

# EL TÍTULO *ANTICUS* DE LOS SUCESORES DE JUSTINIANO I: ¿UN EJEMPLO DE IMITACIÓN?

Georgios Kardaras

Fundación Nacional de Investigación Helénica. Grecia

**Resumen:** En el presente estudio se analiza la aparición del título *Anticus* de los sucesores de Justiniano I, desde Justino II a Heraclio (565-612). Este título aparece por primera vez en el año 533 gracias a los éxitos militares de los Antes. En referencia a su mantenimiento hasta comienzos del siglo VII, se rechaza la hipótesis de que se debe a una simple imitación de los títulos de Justiniano. Por el contrario, se defiende que la principal razón de que siguiera apareciendo fue el mantenimiento de la alianza de Bizancio con los Antes, que se estableció en 545/46. Además, la desaparición de este título se relaciona con la destrucción del *limes* de Escitia Menor en torno al 614/15.

**Palabras clave:** Bárbaros, Eslavos, Antes, imperio bizantino, títulos imperiales.

## THE TITLE *ANTICUS* TO THE SUCCESSORS OF JUSTINIAN I. A PATTERN OF IMITATION?

**Summary:** The study deals with the appearance of the title of *Anticus* to the successors of Justinian I, namely from Justin II to Heraclius (565-612). The title appears for the first time in year 533 thanks to the military successes against the Antes, and with regard to its maintenance until the beginning of the 7th century, the assumption that it was due to a mere imitation of the titles of Justinian is rejected. On the contrary, it is argued that the main reason for the continuation of its appearance was the maintenance of the alliance of Byzantium with the Antes that was concluded in 545/46. Furthermore, the end of the title's appearance is associated with the collapse of the *limes* of Scythia Minor in c. 614/15.

**Keywords:** barbaricum, early Slavs, Antes, Byzantine empire, emperors' titles

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**Correspondencia:** Georgios Kardaras

Email: [gkardaras@eie.gr](mailto:gkardaras@eie.gr)

Senior Researcher. National Hellenic Research Foundation.

Institute of Historical Research

Vasileos Konstantinou 48. 11635 Athens, Greece

The particular characteristics, the material culture and the significance of the expansion of the Antes are often neglected when dealing with the history of the early Slavs, in which the most important role is played by the *Sklaveni*, namely the other early Slavic branch. The relations of Byzantium with the Antes constitute a link to the foreign policy of the empire during the 6th and early 7th centuries in the area of the Lower Danube, where Byzantium sought to prevent the descent and settlement of barbarian peoples south of the river.

In historiography, the Antes were regarded as the southern branch of the Eastern Slavs and ancestors either of some early Russian tribes and the Kievan Rus' or the present-day Ukrainians. On the other hand, there was a widely-held view that the original core of the Antes was Iranian (a western Alanian tribe), while that concerning their German/Gothic origin was not particularly popular<sup>1</sup>. The area of their settlement is located by Jordanes between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper<sup>2</sup>, while Procopius

1 On the views about the ethnic character of the Antes, see Werner, R., (1980), "Zur Herkunft der Anten. Ein ethnisches und soziales Problem der Spätantike", in: *Studien zur Antiken Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift F. Vittinghoff*, eds. W. Eck and H. Galsterer and H. Wolff, Köln – Wien: Böhlau, pp. 575-595, at pp. 583-590. Schramm, G., (1995), "Venedi, Antes, Sclaveni, Sclavi: Frühe Sammelbezeichnungen für slawische Stämme und ihr geschichtlicher Hintergrund", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 43, pp. 161-200, at pp. 172-176. Darden, B. J., (2004), "Who were the Sclaveni and where did they come from?", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28, pp. 133-157, at pp. 143-144. Szmoniewski, B. S., (2010), "The Antes: Eastern 'Brothers' of the Sclavenes?", in: *Neglected Barbarians*, ed. F. Curta (Studies in the Early Middle Ages 32), Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 53-82, at pp. 53-62. Ziółkowski, A., (2014/2015), "When did the Slavs originate? The Case of the Antes", *Palamedes* 9/10, pp. 211-236. Kardaras, G. Th., (2016), *Οι Άντες. Ιστορία και πολιτισμός (4ος-8ος αι.)*. Athens: EIE/IEE, Monographs 16, pp. 19-29.

2 Jordanis, *Getica* (De origine actibusque Getarum), ed. Th. Mommsen, *Jordanis Romana et Getica* [MGH AA V/1], Berlin: Weidmann 1882, pp. 53-138, V 35, p. 63: "Sclaveni a civitate Novietunense et laco qui appellatur Mursiano usque ad Danastrum et in boream Viscla tenus commorantur: hi paludes silvasque pro civitatibus habent. Antes vero, qui sunt eorum fortissimi, qua Ponticum mare curvatur, a Danastro extenduntur usque ad Danaprum, quae flumina multis mansionibus ab invicem absunt". Sedov, V. V., (1978), "Anty", in: *Problemy Sovetskoi Arkheologii*, ed. V. V. Kropotkin, Moskva, pp. 164-173, at

states on the one hand that the Antes lived north of the Utigurs (who were settled above the See of Azov) and on the other hand that the Antes, along with the *Sclaveni*, had settled “on the northern bank of the Danube”<sup>3</sup>.

The data on the area of the Antic settlement are complemented by the finds of the Penkovka culture, which extended our knowledge of the Antes, up to the mid-, or the late-, 8th century<sup>4</sup>. Almost in accordance with the testimonies of the written sources, the relevant finds came to light mainly in the forest-steppe zone of Ukraine, centered in the area between the Dniester and Dnieper rivers, as well as in the steppe zone between the cities of Zaporozhie and Dneperopetrovsk. To the east, the

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p. 164. Werner 1980, p. 578. Schramm 1995, pp. 169-170. Prikhodniuk, O. M., (1991), “Anty ta Vizantiia”, *Arkheolohiia* 2, pp. 133-141, at p. 136. Curta, F., (1999), “Hiding Behind a Piece of Tapestry: Jordanes and the Slavic Venethi”, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 47, pp. 321-340, at pp. 324-326. Idem (2001), *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 39. Barford, P. M., (2001), *The Early Slavs. Culture and Society in Early Medieval Eastern Europe*, New York: Cornell University Press, pp. 35, 50. Darden 2004, pp. 143, 152-153. Szmoniewski 2010, p. 63. Kazanski, M., (2013), “The Land of the Antes according to Jordanes and Procopius”, in: *The Steppe Lands and the World beyond them: Studies in honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th birthday*, eds. F. Curta and B.-P. Maleon, Iași: Editura Universității “Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, pp. 35-42, at p. 35.

3 Procopius, *De Bellis*, ed. J. Haury and G. Wirth, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. I-II, Leipzig: Teubner 1962-1963, VIII, 4. 8-9, p. 501: “αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ Λίμνη [Μαιῶτις] ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται. ἄνθρωποι δὲ, οἱ ταύτη φῶκηνται, Κιμμέριοι μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ὀνομάζοντο, τανῶν δὲ Οὐτίγουροι καλοῦνται. καὶ αὐτῶν καθύπερθεν ἐς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἔθνη τὰ Ἀντῶν ἄμετρα ἴδρυνται”. Ibidem, VII, 14. 30, 358: “διὸ δὴ καὶ γῆν τινα πολλὴν ἔχουσι· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τῆς ἐτέρας τοῦ Ἰστρου ὄχθης αὐτοὶ νέμονται”. Ibidem, V, 27. 2, 130: “καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι Οὐννοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ καὶ Ἄνται, οἱ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον οὐ μακρὰν τῆς ἐκείνῃ ὄχθης ἴδρυνται”. Sedov 1978, p. 164. Prikhodniuk 1991, p. 136. Curta 2001, p.39. Barford 2001, p. 50. Szmoniewski 2010, pp. 64-65. Kazanski 2013, pp. 37-38. Kardaras 2016, pp. 49-50.

4 Prikhodniuk, O. M., (1998), *Pen'kovskaia kul'tura. Kul'turno-khronologitseskii aspekt issledovaniia*, Voronezh: Voronezhskii Universitet. Barford 2001, p. 63. Terpilovskij, R. V., (2004), *Slavs in the Dnieper Region in the first half of the first millennium A. D.*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, p. 130. Szmoniewski 2010, pp. 58-60, 67-76, 82.

finds extend to the Donets and Orel rivers, and to the west to Prouth and the Lower Danube<sup>5</sup>.

As regards the Antes, it is generally believed that they were actually a political union of eastern Slavic tribes with mixed cultural features<sup>6</sup>, while some scholars made a distinction between the Antes, namely Western and Eastern. Initially, and taking into account Procopius' testimonies, G. Vernadsky placed the former close to the Lower Danube (in the valleys of the Rivers Prouth, Dniester and southern Bug) and the latter north of the Azov Sea. On the other hand, H. Ditten, although he accepts the abode of the Eastern Antes north of the Kutrigurs and the Azov Sea, places the Western Antes (later federates of Byzantium) in Bessarabia, between the estuaries of the Danube and the Dnieper<sup>7</sup>.

Jordanes traces the historical presence of the Antes in the 4th century, mentioning the attacks of the Ostrogoths against them and the Sclaveni in c. 370 and 375<sup>8</sup>. The first Antic attack against Byzantium, which was repelled by the general of Thrace Germanos, most likely dates

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5 On the views about the boundaries of the Antic settlement, see Sedov 1978, pp. 164-166, 171. Bonev, Č., (1983), "Les Antes et Byzance", *Études Balkaniques* 19/3, pp. 109-120, at p. 113. Werner 1980, 574, 578. Schramm 1995, pp. 176-177. Prikhodniuk 1991, p. 136. Goehrke, C., (1992), *Frühzeit des Ostslaventums* [Erträge der Forschung 277], Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, p. 16. Barford 2001, p. 63. Szmoniewski 2010, pp. 69-70. Kardaras 2016, pp. 50-51.

6 Litavrin, G. G., (1986), "O dvukh Khilbudiakh Prokopiia Kesariiskogo, *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 47, pp. 24-30, at pp. 27-28. Goehrke 1992, pp. 13, 151. Braichevskiy, M. I., (1991), "Ants'ka problema v konteksti vizantiiskoi istorii", *Arkheolohiia* 2, pp. 122-133, at pp. 126, 129. Prikhodniuk 1991, pp. 134, 136, 140-141. idem, *Stepove naseleння Ukrainy ta skhidni Slov'iany: druga polovyna I tys. n.e.*, Kiev: Natsional'na Akademiia Nauk Ukrainy, pp. 49, 58. Kardaras 2016, pp. 54-55.

7 Vernadsky, G., (1939), "On the Origins of Antae", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* pp. 56-66, at pp. 58, 64. Ditten, H., (1978), "Zur Bedeutung der Einwanderung der Slawen", in: *Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Herausbildung des Feudalismus*, eds. F. Winkelmann and H. Köpstein [BBA 48], Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 73-160, at p. 93, n. 2. Kardaras 2016, p. 89.

8 Iordanis, *Getica*, XXIII 119, pp. 88-89. Ibidem, XLVIII 247, p. 121. Werner 1980, pp. 577-578. Schramm 1995, p. 169. Curta 1999, 325, pp. 331-332. Terpilovskij 2004, pp. 134-135. Szmoniewski 2010, p. 63. Kardaras 2016, p. 56.

back to 518, in the reign of Justin I<sup>9</sup>. According to Procopius, during the early years of Justinian's I reign, the entire area of the Balkans suffered devastating raids of the Sklaveni, the Antes and the nomadic peoples. Frequent raids by Bulgars, Antes and Sklaveni are also recorded by Jordanes<sup>10</sup>.

The barbarian invasions in the Lower Danube were temporarily repulsed by the *magister militum per Thraciam* Chilbudius (530-533), but after his death in battle, the Danube border was not a serious obstacle for the invaders<sup>11</sup>. Also important in the same period were the victories of the *magister militum per Illyricum* Mundus over the Slavs and the Kutrigurs<sup>12</sup>.

9 Procopius, *De Bellis*, VII, 40. 5-6, p. 476. Ditten 1978, p. 86, n. 2. Ferjančić, B., (1984), "Invasions et installation des Slaves dans les Balkans", in: *Villes et peuplement: Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 12-14 mai 1982)*, pp. 85-109, at p. 88 (in 518/27). Prikhodniuk 1991, 135. Barford 2001, p. 50. Curta 2001, pp. 75-76, n. 7. Kardaras, G., (2010b), "The Byzantine-Antic treaty (545/56 A. D.) and the defence of Scythia Minor", *Byzantinoslavica* 68, pp. 74-85, at p. 74. Idem, 2016, p. 83.

10 Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, ed. J. Haury and G. Wirth, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. III, Leipzig: Teubner 1963, XVIII. 20-21, pp. 114-115. Idem, *De Bellis*, VII, 14. 2, pp. 353-354. Iordanis, *Romana* (De summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum), ed. Th. Mommsen, *Iordanis Romana et Getica* [MGH AA V/1], Berlin: Weidmann 1882, pp. 1-52, 388, p. 52: *Hi sunt casus Romanae rei publicae preter instantia cottidiana Bulgarum, Antium et Sclavinorum...* Ditten 1978, p. 86. Ferjančić 1984, p. 92. Prikhodniuk 1991, p. 135. Curta 1999, p. 331. Idem, 2001, pp. 78-79. Barford 2001, p. 50. Kardaras 2010b, p. 75. Idem, 2016, pp. 85-86.

11 Procopius, *De Bellis*, VII, 14. 1-6, pp. 353-354. Bonev 1983, pp. 109-112. Prikhodniuk 1991, pp. 135-136. Barford 2001, p. 51. Kardaras 2010b, p. 75. On the origin of Chilbudius, see Litavrin 1986, pp. 24-30. Curta 2001, p. 76, n. 7. Živković, T., (2007), *Forging Unity. The South Slavs Between East and West: 550-1150*, Belgrade: Institute of History, p. 34. Kardaras 2016, pp. 84-85.

12 Marcellini Comitiss, *Chronicon*, ed. Th. Mommsen [MGH, AA 11], Berlin: Weidmann, p. 103 (530). Vasić, M., (1994/95), "Le limes protobyzantin dans la province de Mésie Première", *Starinar* 45-46, pp. 41-53, at pp. 42-43. Mazal, O., (2001), *Justinian I. und seine Zeit. Geschichte und Kultur des Byzantinischen Reiches im 6. Jahrhundert*, Köln – Weimar – Wien: Böhlau, pp. 183, 185. Ziemann, D., (2007), *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht. Die Entstehung*

However, as the repossession wars in the West and the frequent hostilities with the Sassanids did not allow the stay of the necessary forces in the Balkans, the Byzantine defensive tactic in the area relied on diplomacy as well as an extensive program of fortifications. With regard to the four Danubian provinces (First Moesia, Riparian Dacia, Second Moesia and Scythia Minor), Justinian repaired or built dozens of forts, even on the north bank of the river, in order to render the Danube frontier unapproachable<sup>13</sup>.

Crucial for the evolution of Byzantium's relations with the Western Antes seems to have been an attack carried out by the latter in Thrace in 545/46<sup>14</sup>, as just after it Justinian concluded an alliance with them and settled the Antes as federates (*foederati*) north of the Lower Danube, in the area of the ancient city Tourris (likely Barboși close to Roman Dinogetia)<sup>15</sup>. From the relevant passage of Procopius it is clear that, apart

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*Bulgariens im frühen Mittelalter (7.-9. Jh.)*, Köln – Weimar – Wien: Böhlau, p. 90. Kardaras 2016, p. 84.

13 Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, ed. J. Haury and G. Wirth, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. IV, Leipzig: Teubner 1964, IV, 6-7, pp 126-133 and IV, 11, pp. 148-149. Patoura-Chatzopoulos, S., (1980), "L'oeuvre de reconstitution du limes danubien à l'époque de l'empereur Justinien Ier (territoire roumain)", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 18/1, pp. 95-109, at pp. 96-98, 102-108. Scorpan, C., (1980), *Limes Scythiae. Topographical and stratigraphical research on the late Roman fortifications on the Lower Danube* [BAR International Series 88], Oxford: BAR, pp. 4-23, 120-127. Vasić 1994/95, p. 41. Ivanov, R., (1999), *Dolnodunavskata obranitelna sistema između Dorticum i Durostorum ot Avgust do Mavriky (The Defence System along the Lower Danube between Dorticum and Durostorum from Augustus to Mauricius)*, Sofia: ALEA, pp. 146, 152-153, 198-201, 204-205, 313. Curta 2001, pp. 87-89, 151-169. Madgearu, A., (2003), "The 6th Century Lower Danubian Bridgeheads: Location and Mission", *Ephemeris Napocensis* 13, pp. 295-314. Kardaras 2016, pp. 95-100.

14 Procopius, *De Bellis*, VII, 14.11, p. 355. Bonev 1983, p. 113. Prikhodniuk 1991, p. 136. Curta 2001, p. 79. Kardaras 2010b, p. 74. Idem, 2016, p. 87.

15 See Bolșanov-Ghimbu, A., (1969), "La localisation de la forteresse Turris", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 7/4, pp. 686-690. Patoura-Chatzopoulos 1980, p. 109. Madgearu, A., (1992), "The Placement of the Fortress Turris (Procopius, Bell. Goth., III. 14. 32-33)", *Balkan Studies* 33/2, pp. 203-208. Idem 2003, pp. 301-304. Curta 2001, p. 80, n. 23. Kardaras 2010b, p. 78. Idem, pp. 89-90.

from the elimination of the Antic raids, Justinian's main target was to render the Antes a barrier to the nomads' attacks<sup>16</sup>. The Antic settlement was directly linked to the defense of the northern part of the Scythian *limes* and this area constituted a "sector of responsibility" for the Antes, both for the border Byzantine forts and the road network of Scythia Minor. More precisely, and according to the division of the Scythian *limes* into five subdivisions<sup>17</sup>, the Antic settlement was linked to the reinforcement of the fourth section, 60 km long, from Troesmis to Noviodunum<sup>18</sup>.

Although the presence of Antes mercenaries was already apparent in 536/37<sup>19</sup>, it seems that the above-mentioned treaty widened their recruitment into the Byzantine army. In 546/47 a contingent of 300 Antes took part in military operations against the Ostrogoths in

16 Procopius, *De Bellis*, VII, 14. 32-33, p. 359: "ἐν τούτῳ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς πρέσβεις τινὰς παρὰ τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους στεῖλας ἠξίου ξυνοικίζεσθαι ἅπαντας εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν, Τούρριν ὄνομα, ἣ κεῖται μὲν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἀτοκράτορος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις αὐτὴν δειμαμένον, ἔρημος δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν οὐσα, ληϊσαμένων αὐτὴν τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων, ταύτη γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ ἄμφ' αὐτὴν χώρα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἄτε προσηκούση τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαίοις ὠμολόγει δεδωρῆσεσθαι καὶ σφίσι ξυνοικεῖν μὲν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, χρήματα δὲ μεγάλα σφίσι προίεσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ ἔνσπονδοὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὄντες Οὐννοὶ ἐμπόδιοι ἐς αἰεὶ γένωνται, καταθεῖν βουλομένοις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν". Bonev 1983, pp. 110-114. Prikhodniuk 1991, p. 136. Schramm 1995, pp. 170, 172. Curta 2001, pp. 80-82, 331-332. Szmoniewski 2010, p. 60. Kardaras 2010b, pp. 76-77. Idem, 2016, pp. 88-89.

17 Barnea, I., and Ștefan, Gh., (1974), "Le *limes Scythicus* des origines à l'Antiquité", in: *Actes du IXe Congrès International d'Études sur les Frontières Romains, Mamaia 6-13 Septembre 1972*, ed. D. M. Pippidi, București – Köln: Editura Academiei RSR – Böhlau, pp. 15-25, at pp. 17-23. a) Durostorum (in Second Moesia) – Axiopolis; b) Axiopolis – Carsium; c) Carsium – Troesmis; d) Troesmis – Noviodunum; e) Noviodunum – estuaries of the Danube.

18 Kardaras 2010b, p. 79. Idem, 2016, pp. 90-91.

19 Procopius, *De Bellis*, V, 27. 1-2, p.130. Curta 2001, p. 78. Živković 2007, pp. 34, 52. Kazanski, M., (2009), "La Cavalerie Slave à l'époque de Justinien", in: *The Horse and Man in European Antiquity (Worldview, Burial Rites, and Military and Everyday Life)*, ed. A. Bliujienė, Klaipėda: University Press, pp. 229-238, at p. 230.

Lucania<sup>20</sup>, while, according to Agathias, certain Antes had significant posts during the Byzantine-Persian war in Lazica (554-556), such as the brigadier Dabragezas and his son Leontios<sup>21</sup>. After the treaty of 545/46, the sources make no reference to the Antes until 558/62, when the latter were subjugated along with nomadic peoples (the Sabirs Huns, the Zaloi and the Utigurs) to the Avars<sup>22</sup>. The sources again make reference to the Antes at the beginning of the reign of Maurice, probably in 584. According to Michael Syrus, “the Romans called on the people of the Antes, who attacked the land of the Sklaveni, overwhelmed and pillaged it. They gathered up their belongings and burned them. Their country lay west of the river called the Danube”<sup>23</sup>. In the autumn of 602, while the Byzantine army carried out military operations in the Slavic regions north of the Lower Danube, the Avars, under the leadership of Apsikh, marched against the allies of Byzantium Antes<sup>24</sup>. The relevant testimony contains

20 Procopius, *De Bellis*, VII, 22. 1-6 and 21, pp. 394-395, 398. Bonev 1983, pp. 111-112. Curta 2001, p. 81. Živković 2007, pp. 34, 51. Kazanski, *Cavalerie Slave*, pp. 231-232.

21 Agathiae Myrinaei, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. R. Keydell [CFHB 2, Series Berolinensis], Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1967, C, 6. 9 and 7. 2, p. 91; C, 21. 6, pp. 111-112; D 18. 1 and 3, 145. Bonev 1983, p. 112. Curta 2001, pp. 81, 83, n. 28, 35. Živković 2007, pp. 34, 52. See also, Szmoniewski 2010, p. 65. Kardaras 2010b, pp. 79-80. Idem, 2016, pp. 91-93.

22 Menander the Guardsman, *History*, ed. R. C. Blockley [ARCA: Classical and Medieval Texts 17]. Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1985, fr. 5.3, p. 50. Bonev 1983, pp. 114-115. Pohl, W., (1988), *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa, 567-822 n. Chr.*, München: C. H. Beck, pp. 39-40, 62. Prikhodniuk 1991, p. 140. Curta 2001, pp. 47, 90. Živković 2007, pp. 7-11. Szmoniewski 2010, pp. 65-66. Kardaras, G. Th., (2010a), *Το Βυζάντιο και οι Άβαραι, ΣΤ'-Θ' αι. Πολιτικές, διπλωματικές και πολιτισμικές σχέσεις*. Athens: NHRF/IBR, Monographs 15, pp. 39-40. Idem, 2016, pp. 107-110.

23 *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jakobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, ed. J.-B. Chabot vol 2, Paris: E. Typographeo Reipublicae, 1901, X 21, p. 362. Ditten 1978, p. 93. Bonev 1983, pp. 115-116 (in 582/83). Curta 2001, pp. 81, 97. Kardaras 2010b, p. 82. Idem, 2016, pp. 110-111.

24 Theophylacti Simocattae, *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig: Teubner, 1887, VIII, 5.13, p. 293: “ἀτὰρ τὰς Ῥωμαίων ἐφόδους ὁ Χαγάνος μεμαθηκῶς τὸν Ἀψίχ μετὰ στρατοπέδων ἐξέπεμπεν, ὅπως τὸ τῶν Ἄντων διολέσειεν ἔθνος, ὃ



the final reference to Antes in the sources, and it is generally accepted that the Avars' campaign led to the dissolution of the Antic hegemony, although Simocatta does not mention the outcome of the confrontation.

Justinian attributed to himself the title *Anticus* thanks to the successes of Chilbudius. The title appears for the first time in the Introduction of the *Constitutiones* in 533 and then, during the era of Justinian, between 533-542 and 551/52-565<sup>25</sup>. Apart from Justinian's legal work, the references to the title up to 565 can also be observed in other sources, such as the *Council of Constantinople of 553*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, the *Historia Langobardorum* of Paulus Diaconus as well as on two inscriptions. A very peculiar find, not precisely dated, came to light in a grave attributed to a military officer of Germanic origin at Keszthely-Fenékpusztá-Pusztaszentegyháza, namely a gold buckle with the inscription ANTIKOS. According to G. Kiss, the owner of the belt took part in the campaign of the Avars against the Antes in 602 and it is actually a piece of war loot<sup>26</sup>. If so, that find is related to a not usual present of the Byzantine emperor to the federates Antes, with an inscription declaring political relations, however for the new owner of the buckle was just a decorative motif.

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σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίοις ἐτύγγανεν ὄν". Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig: Teubner, 1883, p. 284. Bonev 1983, pp. 116-117. Pohl 1988, p. 161. Prikhodniuk 1991, p. 140. Curta 2001, pp. 81, 205. Szmoniewski 2010, pp. 66-67. Kardaras 2010a, p. 99. Idem, 2016, p. 113.

25 *Institutiones*, ed. Th. Mommsen [Corpus Iuris Civilis 1], Berlin: Weidmann, 1872, Introduction, p. 2 (21/11/533): *In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Imperator Caesar Flavius Iustinianus Alamannicus Gothicus Francicus Germanicus Anticus Alanicus Vandalicus Africanus pius felix inclitus victor ac triumphator semper Augustus cupidae legum iuventuti*. Curta 2001, p. 77, n. 13. Kardaras 2010b, p. 76. On the references of the title *Anticus*, see Rösch, G., (1978), *Όνομα Βασιλείας. Studien zum offiziellen Gebrauch der Kaizertitel in Spätantiker und Frühbyzantinischer Zeit* [Byzantina Vindobonensia], Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 101-103, 167-168. Ivanov, A., (1991), "Anty v titulature vizantiiskich imperatorov", in: *Svod drevneishikh pis'mennykh izvestii o slavianakh*, ed. L. A. Gindin et al., vol. 1, Moskva: "Vostochnaia literatura" RAN, pp. 260-264. Kardaras 2016, pp. 163-170.

26 Kiss, G., (2008), "Der Wandel im archäologischen Nachlass der Keszthely-Kultur im Laufe des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts-Versuche zur Periodisierung", *Antaeus* 29-30, pp. 265-277, at p. 268.

According to G. Rösch, Justinian's triumphal titles are divided into two groups: the first includes "Germanic" titles brought by his predecessors (*Alamanicus*, *Gothicus*, *Germanicus*, *Francicus*) and the second titles due to military success during his reign (*Anticus*, *Alanicus*, *Vandalicus*, *Africanus*). The acceptance of the first group is ascribed to an ambitious political program of Justinian, which aimed to place all the barbarian peoples in the former western part of the Empire under the power of Constantinople. However, in the year 533 a similar political program of Justinian might also concern the second group of titles, regarding the successful military operations for the repossession of Northwestern Africa (533-534). Furthermore, the title *Anticus* in the second group makes clear the emperor's intention to extend Byzantine influence to the northern bank of the Lower Danube<sup>27</sup>.

In this area, the Antes became part of Justinian's "barbarian" policy in order to secure the northern boundaries of the Empire. Their rapprochement with the treaty of 545/46 was part of a wider framework of alliances in the Caucasus, the Black Sea and the Danube, regions that were subjected mostly to the attacks of the nomadic peoples. Understanding that because of conflicts with the Goths and Sassanids sufficient forces could not remain in the Balkans or the Crimea, Justinian created new alliances in the afore-said three interdependent regions, exercising at the same time "cultural diplomacy" through the missionary work<sup>28</sup>. Consequently, in the case of Antes, their reference to Justinian's entitlement after 545/46 does not actually concern a defeated or subjugated people, but federates who had specific duties and a sector of responsibility within the overall defense plan at the northern border of the Empire.

Despite the limited information about the Antes after 545/46, the title *Anticus* is retained by Justinian's successors. Initially under Justin II (565-578) it can be observed in two *Novellae* of the years 570<sup>29</sup> and

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27 Rösch 1978, p. 102. Kardaras 2016, p. 85.

28 See Papisoteriou, Ch., (2000), *Βυζαντινή υψηλή στρατηγική*, 6ος-11ος αιώνας, Athens: Poiotita Editions, pp. 65-66, 105-108. Mazal, O., (2001), *Justinian I. und seine Zeit. Geschichte und Kultur des Byzantinischen Reiches im 6. Jahrhundert*, Köln – Weimar – Wien: Böhlau, pp. 244-251. Kardaras 2010a, pp. 38-39.

29 *Novellae Constitutiones Imperatorum post Justinianum*, ed. C. E. Z. Lingenthal, Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1857 (nov. VI. Imp. Justinii de filiis adscriptitiorum et liberarum), p. 13 (01/03/570): "Imp. Caesar Flavius Justinus, fidelis in

571<sup>30</sup>, while there are more testimonies under Tiberius (578-582), despite his short reign (two *Novellae*<sup>31</sup> and one inscription<sup>32</sup>). The title also appears in a letter sent by Maurice (582-602) to Childebert of Austrasia

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Christo, mansuetus, maximus benefactor, Alamannicus, Gotthicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Vandalicus, Africanus, pius, felix, inclutus, victor ac triumphator, semper Augustus, Theodoro”. Rösch 1978, p. 168. Ivanov 1991, p. 262. Kardaras 2016, pp. 168-169.

30 Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. M.-A. Aris et al., vol. I-II, Turnhout: Brepols 2007, I, 5.4, p. 556 (*Novella*, February/March 571): “Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ δεσπότης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλάβιος Ἰουστίνος, πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ, ἡμέρος, μέγιστος, εὐεργέτης, Ἀλαμανικός, Γοτθικός, Γερμανικός, Ἄντικός, Φραγκικός, Ἑρουλλικός, Γηπαιδικός, εὐσεβής, εὐτυχής, ἔνδοξος, νικητής, τροπαιοῦχος, ἀεισέβαστος, Αὐγουστος”. Rösch 1978, p. 168. Ivanov 1991, p. 262. Kardaras 2016, p. 169.

31 *Jus Graecoromanum (Νεαραὶ καὶ χρυσόβουλλα τῶν μετὰ τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν Βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων)*, ed. I. Zepos and P. Zepos, vol. 1, Athens: G. Fexis Publishing House 1931, (nov. 12, Imp. Tiberii de divinis dominibus/περὶ τῶν θείων οἰκιῶν), p. 19 (not dated *Novella*): “Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ δεσπότης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλάβιος Τιβέριος Κωνσταντίνος πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἡμερότατος μέγιστος εὐεργέτης εἰρηνικός ἀλαμανικός γοτθικός φραγγικός γερμανικός [ἀντικός] ἀλανικός οὐανδαλικός ἀφρικὸς ἔρουλικὸς γηπεδικὸς εὐσεβής εὐτυχής ἔνδοξος νικητής τροπαιοῦχος ἀεισέβαστος αὐγουστος τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ συγκλήτῳ”. *Novellae Constitutiones* 13 (nov. XIII. Imp. Tiberii, de filiis adscriptitiorum et liberarum), p. 30 (11/08/582): In nomine domini Jesu Christi Imperator Caesar Flavius Tiberius Constantinus in Christo mansuetus maximus benefactor et Flavius Nob. Tiberius Mauritius felicissimus Caesar Alemannicus Gothicus Francicus Germanicus Anticus Alanicus Vandalicus Africanus pius felix inclutus victor ac triumphator semper Aug. Theodoro. Rösch 1978, p. 169 (dating likely in 582 the first *Novella*). Ivanov 1991, p. 262. Kardaras 2016, p. 169.

32 (not dated inscription): “Βασιλεὺς ... π ... τατος με[γιστ]ος εὐ[εργέτης καὶ] ἱρηνικῶ[τα(τος) Αὐ-]γουστος Α[λαμανι]κός Γοθθ[ει]κός Φραγγικός Γ[ερμα]νικός Ἀντι[κός] Οὐανδαλικός Α[φρικός] εὐσεβής εὐτ[υχ]ής ἔνδοξος τρ[οπε]οῦχος] ἀει εὐσεβής εὐ[τυχ]ής ...” Sodini, J.-P., (1973), “Une titulature faussement attribuée à Justinien Ier”, *Travaux et Mémoires* 5, pp. 373-384, at p. 373. Rösch 1978, pp. 101, 169. Ivanov 1991, p. 262. Kardaras 2010b, p. 82. Kardaras 2016, p. 169.

in 585<sup>33</sup>. The use of the title after 565 raises reasonable questions about its significance and the historical circumstances that obviously justified it. In this respect, it could not be accepted that the title *Anticus* passed to Justinian's successors is merely an imitation of the latter's titles, or that it made sense only as a manifestation of military successes against the Antes<sup>34</sup>. In our opinion, its use is an indication of the continuous overlordship of Byzantium over the Antes who defended the Scythian *limes*, and the maintenance of the federates' relationship that emerged with the treaty of 545/46.

The subjugation of the Antes to the Avars was temporary, as in 562 the Avars moved to the Lower Danube<sup>35</sup> and in 568 established their own khaganate in the Carpathian Basin. The Antes' exemption from Avar control again rendered them allies of Byzantium. Although the sources do not quote any common military operation between the Byzantines and the Antes against the Sklaveni or the Avars, the time of the reappearance of the *Anticus*' title could lead to tenable assumptions about the renewal of the alliance of 545/46 on the occasion of the Avar attacks.

Looking back at the Byzantine-Avar conflicts, we observe that the use of the title *Anticus* by Justin II in 570 and 571 coincides with the Avars' attack in Thrace in 570 and the victory of the Byzantines<sup>36</sup>, while under Tiberius with the fall of Sirmium in 582<sup>37</sup>. Maurice also renewed the

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33 *Epistolae Merowingici et Carolini Aevi*, ed. E. Dümmler [MGH, Epistolarum III/Epistolae Austrasiacae], vol. 1, Berlin: Weidmann, 1892, 42, p. 148 (585 vel 590): "In Nomine Domini Dei nostri Iesu Christi. Imperatore Caesar Flavius Mauricius Tiberius, fidelis in Christo, mansuetus, maximus, beneficus, pacificus, Alamannicus, Gothicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Wandalicus, Erullicus, Gypedicus, Africus, pius, felix, incleti, victor ac triumphator, semper Augustus, Childebertho, viro glorioso, regi Francorum". Rösch 1978, p. 169 (01/09/584). Ivanov 1991, p. 262 (01/09/584). Kardaras 2010b, p. 83. Idem, 2016, p. 170.

34 Curta 2001, p. 77, n. 13: "Justinian's successors imitated his intitulation. The last emperor to do so was Heraclius (novel 22 of May 1, 612)". Ibidem, p. 105, n. 93: "... "the epithet *Anticus*, first attested under Justinian, referred to imperial victories over the Antes, not to them being imperial allies". See also Szmoniewski 2010, pp. 66-67. Kardaras 2016, p. 115.

35 Pohl 1988, p. 62. Kardaras 2010a, pp. 40-41.

36 Pohl 1988, p. 64. Kardaras 2010a, p. 53.

37 Pohl 1988, pp. 73-75. Kardaras 2010a, pp. 66-69.

alliance with the Antes at the beginning of his reign, and the *Anticus*' title in 585 is related both to the Antes' attack on the Sklaveni (see above), but also to the Avar offensiveness at that time. In the summer of 584, the Avars attacked and captured the cities of Singidunum, Viminacium (Kostolac) and Augustae (Ogost) in the estuaries of the Morava river and continued their march to the outskirts of Anchialos<sup>38</sup>, while in 585, following the road along the Danube, they invaded the north-western Balkans and occupied, among others, Tropeum and Zaldapa in Scythia Minor<sup>39</sup>. The Avars entered this province again in 586<sup>40</sup> and 598<sup>41</sup>. Because of the Avar and Slavic attacks on the border towns of the Danube, it is obvious that the Byzantines had to keep sufficient troops there. Particularly after the fall of Sirmium to the Avars in 582, the Antes appeared to have become of great importance to the Byzantines, who tried to exploit the alliance with them. Also, the prevalence of the Antes over the Sklaveni in 584 shows that their power remained reckonable. With this in mind, the use of the title *Anticus* by Justinian's successors suggests the continuation of the "political program" that the latter initiated in order to defend the Scythian *limes*<sup>42</sup>.

Did the Avar attack in 602 bring about the end of the Antic hegemony and the role it had in the Byzantine foreign policy? A crucial issue for the answer is the significance of *Anticus* in the entitlement of Emperor Heraclius in 612<sup>43</sup>, as rightly addressed by G. Litavrin and V. Sedov. The

38 Theophylacti Simocattae, *Historiae*, I, 3.13-4.4, pp. 46-47. Pohl 1988, pp. 77-78. Curta 2001, p. 96. Kardaras 2010a, p. 71.

39 Theophylacti Simocattae, *Historiae*, I, 8. 10, pp. 54-55. Pohl 1988, p. 85. Kardaras 2010a, p. 74.

40 Theophylacti Simocattae, *Historiae*, II, 10. 9-13, pp. 90-91. Pohl 1988, pp. 85-86. Kardaras 2010a, pp. 74-75.

41 Theophylacti Simocattae, *Historiae*, VII, 13. 1-7, pp. 267-268. Pohl 1988, p. 152. Kardaras 2010a, p. 89.

42 See Kardaras 2016, pp. 112-113.

43 *Novellae Constitutiones* 22 (nov. XXII. Imp. Heraclii, de numero clericorum magnae ecclesiae), pp. 33-34, (01/05/612): "Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ δεσπότητος ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ καῖσαρ φλάβιος ἡράκλειος πιστὸς ἐν χριστῷ ἡμερώτατος μέγιστος εὐεργέτης εἰρηνικὸς ἀλαμαννικὸς γοθτικὸς φραγγικὸς γερμανικὸς ἀντικὸς ἀλανικὸς οὐανδαλικὸς ἀφρικανὸς ἐρουλικὸς γηπεδικὸς

two Russian scholars accept that the alliance between Byzantium and the Antes in 545/46 was preserved until 612, as the title *Anticus* continued to be in use<sup>44</sup>. The survival of the title until the era of Heraclius seems to contradict the view that the Avar assault on the western Antes in 602 led to the dissolution of their hegemony.

In November 602, Maurice ordered operations and that the army should remain in the area of the Slavs north of the Lower Danube, resulting in the army's rebelling and the rise of Phocas to the Byzantine throne<sup>45</sup>. Several researchers in the past considered the overthrow of Maurice as a benchmark for the immediate collapse of the *limes* in the Lower Danube. However, this "traditional" position has now been revised and the prevailing view is that the collapse of the Byzantine border was gradual. As for the Scythian *limes*, its decline dates back to c. 614/15, while the coastal cities of Scythia Minor survived longer<sup>46</sup>. The weakness of Byzantium to allocate sufficient forces to the Danubian *limes* not only after 602 but also during Maurice's 10-year campaigns in the Balkans (592-602) could lead to the hypothesis that Byzantium still had under its influence and trusted the Antes with the defense of the northern part of the Scythian *limes*.

The last mention of the title *Anticus* at the beginning of Heraclius' reign is probably connected with the collapse of the Scythian *limes* (the last section of the entire *limes* of the Lower Danube) and the dissolution of the hegemony of the western Antes, centered likely around the ancient

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εὐσεβῆς εὐτυχῆς ἔνδοξος νικητῆς τροπαιοῦχος ἀεισέβαστος αὐγουστος". Rösch 1978, p. 170. Ivanov 1991, p. 262. Kardaras 2010b, p. 84. Idem, 2016, p. 170. On the changes to the imperial title in the era of Heraclius (likely in 629), see Shahîd, I., (1980-1981), "Heraclius πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεύς", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34-35, pp. 225-237.

44 Litavrin, G. G., (1999), "O pochode Avarov v 602 g. protiv Antov", in: G. G. Litavrin, *Vizantiia i Slaviane*, St. Petersburg: Aletejja, 1999, pp. 568-578, at p. 577. Sedov, V. V., (1999), *Drevnorusskaia narodnost': Istoriko-arkheologicheskoe issledovanie*, Moskva: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Nauk, p. 37, who considers as federates of Byzantium the Antes of the Middle Dniester and not those of the Lower Danube. Szmoniewski 2010, pp. 60, 66-67. Kardaras 2016, p. 114.

45 Pohl 1988, pp. 161-162. Kardaras 2010a, pp. 99-100.

46 See Kardaras 2010a, pp. 105-111.

city of Turris. However, the same cannot be said for the Eastern Antes, as the Penkovka culture continued to survive for about a century. Because of the apparent nomadic influences on Penkovka, various assumptions have been made, such as that the Antes continued to live under the rule of the so-called “Great Bulgaria”<sup>47</sup> or the Khazar khaganate<sup>48</sup>. In any case, the downfall of the Scythian *limes*, which coincides in time with the elimination of the title *Anticus*, brought the end of Justinian’s strategic plan regarding the protection of the northeastern Danubian frontier, a plan that led the emperor to conclude the alliance with the Antes in 545/46<sup>49</sup>.

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47 Prikhodniuk 2001, pp. 59-60.

48 Vernadsky 1939, p. 66. Werner 1980, p. 582.

49 See Kardaras 2010b, pp. 84-85. Idem, 2016, pp. 114-116.

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