After her marriage to Philipp of Swabia she was still called Erina, *eg* in the Gesta of the bishops of Halberstadt: "*sed et coniux sua Erina augusta regio cultu excellentissime simul ornate.*"[19] In a charter dated 30 July 1197 Philipp called his wife Erina: "*Philippus dei gratia Sueuorum dux…una cum nobilissima nostra consorte Erina…*"[20] Record of a donation by Philipp and Erena to Weissenau Abbey appears in an appendix to the history of the abbey: "*Sciendum quoque est, quod piissimus dominus Philippus Romanorum rex et uxor sua Herena contulerunt nobis ecclesiam Cristine…*"[21] The documents of Philipp on the Regesta Imperii website (http://regesten.regesta-imperii.de/) do not appear to contain an instance where he called his wife Maria and in fact contain only one example of his calling his wife by name (Erina). She called herself Maria in a charter dated 20 August 1208 (a week before she died) at Staufen: *"Maria, dei gratia Romanorum regina augusta…"* [22] She died following a miscarriage, slightly over two months after her husband's murder.[23] She occurs as Maria in the necrology of Speyer cathedral but as Erena in the necrology of Weingarten Abbey[24] and as Herene in the necrology of Weissenau (Augia Minor) Abbey.[25]

A reference to Eirene-Maria as Cecilia (possibly punning on Sicily) is cited by du Cange[26] — Albert of Stade's annals (under 1195): *"Capta est etiam Isaac regis Constantinopolitani filia, Thancradi filio desponsata nomine Cecilia, quam postea duxit*

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16 *Chronica regia Coloniensis* (*Annales maximi Colonienses*), ed. Georg Waitz, *MGH SS rer. Germ.* XVIII (1880): 219-220 (http://bsbdmgh.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/dmgh_new/app/web?action=loadBook&bookId=00000768).

17 Johann Heumann, *Commentarii de re diplomatica imperatricum augustarum ac reginarum Germaniae* (1743), 264. Heumann thought this letter might have been written to Emperor Otto IV's second wife Maria, but clearly the dating to 1208 precludes this possibility.

18 Bernd Schütte, *König Philipp von Schwaben: Itinerar, Urkundenvergabe, Hof, MGH Schriften* 51 (2002): 47, 491.

19 *MGH SS* XXIII (1874), 113 (http://bsbdmgh.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/dmgh_new/app/web?action=loadBook&bookId=00000886).

20 *Wirtembergisches Urkundenbuch* 2 (1858): 320, no. 502 (http://books.google.com/books?id=XYUqAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA320&lpg=PA320 or http://maja.bsz-bw.de/wubonline/).

21 *MGH SS* XXIV (1879): 657 (http://bsbdmgh.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/dmgh_new/app/web?action=loadBook&bookId=00000866).

22 *Wirtembergisches Urkundenbuch* 2 (1858): 370, no. 542 (http://books.google.com/books?id=XYUqAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA370&lpg=PA370 or http://maja.bsz-bw.de/wubonline/).

23 *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur*, ed. Hermann Bloch, *MGH SS rer. Germ.* IX (1907): 79 (under 1208) (http://bsbdmgh.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/dmgh_new/app/web?action=loadBook&bookId=00000762).

24 *MGH Necrologia Germaniae* I (1888), ed. Franz Ludwig Baumann, 236 (http://bsbdmgh.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/dmgh_new/app/web?action=loadBook&bookId=00000545).

25 *MGH Necrologia Germaniae* I (1888), ed. Baumann, 160.

26 C du Fresne, sieur du Cange, *Familiae augustae Byzantinae* (1680), 205.

Philippus Romanorum rex."[27] These latter annals were compiled in the mid-13th century, many years after Eirene-Maria had died.

The sources and contexts for many of these references are presented in Table I. Emperor Issakios' daughter is called Urania, Eirene, or similar variations in Byzantium, Italy and Germany. No entry in the table shows her being called Maria except in Germany.

Table I. ***References to Eirene, daughter of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos.***

Name used	Descriptions of her first marriage	Descriptions of her abduction from Sicily or second marriage	References to her after her second marriage	Reports of her death (27 Aug. 1208), necrologies
Urania	1. Richard of S. Germano (Italy).			
Eirene, Hyrene, Erina, Erena, Herene		1. Niketas Choniates; 2. Burchard of Ursberg (perhaps based on next entry); 3. Weingarten continuation of the chronicle of Hugo.	1. Gesta of bishops of Halberstadt; 2. 1197 charter of Philipp; 3. Donation of Philipp and Erena to Weissenau.	1. Weingarten necrology. 2. Weissenau (Augia Minor) necrology.
Maria		1. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon* article on Philipp says she used the name Maria when marrying him.	1. St Pantaleon continuation (1219) of *Chronica regia Coloniensis* (Philipp's 1205 coronation); 2. Feb. 1208 letter from Pope Innocent III. 3. Her charter of 20 Aug. 1208.	1. Speyer necrology.

Considering the broader picture, we have several sources calling the daughter Eirene, Erina or something similar, and in opposition we have a single source (the Speyer necrology) calling the mother Eirene (Herina). If we assume that the mother and daughter did not have the same name, then we have to be skeptical about Eirene as the name of the mother.

Is Isaakios likely to have followed standard Byzantine naming practices? His first son, the future emperor Alexios IV, was not named after the latter's paternal grandfather Andronikos (the standard and common practice), quite possibly because when Alexios was born in the early 1180s, Isaakios was the leader of the aristocratic opposition to co-emperor and then sole emperor Andronikos I, a Komnenos cousin. On the other

[27] *MGH SS* XVI (1859): 352 (http://bsbdmgh.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/dmgh_new/app/web?action=loadBook&bookId=00000943).

hand, Isaakios' oldest child Euphrosyne was named after her paternal grandmother, as per tradition. Not naming the oldest son after his paternal grandfather is somewhat unusual, but many examples of this practice can be found. A daughter almost never is given her mother's name.

Because of the uncertainty about the name of Isaakios' first wife, we will hereafter refer to her as "[Eirene?]", where the "?" denotes uncertainty about the name, not any relationship.

1.2. Konstantinos Tornikes was called *theios* (uncle) of Emp. Alexios IV Angelos

In December 1203 the Byzantine official Konstantinos Tornikes was called the uncle ("*θείου*") of Emp. Alexios IV Angelos, son of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos and the latter's first wife, in a record in the Acts of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, 2.131.14-15,[28] summarised in *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*:[29]

> Greek (editorial completions in parentheses):
> *πανσε(βάστου)* ***θείου*** *τοῦ χρατ(αιοῦ) χαὶ ἁγ(ίου) ἡμῶν β(ασι)λ(έως) χαὶ λογοθ(έ)τ(ου) τοῦ δρόμ(ου) χῦρ Κω(νσταντίνου) τοῦ Τορν(ίχη)*
>
> English translation:
> *pansebastos* **uncle** of our mighty and holy Emperor[30] [Alexios IV] and *logothetes* of the *dromos* [basically foreign minister] lord Konstantinos Tornikes

This record tells us that Konstantinos Tornikes, uncle of the emperor, was represented at Neorion by Ioannes Kamateros, who formally measured the new ship of the monastery of Patmos (its capacity was 2034 modioi). Brand gives some background: *"At every harbor ships paid a standard port-due of ten percent, but the Venetians were freed from this tax and many monasteries had exemptions for vessels of limited size."*[31] Ioannes Kamateros had represented Konstantinos Tornikes on two similar occasions prior to the accession of Alexios IV, and the Patmos records for both those occasions report that, following the measurement, Ioannes presented the ship to the monastery exempt from all taxes.[32]

(Note that within a few months, Emp. Alexios IV would be deposed and killed and Constantinople sacked.)

A facsimile of this type of record is shown at the bottom of 1.102 of the published Patmos acts. Specifically, the original of Patmos Acts 1.100.38 is reproduced at the end of note 9 two pages later; this excerpt is from a chrysobull[33] signed by

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[28] E. Branouse & M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου (Vyzantina engrapha tēs Monēs Patmou)* (1980), 2.131.14-15 [Patmos Acts references are to volume, page and line(s), separated by full stops].

[29] 'Konstantinos 216', *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk> 2006.1, (PBW), (accessed November 2009).

[30] *Βασιλέως* (*Basileus*) literally means "king".

[31] Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204* (1968), 4.

[32] 'Ioannes 335', *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk> 2006.1, (PBW), (accessed April 2010).

[33] A chrysobull or golden bull was a decree issued by the emperor, so called because attached to it was a *bulla aurea* or "golden seal." Some chrysobulls were treaties.

Konstantinos' father Demetrios Tornikes as the emperor's *epi tou kanikleiou* (private secretary), granting to the monk Ioannikios, founder of the monastery of the Theotokos, an *exkousseia* on 6 *paroikoi* for his monastery.[34]

Transcription of facsimile: *τοῦ σεβαστοῦ χαὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χανιχλ(είου) χαὶ Δημητρί(ου) τοῦ Τορνίχη*
Translation: *sebastos* and *epi tou kanikleiou* Demetrios Tornikes

Much information about the Tornikes family was made available by the publication in 1970 of *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès, Lettres et discourse* by Jean Darrouzès; this work contains an extensive introduction, thirty-one letters of George Tornikes transcribed in Greek, with three translated into French, and three letters of Demetrios Tornikes transcribed in Greek, with two translated into French, plus information from other documents written by members of this family. This Patmos act referring to Konstantinos Tornikes as uncle of the emperor is mentioned by Darrouzès, who studied it in detail and argued that it should be dated 1203 rather than 1188, as accepted until then. (1188 is one 15-year indiction cycle[35] earlier and was the year assigned by Miklosich and Müller in their late 19th-century publication of the acts of Patmos and other monasteries.[36]) This 1203 dating means that the emperor was Alexios IV; Darrouzès, however, does not draw from the uncle reference any inference about the mother of Alexios IV.[37]

Two resources published in the late 1900s have also made information about the Tornikes family much more accessible. The first is the Acts of the Monastery of St. John on the Aegean island of Patmos, published in 1980 (E. Branouse and M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου (Vyzantina engrapha tēs Monēs Patmou), 1. Αὐτοκρατορικά, 2. Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν,* Athens 1980). The second is the Acts of the Holy Monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos on the Chalkidiki peninsula in Greece (M. Živojinović, V. Kravari, C. Giros, *Actes de Chilandar I. Des origines à 1319*, *Archives de l'Athos* XX, Paris 1998). These monasteries were founded in the late 11th and 12th centuries respectively.

Data from the two resources itemized above is included in the online database *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (PBW), which became available in 2006 and covers AD 1025–1180 and slightly later (http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/).

Charles Cawley, author of the Medieval Lands online database hosted by the Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, spent some time going through PBW, looking for information which could update his database, and discovered the reference in the Acts of Patmos to Konstantinos Tornikes as uncle of Emp. Alexios IV. So far as we know, he was the first to publicize (in the Byzantine nobility section of Medieval Lands, http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTINE%20NOBILITY.htm) that this reference to Konstantinos as uncle has implications for the identification of the first wife of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos.

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[34] E. Branouse & M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου* (1980), 1.100.37-8, 1.102.n9.

[35] The year of many medieval documents is specified by its position in the 15-year indiction cycle, *eg* year one of the indiction, year two, etc., later described as the first indiction, second indiction, etc.

[36] Franciscus Miklosich and Iosephus Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana* 6 (1890): 122-123.

[37] Jean Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmetrios Tornikès. Lettres et discours. Introduction, texte, analyses, traduction et notes* (1970), 34.

We'll soon discuss the extended meanings of "uncle" ("θείου"), but first we'll look at its strict interpretation. Since "uncle" Konstantinos Tornikes[38] was certainly not the brother of Alexios' father Emperor Isaakios II Angelos, the remaining three ways he could be uncle in the strict sense are (as illustrated in Figure 1):

A. Konstantinos Tornikes was a brother of Emp. Isaakios II's first wife [Eirene?].

B. The wife of Konstantinos Tornikes was a sister of Emp. Isaakios II.

C. The wife of Konstantinos Tornikes was a sister of Emp. Isaakios II's first wife [Eirene?].

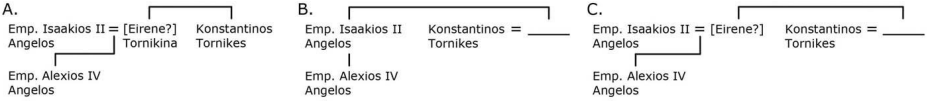


Fig 1. ***Possibilities for "uncle" ("θείου") Konstantinos Tornikes (emperors' names in bold)***

We'll focus first on alternatives B and C, which are inherently less likely than A, since a "θείου" at this time was almost always a blood relative.[39] As will be discussed later, Konstantinos has one known wife, a Komnene, whose mother (or possibly father) was apparently an illegitimate child of Emp. Manuel I Komnenos,[40] and this known wife was the mother of Konstantinos' son Demetrios. We learn of this wife from Euthymios Tornikes' eulogy for his father Demetrios, composed around 1201, where she is mentioned as Demetrios' daughter-in-law and the *logothetes*' (Konstantinos') wife, *"descended from the first and imperial series of gold of the Komnenos, brave and wise" ("σου νύμφη, ἡ ἐχ τῆς πρώτης χαὶ Βασιλιχῆς τῶν Κομνηνῶν χρυσέας σειρᾶς ἡ ανδρεία χαὶ σώφρων")*.[41] (The "imperial series of gold" is the father-son-grandson sequence of emperors: Alexios I, Ioannes II, and Manuel I.[42]) In the eulogy Euthymios describes Konstantinos' wife as weeping and maintaining her silence as a woman.

It is hard to image Konstantinos Tornikes' Komnene wife being born much before the early 1160s, since she was the granddaughter of Emp. Manuel I Komnenos, b.1122.

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38 Here we use *theios* ("θείου") in the strict sense, not the extended sense discussed later.

39 Accessing the *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* database (PBW) in October 2010, we found 27 relationships described by *theios* (excluding cases where one of the two people is anonymous). One of these 27 relationships is Konstantinos Tornikes as *theios* of Emp. Alexios IV. Of the remaining 26, **17** are blood uncle relationships (counting a case where both individuals share the same patronym, Mitas) and **one** is an uncle relationship by marriage (Konstantinos Angelos is called *theios* of his wife's nephew by blood, Emp. Manuel I). There are eight *theios* relationships where we don't know whether the basis is blood or marriage. At least five of these eight relationships involved monks or abbots of monasteries for whom more details on the relationship are unlikely to be found, though often in this religious context the *theios* was the father's or mother's brother, since it was a normal practice at that time for a nephew to follow in his blood uncle's footsteps as a monk or in an ecclesiastical position (e. g., Euthymios Tornikes following in his uncle Euthymios Malakes' footsteps). One of the eight unexplained cases is probably a case of the mother's brother as *theios*, since the nephew's parents allowed the nephew to be raised by his *theios*, but the evidence is only circumstantial.

40 Kōnstantinos Varzos, *Hē Genealogia tōn Komnēnōn* 1 (1984): 157a, 475-476.

41 Darrouzès, "Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikes," *Revue des Études Byzantines* (hereafter *REB*) 26 (1968): 92, 108.

42 Varzos, *op. cit.* (1984), 476.

This dating could permit Konstantinos to have an earlier wife who was a sister of Emp. Isaakios II or his first wife. In fact this possibility is the only way that alternative B or C above could be true. However, the 1203 reference to Konstantinos Tornikes as uncle of Emp. Alexios IV would then seem rather strained: Konstantinos would be an uncle by marriage because his first wife of some time ago was an aunt (by blood) of Alexios. Since we know of no other children of Konstantinos besides Demetrios, this possible first wife might well have been childless (or any children died young), giving less reason for her to be remembered some years later.

Concerning alternative B, if Konstantinos Tornikes had married the sister of the emperor, this connection would almost certainly have been mentioned in surviving records, especially given that a sister of Emp. Isaakios II would also be a sister of his successor, Emp. Alexios III, and we know of no references to Konstantinos as *gambros* (brother-in-law) of either Isaakios II or Alexios III. (Of course, alternative A could also lead to a reference to Konstantinos as *gambros* of Isaakios II, though such a reference is somewhat less likely, since the intermediate person in the *gambros* relation, Isaakios' first wife, died before Isaakios became emperor.)

To underscore the significance of no mention of a marriage of Konstantinos Tornikes to a sister of the emperor, note that Niketas Choniatēs wrote about the marriages of two sisters of Emperor Isaakios II and Emperor Alexios III, namely Eirene Angelina[43] and Theodora Angelina.[44] Choniatēs also wrote about Konstantinos Tornikes, his positions as prefect of Constantinople[45] and *logothetes* of the *dromos*, and even his death.[46] For Choniatēs to ignore a marriage of one of Emp. Isaakios II's sisters to Konstantinos Tornikes would be incredible.

Alternative A is much more likely: Konstantinos was the emperor's mother's brother and thus an uncle by blood. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 2.

If alternative A is the case, then when mentioning important connections of Demetrios, why wouldn't Euthymios mention that Demetrios was father of the first wife of Emp. Isaakios II and thus grandfather of the young Alexios, the future Alexios IV? This omission was probably partly because Isaakios II had been deposed and his brother Alexios III was then emperor, and perhaps also because the young Alexios was then beginning to recruit support to oust this uncle-usurper and reclaim the imperial throne.

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[43] *"Since three brothers [of Emp. Alexios III Angelos] had been blinded by Andronikos, as was John Kantakouzenos, the husband of their sister Irene, …"* Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 498 / (1984), 274.

[44] *"At the time when Emperor Isaakios had dispatched an embassy to Conrad's brother Boniface to propose a marriage contract between him and [Isaakios'] sister Theodora, …"* Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 382 / (1984), 210.

[45] Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 525 / (1984), 288.

[46] Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 643 / (1984), 353.

Having discussed the strict meaning of *theios*, we now need to address its extended meaning. Stéphane Binon wrote about this extended meaning, drawing on examples found in Byzantine sources.[47] He reported that a son of an uncle could be called *theios* of a son of the nephew, and a grandson of an uncle could be called *theios* of a grandson of the nephew. As discussed in footnote 39, *theios* usually meant blood uncle rather than uncle by marriage. Certainly most of the extended uses of *theios* involved a son or grandson of a blood uncle or aunt being called *theios* of a son or grandson of the nephew. Binon provided two chrysobulls from 1192 as examples of the son of an uncle being called *theios* of a child of the nephew (Emp. Isaakios II referred to Emp. Manuel I as his *theios* when Emp. Manuel I's father was (blood) uncle of Emp. Isaakios II's father). Binon also gave examples where the son of a blood aunt was called *theios* of a son of the nephew[48] and one example where the son of a blood aunt was the *theios* of the son of the niece.[49] In our case, it's somewhat unlikely that [Eirene?] was the niece of Demetrios Tornikes since his brothers were unlikely to have had any children and no sisters are known to us. In addition, it's somewhat unlikely that [Eirene?] was the niece of Demetrios Tornikes' wife since Euthymios Malakes was unlikely to have had any children and no other siblings of Euthymios Malakes are known to us.

Citing Binon, Donald Nicol made the following comments about the extended meaning of *theios*:

> ***The words theios or theia meaning uncle or aunt.*** *These too are employed in what to our minds is a very wide and almost arbitrary manner. The word uncle can mean far more than the simple relationship between a child and its father's or its mother's brother. It is used also to denote the degree of affinity existing between the child of an uncle and the child of the nephew, as if the son of your uncle Tom Cobley were the uncle of your own son Harry. The matter can even be taken into a third generation, so that the grandson of an uncle is designated as the uncle of a [great-]grandnephew. Sometimes this relationship is so tenuous and so far removed as to be almost indistinguishable from the relationship implied by such words as oikeios; and sometimes too the word theios is used, as we would say, of a courtesy uncle, to indicate a specially privileged member of the family.* [50]

To summarize informally, the extended meaning of *theios* was an older blood relative. This extended sense of *theios* is much less common than the strict sense.[51] Table II itemises some ways in which Konstantinos Tornikes could have been a *theios* of Emp. Alexios IV, exploring how well each interpretation fits with known relationship data.

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47 Stéphane Binon, "A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue. Les sens de *theios* et de *gambros," Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 38 (1938): 133-155.

48 Binon, *op. cit.* (1938), 146-147. In one such example Andronikos Asanes, the son of Eirene Palaiologina (blood aunt of Emp. Michael IX), was called *theios* of Emp. Andronikos III (son of Emp. Michael IX).

49 Binon, *op. cit.* (1938),148. Ioannes Tarchaneiotes was the *theios* of Andronikos Asanes through Ioannes' mother Marie (Marthe) Palaiologina, sister of Emp. Michael VIII and aunt of Eirene Palaiologina, the mother of Andronikos Asanes.

50 Donald Nicol, "The Prosopography of the Byzantine Aristocracy," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (1984), 85.

51 In our footnote 39 survey of the uses of *theios* in PBW, none of the 18 cases where we know the relationship between the two individuals was this extended type of *theios*.

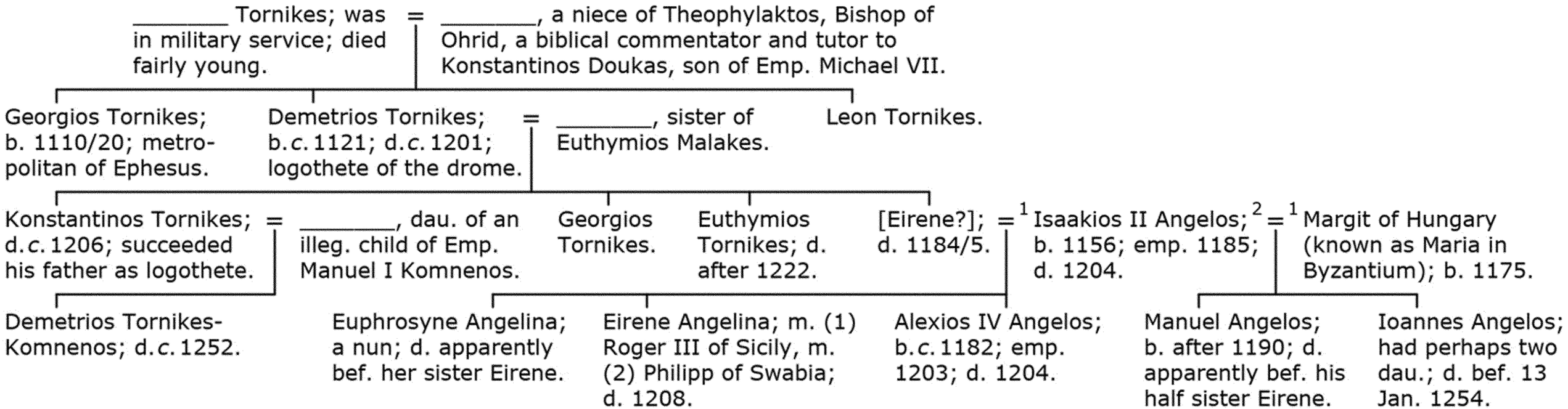


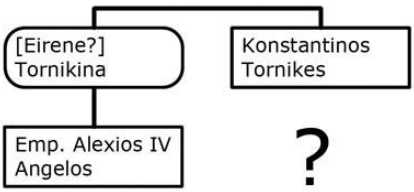
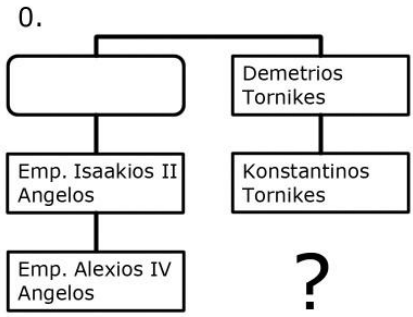
Fig 2. ***Relatives of Demetrios Tornikes, logothete of the drome, b.c.1121, d.c.1201, as proposed in this article.***

Demetrios was descended in the male line from Tornik, patrikios *(patrician) in 919 (Fig 3).*

Table IIa. ***Exploration of* theios.**

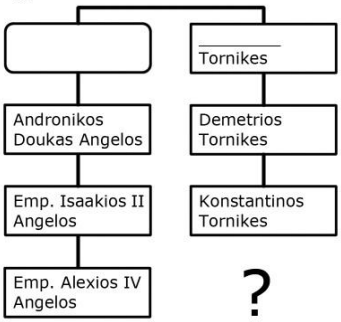
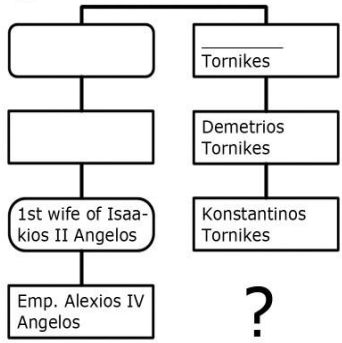
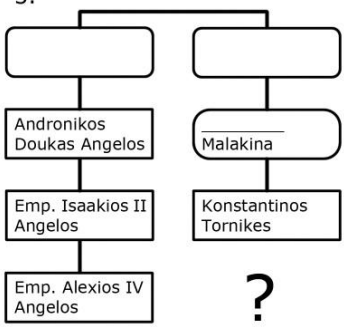
We consider how well different interpretations of theios *fit with known relationship information (independent of the generic likelihood of these interpretations).*

Notation: in the small charts, men are shown in rectangles and women in rounded rectangles; when the sex of a person is unknown or irrelevant, the rectangle will be slightly rounded.

Sense of *theios* (*Θεῖος*)	**Could Konstantinos Tornikes be uncle (*theios*) of Emp. Alexios IV in this sense?**	**Our judgment,** with evidence for or against
Strict: The *theios* was a brother or brother-in-law of a parent of the nephew.	Was Konstantinos Tornikes uncle (in the strict sense) of Alexios IV?  	**Yes, plausible.** Details are discussed in the text.
Extended: *Theios'* father was strict uncle of *theios*' nephew's father.	Was Demetrios Tornikes (father of Konstantinos) uncle (in the strict sense) of Isaakios II (father of Alexios IV)?  	**No.** Demetrios Tornikes was certainly not a blood uncle of Isaakios, since Demetrios was not a brother of Isaakios' father (Andronikos Doukas Angelos) or mother (Euphrosyne Kastamonitissa). Demetrios could not be an uncle of Isaakios by marriage because Demetrios' wife (a sister of Euthymios Malakes) could not be a sister of Isaakios' father or mother.

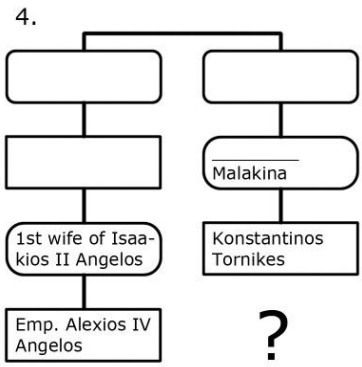
Continued on next page…

Table IIb. ***Exploration of*** **theios.**

Sense of *theios* (*Θειος*)	**Could Konstantinos Tornikes be uncle (*theios*) of Emp. Alexios IV in this sense?**	**Our judgment,** with evidence for or against
Extended: *Theios'* grandfather was strict uncle of *theios*' nephew's grandfather.	Was a grandfather of Konstantinos Tornikes an uncle (in the strict sense) of a grandfather of Alexios IV? 1.  2.  3.  	**Four cases, each unlikely or uncertain.** **1.** Can Konstantinos Tornikes' *paternal* grandfather be an uncle of Alexios' *paternal* grandfather? **Quite unlikely.** Konstantinos Tornikes' *paternal* grandfather (_____ Tornikes, husband of a niece of Theophylaktos of Ohrid) cannot be a blood uncle of Alexios' *paternal* grandfather (Andronikos Doukas Angelos), because this _____ Tornikes can't be a sibling of either of Andronikos' parents, Konstantinos Angelos and Theodora Komnene, and is almost certainly not an uncle by marriage, since _____ Tornikes' wife, niece of Theophylaktos, is almost certainly not a blood aunt of Andronikos. This niece of Theophylaktos is certainly not a sibling of Andronikos' mother (Theodora Komnene) and thus daughter of Emp. Alexios I and could hardly be simultaneously a sibling of Andronikos' father Konstantinos Angelos and a niece of Theophylaktos. Since Theophylaktos was presumably unmarried, his niece would have to be a daughter of one of his siblings; in order for this niece also to be a sibling of Konstantinos Angelos, a sister of Theophylaktos would have to have married Konstantinos' father, Manuel?, which seems unlikely because Konstantinos' father was from Philadelphia in Asia Minor and Theophylaktos was from the Greek island of Euboea. **2.** Can Konstantinos Tornikes' *paternal* grandfather be an uncle of Alexios' *maternal* grandfather? **Uncertain.** We don't know whether Konstantinos Tornikes' *paternal* grandfather (_____ Tornikes, husband of a niece of Theophylaktos of Ohrid) was an uncle of Alexios' *maternal* grandfather, the father of the first wife of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos?

Continued on next page…

Table IIc. ***Exploration of*** **theios.**

Sense of *theios* (*Θεῖος*)	**Could Konstantinos Tornikes be uncle (*theios*) of Emp. Alexios IV in this sense?**	**Our judgment,** with evidence for or against
Extended: *Theios'* grandfather was strict uncle of *theios*' nephew's grandfather. (*continued*)	Was a grandfather of Konstantinos Tornikes an uncle (in the strict sense) of a grandfather of Alexios IV? (*continued*)  	**3.** Can Konstantinos Tornikes' *maternal* grandfather be an uncle of Alexios' *paternal* grandfather? **Unlikely.** Konstantinos Tornikes' *maternal* grandfather (_____ Malakes) was certainly not an uncle of Alexios' *paternal* grandfather (Andronikos Doukas Angelos) via Andronikos' mother Theodora Komnene, and probably not through Andronikos' father Konstantinos. **4.** Can Konstantinos Tornikes' *maternal* grandfather be an uncle of Alexios' *maternal* grandfather? **Uncertain.** We don't know whether Konstantinos Tornikes' *maternal* grandfather (_____ Malakes) was an uncle of Alexios' *maternal* grandfather, the father of the first wife of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos.
Extended: Other	Was Konstantinos Tornikes an older first cousin of Emp. Alexios IV?	**Quite unlikely.** If either Demetrios Tornikes or Euthymios Malakes (brother-in-law of Demetrios Tornikes) was the brother-in-law of Emp. Isaakios II, then [Eirene?] would have been about twenty years older than her husband Emp. Isaakios II. In addition, neither Demetrios Tornikes nor Euthymios Malakes was called the *gambros* of Emp. Isaakios II.
Extended: Other	Was the "uncle" relationship a more distant relationship, such as through Leon Tornikes, brother of Demetrios, with Leon being a father-in-law of Emp. Isaakios II?	**Quite unlikely.** No documentation is known for Leon Tornikes after 1154 and no evidence exists for a marriage. If Leon had this sort of connection to Emp. Isaakios II, we would likely know about it.
Extended: Other	Was the "uncle" relationship through Georgios Tornikes, brother of Demetrios?	**Quite unlikely.** Georgios was Metropolitan of Ephesus, and no evidence exists for a marriage. If he had this sort of connection to Emp. Isaakios II, we would likely know about it.

Only the strict interpretation of *theios* leads to a detailed interpretation which is plausible; this plausibility does not prove that interpretation but does help strengthen the case for it. With data on the usage of *theios*, we can compute probabilities.[52] Note that when we chose hypothetical numbers of cases of different interpretations of

[52] Our review of the cases in Table II and in the earlier text is not a traditional process of elimination. We can eliminate some cases as impossible or unlikely, but more than one alternative remains, so we cannot say that one alternative has been proven. However, the eliminated cases affect our estimates of the probabilities of the remaining alternatives. Suppose, for example, that an appropriate sample of 100 uses of *theios* has 72 cases of blood uncle, 12 cases of uncle by marriage, and 16 cases of uncle in the extended sense, as shown in detail in the table below. The prior probabilities in the third column are the probabilities of the different types of *theios* relationships when there is no additional information about the two people involved (other than that they are from the same time period and geographic region as the 100 samples of *theios*). The fourth column shows how the probabilities have to be adjusted if category Z (*theios* = father's brother) is immediately ruled out (as in the discussion above): the remaining (non-zero) probabilities have to be scaled upward so that their total is restored to 100%. Finally, the fifth column shows the probabilities after all but three categories have been ruled out (as in the discussion in the text and in Table II), showing that alternative A is highly likely in this hypothetical scenario. If we could also rule out alternatives 2 and 4, we could say we had proved alternative A, but this proof actually just boosts the probability of A from 90% to 100% in this hypothetical model, not a dramatic change.

Interpretation of *theios*	Number of cases (out of 100)	Prior proba-bilities	Probabilities after excluding Z	Probabilities after excluding all but 3 cases
Z. Father's brother	36	36.0%	--- [0%]	---
A. Mother's brother	36	36.0%	56.25%	90.0%
B. Husband of father's sister	6	6.0%	9.38%	---
C. Husband of mother's sister	6	6.0%	9.38%	---
0. *Theios'* father is uncle of *theios*' nephew's father	5	5.0%	7.81%	---
1. *Theios'* paternal grandfather is uncle of *theios*' nephew's paternal grandfather	4	4.0%	6.25%	---
2. *Theios'* paternal grandfather is uncle of *theios*' nephew's maternal grandfather	3	3.0%	4.69%	7.5%
3. *Theios'* maternal grandfather is uncle of *theios*' nephew's paternal grandfather	3	3.0%	4.69%	---
4. *Theios'* maternal grandfather is uncle of *theios*' nephew's maternal grandfather	1	1.0%	1.56%	2.5%
Totals:	100	100%	100%	100%

theios in footnote 52, we gave greater weight to the extended meaning of *theios* than the data on the usage of *theios* that we obtained from PBW and discussed in footnote 39.[53] We gave greater weight to this extended meaning in part because with a larger sample than currently available from PBW, we expect that the Z or A percentage might decrease somewhat as occasional rare cases like 0 through 4 occur. Another motivation was the useful observation that, in general, "Distant relationships are harder to trace than close ones, so it may well be that extended meanings of *theios* will be more prevalent among the unexplained examples." This observation doesn't appear to be as applicable in the present case as it might be in many (see the discussion of the eight unexplained examples in footnote 39), but we have been able to show in footnote 52 that even under the assumption that the extended use of *theios* is not especially rare, the cases that we can eliminate would still make interpretation A of *theios* (mother's brother) quite likely (probability of 90%). Considering the likelihood of the two uncertain cases that remain in Table II and footnote 52 (cases 2 and 4), we note that the one clear example of the *theios'* grandfather as (strict) uncle of the *theios'* nephew's grandfather found by Binon came through the paternal line of the nephew (case 1), not the maternal line.[54] Cases 2 and 4 may be rare (or nonexistent), but even if they weren't so rare, such a *theios* relationship would be difficult to reconcile with our other data showing that Emp. Isaakios II and Emp. Alexios III had very close bonds with Demetrios Tornikes and his sons.

The little kinship charts in Table II can illuminate two issues related to the extended meaning of *theios*. The first issue (discussed above when reviewing Binon's comments) is that when the son or grandson of an uncle is called *theios* of a son or grandson of the nephew, then usually the original uncle is a blood uncle of the original nephew and occupies the top right box in the kinship chart (whose shape, a standard rectangle, indicates a male), but occasionally the original uncle is an uncle by marriage and his wife is in the top right box (now a rectangle with rounded corners, indicating a female). The top left box in a chart can contain either a male or a female; the female example presented by Binon is Emp. Isaakios II calling Emp. Manuel I his *theios*. Note that the bottom box in each branch of the kinship charts is always a male in the extended *theios* situations. The second issue relating to extended *theios*, whether the extended *theios* relationship can come through a female in an intermediate position in one or both branches of the kinship chart (at neither the top nor the bottom of the branch), is answered in the affirmative by the claimed *theios* relationship of footnote 49. However, a *theios* relationship with one or more female links (as occurs in kinship charts 2, 3 and 4) is presumably less likely than a *theios* relationship with no female links.

Other scenarios besides those in Table II can be constructed, but none seem very likely, and the more indirect or distant ones seem unlikely to lead to mention of the "uncle" relationship in 1203. (As reported above, the extended sense of *theios* is much rarer than the strict sense, but even if Konstantinos Tornikes was *theios* in the extended sense, Emp. Alexios IV would still have a blood relationship with the Tornikes family or the Malakes family or, as in our conclusion, both.)

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[53] Specifically, out of the 18 PBW cases that we could classify, 17 cases were strict blood uncle (category Z or A), comprising 94% rather than the 72% in our hypothetical example, one case was uncle by marriage (category B or C), comprising 6% rather than 12%, and no cases were the extended sense of *theios* (categories 0 through 4), comprising 0% rather than 16%.

[54] Binon, *op. cit.* (1938),148. Alexis Philanthropenos Tarchaneiotes was *theios* of Emp. Andronikos III. His paternal grandfather Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes was the strict uncle of Emp. Andronikos II, the grandfather of Emp. Andronikos III.

Hence, we think that A is by far the most likely alternative (Konstantinos is the brother of Isaakios II's first wife), as illustrated in Figure 2.

1.3. Euthymios Tornikes called himself *despotes*

In his 1201 eulogy for Emperor Alexios III, Euthymios Tornikes, brother of Konstantinos, referred to himself as *despotes* and *hypertimos*.[55] *Despotes* was a high imperial title, second in rank to the emperor, but the title was also used as an epithet by high-ranking ecclesiastics. Since Euthymios Tornikes wrote the eulogy when the post of master of rhetors, an imperial and ecclesiastical position, had been vacated by his brother, Euthymios undoubtedly wrote this eulogy as an ecclesiastic answer to the emperor. However, since Euthymios' father Demetrios Tornikes was called the *oikeios* of Emp. Isaakios II, and Euthymios' brother Konstantinos Tornikes was called uncle of Emp. Alexios IV, Euthymios quite possibly received the title *despotes* from Emp. Isaakios II or Emp. Alexios III because of a family connection. Jean Darrouzès has written that the title *despotes* kai *hypertimos* did not exclusively refer to an episcopal office or metropolitan at that time.[56,57] In summary, this use of *despotes* by Euthymios Tornikes slightly strengthens our case for alternative A.

1.4. Demetrios Tornikes was called an *oikeios* (member of the household or family) of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos

A report on a synod convened by Emp. Isaakios II in September 1191 called Demetrios Tornikes a "*πανσεβάστου σεβαστοῦ χυροῦ καὶ οἰχείου τῷ χράτει καὶ ἁγίῳ ἡμῶν αὐθέντη βασιλεῖ καὶ λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου χυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Τορνίχη*" (*Pansebastos sebastos* lord and *oikeios* (of) our mighty and holy autocratic Emperor and *logothetes* of the *dromos* lord Demetrios Tornikes). The key word is *οἰχείου* (*oikeios*), literally "member of the household or family;" according to Verpeaux, this term was applied not only to blood relatives and in-laws but also to household or domestic servants or guards in the last three centuries of the empire.[58]

Demetrios Tornikes had been a domestic servant as a boy many years before, belonging to the household of Eirene, daughter of Anna Komnene, where he was a companion for Eirene's son. However, Demetrios had very recently become *logothetes* of the *dromos* (as already noted, basically foreign minister of the empire); he is first attested in this office earlier in the same month as the synod. So he certainly wasn't a household servant of the emperor.

The remaining alternatives for Demetrios are blood relative or in-law of Emp. Isaakios II. No close blood relationship with that emperor is known, although the family of the emperor's mother, Euphrosyne Kastamonitissa, is not well understood, and all we know about Demetrios' mother is that she was the niece of Theophylaktos, so a remote possibility of a connection via the Kastamonites family exists.

More likely, though, the relationship between Demetrios and Emp. Isaakios II is through marriage. Note that Demetrios is roughly a generation older than Emp. Isaakios II. Let's itemize the ways in which these two could be related by marriage.

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55 Jean Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 53, 56.

56 Jean Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 56.

57 Jean Darrouzès, "Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès et Georges Tornikès," *REB* 23 (1965): 152-153.

58 J Verpeaux, "Les '*Oikeioi*'. Notes d'Histoire Institutionnelle et Sociale," *REB* 23 (1965): 89-99.

D. Demetrios is a blood relative of Emp. Isaakios II's late first wife [Eirene?].

E. Demetrios' wife is a blood relative of Emp. Isaakios II.

F. Demetrios' wife is a blood relative (other than mother) of Emp. Isaakios II's late first wife [Eirene?].

Note that while Demetrios Tornikes was called the *oikeios* of Emp. Isaakios II, we know of no record referring to Demetrios as the *oikeios* of Emp. Alexios III, even though Demetrios was the *logothetes* of the *dromos* for both emperors. This apparent absence suggests that E is unlikely (if E were true, Demetrios would have the same relationship to Emp. Alexios III as he had with Emp. Isaakios II). Alternative E is unlikely for another reason; Demetrios' known wife is the sister of Euthymios Malakes, and we know of no mention of Euthymios Malakes as a relative of Emp. Isaakios II.

Alternative F gives a rather round-about chain, with two marriage links, between Demetrios and Emp. Isaakios II, a connection somewhat unlikely to be viewed as making Demetrios an *oikeios* (in-law) of the emperor. According to Jean Verpeaux, a correlation existed between degree of *oikeios* and the importance of an office,[59] and given Demetrios' offices of *epi tou kanikleiou* and *logothetes* of the *dromos*, both positions of high authority, his title of *oikeios* implies a close relationship to the emperor. Demetrios Tornikes probably held the title due to his connection to Emperor Isaakios II as father of the emperor's first wife.

We know of nothing that would be an obstacle to alternative D, which seems rather likely. Alternative D corresponds to alternative A above, that Demetrios Tornikes, father of Konstantinos, was also the father of Emp. Isaakios II's first wife [Eirene?].

In summary, this reference to Demetrios as *oikeios* of the emperor slightly strengthens our case for alternative A.

1.5. Andronikos Palaiologos was called a beloved *gambros* (brother-in-law) of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos

Another record is potentially relevant to this issue. There is a reference to Andronikos Palaiologos as beloved "*gambros*" [brother-in-law or son-in-law or a slightly more distant relative by marriage[60]] of Emperor Isaakios II Angelos in the report on the 1191 synod mentioned earlier.[61] Not much is known about Andronikos Palaiologos, but he is probably the son of Georgios Palaiologos Komnenodoukas, *megas hetaireiarches* (Grand Heteriarque). This "*gambros*" reference is discussed by Hiestand, who believes it should be interpreted as saying the wife of Emp. Isaakios II was the sister of Andronikos.[62] Cheynet and Vannier say, however, that although the relationship of Andronikos and Isaakios II is unexplained, *"one can suppose that Andronikos is the husband of a cousin or of a niece of the emperor Isaakios, the latter having a great number of paternal uncles and brothers whose descendants are little or badly known."* [63]

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59 Verpeaux, *op. cit.* (1965), 94.

60 Nicol, *op. cit.* (1984), 85. (The word *gambros* could be applied to any outsider marrying a female relative of the emperor.)

61 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta hierosolymitikēs stachiologias* II (1894): 362.

62 Hiestand, *op. cit.* (1997), 199-208.

63 Jean-Claude Cheynet and Jean-François Vannier, *Études Prosopographiques* (1986), 164. (Translation by the current authors.)

Another relevant member of the Palaiologos family is Georgios, who was part of the conspiracy which deposed Emp. Isaakios II and replaced him with his brother Alexios (III) in 1195. The history of Choniatēs, discussing this conspiracy, says, *"[Alexios] and his closest friends and fellow conspirators who had plotted with him to achieve his purpose entered the imperial pavilion. These were Theodore Branas, George Palaiologos, John Petraliphas, Constantine Raoul, Manuel Kantakouzenos, and many other perverse and weak-minded men, the emperor's kinsmen as well as a swarm of the common herd who for a long time had roamed gaping through the sebastokrator's [Alexios'] banqueting hall, rejoicing at the complete change about to take place in the government."*[64] Georgios Palaiologos, the second person named explicitly, probably is a kinsman of the emperor rather than one of the *"swarm of the common herd."* (Most likely the named men, including the future Alexios III, are the emperor's kinsmen and the *"many other perverse and weak-minded men"* constitute the *"swarm of the common herd."*) Choniatēs expresses "emperor's kinsmen" as *"kata genos tô basilei sunaptomenoi" ("χατὰ γένος τῷ βασιλεῖ συναπτόμενοι")* ("*of the family, race or tribe of the emperor*"). The first kinsman listed, Theodore Branas, was a blood relative of Emp. Isaakios II, since both were descended from Emp. Alexis I Komnenos. In contrast, the last listed conspirator, Manuel (should be Michael) Kantakouzenos is probably doubly related to Emp. Isaakios II by marriage but does not have a known close blood relationship. (Michael was probably the brother of Caesar John Kantakouzenos, whose wife Eirene Angelina was a sister of Emp. Isaakios II.[65] In addition, Michael probably married a Doukaina,[66] namely, a daughter of Ioannes Doukas (Angelos), uncle of the emperor.[67]) To summarize, the inclusion of Georgios Palaiologos in this list of conspirator kinsmen doesn't tell us whether he is a blood relative of the emperor or an in-law.

What do we know about this rebel Georgios Palaiologos? In 1984 Choniatēs' translator Magoulias, citing Polemis' *Doukai*, hypothesized that Georgios may have been grandson of the general George Palaiologos (grandfather of the *megas hetaireiarches*),[68] but this kinship would make the conspirator an old man in 1195. In 1986 Georgios Palaiologos appeared as number 25 in "Les premiers Paléologues" by Cheynet and Vannier, who said that his relationship to Emp. Isaakios II might be explained by Georgios being a brother of Isaakios' *gambros*, Andronikos Palaiologos.[69] Pierre Aronax argued in 2003[70] that based on onomastic considerations Georgios should be a son of the "*gambros*" Andronikos (and grandson of the *megas hetaireiarches* Georgios Palaiologos Komnenodoukas), since Andronikos' probable brother Alexios is not known to have had a son.[71] Placing the conspirator Georgios as a grandson of the *megas hetaireiarches* Georgios repeats a pattern that Polemis proposed in 1968 as applying to earlier members of this family. Polemis reported that Laurent and De Jongh both considered the *megas hetaireiarches* Georgios

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64 Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 450-451 / (1984), 247.

65 Donald M. Nicol, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies XI. The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460: A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study* (1968), 8.

66 Lindsay Brook, "The Byzantine Ancestry of the Prince of Wales," *The Genealogist* 2 (1981): 15 (#80).

67 Nicol, *op. cit.* (1968), 15.

68 Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1984), 400 (f.n. 1260).

69 Jean-Claude Cheynet and Jean-François Vannier, *op. cit.* (1986), 166.

70 "Pierre Aronax," postings to the newsgroup soc.genealogy.medieval (mailing list GEN-MEDIEVAL) on March 1, 2003.

71 Alexios Palaiologos married (2nd) Eirene Angelina, daughter of Emp. Alexios III, and their daughter Theodora became the mother of Emp. Michael VIII Palaiologos.

Palaiologos Komnenodoukas to be a great-grandson of the general Georgios Palaiologos and his wife Anna Doukaina, but Polemis argued that he is instead a grandson, giving as the first reason, *"the name itself of Georgios, according to the popular Greek custom, ought to be that of the grandfather; it is obvious that it was given in honour of the elder Georgios Palaiologos."* [72] Polemis' opinion on this matter is now generally accepted; it appears, for example, in the Palaiologos chart in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.[73]

We already know that the 1195 Georgios' presumed grandfather, the *megas hetaireiarches* Georgios Palaiologos, was descended through his own mother from Adrianos Komnenos, brother of Emp. Alexios I Komnenos, and thus was a distant blood relative of Emp. Isaakios II. But Georgios could be a closer relative of Isaakios II, if, for example, Georgios' mother was descended from Alexios I Komnenos or was a relative of Isaakios II through the latter's mother. Aronax guesses from the "*gambros*" designation of Andronikos Palaiologos that his wife (Georgios' mother) might have been a cousin of Isaakios.[74]

Given that Andronikos Palaiologos is a brother-in-law (or son-in-law, etc.) of Emp. Isaakios II (and not a close blood relative), note that if Andronikos' likely son Georgios is a blood relative of the emperor, then Georgios is the emperor's blood relative through Georgios' mother, Andronikos' wife.

The three ways in which Andronikos Palaiologos could plausibly be a brother-in-law (or similar relative) of Isaakios II are:

G. Andronikos Palaiologos was a brother of Emp. Isaakios II's late first wife [Eirene?].

H. The wife of Andronikos Palaiologos was a sister (or, more likely, cousin or niece) of Emp. Isaakios II, as suggested by Cheynet and Vannier.

I. The wife of Andronikos Palaiologos was a sister (or cousin or niece) of Emp. Isaakios II's wife [Eirene?].

We don't currently know of evidence that would help us select among these alternatives, other than that G is incompatible with A and with the interpretation of D that is compatible with A. Given that I involves two marriage links, it is probably less likely than H to explain Andronikos being called "beloved *gambros*" in the 1191 synod report.

1.6. Summary

Let's review the three sets of three alternatives that we have itemized above (concerning or possibly concerning the first wife of Emperor Isaakios II Angelos), giving a brief summary of our earlier analysis in italics. Note that in each set of three alternatives at least one must be true. Having two of the three alternatives be true simultaneously would require a double connection between the imperial family and another family (*eg* a brother and sister in the imperial family marrying a sister and brother, respectively, in the other family); for such a double connection to receive no mention in surviving records is highly unlikely. Hence, the reader can supply "at least

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[72] Demetrios I. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (1968), 155, f.n. 5.

[73] Alexander P. Kazhdan, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (1991): 1558.

[74] "Pierre Aronax," postings to the newsgroup soc.genealogy.medieval (mailing list GEN-MEDIEVAL) on March 1, 2003.

one and very probably exactly one of these alternatives" before the various occurrences of the phrase "must be true" below.

Konstantinos Tornikes could have been the uncle (*theios*) of Alexios IV in one of the extended senses mentioned by Nicol – *possible but unlikely*. (We were unable to find a plausible alternative of this type.)

If Konstantinos Tornikes was uncle of Emp. Alexios IV in the strict sense (*relatively likely*, since it is complementary to the extended sense), then one of these alternatives must be true:

A. Konstantinos Tornikes was a brother of Emp. Isaakios II's first wife [Eirene?] – *entirely plausible*.

B. The wife of Konstantinos Tornikes was a sister of Emp. Isaakios II – *quite unlikely*.

C. The wife of Konstantinos Tornikes was a sister of Emp. Isaakios II's first wife [Eirene?] – *relatively unlikely*.

Assuming Demetrios Tornikes (called *oikeios* of Emp. Isaakios II) was an in-law of the emperor, which is *quite likely*, one of these must be true:

D. Demetrios is a blood relative of Emp. Isaakios II's first wife [Eirene?] – *entirely plausible*.

E. Demetrios' wife is a blood relative of Emp. Isaakios II – *quite unlikely*.

F. Demetrios' wife is a blood relative (other than mother) of Emp. Isaakios II's first wife [Eirene?] – *relatively unlikely*.

Since Andronikos Palaiologos was *gambros* of Emp. Isaakios II, one of these must be true:

G. Andronikos Palaiologos was a brother of Emp. Isaakios II's late first wife [Eirene?] – *possible* [but conflicts with A (and with the interpretation of D that is compatible with A)].

H. The wife of Andronikos Palaiologos was a sister (or, more likely, cousin or niece) of Emp. Isaakios II, as suggested by Cheynet and Vannier – *possible*.

I. The wife of Andronikos Palaiologos was a sister (or cousin or niece) of Emp. Isaakios II's wife [Eirene?] – *possible*.

In summary, A is much more likely than B or C, and, if Konstantinos was uncle of Alexios IV in the strict sense (relatively likely), then one of these three alternatives must be true. If Demetrios Tornikes was an in-law of Emp. Isaakios II (quite likely), then one of D, E and F must be true, and D is more likely than the other two. We believe that the combination of A and D is quite probable, *ie* that Demetrios Tornikes is the father of the first wife of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos. Consequently, we think that G (which conflicts with A and D) is quite improbable. We think that H is somewhat more likely than I.

Let's contrast our analysis of these various alternatives with our analysis in Section 1.1 of the name of Emperor Isaakios' first wife. We have a single source which supplies Eirene as the name of this first wife, namely the Speyer necrology. However, we can find no supporting circumstantial evidence for this name, and since the daughter is named Eirene, likely the mother was not. Similarly, we have a single source which implies that this first wife of Isaakios was likely a daughter of Demetrios

Tornikes, namely the Patmos act calling Demetrios' son Konstantinos an uncle of her son Alexios IV. However, here we have ample circumstantial evidence supporting the most likely interpretation of the uncle reference.

The remainder of this article is a detailed treatment of the Tornikes family, since the additional detail can help the reader evaluate the hypothesis that the first wife of Emperor Isaakios II Angelos was a daughter of Demetrios Tornikes.

2. Further Genealogical and Biographical Details

2.1. _____ Tornikes

The name of the father of Georgios, Demetrios, and Leon Tornikes is not presently known. Apparently he lived in Thebes, Greece, since his son Demetrios is called a native of that place.[75] The father's ancestry is not known in detail, but he belonged to the noble Tornikes family which came from Armenia. (The family name is also often written as Tornikios.) This "oriental" (Armenian) derivation is mentioned in the eulogy for Demetrios Tornikes written by Demetrios' son Euthymios, who described the "genos" ("*γένος*" or "family") of Demetrios with the phrase "*εὐγενὲς ὂν τῶν ἀφ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν*" ("*high or noble descent from the east*").[76] Further background on the family is supplied by Laiou: *"Presiding over the family at the end of the twelfth century was the logothete of the drome Demetrios Tornikes, who was one of the respected figures of the Byzantine administration. In two letters, with Demetrios Tornikes very much in mind, Michael Choniates praised the family for the way they had upheld the meritocratic ideal over several generations."*[77] Choniates is referring to Demetrios' unknown father and preceding generations, saying that these people were active (and effective) in the administration of the empire. Various members of this family had served in various imperial offices since the tenth century. Medieval Lands lists these officials as well as several 12th-century Tornikes family members known only from seals.[78] Early

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[75] Jean Darrouzès, "Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès et Georges Tornikès," *REB* 23 (1965): 149.

[76] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 96, f.n. 3, commenting that this quotation shows that the family had not forgotten its Eastern, *ie*, Armenian, origin and then immediately citing N Adontz, "Les Taronites a Byzance," *Byzantion* 11 (1936), which includes Demetrios Tornikes in its section (pp. 30-42) on the family of Tornik, a Byzantine *patrikios* in 919 whose father had come from Armenia and was brother of Grigor, prince of Taron. Likewise, in *Les dynasties de la Caucasie chrétienne* (1990), Chart 15 (pp. 115-120), the Armenian scholar Cyril Toumanoff presents Demetrios Tornikes as approximately a 6th-generation descendant of Tornik, though he doesn't know the details of this descent. Alexander Kazhdan's Tornikios article in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991) mentions a later 10th-century Tornikes, John, who came from Georgia and was noted as a diplomat, general, and founder monk of Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos; Kazhdan says that John's relationship with the Tornikes family originating in Armenia is unclear. Demetrios Tornikes is unlikely to belong to John's family because of its Georgian rather than Armenian background. Some naming patterns are also suggestive: no known sibling of Demetrios or descendant until a possible great-grandson bore the name John (Ioannes), but Demetrios had a brother named Leon, a name borne by several early descendants of the *patrikios* Tornik, who we are confident is also an ancestor of Demetrios and Leon.

[77] Angeliki E Laiou, *Urbs capta: the Fourth Crusade and its consequences* (2005), 66, citing Michaēl Chōniatēs, *Ta sōzomena* 2, ed. Spyridōn Paulou Lampros (1880), 124, 356-357.

[78] http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTINE%20NOBILITY.htm#_Toc204583747, (accessed September 2010).

generations have been studied recently by Stanford Mommaerts-Browne[79] and Christian Settipani[80] and earlier by Adontz[81] and his student Toumanoff.[82] Kazhdan has published a prosopography of the family, mentioning (under 23. Konstantinos Tornikes) the uncle reference in the Patmos acts.[83] The family obtained its name from Tornik (probably a 4th to 6th generation ancestor of Georgios, Demetrios, and Leon), who appears as a *patrikios* (patrician) in 919 (See Figure 3).

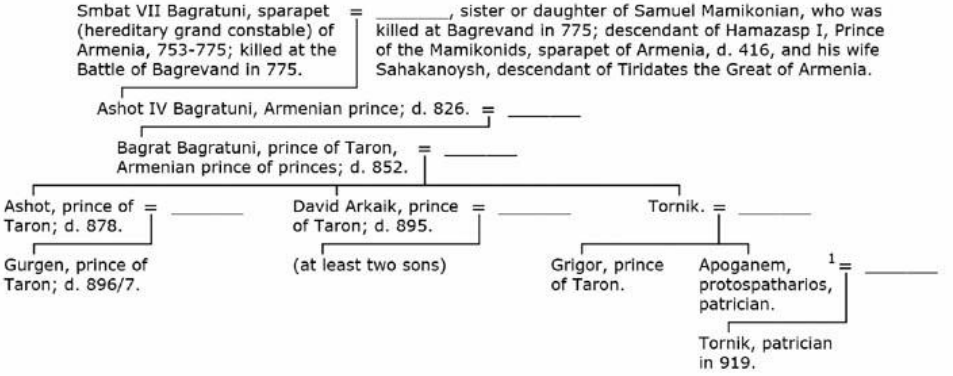


Fig 3. ***Relatives of Tornik,*** **patrikios** ***in 919.***

"Tornik" is a diminutive form of the Armenian word "T'orn" and means grandson.[84] Tornik was the son of Apoganem, a younger brother of Grigor/Krikorikios, prince of Tarōn. (The Armenian region of Tarōn was somewhat west of Lake Van; see the map on the back cover.) Grigor had pledged loyalty to the Byzantine emperor Leo VI but

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79 Stanford Mommaerts-Browne, "Monomachos, Tornikes and an Uncharted Caucasian Ancestry," *Foundations* (2006) 2 (2): 158-162. Mommaerts-Browne used information from Psellos' *Chronographia* to reconstruct the relationship between Emp. Konstantinos IX Monomachos and the rebel Leon Tornikes. Psellos said (VI 99.2-3, trans. Sewter) that Emp. Konstantinos "had a second cousin [ἐξανέψιός or *exanepsios*] on the maternal side, a man called Leo, a member of the Tornician family." Later Psellos said (VI 101.8) that Leo was a cousin [ἀνεψιός or *anepsios*] of Konstantinos' sister, Euprepeia. Mommaerts-Browne said that the ἐξανέψιός reference should be interpreted as first cousin, once removed; he proposed that Konstantinos and Euprepeia were (through their Tornikina mother) first cousins of the father of Leon Tornikes. Settipani presented the same reconstruction (with some dashed lines for uncertainty) in his *Continuité des élites à Byzance durant les siècles obscurs* (2006), 367-369.

80 Christian Settipani, *Continuité des élites à Byzance durant les siècles obscurs (2006)*, 366-369.

81 N. Adontz, "Les Taronites en Arménie et a Byzance. I," *Byzantion* 9 (1934): 715-738;
N. Adontz, "Les Taronites en Arménie et a Byzance. II," *Byzantion* 10 (1935): 531-551;
N. Adontz, "Les Taronites a Byzance," *Byzantion* 11 (1936): 21-42;
N. Adontz, "Observations sur la Généalogie des Taronites," *Byzantion* 14 (1939): 407-413.
Much of this scholar's most important work has been reprinted in N. Adontz, *Etudes Armeno-Byzantines* (1965).

82 Cyril Toumanoff, *Les dynasties de la Caucasie chrétienne* (1990), Chart 15 (pp. 115-120), which summarizes Toumanoff's conclusions.

83 A P Kazhdan, *Armi ͡a ͡ne v sostave gospodstvui ͡u ͡shchego klassa Vizantiĭskoĭ Imperii v XI-XII vv* (1975): 47-57.

84 Adontz, *op. cit.* (1936), 31.

was apparently suspected of feeling greater loyalty to the *"chief prince of the Saracens."* (Garsoïan says that the rulers of Tarōn maintained *"uneasy relations with their Muslim neighbours."* [85]) This suspicion led the emperor to require hostages from Grigor. Apoganem was sent by his brother Grigor as a hostage to Constantinople, where Apoganem was entertained by the emperor and honoured with the rank of *protospatharios* before being freed.[86] Apoganem later returned to Constantinople and became a *patrikios* (patrician). The male-line ancestry of Grigor and Apoganem (and that of the father of Georgios, Demetrios, and Leon Tornikes) traces back to Smbat Bagratouni, killed in the Battle of Bagrevand in 775. Smbat was Armenia's sparapet (grand constable, *ie* hereditary supreme military commander); his wife was a daughter[87] or (perhaps more likely) sister[88] of Samuel Mamikonian, a descendant (through two lines) of Tiridates the Great, the king of Armenia who made Christianity the state religion early in the fourth century.[89] (Samuel also descended from Gregory the Illuminator, who converted Tiridates the Great to Christianity.) Though some details are unclear, Tiridates the Great clearly descended from many of the royal dynasties of antiquity.[90]

The father of Georgios, Demetrios, and Leon Tornikes was in military service at a camp when the father's wife's uncle, Theophylaktos of Ohrid,[91,92,93,94] addressed a letter to the *epi ton deeseon*,[95,] whose name is unknown, asking for the father's release from military service.[96] Theophylaktos Hephaistos of Ohrid (d. after 1107) was a native of Euboea (the large island somewhat northeast of Thebes). After tutoring the young Konstantinos Doukas (co-emperor from *c.*1075 to 1078 and 1081–1087) and serving as *maistor ton rhetoron* (teacher of the rhetoricians) in Constantinople, Theophylaktos was appointed archbishop of Ohrid, Bulgaria. There

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85 Nina Garsoïan, "The Byzantine Annexation of the Armenian Kingdoms," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times,* ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (2004), 1: 189.

86 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (1967; reprinted 1985, 2006, 2009), 188-191 (ch. 43, "Of the country of Taron").

87 Cyril Toumanoff, *op. cit.* (1990), 113 (#14.17).

88 Christian Settipani, *op. cit.* (2006), 144-147.

89 Toumanoff, *op. cit.* (1990), 330-334 gave much of this line; Settipani, *op. cit.* (2006), 144-147 presented a slightly different version, though there is little doubt that Smbat Bagratouni's wife was a descendant of Hamazasp I Mamikonian and the latter's wife Sahakanoysh, a descendant of Tiridates the Great. On Psellos' first mention of Leon Tornikes, the translator Sewter noted that Leon was a descendant of Armenian kings.

90 See Christian Settipani, *Nos ancêtres de l'Antiquit*é (1991), as supplemented and corrected by his *Continuité des élites à Byzance* (2006).

91 'Theophylaktos 105', *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk> 2006.1, (PBW), (accessed November 2009).

92 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 26. 36.

93 P. Gautier, "L'Épiscopat de Théophylacte Héphaistos, Archevêque de Bulgarie: Notes Chronologiques et Biographiques." *REB* 21 (1963): 159-178.

94 Kazhdan, *op. cit.* (1975), 53.

95 The *epi ton deeseon* (master of petitions) "received and answered written appeals to the emperor," according to Eric McGeer, *The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors* (2000), 107. Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (2002), 259 also includes drafting imperial charters in his brief description of the duties of the *epi ton deeseon*.

96 'Anonymus 265', *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk> 2006.1, (PBW), (accessed November 2009).

Theophylaktos wrote a biblical commentary and many letters which have survived.[97] The present day Orthodox Churches of Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Russia consider Theophylaktos a saint. Figure 4 illustrates a 17th century icon of Theophylaktos. A twentieth century Bishop of Ohrid, Nikolai Velimirovic, wrote that Theophylact's commentaries on the Four Gospels and on other books of the New Testament *"are the finest works of their sort after St John Chrysostom, and are read to this day with great benefit."*[98]

Theophylaktos had a brother named Demetrios Hephaistos,[99,100] who could well have been the maternal grandfather of Georgios, Demetrios, and Leon Tornikes. That explanation might account for the transmission of the name Demetrios, and the uncle relationship of Theophylaktos. Demetrios Hephaistos and Theophylaktos were very close as brothers. Demetrios was taught in philosophy by Smyrnaios and suffered from bad health; Demetrios' death was reported by his brother Theophylaktos.[101]



Fig 4. ***17th century icon of Theophylaktos, Bishop of Ohrid, Bulgaria.***[102]

97 Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (1997).

98 Nikolai Velimirović, *The Prologue from Ochrid* 4 (1985), under December 31 [January 13].

99 'Theophylaktos 105' & 'Demetrios 103', *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk> 2006.1, (PBW), (accessed November 2009).

100 Gautier, *op. cit.* (1963), 168.

101 'Demetrios 103', *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk> 2006.1, (PBW), (accessed November 2009).

102 http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Theophylact_the_Bulgarian.jpg.

The father of Georgios, Demetrios, and Leon Tornikes died at a fairly early age, when Georgios became head of the family.

Children (by his wife, the niece of Theophylaktos of Ohrid):

2. i. **Georgios Tornikes**, b. 1110/1120.[103]
3. ii. **Demetrios Tornikes**, b.*c.*1121, since he d.*c.*1201, aged about 80.[104]
4. iii. **Leon Tornikes**.

(Note that within section 2 a child's Arabic number is the number of the later subsection covering that child in detail. Thus Georgios Tornikes above is covered in section 2.2, Demetrios in 2.3, and Leon in 2.4.)

2.2. Georgios Tornikes

Georgios Tornikes, born 1110/1120, was his father's oldest son and succeeded as head of the family on his father's early death. Georgios died sometime after 1156.[105] He has been confused with Georgios (II) Tornikes whose career began in 1192.[106] Georgios Tornikes (I) was a prolific writer from 1146 to 1156,[107] when successively *didaskalos* (teacher) of the Psalter, then of the Gospels, *hypomnematograph* (writer of commentaries), *hypopsephios* (bishop-elect), and metropolitan of Ephesus (elected in 1155).[108,109] In the fourth letter that survives, addressed to Andronikos Komnenos, the elder Georgios wrote from Constantinople in favour of the writer's brother Demetrios, who was at Branitsova.[110] The fifth letter, addressed to the metropolitan of Athens, mentioned a cousin Euthymios.[111] The seventh letter mentioned Georgios' secretary named Hephaistos. Hephaistos was a name used by the brothers Theophylaktos (of Ohrid) and Demetrios, so this secretary may have been a relative.[112] The tenth letter, to John Kamateros, mentioned an uncle so precisely that the latter was certainly Theophylaktos of Ohrid.[113] One of Georgios' most famous

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103 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 27, His date of birth was estimated from the *c.*1090 start of the episcopal career of Georgios' maternal uncle Theophylaktos.

104 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 36, citing Michaēl Chōniatēs, letter 180, *Ta sōzomena* 2, ed. Spyridōn Paulou Lampros (1880), 357, section 10.

"Nulle part il n'est dit que Dèmètrios eùt un frère métropolite d'Ephèse; mais il n'y a rien d'anormal dans ce silence, puisque ce frère est mort au moins quarante ans auparavant. Michel Choniatès qualifie son ami défunt d'ἀδραμιαῖος γέρων, qui indique un âge respectable autour de 80 ans."

"Nowhere does it say that Demetrius had a brother, Metropolitan of Ephesus, but there is nothing wrong with that silence, because this brother died at least forty years earlier. Michael Choniates describes his dead friend as ἀδραμιαῖος γέρων, indicating a respectable age around 80 years."

105 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 28.

106 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 5.

107 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 7.

108 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 8.

109 Kazhdan, *op. cit.* (1975), 54.

110 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 13, 107-108.

111 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 115.

112 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 26, 218-219.

113 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 15.

works was his eulogy for Anna Komnene, from which we learn much about both of them.[114]

Anna Komnene may have known Georgios Tornikes in part because the latter's maternal great uncle, Theophylaktos of Ohrid, had been tutor for the boy to whom she was engaged at birth—Konstantinos Doukas, son of Emperor Michael VII. In addition, Theophylaktos wrote *The Education of Princes* for Konstantinos. Anna and Georgios became close friends in her later life[115] and often discussed philosophy.[116]

2.3. Demetrios Tornikes

Demetrios Tornikes was a native of Thebes[117], born about 1121.[118] His father died at a young age, and Demetrios' oldest brother Georgios became head of the family.[119] Georgios corresponded with Eirene, daughter of Anna Komnene (discussed above) and Nikephoros Bryennios, and arranged for Demetrios to be raised in Eirene's household as a companion for one of Eirene's sons and as a family servant.[120] Anna was probably then spending much time at the Kecharitomene Convent, founded by her mother, but not yet permanently living there. *"The convent Kecharitomene, overlooking the Golden Horn, gave our historian the serenity she probably never enjoyed in the imperial palace."* [121] According to her eulogy by Georgios Tornikes, she gathered about her there *"a philosophic circle whose work she inspired and directed."* [122] Anna's daughter Eirene, widowed at a fairly early age, collaborated with her mother. Thus Demetrios Tornikes, raised in Eirene's household, was near the center of Anna Komnene's intellectual orbit. Demetrios no doubt also absorbed much about etiquette and protocol as a child. His association with this family continued, and his career culminated *"in the office of the logothete of the drome, effectively foreign minister of the empire."*[123]

Demetrios married a sister of Euthymios Malakes (also a native of Thebes), *hypertimos*,[124] metropolitan of Neopatras,[125] and had three sons: Konstantinos, Georgios, and Euthymios.[126]

Demetrios was recommended to the *Dux* of Branitsova, Andronikos Komnenos, the future emperor, by older brother Georgios Tornikes about 1153-1154 in the letter noted in 2.2 above.[127]

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[114] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 20-24, 220-323.

[115] Rae Dalven, *Anna Comnena* (1972), 67.

[116] Dalven, *op. cit.* (1972), 76.

[117] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 96.

[118] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 36. (Date of birth based on an age of 80 years when he died about 1201.)

[119] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 166.

[120] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 162-166.

[121] Dalven, *op. cit.* (1972), 99.

[122] Dalven, *op. cit.* (1972), 99, citing Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 282.

[123] Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204, A Political History* (1997), 245.

[124] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 86.

[125] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 36, 61.

[126] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 34-36, 43.

[127] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 27.

In 1156, Demetrios was also recommended by older brother Georgios in a 24th letter, to the *Dux* of Dyrrachium, Alexis Doukas Bryennios (son of Eirene, daughter of Anna Komnene).[128] In this letter, Georgios mentions how the fatherless young Demetrios came to the home of Alexis' mother.

Demetrios was a judge of the *velum*[129] during the nominal reign of the young Alexios II[130] (whose father Manuel I had died in 1180). During the later part of this reign Andronikos Komnenos, first cousin of Manuel I, capitalized on discontent with the regency of Alexios' mother, the Empress Maria, and by force of arms and demagoguery became co-emperor with the young Alexios. Andronikos' goal was to gain power at the expense of the empress and her chief advisor, *protosebastos* Alexios Komnenos, and Andronikos consulted the judges of the *velum* about the expulsion of the empress from the palace. Demetrios Tornikes was one of three of these judges who, according to Choniates,[131] *"had not as yet been added to the lists of those who belonged to Andronikos' circle nor openly and servilely subscribed to his every whim and bent their knees in submission."* These three judges inquired whether the expulsion of the empress had the approval of the emperor Alexios II, thus infuriating Andronikos, who declared, *"These are the men who incited the protosebastos to perpetrate his foul deeds. Seize them."* Bodyguards unsheathed their swords, but before the latter could do much, the three judges were assaulted by an angry mob and according to Choniates, *"barely escaped with their lives."* [132]

About this time Andronikos Angelos and his sons (including the future emperor Isaakios II) were part of a conspiracy to prevent Andronikos Komnenos from becoming emperor. After discovering this conspiracy, Andronikos Komnenos led a force against Andronikos Angelos and the latter's sons, camped outside the city. Andronikos Angelos and these sons were able to escape by appropriating a boat filled with empty amphorae (jars for wine or oil).[133] After Andronikos Komnenos became sole emperor (in 1183), Andronikos Angelos and these sons continued to conspire and act against Andronikos Komnenos, who for some reason did not respond vigorously.

We now know that Demetrios Tornikes, judge of the *velum*, was not only an ally of Andronikos Angelos (in opposition to Andronikos Komnenos); Demetrios was also very likely father-in-law of Andronikos Angelos' son Isaakios Angelos (the future Isaakios II) and grandfather of Isaakios' son Alexios (the future Alexios IV), born around 1182.

Brand gives the following synopsis of Demetrios' career after his son-in-law became emperor: *"At Isaakios' accession he became a chancery official, epi tou kanikleiou, and for a short time even logothete of the treasury; but about 1188 he lost all his offices, a disaster lamented by his friend Michael Choniates. By September 1191, however, Demetrius became logothete of the drome, a post which he occupied for the rest of Isaac's reign. Distinguishing himself in a series of successful negotiations, Demetrius was probably responsible for the more realistic course of imperial foreign policy which began in 1191 and culminated in the healing of ruptures caused by the Latin massacre."*[134] Brand later discusses the administrative

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128 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 162.

129 Choniates/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1984), 390 (f.n. 728): "The judges of the *velum* constituted the chief judiciary of the empire."

130 Kazhdan, *op. cit.* (1975), 54.

131 Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 265-266 / (1984), 148.

132 Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 266 / (1984), 148.

133 Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 266-267 / (1984), 148.

134 Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204* (1968), 99.

personnel of Alexios III, who deposed Isaakios II in 1195, and he comments, *"In one case, that of the logothete of the drome (foreign minister), Alexius wisely retained the capable Demetrius Tornikes until his death about 1200 or 1201; he was succeeded by his son Constantine Tornikes, formerly eparch."* [135]

Michael Angold describes how the 1198 chrysobull (essentially a treaty between Venice and the Byzantine empire[136]) was achieved: *"The imperial secretary, the protonobelissimos John Kataphloros was initially despatched to Venice…, but failed to resolve some difficult points."* A second effort brought results that were *"no more satisfactory."* Then another Venetian delegation arrived in Constantinople. *"On this occasion negotiations were in the hands of one of the most powerful figures at court, the logothete of the dromos Demetrios Tornikes. The chrysobull that resulted was then taken to Venice by the imperial protonotarios Theodore Aulikalamos."* [137]

Table III shows references to Demetrios Tornikes in chronological order, enabling us to see how Demetrios' career blossomed under Emperor Isaakios II and continued under Emperor Alexios III (Isaakios' brother).

Demetrios Tornikes died about 1201 while returning from a voyage to Illyria.[138] According to Jean Darrouzès citing Michael Choniates, letter 180,[139] Demetrios was an old man ("γέρων") around 80 years old when he died.[140] Many people, including the imperial family, mourned his loss. *"His fame was great among the nations."*[141]

Children of Demetrios Tornikes by his wife, a sister of Euthymios Malakes:

5. i. **Konstantinos Tornikes**, b. say 1150/1155[142], d.*c.*1206.
6. ii. **Georgios Tornikes**.
7. iii. **Euthymios Tornikes**, d. after 1222.[143]
8. iv. **[Eirene?] Tornikina** (named perhaps after the daughter of Anna Komnene in whose household Demetrios was raised after his father's death), d.1184/5.

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135 Brand, *op. cit.* (1968), 142-3.

136 Michael Angold, "The Venetian Chronicles and Archives as Sources for the History of Byzantium and the Crusades (992-1204)," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 132 (2007): 72.

137 Michael Angold, *op. cit.* (2007): 74.

138 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 107.

139 Michaēl Chōniatēs, *Ta sōzomena* 2, ed. Spyridōn Paulou Lampros (1880), 357.

140 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 36.

141 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 93.

142 Date of birth calculated by adding 29-34 years to Demetrios Tornikes' year of birth.

143 Jean Darrouzès, "Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès et Georges Tornikès" *REB* 23 (1965): 154-155.

Table IIIa. ***Earlier Chronology of Demetrios Tornikes.***

Information about Demetrios Tornikes from standard sources, *eg* the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Darrouzès (1970), plus commentary by modern historians.	**Information about Demetrios Tornikes from the Patmos and Hilandar Acts, itemized under Demetrios 152 (and 20120) in the *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (PBW).**
Raised in the household of Irene, daughter of Anna Komnene, as a companion for one of her sons.	
Recommended by his brother Georgios to the *Dux* of Branitsova, Andronikos Komnenos, *c.*1153-1154.[144]	
Recommended by Georgios to the *Dux* of Dyrrachium and Ohrid, Alexis Doukas Bryennios in 1156.[145]	
Judge of the *velum* in 1183.[146]	
Elevated to ***epi tou kanikleiou*** in January 1186 at the beginning of the reign of Isaakios II Angelos.[147]	Demetrios Tornikes signed the chrysobull of **Isaakios II** exempting from the tithe 3 **ships of the monastery of Patmos**.[148] Later he signed a chrysobull of **Isaakios II** relating to the monastery of the Theotokos.[149] In both records he is called ***sebastos*** and ***epi tou kanikleiou***.

144 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 27.

145 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 162.

146 Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 265.5-7 / (1984), 148.

147 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 33. The *epi tou kanikleiou* was the private secretary of the emperor—specifically the senior officer of the imperial chancery responsible for the imperial inkstand (*kanikleion*) containing ink with which the emperor signed state documents. The *epi tou kanikleiou* was often influential in formulating imperial chrysobulls.

148 E. Branouse & M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου (Vyzantina engrapha tēs Monēs Patmou)* (1980), 1.92.40, 93.28.

149 E. Branouse & M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *op. cit.* (1980), 1.100.37-38.

Table IIIb. *Later Chronology of Demetrios Tornikes*

He is first mentioned as ***logothetes* of the *dromos*** on September 10, 1191, in connection with the deposition of patriarch Dositheos.	
He is called ***pansebastos sebastos***,[150] ***oikeios*** of Emp. Isaakios II, and ***logothetes* of the *dromos*** in the Synod of 1191.	
He wrote a letter to the pope on Emp. **Isaakios II**'s behalf in 1193,[151] the same year that his son Georgios wrote an eulogy for Emp. Isaakios II.	
"*We now know that the Monastery [of Hilandar/Chilandari] was founded in the 12th century by Stefan Nemanja, Prince of Serbia, and his son Rastko, who subsequently became monks, taking the names of Symeon and Sabbas, as which they are perhaps Serbia's most popular saints. Chilandari initially belonged to the Vatopedi Monastery, but was ceded to Sts Symeon and Sabbas. In 1198, the Serbian possession of the Monastery was ratified by a chrysobull of the Emperor* ***Alexius III***." [152]	Demetrios Tornikes registered two chrysobulls of **Alexios III** relating to the monastery of Hilandar, one dated June 1198 and the other June 1199 (Hilandar Acts 109.51, 116.44) In both records he is called ***logothetes of the dromos*** and ***sebastos***.
	Seal 4034, dated to [1200], names "*Demetrios Tornikes*."[153]
He died *c.*1201. He is called ***pansebastos*** and ***logothetes*** by his son Euthymios in his *Epitaphios for the pansebastos and very wise logothetes Demetrios Tornikes*. [*c.*1201][154]	

[150] An honorific title—see Lucien Stiernon, "Notes de Titulature et de Prosopographie Byzantines," *REB* 23 (1965): 222-243.

[151] Jean Darrouzès, "Documents Byzantins du XII^{e} Siècle," *REB* 23 (1965): 69.

[152] http://www.mountathos.gr/active.aspx?mode=en{cf4d1b6f-9cd3-48a9-83c9-5097706a1a15}View (accessed March 2010).

[153] 'Demetrios 20120', *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk> 2006.1, (PBW), (accessed April 2010).

[154] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 90, 94.

2.4. Leon Tornikes

Very little is known about Leon Tornikes. The name Leon was common in the earliest generations of the Tornikes family.[155] Georgios Tornikes, in his seventh letter, addressed to the metropolitan of Athens and written about September 1154, mentioned his brother Leon, then in Athens as a civil or ecclesiastical functionary.[156] Georgios also mentioned Leon in the eighth letter, addressed to the metropolitan of Athens.[157]

2.5. Konstantinos Tornikes

Konstantinos Tornikes was born say 1150/55.[158] Table IV is a chronological table of significant events or references pertaining to Konstantinos, culminating in his service as *logothetes* of the *dromos*, succeeding his father.

Michael Choniates, in his 77th letter, dated conjecturally to about 1200,[159] praised the *logothetes* Konstantinos Tornikes, the son of the late honourable Demetrios, for his virtues. Michael then asked Konstantinos for assistance, using Konstantinos' relations with the *gambroi*[160] and *syngambroi* (in-laws one step removed) of the emperor (Alexios III),[161] in combating the threat posed by the warlord Leon Sgouros.[162] Konstantinos Tornikes and his brothers Georgios and Euthymios, as probable *gambroi* (brothers-in-laws) of Emp. Isaakios II, were very likely *syngambroi* of Isaakios' brother Emp. Alexios III and thus had considerable influence in imperial and ecclesiastical contexts. Later Michael Choniates corresponded with Euthymios Tornikes.

David Jacoby notes that Konstantinos Tornikes is the only former high-ranking Byzantine official known by name to have served during the brief reign of the Latin emperor Baldwin I; Choniates claims that Konstantinos served unwillingly. Jacoby says that Konstantinos defected to the Bulgarian ruler Kalojan (sometimes nicknamed Ioannitsa) after the Latin defeat at the Battle of Adrianople in April 1205; Choniates says Konstantinos escaped *"the peril of battle,"* was captured, and then expected favourable treatment, based on his prior dealings with the Bulgarians as Byzantine envoy. Instead the Bulgarians killed him.[163,164]

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155 Settipani, *op. cit.* (2006), 367-9.

156 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 13, 216.

157 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 122.

158 Date of birth calculated by adding 29-34 years to Demetrios Tornikes' year of birth.

159 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 34, citing Stadtmüller.

160 For details on the *gambros* relationship, see Lucien Stiernon, "Notes de Titulature et de Prosopographie Byzantines," *REB* 23 (1965): 222-43.

161 Chōniatēs/Lampros, *op. cit.* (1880), 125.

162 Michaēl Chōniatēs, *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae,* ed. Foteini Kolovou (2001), 96*.

163 David Jacoby, "The Greeks of Constantinople under Latin Rule, 1204-1261," in Thomas F. Madden, ed., *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions* (2008), 59.

164 Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 643 / (1984), 353.

Table IV. ***Chronology of Konstantinos Tornikes.***

Information about Konstantinos Tornikes from standard sources, *eg* the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Darrouzès (1970), etc.	**Information about Konstantinos Tornikes, e. g., from the Patmos Acts, itemized under Konstantinos 216 (and 20248) in PBW.**
sébaste in Darrouzès (1970), 34.	Seal 1987, dated to [1190], names "*Konstantinos Tornikes,* ***sebastos***."[165]
	Called ***epi ton deeseon*** in 1195 (Patmos: Acts 2.92.15), 1199 (122.12).
[The ***sebastos*** Demetrios Tornikes (see right-hand column of Table IIIa), father of Konstantinos, signed the chrysobull of **Isaakios II** exempting from the tithe three **ships of the monastery of Patmos** (Patmos: Acts 1.92.40, 93.28).]	Called ***sebastos*** in 1195 (Patmos: Acts 2.92.15), 1199 (122.12) and 1203 (131.14). These three records cover Konstantinos' being represented by Ioannes Kamateros at the measurement of newly built **ships of the monastery of Patmos**.
	Called ***pansebastos sebastos*** in 1195 (Patmos: Acts 2.92.15), 1199 (122.12) and 1203 (131.14).
The *Historia* of Niketas Choniates names "***præfectus urbis*** *Constantinus Tornicius*" as head of the imperial guard which suppressed a riot in Constantinople in 1201.	Called ***eparchos*** in November 1199 (Patmos: Acts 2.122.12). [*Eparchos* = **urban prefect**.] [PBW currently has a typographical error, giving the year as 1099.]
Called ***pansebastos*** **uncle** (***θειου***) of Emperor **Alexius IV** (Patmos, Acta, VI, 123, December 1203, as cited and interpreted by Darrouzès[166]).	Called ***pansebastos*** **uncle** (***θειου***) of Emp. **Alexios IV** in December 1203 (Patmos: Acts 2.131.14).
Choniates records in a later passage that "***Dromi logothetam*** *Constantinum Tornicem*" was captured by the Bulgarians after the battle of Adrianople (1205) and later killed.	Called ***logothetes*** **of the *dromos*** in 1203 (Patmos: Acts 2.131.15). Died after 1203, his last appearance in the Patmos Acts.

Konstantinos Tornikes married **_____** **Komnene** probably after 1185.[167,168] She was a granddaughter[169] (daughter of a probably illegitimate child[170]) of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos. This ancestry is inferred from the description of her in Euthymios Tornikes' epitaphios of his father Demetrios Tornikes circa 1201 as *"your daughter-in-law, descended from the first and imperial series of gold of the Komnenos, brave and wise"* (*"σου νύμφη, ἡ ἐχ τῆς πρώτης χαὶ Βασιλιχῆς τῶν Κομνηνῶν χρυσέας σειρᾶς ἡ*

[165] 'Konstantinos 20248', *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk> 2006.1, (accessed April 2010).

[166] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 34.

[167] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 37.

[168] Kazhdan, *op. cit.* (1975), 55.

[169] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 108.

[170] Varzos, *op. cit.* (1984), 475-476.

ανδρεία χαὶ σώφρων").[171] The descent from *"the first and imperial series of gold of the Komnenos"* meant *"one who emanated from Alexios, Ioannes, and Manuel."* [172]

The child of Emp. Manuel I Komnenos who became parent of Konstantinos Tornikes' wife is fairly likely illegitimate, since Manuel did not marry until after he became emperor, and his three legitimate children are relatively well documented. This child of Manuel was probably born no later than 1155, perhaps even born before 1150. If she or he was born any later the chronology would be very tight for her or his daughter, wife of Konstantinos, to have married before 1195. Konstantinos Tornikes' son Demetrios Tornikes-Komnenos was probably born no later than 1195 since Michael Choniates wrote a letter to this son in 1217.[173] It is not surprising that Konstantinos married a member of the Komnenos family given his father Demetrios' and uncle Georgios' close associations with various Komnenoi.

Child (by his wife, the granddaughter of Emp. Manuel I):

i. **Demetrios Tornikes-Komnenos**. He held the title of *mesazon* (chief aide to the emperor) in 1217.[174] He died in the early 1250s. He had a son Konstantinos who was *magnus primicerius* under Emperor Ioannes III, and this younger Konstantinos had two known daughters, one of whom married a brother of Emp. Mikhael VIII Palaiologos. [175] For Demetrios' descendants, see Schmalzbauer[176] or Medieval Lands.[177]

2.6. Georgios (II) Tornikes

From 1192 to about 1200, Georgios Tornikes was master of the rhetors (*maistor ton rhetoron*). *Maistores ton rhetoron* were teachers of rhetoric. When in the imperial service, they or their students could be *"commissioned to write histories, or extol the achievements of the emperors, thus serving the needs of the imperial propaganda."* They even *"drew up treaties with foreign nations."*[178] Darrouzès identifies Georgios Tornikes, *maistor ton rhetoron* (master of the rhetors), as the son of Demetrios Tornikes.[179] He is another example of a member of the Tornikes family placed in a high office during Emp. Isaakios II's reign and continued in that office under Emp. Alexios III.

Georgios Tornikes wrote an endearing eulogy in 1193 for Emp. Isaakios II, perhaps more understandable if Georgios wrote it not only for his emperor but also for his brother-in-law.[180] Georgios referred to Emp. Isaakios II as *"the good gift from above".*[181]

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171 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 92, 108.

172 Varzos, *op. cit.* (1984), 476.

173 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 35.

174 Chōniatēs/Lampros, *op. cit.* (1880), 356, 180th letter.

175 http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTINE%20NOBILITY.htm#DemetriosTornikiosdied1252, citing Georgios Akropolites and Georgios Pachymeres, (accessed September 2010).

176 Gudrun Schmalzbauer, "Die Tornikioi in der Palaiologenzeit," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 18 (1969): 115-135.

177 http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTINE%20NOBILITY.htm#DemetriosTornikiosdied1252 (accessed September 2010).

178 C N Constantinides, "Teachers and Students of Rhetoric in the Late Byzantine Period," in *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (2003), 41-42.

179 Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 40.

180 Jean Darrouzès, "Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès et Georges Tornikès," *REB* 23 (1965): 164.

After his post as master of the rhetors, he probably became metropolitan of Palaio-Patras.[182]

2.7. Euthymios Tornikes

Euthymios Tornikes was the son of Demetrios Tornikes, perhaps the youngest.[183] Euthymios appears for the first time on September 13, 1191, in the deposition of patriarch Dositheos, as a notable deacon.[184] Euthymios' writings constitute the most important documentation available on the history of the family. In his monody (lament) for the *hypertimos* Euthymios Malakes, Metropolitan of Neopatras, the younger Euthymios mentioned that he was himself a nephew of the metropolitan.[185]

Epstein, citing Darrouzès' *REB* article on Euthymios,[186] notes that Euthymios rejected the fetish for lineage then growing, censuring *"those whose conceit was based solely on high birth."*[187]

About 1201 Euthymios wrote the *Epitaphios for the pansebastos and very wise logothetes Demetrios Tornikes*, a eulogy for his father.[188] Euthymios wrote a eulogy for Emp. Alexios III in 1201 when the post of master of the rhetors had been vacated by older brother Georgios Tornikes.[189] In this eulogy Euthymios calls himself *despotes* and *hypertimos*.[190] Euthymios took refuge in Euboea after the sack of Constantinople in 1204,[191] helped Ioannes Apokaukos with a judicial consultation in 1219, and was mentioned indirectly in a letter by the metropolitan of Naupaktos in a request to Theodoros Angelos in 1222.[192]

2.8. [Eirene?] Tornikina and Isaakios Angelos

[Eirene?] is presumed to be the daughter of Demetrios Tornikes, as discussed in the first section of this paper. [Eirene?] may have been named after the daughter of Anna Komnene in whose household Demetrios was raised after his father's death. She married **Isaakios Angelos**, later Emperor Isaakios II, as his first wife. Isaakios was born *c.*1156, son of Andronikos (Doukas) Angelos and Euphrosyne Kastamonitissa. Andronikos' mother Theodora was a daughter of Alexios I Komnenos.[193]

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[181] A P Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (1985), 250-251.

[182] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 35 & 40.

[183] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 111.

[184] Jean Darrouzès, "Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès et Georges Tornikès," *REB* 23 (1965): 149.

[185] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 49-50.

[186] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 96. 18-28.

[187] A P Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *op. cit.* (1985), 103.

[188] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 90.

[189] Dimiter Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium (1204-1330)* (2007), 31.

[190] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1968), 53, 56.

[191] Darrouzès, *op. cit.* (1970), 26.

[192] Jean Darrouzès, "Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès et Georges Tornikès" *REB* 23 (1965): 154.

[193] Alexander P. Kazhdan, "Angelos" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991), 97-98.

The opposition of the Angeloi to Emperor Andronikos I Komnenos has been discussed in Section 2.3. That Isaakios succeeded Andronikos in 1185 seems a quirk of fate from our 21st century perspective.[194] Isaakios' first wife died before he became emperor.[195] Isaakios married his second wife, Margaret of Hungary, in January 1186, a few months after becoming emperor. By Margaret, Isaakios II had two sons, Manuel and Ioannes. Isaakios II was deposed by his older brother Alexios (III) in 1195, but ruled again (with his son Alexios IV as co-emperor) 1203—1204. Isaakios II died in Constantinople toward the end of January 1204.[196]

Brand provides a good summary of Isaakios' career as emperor. *"He inherited an invading army on his doorstep and a troubled domestic situation… To survive Isaac had to steer a dangerous course…; that he reigned nine and a half years is a tribute to his ability as well as his luck…. [H]e evinced some skill in choosing good ministers and then letting them do their jobs."* [197] *"Isaac took great interest in administration… He delighted in church affairs and diplomacy. He presided at synods and dictated to the church on matters of ecclesiastical discipline, but he had the good sense to leave doctrine alone."*[198]

Isaakios' overall reputation as emperor is quite poor, though not as bad as that of the brother who deposed and blinded him. Brand discusses two perspectives on Isaakios during his life and shortly thereafter: *"systematic vilification"* by the historian Nicetas Choniates (who was *"strongly prejudiced against most rulers and political personalites of the period"*[199]) and fulsome praise by the orators (including not only this same Nicetas Choniates (before his *History*) but also the younger Georgios Tornikes, presumed brother-in-law of the emperor). These orators *"elaborately embroidered"* Isaakios' victories while ignoring his defeats. Writing in 1966, Brand says, *"Because the orators'*

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[194] Choniates reported in his *Historia* that a water oracle commissioned by Emp. Andronikos I at the beginning of September 1185 gave the first two letters of Andronikos' successor's name as *iota* and *sigma* and that immediately Andronikos and his advisors thought of the troublesome Isaakios Komnenos, tyrant of Cyprus. A follow-up question about when the successor would take power yielded the answer *"within the days of the Exaltation of the Cross* [14 September]." This response didn't make sense to Andronikos, since there was not enough time for Isaakios to sail from Cyprus and arrive in Constantinople by September 14th, and Andronikos worried that the oracle might be referring instead to Isaakios Angelos. Stephanos Hagiochristophorites was given the job of arresting and later killing Isaakios Angelos. As Magoulias points out in his introduction, *"The irony was that the very measure taken to prevent the prophecy's fulfillment was the cause of its realization,"* because when Hagiochristophorites arrived to arrest Isaakios Angelos, the latter realized his likely fate and resisted, killing Hagiochristophorites and then taking sanctuary in Hagia Sophia. There Isaakios announced what he had done, and, as more people gathered there, he asked them to help protect him. He prayed the whole night [11-12 Sept.] that he would not be killed, and the following day the people of Constantinople were acclaiming Isaakios Angelos emperor. The unpopular Andronikos attempted to escape but was captured and turned over to the city mob, which beat and eventually killed him. His death date, 12 September, was within the days of the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, so the prophecy was fulfilled precisely.
Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 339-344 / (1984), xxii, 187-190.

[195] *"Isaakios decided to seek a wife from among the foreign nations, for the woman he had married earlier had died. After his envoys had made the negotiations, he took as his betrothed wife the daughter of Béla, the king of Hungary, who was not yet ten years old."*
Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, *op. cit.* (1975), 368 / (1984), 203.

[196] Charles M. Brand, "Isaac II Angelos" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991), 1012.

[197] Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204* (1968), 115-116.

[198] Charles M. Brand, *op. cit.* (1968), 114.

[199] Charles M. Brand, *op. cit.* (1968), 292.

version is too extreme the character portrayed in Nicetas' History has been uniformly accepted; truth lies somewhere between the two."[200]

Three children of Isaakios II Angelos by his first wife,[201] a presumed daughter of Demetrios Tornikes:

i. **Euphrosyne Angelina**, oldest child, died apparently before her sister Eirene, since Eirene arranged for Euphrosyne's death to be commemorated at Speyer Cathedral on October 1.[202] Euphrosyne was a nun.

ii. **Eirene Angelina**, b.*c.*1181. She married (1) Roger, King of Sicily, in 1191 or soon after, and as a young widow in 1194 was abducted from Sicily and taken to Germany, becoming engaged and in 1197 marrying (2) Philipp von Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, b.*c.*1177, son of Friedrich I "Barbarossa" (see Figure 5). In Germany she used the name Maria in addition to Eirene. After miscarrying a premature child[203] she died 27 Aug. 1208, slightly over two months after the murder of her husband on 21 June. She is buried in the Benedictine monastery of Lorch, while he is buried in the imperial cathedral of Speyer. Eirene and Philipp left three daughters who survived their parents, married (to a king of Bohemia, a duke of Brabant and a king of Castile) and left descendants. Figure 6 shows some genealogical connections of Eirene-Maria with England. A great-granddaughter of Eirene and Philipp, Marie of Brabant, was the second wife of Philippe III '*le Hardi*', King of France, and mother of Marguerite, second wife of Edward I, King of England. Another descendant of Eirene and Philipp was Jeanne of Navarre, wife of Philippe IV '*le Bel*', King of France; their daughter Isabelle was the wife of Edward II of England and mother of Edward III (Eirene Angelina and her mother [Eirene?] Tornikina are matrilineal ancestors of Edward III). Another descendant of Eirene and Philipp with a connection to England is Blanche of Artois, second wife of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (son of King Henry III).

iii. **Alexios Angelos**, b.*c.*1182/3. Co-emperor (as Alexios IV) with his father, 1203-4. He d.1204.[204]

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200 Charles M. Brand, *op. cit.* (1968), 113.

201 *"Emperor Isaakios anchored the succession of his family on the three children begotten of his former marriages: two females and one male."* Choniates/van Dieten/Magoulias, op. cit. (1975), 419 / (1984), 231. (Probably *"εχ των προτέρων αυτω γάμων"* should be translated as *"of his former conjugal relations"* rather than *"of his former marriages;"* speaking earlier of Isaakios' seeking a foreign wife shortly after becoming emperor in 1185, Niketas said *"the woman [Isaakios] had married earlier had died,"* which argues against Isaakios' having had more than one wife before becoming emperor.) Niketas reported that the older daughter became a nun, the second daughter married the son of Tancred of Sicily, and the son Alexios was raised as heir to the throne.

202 Boehmer, *op. cit.* (1868), 324. "*Manuel frater Marie regine et Effrosina soror eiusdem, quorum anniversarium ipsa constituit celebrari.*"

203 Hermann Bloch, *op. cit.* (1907), 79.

204 Cawley, *Medieval Lands*, http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTIUM%2010571204.htm#_Toc150921137 (accessed April 2010), which includes a discussion about a possible fourth child.



Fig 5. ***Friedrich I Barbarossa between his two oldest sons, from the Welf Chronicle.***[205]

Friedrich led the Third Crusade through Emp. Isaakios II's territory and with military force compelled the cooperation Isaakios had promised. Later Friedrich's younger son Philipp married Isaakios' daughter Eirene.

[205] http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Friedrich-barbarossa-und-soehne-welfenchronik_1-1000x1540.jpg.

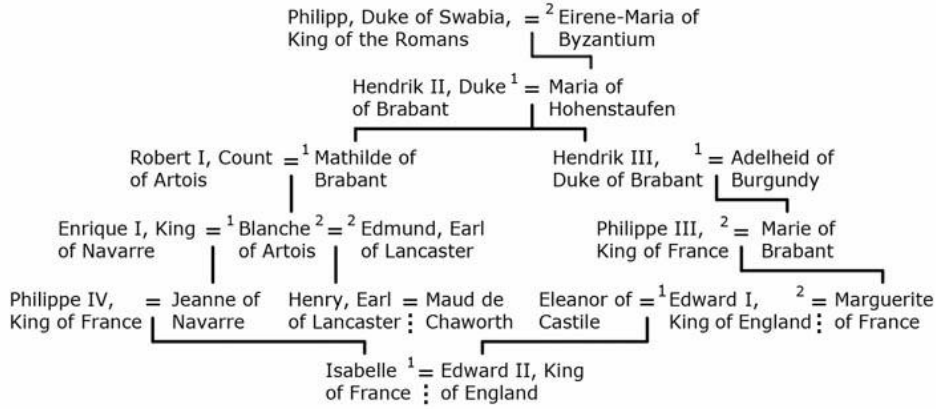


Fig 6. ***Genealogical connections to England from Eirene-Maria, daughter of Emp. Isaakios II Angelos and his first wife.***

Three dots below the marriage symbol ("=") indicate descents to the present. (Another descendant, via Mathilde of Brabant and her second husband, is Jacquetta of Luxembourg, wife of Richard Widville, first Earl Rivers.) This chart is based on data from the Genealogics database of Leo van de Pas, www.genealogics.org*, and from Detlev Schwennicke, ed., Europäische Stammtafeln, New Series, 1, 2. For the descent of Jacquette of Luxembourg from Mathilde of Brabant (above) and her second husband, see Douglas Richardson, Plantagenet Ancestry (2004), 779(#6)-783(#11).*

Notation: Marriage numbers are placed on the same side of the marriage symbol "=" as the person to whom the number applies. No number is used if a person was married only once. (For example, Eirene-Maria at the top of the chart married twice, her second husband Philipp only once; their daughter Maria married once, to Hendrik II, Duke of Brabant, who married at least twice.)

3. Conclusion

We believe that our analysis in Section 1 of this article has shown that the first wife of Emperor Isaakios II Angelos was very likely a daughter of Demetrios Tornikes. We believe that our solution is the simplest way to accommodate all the evidence we have reviewed.

We believe that the biographical information presented in the genealogical narrative of Section 2 provides additional support for this conclusion, showing, for example, political alliances that correlate with postulated family relationships. We noted that Demetrios Tornikes as judge of the *velum* opposed Andronikos Komnenos and almost paid for this resistance with death. The opposition of Isaakios Angelos, the future emperor, and his family to Andronikos Komnenos seems even more likely if the Angeloi were angered over Andronikos Komnenos' treatment of Demetrios Tornikes, father-in-law of Isaakios. Andronikos Komnenos' uncharacteristic lack of response to Angeloi opposition also seems more likely if Andronikos knew that Demetrios Tornikes was the father-in-law of Isaakios and understood the family's anger.

We think additional references to various members of the Tornikes family are likely to be found as new manuscripts are published and revised editions of Byzantine

prosopographies become available. Further, expanded prosopographies will give us more data on the usage of *theios*. If we become aware of material that significantly changes or expands our knowledge of the Tornikes family, we will prepare an update to this article.

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Christian Settipani supplied useful comments on several versions of this article. Ruth Macrides gave us a better understanding of the word *theios* and helped us with references to Eirene-Maria and to Isaakios II Angelos' marital history. Peter Stewart assisted us in finding references to Eirene-Maria. Gary Boyd Roberts helped us improve the wording of the article. We have also benefited from comments and information from Chris Bennett, Charles Cawley, Michael Jeffreys, David H Kelley, Stanford Mommaerts-Browne, Margaret Mullett, Rafal T Prinke, and Deborah Stewart. Finally we thank Hans Kloss for permission to reproduce part of his Eirene Triptych as the cover of this issue of *Foundations*; the complete triptych can be seen at http://www.hans-kloss.de/texts/irene-triptychon.htm

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The Byzantine world: places with a connection to the Tornikes family

Based on the map "Europe and the Mediterranean Lands about 1190" in William R. Shepherd's *Historical Atlas* (1926).



Taron (somewhat west of Lake Van; now in eastern Turkey but part of Armenia when Apoganem, father of Tornik, was sent from there to Constantinople as a hostage);

Ephesus (Georgios Tornikes, older brother of Demetrios, was metropolitan of Ephesus);

Patmos (the Monastery of St. John on Patmos possesses the 1203 act naming Konstantinos Tornikes as uncle of Emp. Alexios IV).

Constantinople (Apoganem, father of Tornik, was a hostage and later a *patrikios* [patrician] there; generations later Konstantinos Tornikes was *eparchos* [urban prefect] there);

Adrianople (now called Edirne; birthplace of the rebel Leon Tornikes, city on the route of the Third Crusade led by Friedrich Barbarossa and others, and site of the 1205 battle in which Konstantinos Tornikes was captured by or defected to the Bulgarians);

Ohrid, Bulgaria (Theophylaktos served as bishop there).

Thebes (birthplace of Demetrios Tornikes);

Athens (Leon Tornikes, brother of Demetrios, was a civil or ecclesiastical functionary there);

Euboea (the long island northeast of Athens and Thebes; birthplace of Theophylaktos, Bishop of Ohrid, and the place to which Euthymios Tornikes fled after the 1204 sack of Constantinople).

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Eirene of Byzantium (daughter of Emperor Isaakios II Angelos) as a young widow being abducted from Palermo, Sicily, in 1194 by her future brother-in-law, Hohenstaufen Emperor Heinrich VI (on horseback)

Eirene was described by the poet Walther von der Vogelweide as "the rose without a thorn, the dove without guile." (The emblem on the shield behind Eirene's head is a dove.)

The article starting on p. 349 of this journal evaluates evidence that Eirene's mother was a daughter of Demetrios Tornikes.

The first panel of a triptych painted by Hans Kloss for the 800th anniversary of Eirene's 1208 death. The artist's website is http://www.hans-kloss.de/