ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΥ

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Summary :

The Doukai were one of the most illustrious aristocratic families of Asia Minor and hailed from Paphlagonia. From the middle of the ninth century until 1204 we can distinguish three separate groups bearing that surname; the representatives of the first and third of these groups glorified the Doukas family name. In the eleventh century two members of the Doukas family rose to the imperial throne and, after intermarrying with the Komnenoi, the Doukai became one of the most important families in the empire.

Main Role

Officials

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1. General

The Doukai first appear in the written sources around the middle of the ninth century. They hailed from the region of Paphlagonia and were one of the most illustrious Byzantine aristocratic families of Asia Minor. Since determining the historical continuity of this family from the ninth century to 1204 is problematic, researchers usually distinguish three separate groups bearing this particular family name.[1] The name of the Doukai was glorified by the first group of family members, active in the ninth and first decades of the tenth centuries. However, of far greater renown were two members of the third group, Constantine X and Michael VII (1071-1078), who created the Doukid dynasty in the eleventh century. The marriage alliances they had formed to the Komnenian dynasty gave the Doukai high status and a place among the first families in the empire. Their family name's prestige and glory survived the extinction of the Doukas family, the continuation of which can be traced in the sources almost until the middle of the twelfth century.

2. Appearance and origin of the Doukas family

Traditions regarding the family's descent linked the Doukai to Constantine the Great. According to eleventh-century historian Nikephoros Bryennios, who quotes the tradition, the first Doukas was a relative and close associate of Constantine the Great; he moved from Rome to newly-founded Constantinople and was appointed the city's doux. The aforementioned official, whose name is not reported, was considered the founder of the Doukas family.[2]

This legend, of course, has nothing to do with reality, since the first written references to members of the Doukas family date from the middle of the ninth century. It is thought that their family name originated from the title of duke borne by the family's primogenitor, who at the time commanded one of the empire's border regions.[3] It is almost certain that the Doukai were of Byzantine descent (native-born Greek-speakers).[4] According to all indications, they hailed from the theme of Paphlagonia, where their family estates were located.[5]

3. The first members of the family in the ninth and early tenth centuries

The first reported member of the Doukas family (whose given name we do not know) was an official of the empress Theodora, who was sent against the Paulicians of Asia Minor in *ca*. 843-844. The most important members of this so-called "first group" of the Doukai were Andronikos Doukas and his son Constantine, who belonged to the upper echelons of military hierarchy. Their careers coincided with the reign of Leo VI (886-912) and, as with many other representatives of Byzantine aristocratic families, so the Doukai had the opportunity to distinguish themselves in the struggle against the Arabs and rise socially. Indeed, at the beginning of the tenth century they came into conflict with imperial authority, mainly because of the parakoimomenos Samonas, Leo's adviser, and for a time they fled to the court of the Arab caliph.

After the death of Leo VI (912), his brother Alexander (912-913) came to power; before dying (June 913), the latter appointed as regent and the minor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' guardian Nicholas Mystikos, patriarch of Constantinople and friend of the Doukas family. Prior to receiving news that he had been appointed as head of the regency council Nicholas Mystikos had incited

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Constantine Doukas, who was domestikos ton Scholon, to rebellion in order to take the throne. When he was informed of Alexander's death, Constantine Doukas hastened with his followers to Constantinople. The rebellion of the Doukai was suppressed by the imperial guard, while the pretender Constantine Doukas, his son Gregory and nephew Michael lost their lives in the street fights that followed. Stephen, Constantine's younger son, was castrated and sent along with his mother to the Doukas' family estates in the theme of Paphlagonia.

The death of most male members of the Doukai excluded the possibility of continuing the family name. If we consider the fact that Nicholas, the last known Doukas of the first group – whose relation to the aforementioned Doukai cannot be accurately confirmed –, was killed in battle against the Bulgarians at Katasyrtai (917), it is clear why there is a problem in following this family's continuity.

4. The Doukai at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries: Andronikos Lydos and his sons

In the last quarter of the tenth century we come across reports of certain personalities that some researchers classify as belonging to the Doukas family, specifically to the so called "second group",[6] namely Andronikos Lydos and his sons, Christophoros and Bardas. Their potential relation to the ninth- and early tenth-century Doukai cannot be ascertained, not even approximately. Furthermore, the sources lack any information based on which we could claim with a greater degree of certainty that the aforementioned belonged to the Doukas family.[7] The activities of Andronikos Lydos and his sons are set within the framework of the reign of Basil II (976-1025), when they are mentioned as followers of Bardas Skleros during the revolt of 976-979.

5. The Doukai in the eleventh century

5.1. Doukai as Emperors

The most numerous and better known group of Doukai consists of two brothers, the emperor Constantine X Doukas and the caesar John Doukas, as well as their direct descendants, who appear constantly in the sources after the middle of the eleventh century.[8] However, the relationship of the members of the third group of Doukai to the Doukai of the ninth and tenth centuries cannot be verified. The twelfth-century Byzantine historian John Zonaras openly questioned the existence of a direct affinity between the aforementioned two brothers and the Doukai of old, mentioning that in actual fact Constantine X and caesar John Doukas descended through the female line of the family.[9]

The rise of the final group of Doukai begins at the time of the great revolt of 1057. Constantine Doukas, who held the title of vestarches, and his brother John ranked among the most illustrious members of the Byzantine military aristocracy (Botaneiates, Argyroi, Bourtzes, Bryennioi, etc.) who supported the imperial aspirations of Isaac Komnenos. According to contemporary sources, Constantine Doukas was one of the most generous financial backers of the rebellion, a fact testifying to his family's great wealth.[10]

Isaakios I Komnenos' two-year reign led to the rise of all those who had contributed to his taking power, including the Doukas family. That the Doukai made the most of the opportunity presented to them is confirmed by the fact that, when in 1059 Isaakios I abdicated because of illness, he chose as his successor Constantine Doukas, who had already been honored with the title of proedros.

The reign of Constantine X led the Doukai to first place among the aristocratic families of the Byzantine Empire. The numerous relatives of the emperor and John Doukas occupied prominent places in the state apparatus and intermarried with other Byzantine aristocratic families. The dissemination of the Doukas family name to other upper-class families may also be observed at this time. Even though the Doukas dynasty came to an end in 1078, with the overthrow of Michael VII Doukas, son of Constantine X, the Doukai, thanks to their family ties to the Komnenoi, retained the most distinguished and exalted positions in the empire.

5.2. Intermarriage with other families

The Doukai had been related to many illustrious families of Byzantium, and often an underlying factor of these relations was a unity of

political interests. In 1034 Constantine Doukas married the daughter of Constantine Dalassenos and supported the aspirations of his father-in-law. As a punishment for this, emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian sent him into exile. Later, after the death of his first wife, Constantine Doukas married Eudokia Makrembolitissa. During the revolt of 1057, the family ties between the Makrembolitai and the Doukai contributed to the rebels receiving support from Michael Keroularios, patriarch of Constantinople and uncle of Eudokia Makrembolitissa.

The Doukas clan was strengthened after Constantine X ascended the throne, when it was to the interest of many families to be related to the imperial dynasty. Thus, in the second half of the eleventh century the Doukai concluded marriage alliances with the Komnenoi, Palaiologoi, and Pegonitai. Of utmost importance to the Doukai were their family connections to the Komnenoi, given that these connections helped them strengthen and maintain their positions during the reign of the Komnenian dynasty.

5.3. Antagonism between the Doukai and the Komnenoi

Isaakios I Komnenos' abdication in favor of Constantine Doukas and not some other member of his own family caused friction between the Doukai and Komnenoi, for some of the latter could not come to terms with losing power. The political activities of Anna Dalassene, wife of John Komnenos (Isaakios I's brother) and mother of future emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), must be placed within this framework.[11] Anna Dalassene remained an opponent of the Doukai to the end of her life and she repeatedly showed this enmity, the roots of which go back to the events of 1059. During the period 1068-1071, when the position of the Doukas dynasty had been shaken because of the rise of Romanos IV Diogenes to the throne,[12] Anna Dalassene had sided with the new emperor, to whom she remained loyal even after his overthrow by the Doukai in 1071, the result being that for some time she was banished along with her sons. She also showed enmity towards the Doukai when the *caesar* John Doukas proposed a marriage between his granddaughter Eirene[13] and Alexios Komnenos. This marriage was finally concluded against the will of Anna Dalassene, who never came to terms with it: in 1081, after Alexios Komnenos ascended the throne, his mother attempted to dissolve the marriage. This attempt was unsuccessful, as Alexios I was quick to realize the consequences of this act on the political interests of the Komnenos family.

5.4. The Doukai – Komnenoi political alliance

There is no doubt that the marriage between Eirene Doukaina and Alexios Komnenos, which took place in 1077, was beneficial to both families. This is also confirmed by the testimony of Anna Komnene, daughter of Alexios I. from evidence contained in the Alexiad it becomes clear that the driving force behind the revolt of 1081 were the Doukai, led by the *caesar* John, as well as George Palaiologos, who had married Anna, sister of Eirene Doukaina. It is also known that the Doukai and their allies backed the revolt financially, which helped recruit an army, without which the successful outcome of the enterprise would have been impossible. It was the marriage to Eirene that gave Alexios Komnenos precedence over his elder brother Isaakios. Thanks to the influence of the Doukai, the army proclaimed Alexios as heir to the throne. Furthermore, Kosmas, the patriarch of Constantinople, also a follower of the Doukai, influenced emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates to abdicate in order to avoid causing a civil war.

When Alexios I Komnenos came to power, the representatives of the Doukai requested an official recognition and affirmation of their rights to the throne. The Doukai, therefore, had not given up the claim on authority and were attempting to protect their dynastic rights in two ways. The first was through the son of the deposed Michael VII, Konstantios Doukas, to whom Alexios I awarded by chrysobull the rank of caesar. The second way was through Eirene, the new emperor's wife. The Komnenoi attempted to circumvent the rights of the Doukai, as it appears from the fact that Eirene was crowned augusta seven days after the coronation of Alexios I and then only after the insistence of the Doukai and their followers.[14]

6. Diffusion of the Doukas name

Given the fact that Constantine X's male line of descendants did not survive beyond 1100 and those of the *caesar* John Doukas beyond the middle of the twelfth century,[15] a distinction must be made between the actual members of the Doukas family and those who bore the Doukas family name. The rise of the Doukas dynasty to power and, later, their connection to the Komnenoi added

prestige to their family name. Thus, some of the grandchildren of Eirene Doukaina and Alexios I took the surname Doukas.

Since the twelfth century, the custom of using two or more surnames became widespread in Byzantium. From that time onwards, one observes the phenomenon of members of illustrious and less-than-illustrious families usurping the Doukas family name, the result in most cases being an inability to establish some relation to the actual Doukai descended from Constantine X and the *caesar* John. Certain individuals who came from other families and were, at best, distantly related to the Doukai through matrilineal descent adopted the Doukas family name in order to advertise their prestige. The glamour of the name contributed, even after the family's extinction, to the surname Doukas being preserved in various parts of the empire, such as Epirus, where the Angelos-Doukas family preserved that glorious name until the fourteenth century.

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1. The three groups of Doukai were distinguished by Polemis, D.I., *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (University of London Historical Studies 22, London 1968), pp. 1-3, 6.

2. See Νικηφόρος Βρυέννιος, *Ύλη Ιστορίας*, Gautier, P. (ed.), *Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 9, Bruxelles 1975), pp. 67,12-69,4. Cf. Polemis, D.I., *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (University of London Historical Studies 22, London 1968), p. 3.

3. Polemis, D.I., *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (University of London Historical Studies 22, London 1968), p. 4.

4. A number of researchers supported the possibility of an Armenian descent of the Doukas family, but such a hypothesis is not founded on the sources. See Polemis, D.I., *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (University of London Historical Studies 22, London 1968), pp. 3-6.

5. Polemis, D.I., *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (University of London Historical Studies 22, London 1968), p. 8 and n. 2.

6. Polemis, D.I., *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (University of London Historical Studies 22, London 1968), pp. 8, 26, 27 includes these persons in the Doukas family with reservations. Cheynet, J.-C., *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance 963-1210* (Paris 1990), pp. 172, 216 and n. 63 accepts the possibility that Andronikos Lydos and his sons belonged to a branch of the Doukai hailing from the region of the Thrakesioi or the Opsikion theme.

7. Krsmanović, B., *Uspon vojnog plemstva u Vizantiji 11. veka* (Beograd 2001), p. 163 and n. 62, based on the narrative of Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, *Σύνοψις Ιστοριών*, Thurn, I. (ed.), *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5, Berlin - New York 1973), pp. 319, 328, 354, where Andronikos Lydos is referred to as *patrikios* and *doux*, while the family name Doukas is not given to Andronikos' sons, advances the possibility that the so-called "second group" did not belong to the Doukas family.

8. It is considered a possibility that the two brothers were sons of a certain Andronikos Doukas, known from a seal in which he is mentioned as *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Great Preslav. See Polemis, D.I., *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (University of London Historical Studies 22, London 1968), p. 28 and Cheynet, J.-C, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance 963-1210* (Paris 1990), pp. 193, 217.

9. Ιωάννης Ζωναράς, *Επιτομή Ιστοριών*, Bütner-Wobst, T. (ed.), *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum* 3 (Bonn 1897), 675, 18-676, 8.

10. Συνεχιστής Ιωάννου Σκυλίτζη, *Χρονογραφία*, Τσολάκης, E. (ed.), *Η Συνέχεια της Χρονογραφίας του Ιωάννου Σκυλίτζη (Ioannes Scylitzes Continuatus)* (Ιδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου 105, Thessaloniki 1968), p. 108, 20-23.

11. According to Νικηφόρος Βρυέννιος, *Ύλη Ιστορίας*, Gautier, P. (ed.), *Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 9, Bruxelles 1975), pp. 81-83, Anna Dalassene openly opposed the decision of Isaakios I Komnenos that he was to be succeeded by Constantine X Doukas. Isaakios' decision was unusual, because the man most suited to be his heir and create a Komnenian dynasty was his brother John (Anna Dalassene's husband), father of five sons, three of which–Manuel, Isaakios, and Alexios– had been born before 1059, see Βαρζός, K., *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών* 1 (Thessaloniki 1984), pp. 61, 67, 87.

12. The marriage of Eudokia Makrembolitissa to the general Romanos Diogenes caused the opposition of the Doukai, because it threatened the family's interests, since this marriage could threaten the rights of Michael Doukas to the throne.

13. Eirene Doukaina was the daughter of Andronikos Doukas, elder son of John Doukas, and Maria of Bulgaria. See Polemis, D.I., *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (University of London Historical Studies 22, London 1968), pp. 70-74.

14. The Doukai feared that Alexios intended to marry Maria of Alania, former wife of Michael VII Doukas and Nikephoros III Botaneiates. Cf. Άννα Κομνηνή, *Αλεξιάς*, Reinsch, D.R. - Kambylis, A. (eds.), *Annae Comnenae Alexias* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 40, Berlin - New York 2001), pp. 89-90, 92-93.

15. See Polemis, D.I., *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (University of London Historical Studies 22, London 1968), p. 11.

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Glossary :

augusta

A formal title bestowed by an emperor on his wife, the empress, frequently after the birth of a son and heir. Rarely and extraordinary the title was bestowed on distinguished personages who belong to the emperor's family.

caliph

The supreme religious and political authority of Muslims, considered successor of Muhammad (Arabic: khalifa = deputy). He was the head of the Caliphate, the religious state of the Arabs.

chrysobull

(gold seal) Imperial document of the Byzantine state which was so named because it bore the gold seal of the emperor.

domestikos ton scholon

Commander of the regiment of *scholae*. The first officer with this title appears in 767/8. In the 10th C the domesticos became very powerful among the army of the *themata*; in mid-10th C the office was divided in two, *domestikoi ton scholon* of the East and those of the West, commanders in chief of the eastern and the western provinces´ army respectively.

doukas (lat. dux)

Antiquity: Roman military commander who, in some provinces, combined military and civil functions.
Buzantium: a higher military officer. From the second half of the 10th c. the title indicates the military comander of a larger district. After the 12th c., doukes were called the governors of small themes.

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proedros

A high office of the Byzantine court, first known under Nikephoros II Phokas. The responsibilities of the proedros are rather uncertain. In the 11th c. the title was accorded oftenly, but it disapears after the 12th c. As an ecclesiastical office, proedros was equal to a metropolitan and was accorded to the regent metropolitan of a bishopric or a metropolitan see, until the election of a hierarch there.

vestarches

Byzantine honorary title, which is first mentioned in the 10th c. *Taktikon of Escurial*. Originally the title was exclusively bestowed upon eunuchs, but from the fifth decade of the 11th c. it was granted to non-eunuchs as well. During the 11th c. the title was conferred to various distinguished generals. After the beginning of the 12th c. the title seems to have disappeared.

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Quotations

The mythical descent of the Doukas family as mentioned in the historical work of Nikephoros Bryennios:

Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κομνηνὸς καὶ οὐχ ἕτερον τρόπον τὴν βασίλειον ἀνακαλεῖται ἀρχήν, δικαίῳ τε δηλαδὴ τῆς πρὸς τὸ Κομνηνικὸν γένος ἐξ αἵματος γνησιότητος καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ Δουκικὸν ἐξ ἀγχιστείας ἐγγύτητος· ἐκ Δουκῶν γὰρ ἁρμοσάμενος τοῦ βίου τὴν κοινωνόν, εἰς μίαν συμφωνίαν ἄμφω τὰ γένη συνῆψε καὶ εἰς ἓν φυτὸν συνεδένδρωσεν, ἅμα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀρχαιότητι διαφέρειν αἰδεσιμώτερον, ὥς φασι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πάντες τήν τε Κομνηνικὴν ἀρχαιογονίαν καὶ Δουκικὴν αἰδούμενοι καὶ τὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μᾶλλον ἑτέρου τινὸς δικαιούμενον, τὸν Κομνηνὸν δηλονότι Ἀλέξιον, ἀσμένως ὑπ' ἐκείνου βασιλεύεσθαι εἵλοντο. Εἰ γάρ τις ἀνὰ ῥοῦν ὥσπερ ἀναδραμεῖν βούλοιτο, εὑρήσει τὸ τῶν Δουκῶν γένος ὥσπερ ἐκ πρώτης ἀναβλύσαν τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου φυλῆς, καθότι καὶ ὁ πρῶτος Δούκας ἐκεῖνος, εἷς ὢν τῶν μετὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἀπαναστάντων καὶ πρὸς τὴν νεωτέραν μετοικησάντων, καθ' αἷμα τῷ μεγάλῳ Κωνσταντῖνῳ καὶ γνησιώτατα προσῳκείωτο· ἐκείνου τε γὰρ ἐξάδελφος ἦν καὶ τὴν τοῦ δουκὸς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀξίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐγκεχείριστο, κἀντεῦθεν καὶ πάντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατωνομάσθησαν οἱ Δουκώνυμοι.

Νικηφόρος Βρυέννιος, *Ὕλη Ιστορίας*, Gautier, P. (ed.), *Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 9, Bruxelles 1975), pp. 67,12-69,4.

The first allusion to a member of the Doukas family in the 9th c.:

ἐφ' οἷς ἀγαλλομένη ἐκείνη, καὶ οἷον τρόπαια ἐπιθεῖναι μείζω δι' ἐφέσεως ἔχουσα, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν Παυλικιανοὺς ἐπειρᾶτο μετάγειν ὡς βούλοιτο πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἢ ἐξαιρεῖν καὶ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖν· ὃ καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐνέπλησεν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πέμψασά τινας τῶν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας (ὁ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Δουκὸς καὶ ὁ Σουδάλης οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ἐλέγοντο) τοὺς μὲν ξύλῳ ἀνήρτων, τοὺς δὲ ξίφει παρεδίδουν, τοὺς δὲ τῷ τῆς θαλάσσης βυθῷ.

Συνεχισταί Θεοφάνους, *Χρονογραφία*, Bekker, I. (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus* (Bonn 1838), p. 165,12-19.

The plot against the Doukas family during the reign of Leo VI (beginning of the 10th c.):

Στόλου δὲ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξελθόντος, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡμέριον λογοθέτην τοῦ δρόμου τοῦ στόλου παντὸς ἀρχηγὸν προβάλλεται. ἐδέξατο καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ δοὺξ συνεισελθεῖν τῷ Ἡμερίῳ καὶ τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς καταπολεμῆσαι. ὁ δὲ Σαμωνᾶς

Authoring : *Krsmanović Bojana*
Translation : *Μακρυπούλιας Χρήστος*
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URL: <http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=7855>

ἀδιάλλακτος ἐχθρὸς ὢν Ἀνδρονίκῳ βόθρον αὐτῷ ὑπώρυττεν καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ παγίδας ὑπετίθει, δυσμενῶς ἔχων αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τῆς φυγῆς· ὑπέβαλε δέ τινα γράψαι λαθραίως Ἀνδρονίκῳ μὴ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις εἰσελθεῖν, ὅτι, φησίν, παραγγελίας ὁ Ἡμέριος εἴληφεν παρὰ βασιλέως, ὑποβληθέντος παρὰ Σαμωνᾶ, κατασχεῖν καὶ τυφλῶσαί σε. πολλὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἡμερίου προτρεπομένου τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις εἰσελθεῖν τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐπικειμένων, ἀπεσκίρτησε, μὴ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καταδεξάμενος. Ἡμέριος δὲ μόνος τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ μνήμῃ συμβαλὼν πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν μεγάλην νίκην εἰργάσατο. τοῦτο μαθὼν Ἀνδρόνικος, καὶ ἀπογνούς, ἅμα συγγενέσι καὶ δούλοις αὐτοῦ πόλιν κατέσχεν τὴν λεγομένην Καβάλαν, εἰς ἀποστασίαν ὁρμήσας. ὁ δὲ Σαμωνᾶς πάλαι ποτὲ τοιούτου ἐπιλαβέσθαι καιροῦ ἐπιθυμῶν πρὸς βασιλέα ἔλεγεν «οὐκ ἀεί, δέσποτα, ἔλεγον ὅτι ἀντάρτης καὶ ἀποστάτης ἐστὶν ὁ δοὺξ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου πολέμιος;» παραυτίκα γοῦν ἀπέστειλεν Γρηγορᾶν Ἰβηρίτζην λεγόμενον, δομέστικον ὄντα τῶν σχολῶν καὶ συμπένθερον Ἀνδρονίκου, καταπολεμῆσαι αὐτόν. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο Ανδρόνικος, καὶ πῶς ὁ πατριάρχης Νικόλαος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξεδιώχθη, τοῖς Ἀγαρηνοῖς ἐξέφυγεν πανοικί, τηνικαῦτα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξεληλυθόσιν· ὃν ἀμερμουμνῆς ἐντίμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς προσεδέξατο.

Συνεχισταί Θεοφάνους, *Χρονογραφία*, Bekker, I. (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus* (Bonn 1838), pp. 371,19-372,20.

The descent of the emperor Konstantine X according to the historian John Zonaras:

Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ηὔχει μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ προγόνοις τοῖς πάλαι τῇ τῶν δουκῶν κεκλημένοις ἐπωνυμίᾳ, τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ δηλαδὴ καὶ τῷ Πανθηρίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ. ἀλλὰ τοῦ γένους ἐκείνων πάλαι πανοικὶ ἐξολοθρευθέντος, ὅτε Κωνσταντῖνος τυρρανίδι ἐπικεχείρηκεν, ὡς ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἄνακτος Λέοντος, τοῦ φιλοσόφου φημί, βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους τελοῦντος ἔτι διὰ τὴν νηπιότητα, καὶ μηδενὸς ἄρρενος περιλειφθέντος, ἐκ θηλείας οἱ τούτου κατήγοντο πρόγονοι, ὅθεν οὐδὲ Δοῦκας λελόγιστο καθαρός, ἀλλ' ἐπίμικτος καὶ κεκιβδηλευμένην ἔχων τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Δούκας συγγένειαν.

Ιωάννης Ζωναράς, *Επιτομή Ιστοριών*, Bütner-Wobst, T. (ed.), *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum* 3 (Bonn 1897), pp. 675,18-676,8.

Anna Komnene describes the ambivalent stance of the Doukai towards the Komnenoi in 1081:

πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος περὶ τὰ βασίλεια καρτερίαν ὑποπτεύοντες ὑπετονθόρυζον, ὡς εἰς κῆδος ταύτην ἀγάγεσθαι μέλλει ὁ νῦν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιδραξάμενος. οἱ δὲ Δοῦκαι οὐδὲν μέν τι τοιοῦτον ἐνενόουν (οὐ γὰρ συνεφέροντο ταῖς τυχούσαις ἐννοίαις), ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς τῶν Κομνηνῶν ἀπροφάσιστον κατ' αὐτῶν μῆνιν ἐκ μακροῦ γινώσκοντες περιδεεῖς ἦσαν ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτήν, ὡς κἀγὼ πολλάκις διηγουμένων ἀκήκοα. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Παλαιολόγος Γεώργιος μετὰ τοῦ στόλου φθάσας τῆς εὐφημίας ἐξῆρχεν, οἱ περὶ τοὺς Κομνηνοὺς προκύπτοντες ἄνωθεν κατεσίγαζον, μὴ τὴν Εἰρήνην τῷ Ἀλεξίῳ κἀν τῇ εὐφημίᾳ συνάψαντας κοινῶς εὐφημεῖν. ὅ δ' ἐμβριμησάμενος κάτωθεν αὐτοῖς φησίν· «οὐ δι' ὑμᾶς τὸν τοσοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἀνεδησάμην αὐτός, ἀλλὰ δι' ἣν φατὲ Εἰρήνην». ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ναυτικοῖς παρεκελεύετο Εἰρήνην σὺν τῷ Ἀλεξίῳ ἀνευφημεῖν. ταῦτα ταῖς μὲν ψυχαῖς τῶν Δουκῶν πολὺν ἐνέβαλε θόρυβον, τοῖς δέ γε μωμοσκόποις λοιδωρίας ὕλη κατὰ τῆς βασιλίδος Μαρίας ἐγίνετο.

Άννα Κομνηνή, *Αλεξιάς*, Reinsch, D.R. – Kambylis, A. (ed.), *Annae Comnenae Alexias* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 40, Berlin - New York 2001), pp. 89,72-90,86.

Chronological Table

ca. 843-844: The Doukai are mentioned in the written sources for the first time.

early tenth century: Andronikos and Constantine Doukas are active during the reign of Leo VI.

913: Revolt of Constantine Doukas attempting to seize power. Constantine Doukas, his son Gregory and nephew Michael lose their lives. Constantine's younger son Stephen is castrated.

917: Nikolaos Doukas, last known member of the so-called "first group" of the Doukai, is killed in battle between Byzantines and Bulgarians at Katasyrtai, Thrace.

976-979: Andronikos Lydos and his sons, Christophoros and Bardas, members of the so-called “second group” of the Doukai, participate in the revolt of Bardas Skleros.

1034: Constantine Doukas supports his father-in-law, Constantine Dalassenos, against Michael IV the Paphlagonian.

1057: Constantine Doukas and his brother John participate in the revolt of Isaakios Komnenos.

1059-1067: Reign of Constantine X Doukas.

1071-1078: Reign of Michael VII Doukas.

1077: Marriage of Eirene, granddaughter of *caesar* John Doukas, to Alexios Komnenos.

1081: Active participation of the Doukai in the revolt of Alexios Komnenos against Nikephoros III Botaneiates.

Auxiliary Catalogs

List of important family members

Andronikos Doukas:

He was active during the reign of Leo VI (886-912). He belonged to the upper echelons of military hierarchy and took part in the wars against the Arabs. In 906 he was accused of conspiring against Leo VI and in the spring of 907 fled to the Arabs. Soon he initiated secret negotiations with the emperor, wishing to return to Byzantium, but he was imprisoned by the Arabs. He died *ca*. 908.

Constantine Doukas:

Son of Andronikos Doukas. He fled to the Arabs along with his father, but returned to Byzantium in 908, when he was appointed *strategos* of the Charsianon theme and domestic of the Schools a little later. After the death of emperor Alexander (913), patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos invited him to take the throne. He was killed in combat against the garrison of Constantinople.

Gregory Doukas:

Son of Constantine Doukas. He was killed alongside his father in 913, during street fighting in Constantinople.

Michael Doukas:

Nephew of Constantine Doukas. He was killed alongside his uncle in 913, during street fighting in Constantinople.

Stephen Doukas:

Younger son of Constantine Doukas. After the failed revolt of 913, he was castrated and exiled to Paphlagonia with his mother.

Nikolaos Doukas:

The last known representative of the so-called “first group” of the Doukai, he was killed in 917 in the battle of Katasyrtai between Byzantines and Bulgarians.

Andronikos (Doukas?) Lydos:

Active at the end of the tenth century. He was *patrikios* and *doux*. Some researchers include him among the members of the Doukas

family (in the so-called “second group”).

Constantine X Doukas:

He represents the so-called “third group” of the Doukai. He appears in the sources for the first time in 1034, when he supported the aspirations of his father-in-law, Constantine Dalassenos, and opposed Michael IV the Paphlagonian. After the death of his first wife, he married Eudokia Makrembolitissa, niece of patriarch Michael Keroularios. In 1057 he took part in the revolt of Isaakios Komnenos. During the reign of Isaakios I he was honored with the high rank of *proedros*. In 1059 he replaced Isaakios I as emperor and reigned until his death (1067).

John Doukas:

Brother of Constantine X Doukas. In 1057 he participated in the revolt of Isaakios Komnenos. In 1059 he was honored with the rank of *caesar*. He protected the dynastic rights of the Doukas family and opposed Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071). He helped Michael VII Doukas take power and contributed to the conclusion of a marriage alliance between the Doukai and the Komnenoi, since he supported the marriage of his granddaughter Eirene to Alexios Komnenos. He played one of the most important roles in the revolt of Alexios Komnenos in 1081. During the reign of Alexios I his influence waned. He died *ca*. 1088.

Michael VII Doukas:

Son of Constantine X and Eudokia Makrembolitissa. After the death of his father he was unable to ascend to the throne because he was a minor. With the help of his relatives he took power in 1071, replacing Romanos IV. He was overthrown in 1078, when Nikephoros III Botaneiates came to power. He was forced to become a monk and died *ca*. 1090.

Eirene Doukaina:

Daughter of Andronikos Doukas and Maria of Bulgaria, granddaughter of John Doukas. She was born in 1066. In 1077 her mother prompted her to marry Alexios Komnenos. Due to this affiliation, in 1081 the Doukai supported the revolt of Alexios Komnenos, through which the families of the Komnenoi and Doukai came to power.

Konstantios Doukas:

Son of Michael VII and Maria of Alania. He was born *ca*. 1074. When his father was overthrown (1078), his mother protected her son’s rights to the throne by marrying the new emperor, Nikephoros III Botaneiates. When Alexios Komnenos came to power, the new emperor issued a chrysobull guaranteeing Konstantios Doukas’ royal rights. Later Konstantios Doukas was engaged to Alexios’ daughter, Anna Komnene. He died *ca*. 1095.