

lands and the impoverishment of households as reflected in the *praktika* of Mt. Athos. Byz. FARMS were small units managed by families using primitive techniques. Only from early 15th-C. Thessalonike is there evidence about large-scale husbandry aimed at the improvement of soil (in part by irrigation), subleasing to smaller tenants, and increasing income; this intensive exploitation of land met resistance from monastic landowners.

Apparently in the late Roman Empire there was more land than there were people to till it, and an important function of legislation was to persuade farmers to stay on their allotments. This situation had changed by the 10th C., and legislation tended to prevent (rich) neighbors from acquiring neighboring properties. Although reduced in extent from the 7th C., the empire still possessed territories that could provide enough grain and other victuals to feed its capital (and indeed allow it to grow in the 10th C.), to supply armies in the field that could counter Arab attacks and eventually reclaim lost lands, and to support a general increase in the population in the 9th and 10th C. There is little evidence on the clearing of forest land, but the will of Eustathios BOILAS suggests that some individuals tried to open up new lands, and Psellos (like some other landowners) expressed interest in expanding and improving his estates.

Around the 10th C. the most fertile regions of the empire, besides Thrace and southern Italy, were located in Asia Minor, esp. on the seacoast, while the main centers of cattle breeding were in Bulgaria, Thessaly, and the interior of Asia Minor. By the 12th C., while Balkan cities flourished, the rural character of Asia Minor grew more and more evident; under the Nicaean emperors in the 13th C. the west coast of Asia Minor produced abundant grain for export and became famous for its domestic fowl "industry." Asia Minor was soon lost, however, to the Ottomans, and the northern Balkans were either conquered or suffered from invasions. The Peloponnesos, on the other hand, maintained a prosperous agriculture to the end of Byz.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, *DMA* 1:76-79. G. Weiss, "Antike und Byzanz," *HistZ* 224 (1977) 559. C.E. Stevens, *CEH* 1:92-124. J. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire 330-1025," *DOP* 13 (1959) 87-139. J. Nesbitt, "Mechanisms of Agricultural Production on Estates of the Byzantine Praktika" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wis., 1972). M. Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade

1973). J. Henning, "Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft in Südosteuropa im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter," *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 25 (1984) 123-30. -J.W.N., A.K.

AHIKAR (Ἀχιάρης), grand vizier of the Babylonian king Sennacherib (or Asarhaddon, in Aramaic). He was the hero of an oriental saga known in an Aramaic version of the 5th C. B.C. and alluded to in the Book of Tobit, an apocryphal book of the Old Testament; some ancient Greek authors (e.g., AESOP, in his fables) were familiar with the saga, as was the QUR'ĀN. The legend made Ahikar a victim of the slander of his adopted son Nadan; Ahikar miraculously escaped execution, however, and eventually emerged to save his king when the Egyptians imposed on the king the impossible task of building a castle in the air. Numerous GNOMAI and fables were added to the legend. The legend of Ahikar is preserved in Old Slavonic, beginning with a Glagolitic MS of 1468. A. Veselovskij (*Skazki tysjači odnoj noči* 2 [St. Petersburg 1890] xvi-xviii) and V. Jagić (*BZ* 1 [1892] 108-11) hypothesized that the Slavonic text was based on a Byz. version, but Grigor'ev (*infra*) suggested that it drew upon an Armenian original.

ED. F.C. Conybeare, J.R. Harris, A.S. Lewis, *The Story of Ahikar*² (Cambridge 1913) with Eng. tr.

LIT. A.D. Grigor'ev, *Povest' ob Ahikare premudrom kak chudozhestvennoe proizvedenie* (Moscow 1913). I.C. Chijimija, "L' 'Histoire du sage Ahikar' dans les littératures slaves," *Romanoslavica* 9 (1963) 413-26. -J.I., A.K.

AIGINA (Αἴγινα), name of both an island in the Saronic Gulf southwest of ATHENS and of its principal city; it was located in the province of ACHAIA and eventually in the theme of HELLAS. Archaeological evidence shows that the ancient city site on the west coast was inhabited throughout the Byz. period, while the CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA (ed. Dujčev 12.94-95) says that Aigina served as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of CORINTH during the Slavic invasions. In the 9th C. Aigina suffered from Arab raids; probably at this time a new settlement was established at Palaiachora on a hill in the interior. In the 12th C. the island was used by pirates as a base for attacks on the surrounding coastlines (Mich.Akom. 43.17-18). Although originally granted to the Venetians after

1204, Aigina was ruled by the dukes of Athens until it fell under Catalan control in 1317. From 1425 it was Venetian.

The bishop of Aigina was originally a suffragan of Corinth. He was elevated to archbishop by 900, and briefly after 1371 was subject to Athens.

The hill of Colonna north of the modern town was fortified, perhaps as early as the 3rd C. but more probably later, and a large cistern was cut in the ancient temple. Several Early Christian basilicas have been found in the ancient city, one of them built up against the fortress wall; and a synagogue with inscribed mosaic (giving the cost of its decoration) was transformed into a church after the 7th C. East of the city is the Omorphe Ekklesia, a church dedicated to the Sts. Theodore (G.A. Soteriou, *EEBS* 2 [1925] 242-76), built in 1282 (M.Ch. Gketakos, *Anekdotoi epigraphai kai charagmata ek byzantinon kai metabyzantinon mne-meion tes Hellados* [Athens 1957] 67-69), or 1284 (M. Chatzedakis, *ArchDelt* 21.2.1 [1966] 20, n.16). Its frescoes are rather primitive in style and contain some unusual iconography, such as the Virgin nursing Christ in the Nativity scene. Of the 35 churches at Palaiachora, 10 date before 1450.

LIT. N. Moutsopoulos, *RBK* 1:54-61. Idem, *He Paleachora tes Aigines* (Athens 1962). F. Felten, *Alt-Ägina, Die christliche Siedlung* (Mainz 1975). -T.E.G.

AILIOS HERODIANOS. See HERODIAN.

AIMILIANOS (Αἰμιλιανός), patriarch of Antioch (from before 1074 to 1078). Aimilianos was patriarch long before 1074 when Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 203.2-4) first mentions him as the moving spirit of the city's anti-imperial opposition. Because of Aimilianos's great popularity, MICHAEL VII DOUKAS had him escorted secretly from Antioch to Constantinople in 1074. NIKEPHORITZES, during his tenure as governor, had first suggested the removal, since he, too, had been opposed by the patriarch. The new governor of Antioch, Isaac Komnenos, orchestrated the execution of this difficult assignment. Even in Constantinople, however, Aimilianos did not resign his see or abandon his political activity. According to Bryennios, he was a "cunning and energetic" individual who eventually incited the people (*de-mos*) to rebellion (245.3-4). In effect, he became

the ringleader of the anti-imperial faction of churchmen and senators responsible for proclaiming NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES emperor (25 March 1078).

LIT. Grumel, "Patriarcat" 144f. Papadopoulos, *Antioch*. 865-67. Polemis, "Chronology" 68-71. -A.P.

INEIAS OF GAZA, teacher of rhetoric; fl. 5th or 6th C. After studying NEOPLATONISM under HIEROKLES at Alexandria and visiting Constantinople, Aineias (Αἰνεῖας) returned home to practice as a Christian sophist. His major work is the *Theophrastus*, a dialogue in which the Aristotelian philosopher of that name is defeated in arguments concerning immortality of the soul and the resurrection. Twenty-five letters also survive.

ED. Teofrasto, ed. M.E. Colonna (Naples 1958), with It. tr. *Epistole*², ed. L. Massa Positano (Naples 1962).

LIT. M. Wacht, *Aeneas von Gaza als Apologet: Seine Kosmologie im Verhältnis zum Platonismus* (Bonn 1969). -B.B.

AINOS (Αἶνος, mod. Enez), city in Thrace on the east bank of the HEBROS River near its mouth. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.11.1-5) reports that Justinian I transformed its low city wall into an impregnable fortification, and the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 634.5) lists it as capital of the province of RHODOPE. Nothing is known about the city from the 7th to 11th C., but it did function as an ecclesiastical center: first as an autonomous archbishopric, and by 1032 a metropolis (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:614f). It reappears in historical narratives in 1090 when Alexios I established his headquarters there during his war against the Pechenegs (An.Komn. 2:135.27-29). Thereafter its role increased: in the 12th C. it was a market where monks of the Kosmosoteira monastery bought olive oil directly from boats (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 50.1-4). A 15th-C. historian (Kritob. 193.6-11) characterizes Ainos as a large *polis* thriving on trade with the neighboring islands of Imbros and Lemnos (the description is partly borrowed from Herodotus). Strongly fortified, it withstood the attack of the Bulgarians and Tatars in 1265 and that of the Catalan Grand Company in 1307. According to Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 520f), ca. 1384 the people of Ainos invited a member of the family of Francesco GATTILUSIO to be their ruler, and it remained an important Genoese possession until it fell to the Turks in 1456; in

1460 Mehmed II granted Ainos to Demetrios Palaiologos, the deposed *despotes* of the Morea, but in 1468 it returned to Ottoman control.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodos* 120–24. Miller, *Essays* 298, 318, 334, 338f. —T.E.G.

AITOLIA (Αἰτωλία), a mountainous region in the western part of central Greece, between the Ambracian Gulf and the Gulf of Corinth; west of Aitolia lay Akarnania, a part of which occupied the fertile valley of the Acheloos River; the Akarnanian coast faced the islands of the Ionian Sea—Leukas, Ithaka, and Kephallenia. The region was a part of the theme of NIKOPOLIS, then of the despotate of EPIROS. The ancient names of Aitolia and Akarnania were still used in the 6th C., and Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.2.1) even speaks of Aitolians and Akarnanians; the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 648.4) mentions Aigion as the metropolis of Aitolia. The names then disappeared from Byz. nomenclature, but were revived by historians of the 14th–15th C. (Kantakouzenos, Gregoras, Laonikos Chalkokondyles), who often used them side by side with Epiros and sometimes as synonyms for the latter (*TIB* 3:39). The name Aitolia had been revived even earlier in ecclesiastical lists, and NAUPAKTOS was called “of Nikopolis” or “of Aitolia” (*Notitiae CP* 10.531). In the acts of the local council of 1367 the metropolitan of Naupaktos is titled “*hypertimos* and exarch of all Aitolia” and the bishopric of Arta defined as “in Akarnania” (MM 1:494.6, 13). —A.K.

AKAKIA (ἀκακία, lit. “guilelessness,” also ἀνεγκία, “forbearance”), a cylindrical pouch of purple silk containing a handful of dust that the emperor carried in his right hand on ceremonial occasions; in his left he held a scepter, an orb, or a cross ornamented with precious stones (*De cer.* 25.20–22). In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 201.13–16) the order of the hands is reversed. Two late Byz. writers (pseudo-Kod. 201.12–202.3; Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:356AB) both emphasized that the *akakia* symbolized the instability of temporal power and the humility of its mortal bearer. According to Hārūn ibn Yahya’s description of the emperor’s procession to Hagia Sophia on Ash Wednesday, the ruler went on foot carrying a golden box with a

bit of earth in it; at every two paces his “minister” exclaimed, “Be mindful of death!” and the emperor paused, opened the box, looked at the dust, and wept (A. Vasiliev, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 159).

A representation of the *akakia* can be seen on the mosaic of Emp. ALEXANDER in the gallery of Hagia Sophia (P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 191, 195f and n.30, fig. 1).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 148. DOC 2.1:86f; 3.1:133f. N.P. Kondakov, “Mifičeskaja suma s zemnoj tjažoj,” *Spisanie na Bŭlgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Klon istoriko-filologičeski* 22.12 (1921) 53–66. —A.K.

AKAKIAN SCHISM, a temporary rift (484–519) between the church of Constantinople and the papacy, so named after the patriarch AKAKIOS. By the end of the 5th C. the bishop of the imperial capital faced resistance from East and West: on the one hand, the popes emphasized their primacy among the five archbishops as confirmed by canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and thus Pope Simplicius (468–83) entrusted Akakios with *legatio pro nobis* (PL 58:41C), treating him as the pope’s legate; on the other hand, the Eastern archbishops, irritated by the administrative decisions of Chalcedon (e.g., confirming for Constantinople the second place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy), tried in 477 to return to Ephesus the privilege of exarchate, to the detriment of the capital. The situation was aggravated by the theological split between Rome and the sees of Antioch and Alexandria that clung to Monophysitism, whereas Akakios wavered between the two creeds and kept shifting his allegiances.

In 482 Emp. Zeno and Akakios signed the HENOTIKON, a compromise with the Monophysite PETER MONGOS, but it was rejected by Kalandion of Antioch (479–84) and by Monophysite monks in Egypt. The new pope, FELIX III, sent envoys to Constantinople who regarded the compromise favorably. The AKOIMETOI monks, the anti-Monophysite activists in Constantinople, accused the papal legates of succumbing to bribery and betraying the Roman interests; in July 484 Felix convoked a synod of bishops in Rome, abrogated the legates’ decision, condemned Mongos, and deposed Akakios. The papal letter enumerating the “sins” of Akakios was delivered to the patriarch by an Akoimetos monk who paid with his life for this courageous action.

As a result of the schism the name of Felix was

removed from Constantinopolitan diptychs. Then Akakios moved against Kalandion, who was suspected of supporting the revolt of LEONTIOS and ILLOS—he was deposed and replaced by PETER THE FULLER; thereafter Martyrios of Jerusalem (478–86) signed the *Henotikon*.

Rome remained intransigent, however, and the pope had solid partisans in Constantinople; nor did the *Henotikon* find uncompromising adherents in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. The revolt of VITALIAN was carried out under the banner of the Chalcedonians. Patriarchs Makedonios (496–511) and Timothy I (511–18) tried to curb the Monophysite movement, but they refused to denounce the *Henotikon* and to remove Akakios from the diptychs lest they thereby acknowledge the victory of Rome. Reconciliation was difficult since Emp. Anastasios I expressed obvious pro-Monophysite sympathies; he even found Makedonios insufficiently anti-Chalcedonian and deposed him. Only the predominance of the Orthodox party under Justin I and the search for an alliance with Rome brought an end to the Akakian schism: on 28 Mar. 519 Justin abrogated the *Henotikon* and ended the break with Rome; the names of Akakios and Zeno were removed from the diptychs.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, *Town and Country* (London 1980), pt.XI (1975), 69–81. E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma* [ABAW, philos.-hist. Abt., n.s. 10] (Munich 1934). P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire*² (Thessalonike 1974). W.T. Townsend, “The Henoticon Schism and the Roman Church,” *The Journal of Religion* 16 (1936) 78–86. —A.K., T.E.G.

AKAKIOS (Ἀκάκιος), bishop of Berroia, Syria (from 378); born ca.322, died ca.433. Akakios became a monk at an early age, gaining a reputation for asceticism, kindness, and piety. He participated in the Council of Constantinople (381) and the Synod of the Oak (403). Because of his advanced age, he could not attend the Council of Ephesus (431) but played a mediating role behind the scenes. Contemporaries considered his only fault to be an implacable hostility toward JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, a former friend with whom he had broken over a supposed insult. His follower Balaeus extolled his virtues in five Syriac hymns. A few of his many letters survive, including one to Cyril of Alexandria in support of NESTORIOS; they show him to be a man of personal and theological compromise.

ED. PG 77:99–102. PG 84:647f, 658–60. ACO, tome I, vol. i, pt.1:99f.

SOURCE. Germ. tr. of Balaeus’s hymns —P.S. Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter Cyrillonas, Baläus, Isaak von Antiochien und Jakob von Sarug* (Kempten-Munich 1913) 71–89.

LIT. G. Bardy, “Acace de Bérée et son rôle dans la controverse nestorienne,” *RSR* 18 (1938) 20–44. —B.B.

AKAKIOS (Ἀκάκιος), patriarch of Constantinople (Mar. 472–26 or 28 Nov. 489). Before his election Akakios was director of the orphanage in Constantinople. The first crisis he faced after ascending the patriarchal throne was the usurpation of BASILISKOS; after some hesitation, the patriarch joined the Orthodox party that was led by DANIEL THE STYLITE and supported by the majority of the population of the capital. At first Akakios followed a traditional ecclesiastical policy, seeking an alliance with Rome against Alexandria, and accordingly deposed the Monophysite Alexandrian patriarch PETER MONGOS. Then he realized that the unity of the eastern provinces was the crucial task and attempted to find a compromise with the Monophysites: Peter Mongos was reestablished in Alexandria, and Akakios composed the HENOTIKON on behalf of Zeno (482). This about-face caused anxiety in Rome and eventually led to the AKAKIAN SCHISM (484–519); even though Akakios managed to attract the support of two legates of Pope FELIX III, a Roman synod condemned the patriarch in 484. Felix III’s epistle of 28 July 484 first charged Akakios with usurping the rights of other provinces and criticized the growing role of Constantinople within the Eastern church; then the pope accused Akakios because of his reconciliation with the Monophysites, and esp. Peter Mongos. The policy of Akakios was no more successful in pacifying the Eastern church: the orthodox opposition was directed by the AKOIMETOI in Constantinople and found supporters in Alexandria and Antioch.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 148–72. E. Marin, *DTC* 1 (1935) 288–90. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4 (Berlin 1960) 144–46. —A.K.

AKAPNIOU MONASTERY, located in Thessalonike, perhaps on the acropolis. The date of its foundation is uncertain. V. Grumel (*EO* 30 [1931] 91–95) suggested that Akapniou (Ἀκαπνίου, “without smoke”) was established by St. Photios

of Thessaly in the early 11th C. on the evidence of a hymn by Demetrios Beaskos (end of 13th C.) that names a St. Photios as the *ktetor*. The relationship of the monastery to the 11th-C. Akapnes family of civil functionaries (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 107, 159, 202) cannot be determined. Sometime in the 11th or 12th C., an early *hegoumenos* of the monastery, Ignatios, wrote a treatise on the mosaic of Christ at the Latomos monastery (V. Grumel, *EO* 29 [1930] 165–67).

During the Latin occupation of the 13th C. Pope Innocent III placed Akapniou under the protection of the Holy See. In the 14th C. it was involved in a number of disputes over properties located in Macedonia and in Thessalonike proper. IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK visited the monastery in 1405. After the Turkish conquest of Thessalonike in 1430 Akapniou lost most of its property (N. Oikonomides, *StidostF* 35 [1976] 4).

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 347–49.

–A.M.T.

AKATHISTOS HYMN (Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος), an anonymous KONTAKION sung in honor of the Theotokos while the congregation stands (i.e., *akathistos*, “not seated”; a recollection of the all-night vigil during which, according to tradition, the Akathistos Hymn was first sung in thanksgiving for the lifting of the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626). Despite the liturgical developments of the 8th C., when performance of *kontakia* in their entirety was abandoned, the Akathistos Hymn continued in use, at first at the Feast of the ANNUNCIATION (25 March) and subsequently during LENT. The Akathistos Hymn consists of a *prooimion* (three of which, probably, exist) and 24 OIKOI, or stanzas, linked by an alphabetic ACROSTIC. The *oikoi* follow two alternating structures, one shorter with the refrain “Allelouia,” the other longer and with a set of 12 *Chairetismoi* (Salutations) to the Theotokos, ending in the refrain “Hail, wedded maiden and virgin.” The first 12 *oikoi* give the biblical narrative on the Incarnation; the remaining 12 meditate upon its mysteries. The whole coalesces to create a subtly interwoven net of images that is one of the high points of Byz. poetry. The author and date of composition remain uncertain. One *prooimion*, “To the defender and commander,” and hence the entire Akathistos Hymn, is attributed in the *synaxaria* to Patr. SERGIOS I in 626 and in the Latin translation (8th or

9th C.) to Patr. GERMANOS I in 717/18; metrical patterns and theological considerations, however, point rather to a date in the early 6th C. Despite the temptation to ascribe this masterpiece to another craftsman working in the same genre at approximately the same time, ROMANOS THE MELODE probably did not write the Akathistos Hymn. The hymn survives in a rich MS tradition.

Four illustrated copies of the Akathistos Hymn are preserved. Two are Greek: in Moscow (Hist. Mus., gr. 429), probably a product of the HODEGON monastery from the third quarter of the 14th C., and in Madrid (Escorial R.I. 19), whose late 14th- or early 15th-C. decoration shows Western influence. Two are in 14th-C. Slavonic Psalters: the Tomić Psalter in Moscow (Hist. Mus. M.2752) and the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Bayer. Staatsbibl., slav.4). The cycle is found somewhat earlier in monumental painting, but may be Palaiologan in origin. Illustrations of the first 12 *oikoi* rely on traditional iconography of the life of the Virgin and consequently are relatively standardized. The next 12 required greater imagination on the part of artists, and results varied.

ED. C.A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienne 1968) 17–39. E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn* (Copenhagen 1957). Lat. version—M. Huglo, “L’ancienne version latine de l’Hymne Acathiste,” *Muséon* 64 (1951) 27–61.

LIT. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 483–509. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode* (Paris 1977) 32–36. Szövérfy, *Hymnography* 1:116–35. T. Velmans, “Une illustration inédite de l’Acathiste et l’iconographie des hymnes liturgiques à Byzance,” *CahArch* 22 (1972) 131–65. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “L’illustration de la première partie de l’Hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l’Enfance de la Kariye Djami,” *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 648–702. E. Wellesz, “The ‘Akathistos’: A Study in Byzantine Hymnography,” *DOP* 9–10 (1956) 141–74. A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1989). –E.M.J., R.S.N.

AKEDIA (ἀκηδία), accidie, sloth or torpor, term for a state of listlessness found in monks. It was recognized as a special problem for HERMITS who lacked the encouragement of brethren in a cenobitic community. Neilos of Ankyra defined it as the “weakness of a soul unable to withstand temptation” (PG 79:1157C). *Akedia* was thought to be the result of indulgence in vices such as laziness, loquaciousness, and absorption in the emotions but was sometimes attributed to preternatural causes, a demon that was active at the noon hour. The demon made monks restless, excitable, and

negligent with regard to prayer and reading. *Akedia* could be overcome through assiduous attention to prayer and study of the Scriptures, patience, avoidance of idle talk, and manual labor (PG 79:1456D–1460B). Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1724C) prescribed 40 days repentance as punishment for this vice, including three weeks without wine or oil and 250 penitent prostrations (*metanoiai*) daily, for if uncorrected the sin could lead to the depths of hell.

SOURCE. Jean Cassien, *Institutions cénobitiques*, ed. J.-C. Guy (Paris 1965) 382–425.

LIT. A. & C. Guillaumont in *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique ou le moine* (Paris 1971) 1:84–90, 2:520–26. H. Waddell, *The Desert Fathers* (London 1946) 157–60.

–A.M.T.

AKEPHALOI. See PETER MONGOS.

AKHMĪM (Panopolis, Πανὼν πόλις), metropolis of the Panopolite nome of Upper Egypt, a bishopric from the early 4th C. A church is mentioned in a text of 295–300 A.D. (P. Gen. inv. 108), but no early examples have survived. They may have been destroyed in the 14th C., since al-Nahrawālī (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3 [Leipzig 1857; rp. Beirut 1964] 109) indicates that many marble columns from Akhmīm were reused in the Ka’ba at Mecca. Akhmīm has been famous since the 5th C. for its TEXTILES, many of which were found in early Christian (5th–7th C.) tombs nearby. Other tombs have yielded small articles of daily use. Papyri attest to a flourishing classical literary culture in the 4th–5th C.

LIT. Timm, *Ägypten* 1:80–96. R. Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis* (Strassburg 1893). S. McNally, “Excavations at Akhmim, Egypt 1978,” *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter* 107 (1978–79) 22–28.

–P.G.

AKHNĀS, or Akhnāsiya (Ἡρακλεόπολις, Heracleopolis Magna), south of Fayyūm, approximately 15 miles west of Beni Suef, metropolis of the Heracleopolite nome of Egypt, site of a bishopric from 325. From Akhnās have come a number of 4th- to 5th-C. architectural sculptures, such as niche-heads, capitals, friezes, etc., which once adorned mausoleums in the cemetery; many of these are decorated with mythological scenes. The site is now deserted, a vast field of pottery hills

surrounded by several modern villages. Traces of a colonnaded street are visible. Spots where huge columns abound are currently referred to as *kanīsa* (“church”) but are more probably the remains of other public buildings.

LIT. U. Monneret de Villard, *La scultura ad Ahnās* (Milan 1923). H.-G. Severin, “Gli scavi eseguiti ad Ahnās, Bahnasa, Bawit e Saqqara,” *CorsiRav* 28 (1981) 299–303. Timm, *Ägypten* 3:1161–72.

–P.G.

AKINDYNOS, GREGORY, anti-Palamite theologian; born Prilep ca. 1300?, died 1348. His baptismal name and original surname are unknown: Gregory was a monastic, Akindynos (Ἀκίνδυνος) an adopted name. Of humble, most probably Bulgarian, ancestry, Akindynos studied in Thessalonike with THOMAS MAGISTROS and subsequently became a schoolteacher in Berroia. There ca. 1330 he met Gregory PALAMAS and became a monk; he was, however, rejected by four Athonite monasteries, perhaps because of his reputation for secular learning. Akindynos returned to Thessalonike, where he became friendly with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA.

By 1337 Akindynos was in Constantinople and involved in the controversy over PALAMISM; in its early stages he played a mediating role between Barlaam and Palamas. By 1341, however, he began to question the orthodoxy of Palamite doctrine on divine grace, and threw his support to Barlaam. He was apparently condemned at the July session of the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Akindynos was a protégé of Irene CHOUMNAINA and the spokesman of Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, who ordained him deacon and priest (1344). With the erosion of the authority of Kalekas and the victory of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, Akindynos fell into disgrace; he was excommunicated at the council of 1347 and died in exile soon after.

His correspondence provides important insights into the hesychast controversy from an anti-Palamite viewpoint; many of his theological treatises, including the *Antirrhetics* against Palamas, are still unpublished. Unlike later anti-Palamites, Akindynos was neither a Latin sympathizer nor influenced by Greek philosophy, as his opponents claimed. In his works he did not inveigh against the spirituality of the monks but against the Palamite doctrine of the divine energies, thus ex-

lands and the impoverishment of households as reflected in the *praktika* of Mt. Athos. Byz. FARMS were small units managed by families using primitive techniques. Only from early 15th-C. Thessalonike is there evidence about large-scale husbandry aimed at the improvement of soil (in part by irrigation), subleasing to smaller tenants, and increasing income; this intensive exploitation of land met resistance from monastic landowners.

Apparently in the late Roman Empire there was more land than there were people to till it, and an important function of legislation was to persuade farmers to stay on their allotments. This situation had changed by the 10th C., and legislation tended to prevent (rich) neighbors from acquiring neighboring properties. Although reduced in extent from the 7th C., the empire still possessed territories that could provide enough grain and other victuals to feed its capital (and indeed allow it to grow in the 10th C.), to supply armies in the field that could counter Arab attacks and eventually reclaim lost lands, and to support a general increase in the population in the 9th and 10th C. There is little evidence on the clearing of forest land, but the will of Eustathios BOILAS suggests that some individuals tried to open up new lands, and Psellos (like some other landowners) expressed interest in expanding and improving his estates.

Around the 10th C. the most fertile regions of the empire, besides Thrace and southern Italy, were located in Asia Minor, esp. on the seacoast, while the main centers of cattle breeding were in Bulgaria, Thessaly, and the interior of Asia Minor. By the 12th C., while Balkan cities flourished, the rural character of Asia Minor grew more and more evident; under the Nicaean emperors in the 13th C. the west coast of Asia Minor produced abundant grain for export and became famous for its domestic fowl "industry." Asia Minor was soon lost, however, to the Ottomans, and the northern Balkans were either conquered or suffered from invasions. The Peloponnesos, on the other hand, maintained a prosperous agriculture to the end of Byz.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, *DMA* 1:76–79. G. Weiss, "Antike und Byzanz," *HistZ* 224 (1977) 559. C.E. Stevens, *CEH* 1:92–124. J. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire 330–1025," *DOP* 13 (1959) 87–139. J. Nesbitt, "Mechanisms of Agricultural Production on Estates of the Byzantine Praktika" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wis., 1972). M. Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade

1973). J. Henning, "Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft in Südosteuropa im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter," *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 25 (1984) 123–30. —J.W.N., A.K.

AHIKAR (Ἀχιάρης), grand vizier of the Babylonian king Sennacherib (or Asarhaddon, in Aramaic). He was the hero of an oriental saga known in an Aramaic version of the 5th C. B.C. and alluded to in the Book of Tobit, an apocryphal book of the Old Testament; some ancient Greek authors (e.g., AESOP, in his fables) were familiar with the saga, as was the QUR'AN. The legend made Ahikar a victim of the slander of his adopted son Nadan; Ahikar miraculously escaped execution, however, and eventually emerged to save his king when the Egyptians imposed on the king the impossible task of building a castle in the air. Numerous GNOMAI and fables were added to the legend. The legend of Ahikar is preserved in Old Slavonic, beginning with a Glagolitic MS of 1468. A. Veselovskij (*Skazki tysjači odnoj noči* 2 [St. Petersburg 1890] xvi–xviii) and V. Jagić (*BZ* 1 [1892] 108–11) hypothesized that the Slavonic text was based on a Byz. version, but Grigor'ev (*infra*) suggested that it drew upon an Armenian original.

ED. F.C. Conybeare, J.R. Harris, A.S. Lewis, *The Story of Ahikar*² (Cambridge 1913) with Eng. tr.

LIT. A.D. Grigor'ev, *Povest' ob Ahikare premudrom kak chudozhestvennoe proizvedenie* (Moscow 1913). I.C. Chițimia, "L' 'Histoire du sage Ahikar' dans les littératures slaves," *Romanoslavica* 9 (1963) 413–26. —J.I., A.K.

AIGINA (Αἴγινα), name of both an island in the Saronic Gulf southwest of ATHENS and of its principal city; it was located in the province of ACHAIA and eventually in the theme of HELLAS. Archaeological evidence shows that the ancient city site on the west coast was inhabited throughout the Byz. period, while the CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA (ed. Dujčev 12.94–95) says that Aigina served as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of CORINTH during the Slavic invasions. In the 9th C. Aigina suffered from Arab raids; probably at this time a new settlement was established at Palaiachora on a hill in the interior. In the 12th C. the island was used by pirates as a base for attacks on the surrounding coastlines (Mich.Akom. 43.17–18). Although originally granted to the Venetians after

1204, Aigina was ruled by the dukes of Athens until it fell under Catalan control in 1317. From 1425 it was Venetian.

The bishop of Aigina was originally a suffragan of Corinth. He was elevated to archbishop by 900, and briefly after 1371 was subject to Athens.

The hill of Colonna north of the modern town was fortified, perhaps as early as the 3rd C. but more probably later, and a large cistern was cut in the ancient temple. Several Early Christian basilicas have been found in the ancient city, one of them built up against the fortress wall; and a synagogue with inscribed mosaic (giving the cost of its decoration) was transformed into a church after the 7th C. East of the city is the Omorphe Ekklesia, a church dedicated to the Sts. Theodore (G.A. Soteriou, *EEBS* 2 [1925] 242–76), built in 1282 (M.Ch. Gketakos, *Anekdotoi epigraphai kai charagmata ek byzantinon kai metabyzantinon mne-meion tes Hellados* [Athens 1957] 67–69), or 1284 (M. Chatzedakis, *ArchDelt* 21.2.1 [1966] 20, n.16). Its frescoes are rather primitive in style and contain some unusual iconography, such as the Virgin nursing Christ in the Nativity scene. Of the 35 churches at Palaiachora, 10 date before 1450.

LIT. N. Moutsopoulos, *RBK* 1:54–61. Idem, *He Paleachora tes Aigines* (Athens 1962). F. Felten, *Alt-Ägina, Die christliche Siedlung* (Mainz 1975). —T.E.G.

AILIOS HERODIANOS. See HERODIAN.

AIMILIANOS (Αἰμιλιανός), patriarch of Antioch (from before 1074 to 1078). Aimilianos was patriarch long before 1074 when Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 203.2–4) first mentions him as the moving spirit of the city's anti-imperial opposition. Because of Aimilianos's great popularity, MICHAEL VII DOUKAS had him escorted secretly from Antioch to Constantinople in 1074. NIKEPHORITZES, during his tenure as governor, had first suggested the removal, since he, too, had been opposed by the patriarch. The new governor of Antioch, Isaac Komnenos, orchestrated the execution of this difficult assignment. Even in Constantinople, however, Aimilianos did not resign his see or abandon his political activity. According to Bryennios, he was a "cunning and energetic" individual who eventually incited the people (*demmos*) to rebellion (245.3–4). In effect, he became

the ringleader of the anti-imperial faction of churchmen and senators responsible for proclaiming NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES emperor (25 March 1078).

LIT. Grumel, "Patriarcat" 144f. Papadopoulos, *Antioch*. 865–67. Polemis, "Chronology" 68–71. —A.P.

AINEIAS OF GAZA, teacher of rhetoric; fl. 5th or 6th C. After studying NEOPLATONISM under HIEROKLES at Alexandria and visiting Constantinople, Aineias (Αἰνεῖας) returned home to practice as a Christian sophist. His major work is the *Theophrastus*, a dialogue in which the Aristotelian philosopher of that name is defeated in arguments concerning immortality of the soul and the resurrection. Twenty-five letters also survive.

ED. Teofrasto, ed. M.E. Colonna (Naples 1958), with It. tr. *Epistole*², ed. L. Massa Positano (Naples 1962).

LIT. M. Wacht, *Aeneas von Gaza als Apologet: Seine Kosmologie im Verhältnis zum Platonismus* (Bonn 1969). —B.B.

AINOS (Αἶνος, mod. Enez), city in Thrace on the east bank of the HEBROS River near its mouth. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.11.1–5) reports that Justinian I transformed its low city wall into an impregnable fortification, and the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 634.5) lists it as capital of the province of RHODOPE. Nothing is known about the city from the 7th to 11th C., but it did function as an ecclesiastical center: first as an autonomous archbishopric, and by 1032 a metropolis (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:614f). It reappears in historical narratives in 1090 when Alexios I established his headquarters there during his war against the Pechenegs (An.Komn. 2:135.27–29). Thereafter its role increased: in the 12th C. it was a market where monks of the Kosmosoteira monastery bought olive oil directly from boats (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 50.1–4). A 15th-C. historian (Kritob. 193.6–11) characterizes Ainos as a large *polis* thriving on trade with the neighboring islands of Imbros and Lemnos (the description is partly borrowed from Herodotus). Strongly fortified, it withstood the attack of the Bulgarians and Tatars in 1265 and that of the Catalan Grand Company in 1307. According to Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 520f), ca. 1384 the people of Ainos invited a member of the family of Francesco GATTILUSIO to be their ruler, and it remained an important Genoese possession until it fell to the Turks in 1456; in

1460 Mehmed II granted Ainos to Demetrios Palaiologos, the deposed *despotes* of the Morea, but in 1468 it returned to Ottoman control.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 120–24. Miller, *Essays* 298, 318, 334, 338f. —T.E.G.

AITOLIA (Αἰτωλία), a mountainous region in the western part of central Greece, between the Ambracian Gulf and the Gulf of Corinth; west of Aitolia lay Akarnania, a part of which occupied the fertile valley of the Acheloos River; the Akarnanian coast faced the islands of the Ionian Sea—Leukas, Ithaka, and Kephallenia. The region was a part of the theme of NIKOPOLIS, then of the despotate of EPIROS. The ancient names of Aitolia and Akarnania were still used in the 6th C., and Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.2.1) even speaks of Aitolians and Akarnanians; the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 648.4) mentions Aigion as the metropolis of Aitolia. The names then disappeared from Byz. nomenclature, but were revived by historians of the 14th–15th C. (Kantakouzenos, Gregoras, Laonikos Chalkokondyles), who often used them side by side with Epiros and sometimes as synonyms for the latter (*TIB* 3:39). The name Aitolia had been revived even earlier in ecclesiastical lists, and NAUPAKTOS was called “of Nikopolis” or “of Aitolia” (*Notitiae CP* 10.531). In the acts of the local council of 1367 the metropolitan of Naupaktos is titled “*hypertimos* and exarch of all Aitolia” and the bishopric of Arta defined as “in Akarnania” (MM 1:494.6, 13). —A.K.

AKAKIA (ἀκακία, lit. “guilelessness,” also ἀνεξικακία, “forbearance”), a cylindrical pouch of purple silk containing a handful of dust that the emperor carried in his right hand on ceremonial occasions; in his left he held a scepter, an orb, or a cross ornamented with precious stones (*De cer.* 25.20–22). In the *Kletorologion of Philotheos* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 201.13–16) the order of the hands is reversed. Two late Byz. writers (pseudo-Kod. 201.12–202.3; Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:356AB) both emphasized that the *akakia* symbolized the instability of temporal power and the humility of its mortal bearer. According to Hārūn ibn Yahya’s description of the emperor’s procession to Hagia Sophia on Ash Wednesday, the ruler went on foot carrying a golden box with a

bit of earth in it; at every two paces his “minister” exclaimed, “Be mindful of death!” and the emperor paused, opened the box, looked at the dust, and wept (A. Vasiliev, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 159).

A representation of the *akakia* can be seen on the mosaic of Emp. ALEXANDER in the gallery of Hagia Sophia (P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 191, 195f and n.30, fig.1).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 148. *DOC* 2.1:86f; 3.1:133f. N.P. Kondakov, “Mifičeskaja suma s zemnoj tjaگوju,” *Spisanie na Bŭlgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Klon istoriko-filologičeski* 22.12 (1921) 53–66. —A.K.

AKAKIAN SCHISM, a temporary rift (484–519) between the church of Constantinople and the papacy, so named after the patriarch AKAKIOS. By the end of the 5th C. the bishop of the imperial capital faced resistance from East and West: on the one hand, the popes emphasized their primacy among the five archbishops as confirmed by canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and thus Pope Simplicius (468–83) entrusted Akakios with *legatio pro nobis* (PL 58:41C), treating him as the pope’s legate; on the other hand, the Eastern archbishops, irritated by the administrative decisions of Chalcedon (e.g., confirming for Constantinople the second place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy), tried in 477 to return to Ephesus the privilege of exarchate, to the detriment of the capital. The situation was aggravated by the theological split between Rome and the sees of Antioch and Alexandria that clung to Monophysitism, whereas Akakios wavered between the two creeds and kept shifting his allegiances.

In 482 Emp. Zeno and Akakios signed the HENOTIKON, a compromise with the Monophysite PETER MONGOS, but it was rejected by Kalandion of Antioch (479–84) and by Monophysite monks in Egypt. The new pope, FELIX III, sent envoys to Constantinople who regarded the compromise favorably. The AKOIMETOI monks, the anti-Monophysite activists in Constantinople, accused the papal legates of succumbing to bribery and betraying the Roman interests; in July 484 Felix convoked a synod of bishops in Rome, abrogated the legates’ decision, condemned Mongos, and deposed Akakios. The papal letter enumerating the “sins” of Akakios was delivered to the patriarch by an Akoimetos monk who paid with his life for this courageous action.

As a result of the schism the name of Felix was

removed from Constantinopolitan diptychs. Then Akakios moved against Kalandion, who was suspected of supporting the revolt of LEONTIOS and ILLOS—he was deposed and replaced by PETER THE FULLER; thereafter Martyrios of Jerusalem (478–86) signed the *Henotikon*.

Rome remained intransigent, however, and the pope had solid partisans in Constantinople; nor did the *Henotikon* find uncompromising adherents in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. The revolt of VITALIAN was carried out under the banner of the Chalcedonians. Patriarchs Makedonios (496–511) and Timothy I (511–18) tried to curb the Monophysite movement, but they refused to denounce the *Henotikon* and to remove Akakios from the diptychs lest they thereby acknowledge the victory of Rome. Reconciliation was difficult since Emp. Anastasios I expressed obvious pro-Monophysite sympathies; he even found Makedonios insufficiently anti-Chalcedonian and deposed him. Only the predominance of the Orthodox party under Justin I and the search for an alliance with Rome brought an end to the Akakian schism: on 28 Mar. 519 Justin abrogated the *Henotikon* and ended the break with Rome; the names of Akakios and Zeno were removed from the diptychs.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, *Town and Country* (London 1980), pt.XI (1975), 69–81. E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma* [ABAW, philos.-hist. Abt., n.s. 10] (Munich 1934). P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire*² (Thessalonike 1974). W.T. Townsend, “The Henoticon Schism and the Roman Church,” *The Journal of Religion* 16 (1936) 78–86. —A.K., T.E.G.

AKAKIOS (Ἀκάκιος), bishop of Berroia, Syria (from 378); born ca.322, died ca.433. Akakios became a monk at an early age, gaining a reputation for asceticism, kindness, and piety. He participated in the Council of Constantinople (381) and the Synod of the Oak (403). Because of his advanced age, he could not attend the Council of Ephesus (431) but played a mediating role behind the scenes. Contemporaries considered his only fault to be an implacable hostility toward JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, a former friend with whom he had broken over a supposed insult. His follower Balaeus extolled his virtues in five Syriac hymns. A few of his many letters survive, including one to Cyril of Alexandria in support of NESTORIOS; they show him to be a man of personal and theological compromise.

ED. PG 77:99–102. PG 84:647f, 658–60. *ACO*, tome I, vol. i, pt.1:99f.

SOURCE. Germ. tr. of Balaeus’s hymns —P.S. Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter Cyrillonas, Baläus, Isaak von Antiochien und Jakob von Sarug* (Kempten-Munich 1913) 71–89.

LIT. G. Bardy, “Acace de Bérée et son rôle dans la controverse nestorienne,” *RSR* 18 (1938) 20–44. —B.B.

AKAKIOS (Ἀκάκιος), patriarch of Constantinople (Mar. 472–26 or 28 Nov. 489). Before his election Akakios was director of the orphanage in Constantinople. The first crisis he faced after ascending the patriarchal throne was the usurpation of BASILISKOS; after some hesitation, the patriarch joined the Orthodox party that was led by DANIEL THE STYLITE and supported by the majority of the population of the capital. At first Akakios followed a traditional ecclesiastical policy, seeking an alliance with Rome against Alexandria, and accordingly deposed the Monophysite Alexandrian patriarch PETER MONGOS. Then he realized that the unity of the eastern provinces was the crucial task and attempted to find a compromise with the Monophysites: Peter Mongos was reestablished in Alexandria, and Akakios composed the HENOTIKON on behalf of Zeno (482). This about-face caused anxiety in Rome and eventually led to the AKAKIAN SCHISM (484–519); even though Akakios managed to attract the support of two legates of Pope FELIX III, a Roman synod condemned the patriarch in 484. Felix III’s epistle of 28 July 484 first charged Akakios with usurping the rights of other provinces and criticized the growing role of Constantinople within the Eastern church; then the pope accused Akakios because of his reconciliation with the Monophysites, and esp. Peter Mongos. The policy of Akakios was no more successful in pacifying the Eastern church: the orthodox opposition was directed by the AKOIMETOI in Constantinople and found supporters in Alexandria and Antioch.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 148–72. E. Marin, *DTC* 1 (1935) 288–90. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4 (Berlin 1960) 144–46. —A.K.

AKAPNIOU MONASTERY, located in Thessalonike, perhaps on the acropolis. The date of its foundation is uncertain. V. Grumel (*EO* 30 [1931] 91–95) suggested that Akapniou (Ἀκαπνίου, “without smoke”) was established by St. Photios

of Thessaly in the early 11th C. on the evidence of a hymn by Demetrios Beaskos (end of 13th C.) that names a St. Photios as the *ktetor*. The relationship of the monastery to the 11th-C. Akapnes family of civil functionaries (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 107, 159, 202) cannot be determined. Sometime in the 11th or 12th C., an early *hegoumenos* of the monastery, Ignatios, wrote a treatise on the mosaic of Christ at the Latomos monastery (V. Grumel, *EO* 29 [1930] 165–67).

During the Latin occupation of the 13th C. Pope Innocent III placed Akapniou under the protection of the Holy See. In the 14th C. it was involved in a number of disputes over properties located in Macedonia and in Thessalonike proper. IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK visited the monastery in 1405. After the Turkish conquest of Thessalonike in 1430 Akapniou lost most of its property (N. Oikonomides, *SüdostrF* 35 [1976] 4).

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 347–49.

—A.M.T.

AKATHISTOS HYMN (Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος), an anonymous KONTAKION sung in honor of the Theotokos while the congregation stands (i.e., *akathistos*, “not seated”; a recollection of the all-night vigil during which, according to tradition, the Akathistos Hymn was first sung in thanksgiving for the lifting of the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626). Despite the liturgical developments of the 8th C., when performance of *kontakia* in their entirety was abandoned, the Akathistos Hymn continued in use, at first at the Feast of the ANNUNCIATION (25 March) and subsequently during LENT. The Akathistos Hymn consists of a *prooimion* (three of which, probably, exist) and 24 *oikoi*, or stanzas, linked by an alphabetic ACROSTIC. The *oikoi* follow two alternating structures, one shorter with the refrain “Allelouia,” the other longer and with a set of 12 *Chairetismoi* (Salutations) to the Theotokos, ending in the refrain “Hail, wedded maiden and virgin.” The first 12 *oikoi* give the biblical narrative on the Incarnation; the remaining 12 meditate upon its mysteries. The whole coalesces to create a subtly interwoven net of images that is one of the high points of Byz. poetry. The author and date of composition remain uncertain. One *prooimion*, “To the defender and commander,” and hence the entire Akathistos Hymn, is attributed in the *synaxaria* to Patr. SERGIOS I in 626 and in the Latin translation (8th or

9th C.) to Patr. GERMANOS I in 717/18; metrical patterns and theological considerations, however, point rather to a date in the early 6th C. Despite the temptation to ascribe this masterpiece to another craftsman working in the same genre at approximately the same time, ROMANOS THE MELODE probably did not write the Akathistos Hymn. The hymn survives in a rich MS tradition.

Four illustrated copies of the Akathistos Hymn are preserved. Two are Greek: in Moscow (Hist. Mus., gr. 429), probably a product of the HODEGON monastery from the third quarter of the 14th C., and in Madrid (Escorial R.I. 19), whose late 14th- or early 15th-C. decoration shows Western influence. Two are in 14th-C. Slavonic Psalters: the Tomič Psalter in Moscow (Hist. Mus. M.2752) and the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Bayer. Staatsbibl., slav.4). The cycle is found somewhat earlier in monumental painting, but may be Palaiologan in origin. Illustrations of the first 12 *oikoi* rely on traditional iconography of the life of the Virgin and consequently are relatively standardized. The next 12 required greater imagination on the part of artists, and results varied.

ED. C.A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna 1968) 17–39. E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn* (Copenhagen 1957). Lat. version—M. Huglo, “L’ancienne version latine de l’Hymne Acathiste,” *Muséon* 64 (1951) 27–61.

LIT. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 483–509. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode* (Paris 1977) 32–36. Szövérfy, *Hymnography* 1:116–35. T. Velmans, “Une illustration inédite de l’Acathiste et l’iconographie des hymnes liturgiques à Byzance,” *CahArch* 22 (1972) 131–65. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “L’illustration de la première partie de l’Hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l’Enfance de la Kariye Djami,” *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 648–702. E. Wellesz, “The ‘Akathistos’: A Study in Byzantine Hymnography,” *DOP* 9–10 (1956) 141–74. A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1989). —E.M.J., R.S.N.

AKEDIA (ἀκηδία), accidie, sloth or torpor, term for a state of listlessness found in monks. It was recognized as a special problem for HERMITS who lacked the encouragement of brethren in a cenobitic community. Neilos of Ankyra defined it as the “weakness of a soul unable to withstand temptation” (PG 79:1157C). *Akedia* was thought to be the result of indulgence in vices such as laziness, loquaciousness, and absorption in the emotions but was sometimes attributed to preternatural causes, a demon that was active at the noon hour. The demon made monks restless, excitable, and

negligent with regard to prayer and reading. *Akedia* could be overcome through assiduous attention to prayer and study of the Scriptures, patience, avoidance of idle talk, and manual labor (PG 79:1456D–1460B). Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1724C) prescribed 40 days repentance as punishment for this vice, including three weeks without wine or oil and 250 penitent prostrations (*metanoiai*) daily, for if uncorrected the sin could lead to the depths of hell.

SOURCE. Jean Cassien, *Institutions cénobitiques*, ed. J.-C. Guy (Paris 1965) 382–425.

LIT. A. & C. Guillaumont in *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique ou le moine* (Paris 1971) 1:84–90, 2:520–26. H. Waddell, *The Desert Fathers* (London 1946) 157–60.

—A.M.T.

AKEPHALOI. See PETER MONGOS.

AKHMĪM (Panopolis, Πανὼν πόλις), metropolis of the Panopolite nome of Upper Egypt, a bishopric from the early 4th C. A church is mentioned in a text of 295–300 A.D. (P. Gen. inv. 108), but no early examples have survived. They may have been destroyed in the 14th C., since al-Nahrawālī (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3 [Leipzig 1857; rp. Beirut 1964] 109) indicates that many marble columns from Akhmīm were reused in the Ka’ba at Mecca. Akhmīm has been famous since the 5th C. for its TEXTILES, many of which were found in early Christian (5th–7th C.) tombs nearby. Other tombs have yielded small articles of daily use. Papyri attest to a flourishing classical literary culture in the 4th–5th C.

LIT. Timm, *Ägypten* 1:80–96. R. Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis* (Strassburg 1893). S. McNally, “Excavations at Akhmim, Egypt 1978,” *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter* 107 (1978–79) 22–28.

—P.G.

AKHNĀS, or Akhnāsiya (Ἡρακλεόπολις, Heracleopolis Magna), south of Fayyūm, approximately 15 miles west of Beni Suef, metropolis of the Heracleopolite nome of Egypt, site of a bishopric from 325. From Akhnās have come a number of 4th- to 5th-C. architectural sculptures, such as niche-heads, capitals, friezes, etc., which once adorned mausoleums in the cemetery; many of these are decorated with mythological scenes. The site is now deserted, a vast field of pottery hills

surrounded by several modern villages. Traces of a colonnaded street are visible. Spots where huge columns abound are currently referred to as *kanīsa* (“church”) but are more probably the remains of other public buildings.

LIT. U. Monneret de Villard, *La scultura ad Ahnās* (Milan 1923). H.-G. Severin, “Gli scavi eseguiti ad Ahnās, Bahnasa, Bawit e Saqqara,” *CorsiRav* 28 (1981) 299–303. Timm, *Ägypten* 3:1161–72.

—P.G.

AKINDYNOS, GREGORY, anti-Palamite theologian; born Prilep ca. 1300?, died 1348. His baptismal name and original surname are unknown: Gregory was a monastic, Akindynos (Ἀκίνδυνος) an adopted name. Of humble, most probably Bulgarian, ancestry, Akindynos studied in Thessalonike with THOMAS MAGISTROS and subsequently became a schoolteacher in Berroia. There ca. 1330 he met Gregory PALAMAS and became a monk; he was, however, rejected by four Athonite monasteries, perhaps because of his reputation for secular learning. Akindynos returned to Thessalonike, where he became friendly with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA.

By 1337 Akindynos was in Constantinople and involved in the controversy over PALAMISM; in its early stages he played a mediating role between Barlaam and Palamas. By 1341, however, he began to question the orthodoxy of Palamite doctrine on divine grace, and threw his support to Barlaam. He was apparently condemned at the July session of the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Akindynos was a protégé of Irene CHOUMNAINA and the spokesman of Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, who ordained him deacon and priest (1344). With the erosion of the authority of Kalekas and the victory of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, Akindynos fell into disgrace; he was excommunicated at the council of 1347 and died in exile soon after.

His correspondence provides important insights into the hesychast controversy from an anti-Palamite viewpoint; many of his theological treatises, including the *Antirrhetics* against Palamas, are still unpublished. Unlike later anti-Palamites, Akindynos was neither a Latin sympathizer nor influenced by Greek philosophy, as his opponents claimed. In his works he did not inveigh against the spirituality of the monks but against the Palamite doctrine of the divine energies, thus ex-

pressing the conservative approach to theology of his fellow intellectuals.

ED. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, ed. A.C. Hero (Washington, D.C., 1983), with Eng. tr. Address to Hierotheos—ed. K. Pitsakes in *Epeteris Kentrou Ereunes Historias Hellenikou Dikaiou* 19 (1972) 111–216. For complete list, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 24f.

LIT. J.S. Nadal, "La critique par Akindynos de l'herméneutique patristique de Palamas," *Istina* 19 (1974) 297–328. B. Phanourgakes, "Agnosta antipalamika syngrammata tou Gregorion Akindynou," *Kleronomia* 4 (1972) 285–302. M. Candal, "La Confesión de fe antipalmitica de Gregorio Acindino," *OrChrP* 25 (1959) 215–64. *PLP*, no.495. —A.M.T., A.C.H.

AKINDYNOS, PEGASIOS, AND ANEMPODISTOS (Ἀκίνδυνος, Πηγάσιος, Ἀνεμπόδιστος), martyrs who lived in the Persian Empire under Shāpūr II (r.310–79); saints; feastday 2 Nov. The *Passio*, preserved in two different versions (the earliest MSS from the 9th C.), concentrates on their ordeal: they were thrown into boiling lead, into the sea, into a ditch full of bloodthirsty beasts. They remained unharmed due to the help of angels and by their endurance converted many pagans to Christianity: Shāpūr's servant Aphthonios (who was immediately decapitated), the senator Elpidephoros (murdered together with his companions), and even the mother of the "basileus." She, the three martyrs, and 28 other soldiers (*stratiotai*) were burned in an oven. The legend was reworked by SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

Representation in Art. The three saints, sometimes joined by Aphthonios and Elpidephoros, are depicted wearing Byz., rather than Persian, court costume. The *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II* (p.155) shows the saints being thrown in the sea, the Persian converts being beheaded, and the martyrs being burned alive in a brick oven, all in the same composition. These saints, though collectively called the "Holy Five," should not be confused with the more famous Five, Eustratios and his four companions, the *FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA*.

SOURCES. AASS Nov. 1:461–504. PG 116:9–36.

LIT. *BHG* 21–23a. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 5:23.

—A.K., N.P.Š.

AKOIMETOI, MONASTERY OF, an early monastic community in Constantinople, allegedly founded by the archimandrite ALEXANDER THE AKOIMETOS in 405 (Beck, *Kirche* 213), ca.420 (Janin,

Églises CP 16), or ca.425 (G. Dagron, *AB* 86 [1968] 272), and originally located near the Church of St. Menas in the Mangana quarter. The *akoimetoι* (ἀκοίμητοι, lit. "sleepless ones") were pledged to perpetual praise of God; their offices (popularly known as the *akolouthia ton akoimeton*) were continuous and uninterrupted, performed by three choirs in succession, each doing one eight-hour shift per day. This was actually a mitigation of Alexander's original ideal of perpetual prayer, a fundamentalist construction of the New Testament command to pray unceasingly; he had imposed an unending cycle of 24 offices, one per hour, with a minimum of time permitted for unavoidable bodily needs (*Vita*, ed. de Stoop, *PO* 6 [1911] 68of).

As a result of persecution, the *akoimetoι* were forced to move to a succession of monasteries almost immediately after their establishment; by the mid-5th C. they settled at Eirenaion on the eastern shore of the Bosporos. Here the monastery flourished under the leadership of the ardent anti-Monophysite MARKELLOS THE AKOIMETOS, who served as *hegoumenos* for ca.40 years; in this period the monks reportedly numbered in the hundreds. The monastery of the *akoimetoι* housed a scriptorium and library; in its early period the monastic community was trilingual, including Greek, Roman, and Syrian monks (Lemerle, *Humanism* 78, n.82). A contingent of the monks moved in 463 to the recently founded monastery of STOUDIOS. The *akoimetoι* had no influence after Iconoclasm, when Stoudite monasticism prevailed in Constantinople. By the 9th C. the monastery of the *akoimetoι* had returned to Constantinople or had established a *metochion* in the city; when ANTONY of Novgorod visited Akoimetoι in 1200, it was within the walls. The monastery is not mentioned in the sources after 1204 and does not seem to have survived the Latin occupation.

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," nos. 3, 9, 19, 23–26, 74, 79. Janin, *Églises centres* 13–15. —A.M.T., R.F.T.

AKOLOUTHIA (ἀκολουθία, lit. "succession"), a liturgical rite, esp. the ritual or sequence of elements comprised in a particular rite or office (e.g., the *akolouthia* of the PROTHESIS, the *ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA*). The term also refers to the "proper," or variable parts, of the office of a day or feast (e.g., the *akolouthia* of the Nativity or of St. Nicho-

las), or to the "common" of an office, the rite designed for a specific category of saint, to be used when the saint's day has no proper of its own (e.g., the *akolouthia* of a martyr). (For use of this term as a musical anthology, see PAPADIKE.)

LIT. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:279f. L. Petit, *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques* (Brussels 1926), with add. S. Eustratiades, *EEBS* 9 (1932) 80–122. —R.F.T.

AKOLOUTHOS (ἀκόλουθος, perhaps from ἀκολουθέω, "to follow"), in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS a subaltern officer under the DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS or of the *arithmos*. From the 11th C. onward, as the *droungarios tes viglas* assumed primarily judiciary and police duties, the *akolouthos* became an independent commander of foreign, esp. Varangian, contingents (Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 130). Under Constantine IX, the *patrikios* and *akolouthos* Michael was one of the most prominent generals. In the 12th C. *akolouthoi* fulfilled predominantly diplomatic functions, for example, Eumathios PHILOKALES, who is called *acolitho* in the *HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI* (ed. Chroust, 60, 65). The last individual known to have held the position of *akolouthos* was John Nomikopoulos in 1199, but a 14th-C. ceremonial book was familiar with the office; it defines the *akolouthos* as the chief of the Varangians and states that he accompanied the emperor at the head of this group (pseudo-Kod. 184.20–24). (For ecclesiastical *akolouthos*, see ACOLYTE.)

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:522–24. Oikonomides, *Listes* 331. —A.K.

AKRA TAPEINOSIS. See MAN OF SORROWS.

AKRITAI (sing. ἀκρίτης, from *akron/akra*, "summit, extremity"), term found in Byz. military treatises of the 10th and 11th C. denoting people stationed at the extremity of a given position, such as an army encampment or military formation. Its most common usage, however, designates inhabitants at the extremities of imperial territory, esp. along the eastern FRONTIER. When used in this manner, the term *akritai* can, depending upon context, refer to army units stationed along the frontier, to the commanders of such troops, or to the civilian population along the border. The term does not seem to have had any technical meaning

for Byz. provincial administration or military organization, nor does it refer to any specific type of unit composed of scouts or border guards, although such troops did exist and appear to have been called *APELATAI*. In the epic poem *DIGENES AKRITAS*, *hai akrai* generally denote the region near the Euphrates and the term *akritai* can refer to any inhabitant of this area including Muslims living outside the empire. In a later reference to Digenes' legendary exploits, Manuel I Komnenos was termed "a new Akrites" (H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 25 [1955] 779–81).

LIT. A. Pertusi, "Tra storia e leggenda," 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1971) 237–78. N. Oikonomides, "L'épopée de Digenes et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles," *TM* 7 (1979) 375–97. —A.J.C.

AKRITIC IMAGERY. Episodes found in both *DIGENES AKRITAS* and the *AKRITIC SONGS* are possibly reflected in the *SGRAFFITO* decoration of more than 100 ceramic plates of uncertain origin, but found as far afield as Constantinople, Thessalonike, Sparta, Corinth, and the Athenian Agora. At the last two sites, the pottery comes from a 12th-C. context. A plate found at Corinth, representing Digenes wooing Maximo, queen of the Amazons, seems to follow the epic closely, esp. in the depiction of costume and the setting (Grottaferrata MS, ed. Trapp, vv. 3114–17). On the other hand, a fragment from the Agora, showing the sword-bearing hero beside a dragon whose neck is pierced with five darts, reproduces the *pente kontaria* and other details in an Akritic ballad (ed. in Notopoulos, *infra* 127) without counterpart in the epic. Many plates show the warrior as foot soldier in contrast to both *Digenes Akritas* and the Akritic Songs, each of which describes the hero as a horseman. While 35 plates have the warrior wearing the *podea* or pleated kilt (sometimes called a fustanella) attributed to Manuel I, the "new Akrites," in a Ptochoprodromic poem, and 26 have him slaying a dragon, neither iconographic element is sufficient to identify the hero specifically as Digenes because both the kilt and the deed characterize other *akritai* named in the Akritic Songs. More identifiable is the subject of a relief from St. Catherine's in Thessalonike that shows a figure in plate-armor tearing the jaws of a lion in accord with an event in *Digenes Akritas* (Grottaferrata MS, ed. Trapp, vv. 699–714). Evidence for illustrations to accompany the epic,

which may have been the source for five plates, may be found in the spaces left blank for illustration in the 16th-C. Escorial MS of *Digenes Akritas* and in the now lost MS seen in the 18th C. at the Xeropotamou monastery by K. Dapontes. Identification of these scenes as Akritic is, however, far from secure; they may well represent other folk tales now lost, but of which glimpses may be caught (e.g., in the romance of KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE).

LIT. J.A. Notopoulos, "Akritan Ikonography on Byzantine Pottery," *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 108–33. –A.C.

AKRITIC SONGS, narrative vernacular songs or ballads usually in POLITICAL VERSE, in which characters' names or actions appear to reflect episodes from the epic-romance *DIGENES AKRITAS*. The first examples of Akritic Songs were collected in Pontos around 1870, at about the time when the Trebizond MS of *Digenes Akritas* was discovered. According to Sathas and Legrand (L. Politis, *A History of Modern Greek Literature* [Oxford 1973] 23), these songs represented the remnants of an ancient epic cycle predating *Digenes Akritas*. Episodes from *Digenes Akritas* that have been linked to these songs include the abduction of Digenes' bride (*He apagoge tes kores tou strategou*), the building of his castle (*Akritas kastron ektizen*), his encounters with wild beasts (*Ho drakos*), and his death (*Ho Charos maura ephoresen*), though the dramatic struggle with CHARON, which is a striking element in the songs, does not occur in the epic. The hero's name in the songs fluctuates: he can be Digenes or Constantis or Giannis. R. Beaton (*Byzantion* 51 [1981] 22–43) has stressed that the connections between the songs and the epic are slight and that similarities are likely to have arisen because both draw on a common pool of traditional folk material. Those songs that come closest to the surviving epic are more likely to have been influenced by it than vice versa. Since most of the songs were collected from oral sources in the late 19th C. and have been subject to the transformations of up to a thousand years of oral transmission, the identification of precise references to Byz. historical events can be only conjectural.

ED. P. Kalonaros, *Basileios Digenes Akritas*, vol. 2 (Athens 1941; rp. 1970) 205–53. B.Ch. Makes, *Demotika tragoudia: Akritika* (Athens 1978).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 87–94. E. Trapp, *Digenes Akrites* (Vienna 1971) 43–45. R. Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge 1980) 78–82. –E.M.J.

AKROINON (Ἀκροῖνον, also Akrounos, now Afyonkarahisar), a city of PHRYGIA. Located at a main highway junction, Akroinon first appears in history when the Arabs attacked it in 716 and 732. In 740, Leo III won a decisive victory there over the Arabs led by Sayyid al-Baṭṭāl. Akroinon drew importance from its strategic location and steep acropolis, which provides a remarkable natural defense. It was a city of the ANATOLIKON theme and a bishopric of Phrygia Salutaris, first attested in the 10th C. Still Byz. when its governor revolted against Alexios I Komnenos in 1112, Akroinon was conquered by the Seljuks before 1146, when Manuel I won a victory there. The citadel bears a Seljuk castle that may include Byz. walls; it depended on cisterns of Byz. origin.

LIT. S. Göncü, *Afyon İli Tarihi* (Izmir 1971). S. Eyice, "La fontaine et les citernes byzantines de la citadelle d'Afyon Karahisar," *DOP* 27 (1973) 303–07. –C.F.

AKROPOLITES (Ἀκροπολίτης, fem. Ἀκροπολίτισσα), a family of civil functionaries; in the 13th C. George Akropolites exaggerated when he called his ancestors a noble kin (Akrop. 1:49.18–19). The name derives from *akropolis*, referring most probably to the Acropolis in Constantinople; in the 10th C. the first known Akropolites acquired Gregoras Iberitzes' house (Preger, *Scriptores* 2:150.1–2), which presumably was at the Acropolis (Skyl. 198.46–47). If so, the family was of Constantinopolitan origin. From the end of the 11th C. onward, the Akropolitai were mostly fiscal officials: Nicholas, *chartoularios* of the *logothetes tou stratotikou* in 1088; Michael, *megas chartoularios tou genikou*, whom Laurent (*Corpus* 2, no.353) tentatively identified with several other Michaels active in the 1140s. The position of the Akropolitai became more prominent in the second half of the 13th C. when George Akropolites was appointed *megas logothetes*; his son, Constantine, held the same post in the 14th C. (see AKROPOLITES, GEORGE and AKROPOLITES, CONSTANTINE). Leo Akropolites served as *doux* of Serres and Strymon ca.1295 (*PLP*, no.521), but his relationship to George and his son is unclear. Several family members were intellectuals: George and Constantine were famous writers; Melchisedek Akropolites, another of George's sons (blinded or executed in 1296), corresponded with PLANOUDÉS and instigated Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS to revolt. The Akropolitai intermarried with the Philanthropenoi, Tor-

nikioi, and Kontostephanoi. Maria Doukaina Akropolitissa possessed property in Constantinople ca.1300 (*MM* 1:312.16–17).

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 517–25. D.M. Nicol, "Constantine Akropolites: A Prosopographical Note," *DOP* 19 (1965) 249–56. –A.K.

AKROPOLITES, CONSTANTINE, hagiographer and statesman; born mid-13th C., died Constantinople? in or before May 1324. The eldest son of George AKROPOLITES, Akropolites opposed the Union of Lyons, in contrast to his father. Circa 1282 he became *logothetes tou genikou*, still bearing this title when he signed a treaty with Venice in 1285. From 1305/6 to at least 1321 he was *megas logothetes*. He was related by marriage to Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS, the Tornikes (see TORNIKIOS) family, and the imperial family of Trebizond. A patron of the arts, Akropolites was *ktetor* of the Constantinople monastery of the Anastasis, for which he wrote a supplementary *typikon* (K.A. Manaphes, *EEBS* 37 [1969–70] 459–65); he also commissioned an icon of the Virgin and Child, now in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow (V.I. Antonova, N.E. Mneva, *Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi. XI–nachalo XVIII veka*, vol. 1 [Moscow 1963] no.221, pl.172).

Akropolites was a prolific hagiographer, who wrote *enkomia* of about 30 saints, thus earning the name of "the new Metaphrastes." He wrote about saints of earlier centuries, rather than his contemporaries, the one exception being an *enkomion* of St. John the Merciful the Younger (D.I. Polemis, *AB* 91 [1973] 31–54). His *Logos* on the iconodule martyr Theodosia (PG 140:893–936) was evidently inspired by the miraculous cure of himself and his son-in-law at her shrine. Of his letters 194 survive, mostly unpublished; his correspondents included Gregory II of Cyprus and Nikephoros Choumnos. He also wrote a chronicle from the foundation of Rome to 1261. Akropolites severely criticized the TIMARION for both style and content (M. Treu, *BZ* 1 [1892] 361–65).

ED. 20 letters and *typikon*—"Constantini Acropolitae, hagiographi byzantini, epistularum manipulus," ed. H. Delehaye, *AB* 51 (1933) 263–84. F. Winkelmann, "Die Metrophanesvita des Konstantinos Akropolites," *Studia Byzantina. Beiträge aus der byzantinistischen Forschung der DDR* (Halle 1968) 79–102. For list of ed. and unpublished works, see Nicol, *infra* 254–56.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "Constantine Akropolites: A Prosopographical Note," *DOP* 19 (1965) 249–56. *PLP*, no.520. R. Romano, "Per l'edizione dell'epistolario di Costantino Ac-

ropolita," *Rendiconti: Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli* 56 (1981) 83–103. –A.M.T.

AKROPOLITES, GEORGE, civil official, teacher, and historian of the empire of Nicaea; born Constantinople 1217, died Constantinople 1282. Related by marriage to MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS, Akropolites was the father of Constantine AKROPOLITES and the monk Melchisedek. His parents sent him at age 16 from Constantinople to the court of JOHN III VATATZES, where he continued his studies under Theodore HEXAPTERYGOS and Nikephoros BLEMMEDES. In the 1240s he was a tutor to the emperor's son, THEODORE II LASKARIS, and performed chancery and ambassadorial functions as a *grammatikos*. Under Theodore II, Akropolites became *logothetes tou genikou* (1255) and then *praitor* (1256), with the duty of overseeing the troops in Macedonia. He held the title *megas logothetes* from ca.1259 to 1282. In the reconquered Constantinople he helped restore higher education as a teacher of philosophy, geometry, and rhetoric, producing at least two known students, the future patriarch GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and JOHN PEDIASIMOS. In 1274, as part of a three-man delegation to the Second Council of LYONS, he swore to accept the PRIMACY of the Roman church on his own behalf and that of the emperor.

Contemporaries acknowledged his learning and characterized Akropolites as a man who "gave much to the emperor" (Constantine Akropolites, *Diatheke*, ed. M. Treu, *DIEE* 4 [1892] 48) and was "neglectful in matters of conscience" (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:409.23–25). He restored the Church of the Anastasis in Constantinople, which he bequeathed to his son Constantine, and wrote various works, notably his *Chronike Syngraphe*, the main Greek source for 1203–61. Written with the hindsight of the victorious party of 1261, it is infused with admiration for Michael VIII. The work was a source for the so-called Chronicle of Theodore SKOUTARIOTES (who also made valuable additions to it) and for EPHRAIM. Other works are an *epitaphios* for John III, prefatory verses to his own edition of Theodore II's letters, and two tracts on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.

ED. *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1903), corr. P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1978).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:442–47. Constantinides, *Education* 31–35. P. Zavoronkov, "Nekotorye aspekty mirovozzrenija Georgija Akropolita," *VizVrem* 47 (1986) 125–33. Oikonomides, *Dated Seals* 128, no.136. –R.J.M.

AKTEMON (ἀκτῆμων, lit. "without property"), a fiscal designation for a peasant who possessed no plow animals and little or no real property (at most, perhaps, only small vineyard or garden plots) but who possessed other livestock (e.g., asses, sheep, goats, bees). The term appears in documents from 1073 to 1303 that categorize peasants and peasant-holdings for fiscal and administrative purposes: in decreasing order, ZEUGARATOS, *boidatos*, *aktemon*, and APOROS. As economic units producing a fiscal revenue, four *aktemones* were equivalent to one *zeugaratos*. Accordingly, in the cadaster of LAMPSAKOS, the ANGAREIA of an *akte-mon* was valued at half the *angareia* of a *boidatos*. *Aktemones* are probably identical to the *pezoi* ("on foot," i.e., peasants who worked without draft animals) found in some contemporaneous sources. *Aktemones* probably leased land or earned their living as craftsmen, laborers (*douleutai*), or hired men (MISTHIOI).

LIT. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 51–61, 224f. Angold, *Byz. Government* 138, 221. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 303–09. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 153, n.27, 161–63. —M.B.

AKTOUARIOS (ἀκτουάριος, Lat. *actuarius* or *actarius*), the name of an official whose functions changed over the centuries. In the late Roman Empire the *aktouarios* was a fiscal official whose duty was the distribution of military wages and provisions (O. Seeck, *RE* 1 [1894] 301f). The term was in use at least to the 6th C.—in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3 [1931] 92), inscriptions (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.211), and legislative texts. The *Basilika* retained some old laws concerning *aktouarioi*, stressing among other points the distinction between *aktouarioi* and the TABOULLARIOI (*Basil.* 6.35.6). The *aktouarios* reappears in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS but in vague contexts. In a 10th-C. ceremonial book he is described as distributing awards to victorious charioteers on behalf of the emperor (*De cer.* 345.14–15). R. Guiland (*BS* 26 [1965] 3) calls the *aktouarios* the chief of the couriers. The term changed its meaning again in the 12th, or perhaps as early as the 11th C.—from this time onward, *aktouarios* was the title of the [court?] physician.

LIT. S. Kourouses, "Ho aktouarios Ioannes Zacharias," *Athena* 78 (1980–82) 252–55. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 102f. Bury, *Adm. System* 106. —A.K.

AKTOUARIOS, JOHN. See JOHN AKTOUARIOS.

AL-_____. See under latter part of name.

ALAHAN MANASTIRI (formerly called Koca Kalesi), a ruined complex of ecclesiastical structures situated between Karaman (Laranda) and Mut (Claudiopolis) on the boundary between Isauria and Lykaonia. The ruins occupy an artificial ledge on a mountainside, approximately 250 m long and 30 m wide. They consist of a cave chapel (the earliest feature on the site), a three-aisled basilica that retains an impressive carved doorway and, some 110 m farther east, another church lacking only its roof. The east church was covered by a central tower on squinches, probably terminating in a pyramidal timber roof. The two main churches were joined by a colonnaded walk, along which were built a baptistery and other structures. Notable architectural sculpture survives. Funerary inscriptions of Tarasis (died 462), builder of *apanteteria* (meeting rooms), and of the junior Tarasis, who served as *paramonarios* (see PROSMONARIOS) from 461 onward, provide chronological confirmation for the attribution of the bulk of the complex to the reign of Zeno. During a secondary phase a smaller church was built in the nave of the west basilica. The cave church, baptistery, and living quarters were also repaired, but the east church remained derelict. The generally accepted assumption that Alahan was a monastery appears incorrect, so that its proposed identification with "the monastery at Apadnas in Isauria" that was rebuilt by Justinian I (Prokopios, *Buildings* 5:9.33) should be abandoned. It was more probably a pilgrimage shrine.

LIT. Alahan, *an Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey*, ed. M. Gough (Toronto 1985). F. Hild et al., "Kommagene-Kilikien-Isaurien," *RBK* 4 (1984) 254–63, 286f. —C.M.

ALAMANIKON (Ἀλαμανικόν), or "German tax," imposed in 1197 by ALEXIOS III after HENRY VI demanded 5,000 pounds of gold as tribute and agreed to accept 1,600. Before this levy on the provinces and Constantinople, the emperor summoned an assembly of senators, clergy, and members of the trades and professions. When he proposed that the property of each be assessed, the

assembly rejected the imposition as contrary to custom. In near revolt, members of the crowd blamed Alexios's maladministration, citing the waste of public funds and the imposition of incompetent relatives of the emperor as provincial governors. Alexios hastily disavowed the plan. He next tried to collect costly ecclesiastical objects not of primary use in the liturgy; when this attempt also met with resistance, he turned to plundering the tombs of past emperors, abstaining only from that of Constantine I. Thereby he acquired some gold and 7,000 pounds of silver. Henry VI's death forestalled the dispatch of the money.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 193.

—C.M.B.

ALAMUNDARUS (al-Mundhir), king of HIRA who raided the Byz. frontier for almost 50 years (ca.505–54), both as a client of Persia and as LAKHMID king; died near Chalkis 554. Around 523 he captured two Roman generals, Timostratos and John, and released them in the following year for a large sum of money. He participated in the Persian campaign that ended with the battle of KALLINIKOS. His role in the Strata dispute (ca.539) and his subsequent negotiations with the Romans provided the Persian king Chosroes I with a pretext for beginning the so-called Second Persian War, in which Alamundarus took part. For some ten years after this war he fought with his GHASSANID adversary ARETHAS, but finally was defeated and killed. Toward the end of his life he apparently received subsidies from Justinian I. Although Alamundarus married a Christian woman, Hind, the daughter of Arethas, king of KINDA, he was a pagan in word and deed. If he was converted to Christianity ca.513, as claimed by some ecclesiastical historians such as Theodore Lector, his conversion was of short duration.

LIT. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira* (Berlin 1899; rp. Hildesheim 1968) 71–87. —I.A.Sh.

ALAMUNDARUS (al-Mundhir), son of the Ghassanid king ARETHAS and his successor as supreme phylarch and king of the Arab FOEDERATI (569–582). Like his father before him, he, too, distinguished himself in the wars of the period and also as an arbiter in the Monophysite controversies. He participated in the campaign of 580 against the Persians, during which disagreements devel-

oped between him and the Byz. commanders. On two occasions, in 570 and in 580, he captured HIRA, the capital of his LAKHMID adversaries, in two lightning campaigns. In 580 he was received by Tiberios I in Constantinople and was allowed to wear a crown instead of a coronet or a band. Throughout his career, he tried to settle religious differences between the Monophysites and the Chalcedonians and also within the ranks of the Monophysites. In the quarrel between two Monophysite leaders, Paul the Black, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, and JACOB BARADAEUS, he took the side of Paul. His Monophysite persuasion was not well received in Constantinople. Justin II tried unsuccessfully to arrest him, but the two were later reconciled. Emp. Maurice, however, treacherously had him arrested and exiled to Sicily. Like his father, he was both *patrikios* and *gloriosissimus*.

LIT. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten* 23–30. Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam* 1:249–57. W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge 1979) 327–31. —I.A.Sh.

ALANS (Ἀλανοί) were known in the West from the 1st C. A.D. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS regarded them not as an ethnic entity, but rather as ubiquitous groups of professional warriors (cavalrymen) who practiced ritual adoption and used an East Iranian idiom as their lingua franca. Some of them took part in the exploits of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, fought at the battle of ADRIANOPLE, and eventually settled in North Africa, Italy, and Gaul. Others became *foederati*; ASPAR was reportedly of Alan origin.

Later sources distinguish two groups, the mountain Alans and the steppe Alans. The former, the Alans proper, lived in the northern Caucasus, between the Terek, Bol'shoj Zelenčuk, and Argun rivers. Both groups were either subjects or associates of the Khazar state or Byz.; Justinian II sent an embassy to Alania (as the country is called by Theophanes the Confessor) seeking an alliance against the Arabs. Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS dispatched several church missions to the Alans, and between 914 and 916 Peter, archbishop of Alania, was active there. The remains of churches in Byz. style, dated to the 10th C., have been discovered in the region. In the 13th C. THEODORE OF ALANIA sent a report on his flock. Kulakovskij's attempt to locate the metropolis of

VICINA in Alania is erroneous (V. Laurent, *EO* 38 [1939] 91–103). The only known Christian Alan inscription (of the 10th–12th C., in a Greek script) was discovered on the Bol'soj Zelenčuk.

In the 11th C. Alans served as Byz. mercenaries. In the early 14th C. Andronikos II settled a 10,000-strong contingent of Alan men with their wives and children in Asia Minor to use against the Turks, but they were unsuccessful; their operation against the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1305 was no more fortunate. The Byz. made no clear distinction between Alans, Abchasians, and Georgians, even though John Tzetzes boasted that he knew how to address the Alans in their language. In the 11th C. the Georgian princess Maria was consistently called MARIA OF "ALANIA."

LIT. B. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West* (Minneapolis 1973). Ju. Kulakovskij, *Alany po svedenijam klassičeskich i vizantijskich pisatelej* (Kiev 1899). V.A. Kuznecov, *Alanija v X–XIII vv.* (Ordžonikidze 1971). K.G. Doguzov, *Vizantijsko-alanskije otnošenija (VI–XII vv.)* (Tbilisi 1987). —O.P.

ALARIC (Ἀλάριχος), Visigothic ruler (395–410); born Danube region between 365 and 370, died Consentia in Bruttium in 410. Leader of a Gothic contingent in 394 at the battle of the Frigidus against the usurper EUGENIUS, Alaric chafed under the leadership of GAINAS and, offended that he had not been made *magister militum*, broke with Roman rule. Under Alaric the VISIGOTHS rose in revolt and devastated Moesia, Macedonia, and Thrace, advancing close to the walls of Constantinople. Alaric descended into Thessaly and then into southern Greece (396–97). Twice STILICHO had the Visigoths at his mercy, but both times he withdrew, probably for political reasons. Alaric was granted the title of *magister militum* of Illyricum and retreated to the north. In 401 he invaded Italy but was driven out by Stilicho the next year. He may have formed a plan with Stilicho to detach Illyricum from the empire but this came to naught. In 408 Alaric again began to threaten Rome, causing the Roman senate to agree to pay him compensation. The murder of Stilicho rendered Italy defenseless, and Alaric marched on Rome, driven as he said by divine impulse (Sokr. *HE* 7.10). Alaric demanded that Venetia, Noricum, and Dalmatia be ceded to him; when this was refused he set up the pretender Attalus against Honorius. After this too failed to secure conces-

sions, Alaric occupied Rome and sacked it on 14 (G. Wirth, *LMA* 1:271) or 24 Aug. 410, sending a shock of horror through the civilized world, reflected, among others, by Augustine in *The City of God* (1.7). Alaric sought to cross to Sicily but his ships were wrecked in a storm. He died soon after. The story told by JORDANES (*Getica* par. 158) of his burial in the bottom of the Busento River, when all the grave diggers were executed lest they divulge the whereabouts of immense treasure, is legendary.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:109–11, 160–63, 174–85. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* 43–45. N.I. Golubcova, "Italija v načale V veka i vtorženie Alaricha v Rim," *VDI* (1949) no. 4, 62–74. —T.E.G.

ALBANIA, CAUCASIAN (Ἀλβανία, Arm. Ał-uank'), region northeast of ARMENIA and east of Iberia between the Kur River, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus range. From the 1st to the 6th C. it formed an independent kingdom with its own language and literature, now lost. It was evangelized from Armenia in the 4th C. (pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND 3.5–6), whence it also received its alphabet in the next century (Koriwn, *Life of Mashtots*, ed. K. Maksoudian [Delmar, N.Y., 1985] 70f; pt. 2, p. 40). It remained within the orbit of the ARMENIAN CHURCH, although it disputed the marchlands south of the Kur with the ARSACIDS. Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. Marc. 18:6.22; 19:2.3) mentions Albania as an ally of Persia against the Romans in 359, a position confirmed by the Armenian sources for 369–70 (pseudo-P'awstos Buzand 5.4.13). Around 510 the Sasanians suppressed the Albanian monarchy and the country was ruled by a *marzpan* residing at Partaw. In 628 Herakleios installed the Mihranid dynasty of Gardman in Albania; it remained in power under Arab suzerainty until 821, when Albania ceased to exist as an autonomous Christian principality.

LIT. R. Hewsén, "Ethno-History and the Armenian Influence upon the Caucasian Albanians," *Classical Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1982) 27–40. K.V. Trever, *Očerki po istorii i kul'ture Kavkazskoj Albanii* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959). —N.G.G.

ALBANIANS (Ἀλβανοί), also Arbanitai, an ethnic group the origin of which is enigmatic. Attempts to connect medieval Albanians with those described by Ptolemy (e.g., E. Lange-Kowal, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 18 [1982] 136) do not pro-

vide sufficient evidence; Byz. texts begin to mention them only from the 11th C., and even these texts are open to question (E. Vranouse, *Symmeikta* 2 [1970] 207–54).

Hypothetically, we can assume that the Albanians were descendants of the ancient Illyrians (see ILLYRICUM) who survived the period of barbarian invasions and, by the 11th C., occupied Arbanon, a mountainous valley of the Shkumbi River (A. Ducellier, *TM* 3 [1968] 353–68) that formed a part of the theme of DYRRACHION. The region was populated by a predominantly pastoral people. By the 13th C. the Albanians had spread far from this area; George Akropolites mentions the *phourion* Kroia (Albanian *Krujë*) as a part of Arbanon.

In the 14th C. many Albanian nobles settled in different parts of EPIROS: notable among them were Charles Topia ("princeps Albaniae," 1359–92) in Dyrrachion, John Spata in Arta, Balša Balšić in Avlon, and the Kastrioti in Kroia. In Kroia the local lord, SKANDERBEG, was able to defeat the Ottomans, but soon after his death the Ottomans completed their occupation of Albania. Dyrrachion, taken by the Venetians from Charles Topia in 1392, was evacuated by them in 1501. By the early 14th C. bands of Albanians had also spread into Thessaly. Around 1350 the *despotes* MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS transplanted a large number of Albanians to the Morea to serve as soldiers and farmers in the depopulated peninsula; yet another wave of Albanians arrived in the Morea during the despotate of THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS (Zakythinos, *Despotat* 101–05).

LIT. G. Stadtmüller, "Forschungen zur albanischen Frühgeschichte," *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 7 (1941) 1–196. S. Islami, K. Frashëri, *Historia e Shqipërisë*, vol. 1 (Tirana 1959). S. Pollo, A. Puto, *The History of Albania* (London-Boston 1974). A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Âge* (Thessalonike 1981). Idem, *L'Albanie entre Byzance et Venise, Xe–XVe siècles* (London 1987). —O.P.

ALBERTINI TABLETS, 33 documents written in Latin on cedarwood tablets and dating to the Vandal period (493–96); found on an estate in the Jabal Mrata south of THEVESTE, they are named after their first editor. All but three of the documents constitute deeds of sale involving parcels of land under the category of *culturae Mancianae*, which formed part of the *fundus Tuletianos* and

potentially neighboring *fundi*. The estate was owned by a landlord, Flavius Geminus Catullinus, *flamen perpetuus*, probably in absentia, but was evidently maintained by three brothers, Geminus Felix, Geminus Cresconius, and Geminus Januarius, possibly relatives of Catullinus, acting in capacities akin to the *conductores* of the Roman period. The reason for this rash of sales is not evident in the documents, but involved the purchase by the Geminii brothers of scattered plots, for rather low prices, from tenants of the estate (most of whom carry the family name of Julius, suggesting that they formed a single clan). It is evident from the deeds that it was the use of the plots and the ownership of the trees (mostly olive, but also fig, almond, and pistachio) and other crops cultivated on the plots, and not the plots of land themselves that were being sold.

Cultura Manciana was a land tenure arrangement, originally established under the terms of a Roman-period *lex Manciana* (evidently only in effect in Africa), in which lease or usage rights (*usus proprius*) to uncultivated land (*subseciva*) on an estate was granted in perpetuity to an individual (*colonus/possessor*) by the owner in exchange for shares of the crop. This arrangement is thought to have been designed to extend cultivation on estates through a system of tenancy. From the Albertini Tablets, however, it would appear that the predominant form of landholding on the estate of Catullinus was a Mancian tenure, suggesting that even primary parts of estates in Africa may have been brought into cultivation under the Mancian system. The tablets likewise suggest that this system was left essentially untouched by the Vandals.

In terms of agriculture, the tablets reveal continued arboriculture, particularly olive cultivation, as well as continued practice of floodwater farming technology along the Saharan frontier. The Albertini Tablets also provide valuable information on Vandal and early Byz. coinage and monetary values (P. Grierson, *JRS* 49 [1959] 73–80) as well as late Latin grammar, phonetics, and legal and agricultural terminology.

ED. C. Courtois, L. Leschi, C. Perrat, and C. Saumagne, *Tablettes Albertini* (Paris 1952).

LIT. J. Lambert, "Les Tablettes Albertini," *Revue Africaine* 97 (1953) 196–225. J. Percival, "Culturae Mancianae: Field Patterns in the Albertini Tablets," in *The Ancient Historian and his Materials* (Westmead 1975) 213–17. C.R. Whittaker, "Land and Labour in North Africa," *Klio* 60

(1978) 358–60. D.J. Mattingly, "Olive Cultivation and the Albertini Tablets," *Africa-Romana* 6 (Sassari 1988) 403–15. —R.B.H.

ALBERT OF AACHEN, canon; 12th-C. Crusader historian (the name is indicated only in two later MSS). Although he never traveled to the Levant, Albert authored in Latin the *Jerusalem History* (*Historia Hierosolymitana*), the most detailed contemporary account of the First Crusade (books 1–6) and the Crusader kingdom's early years (books 7–12). He likely began writing before 1119 (possibly as early as 1100–01; events of 1109–11 are dated one year too early). He probably wrote book 12 (events of 1111–19) in the 1120s and certainly before ca.1140 or 1150 (date of the earliest MSS: Knoch, *infra* 14–18); it contains apparently unfinished material. Albert enthusiastically but uncritically exploited the Gesta Francorum, oral reports of fellow Lotharingians, whom he lionizes, and possibly also lost sources, including an early form of Richard the Pilgrim's Chanson d'Antioche. Although Albert's reliability has been challenged, his data on the Hungarians, Pechenegs, and Byz. (bk.1, chs. 6–14) appear accurate (J. Kalić, *Beogradski Universitet, Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta* 10.1 [1968] 183–91). He treats the relations of Alexios I Komnenos with Peter the Hermit (bk.1, chs. 13–15, 22), Godfrey of Bouillon (bk.2), and Bohemund I (bk.9, ch.37, 47; bk.10, chs. 40–45) as well as a Turkish attack on Byz. territory (bk.12, ch.15).

ED. RHC Occid. 4 (1879) 265–713. Germ. tr. H. Hefele, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, 2 vols. (Jena 1923).

LIT. P. Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart 1966). Zaborov, *Krest. poch.* 111–19. —M.McC.

ALBOIN (Ἀλβόιος), Lombard king; born Pannonia?, died Verona 28 June 572. Circa 565, Alboin succeeded his father Audoin as king of the Lombards in Noricum and Pannonia. In 567, in alliance with the Avars, Alboin destroyed the Gepids, slew their king Cunimund, and married his daughter Rosamund. On 2 Apr. 568, allegedly at the invitation of Narses, Alboin left with his people for Italy, arriving in May 569. It is unlikely that Alboin entered Italy with the complicity of some Byz. authorities (Schmidt, *infra* 588f). By Sept. 569, aided by some Herulians, Rugians, Gepids, Alans, and Saxons, Alboin conquered

Aquileia, Cividale, Venetia, and Lombardy. He entered Milan on 3 Sept. 569, easily overran Tuscany, Piedmont, and regions of Spoleto and Benevento (including Treviso, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo), crossed the Po in 570, and took Pavia and Verona in 572. Alboin established himself in the former palace of Theodoric; in autumn 569 or early 570 he was proclaimed *dominus Italiae* at Milan. Alboin personified the valor and ethic of a warring society and had greater military than administrative ability. He capitalized on Justin II's preoccupation with other frontiers and the inadequacy of Byz. garrisons in Italy and started the process whereby Byz. control of Italy dissolved. His chamberlain Peredeo slew him, possibly in league with Alboin's vengeful wife Rosamund.

LIT. P. Delogu in *Storia d'Italia*, ed. G. Galasso (Turin 1980) 1:10–17. T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders 553–600* (Oxford 1895; rp. New York 1967) 5:137–71. L. Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen*² (Munich 1941; rp. Munich 1969) 539–42, 582–95. —W.E.K.

ALCHEMY (χυμεία or χημεία). The "sacred art" of the transmutation of metals into gold or silver was, in Byz., a continuation of older Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions of coloring or making alloys of cheaper materials so that they would be accepted as more expensive ones. Sometimes the writings of the alchemists are composed of simple recipes for achieving tinctures, confusions of metals, and other chemical effects, but often they are expressed in an allegorical mode infused with philosophical, religious, or astrological imagery that reflects their mystical nature, which is almost completely irrelevant to the perceptible world.

These two tendencies are clearly visible in the earliest Byz. alchemical texts, of the early 4th C.; the papyri of Leiden and of Stockholm contain recipes for imitating gold, silver, precious stones, and purple dye, while some of the surviving Greek treatises of Zosimos of Panopolis (3rd/4th C.) are primarily allegorical visions in which the transmutation of base metals into gold or silver is represented as a religious act whereby the adept ascends a series of ladders leading to the accomplishment of his goal. Other treatises ascribed to Zosimos in Greek, while still mystical, are more closely connected to actual chemical operations

and describe the apparatus necessary for their execution; preserved under his name in Syriac are many practical recipes and a description of alchemical ingredients with indications of where they can be found (M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, vol. 2 [Paris 1893; rp. Osnabrück-Amsterdam 1967] 210–66, 297–308). Many other tracts of Zosimos are preserved in Arabic translations (Sezgin, *GAS* 4:73–77; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* [Leiden 1972] 160–63).

Indeed, early Byz. and Syrian alchemy, in combination with some material from Iran and India, is the foundation for the rich alchemical tradition in Arabic, which in turn inspired western Europe from the 11th C. onward. Much remains to be discovered in this vast literature in Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Latin that is relevant to the history of Byz. science. The summary accounts given by Sezgin (*supra*, 77–111) and Ullmann (*supra*, 163–91) reveal the existence of works falsely attributed to Apollonios of Tyana; a *Kitāb al-Habīb* (Book of the Beloved), which had a Byz. original; many versions of Greek and Syriac treatises associated with the names of Plato, Aristotle, and Hermes; and Arabic translations of the alchemical works of Stephen of Alexandria, Emp. Herakleios, and Marianos the Monk (Lat. Morienus).

Works surviving in Greek of early Byz. alchemy (4th–7th C.) include the commentary on pseudo-Demokritos by Synesios of Cyrene, apparently composed before 389; the commentary on Zosimos composed by Olympiodoros (either the early 5th-C. historian or—more probably—the 6th-C. philosopher); *On the Sacred Art* by Pelagios the Philosopher and *On the Divine Art* by John the Archpriest, who both use Zosimos; the mystical treatise *On the Making of Gold* by Stephen of Alexandria; two compilations, that of "the Christian" and an anonymous one, both of which cite Stephen; and the four alchemical poems ascribed to Heliodoros, Theophrastos, Hierotheos, and Archelaos. All of these texts and some anonymous compendia of recipes were included in a collection made in, perhaps, the late 9th or early 10th C. and dedicated to a certain Theodore. A primary descendant of this is the unfortunately mutilated Venice, Bib. Marc. 299, probably of the 10th C. It includes formulas and explanatory texts for the transmutation of metals, astrological diagrams

purporting to show the heavenly TAXIS that allows the making of gold, and alembics and other apparatus for heating and distilling liquids. The MS was evidently still in use in the 14th C. when other drawings were added (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:11–15). Expanded versions of the collection are found in Paris, B.N. gr. 2325 (13th C.) and B.N. gr. 2327 (1478).

This last MS opens with a most significant contribution to alchemical literature, the letter *On How to Make Gold* addressed by Michael Psellos to Patr. Michael I Keroularios in ca.1045/6 (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *TM* 6 [1976] 329f). In it he argues that the transmutation of one element into another is perfectly natural and then gives a series of recipes for manufacturing "gold," debasing it, and extracting it from sand. Later in his career Psellos attacked the unfortunate patriarch for having been such a good student (*CMAG* 6:73–89).

The final two authors under whose names alchemical treatises have been transmitted are Kosmas the Monk (who postdates Psellos) and Nikephoros Blemmydes, both of whom wrote collections of recipes. But in southern Italy a Latin alchemical treatise was translated into Greek already by the early 14th C.; the anonymous text, edited by C.O. Zuretti (*CMAG* 7), refers to Arnold of Villanova. Some other fragments of the alchemical works of Arnold of Villanova appear in a 15th-C. MS, Paris, B.N. gr. 2327. The *Semita recta* (Straight Path) falsely ascribed to Albertus Magnus is found in Paris, B.N. gr. 2419, perhaps translated into Greek by the scribe George Midiates in the 1460s.

The creative period of Byz. alchemy was the 4th–7th C., though the art continued to be studied and presumably practiced until the fall of Constantinople. Unlike ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, MATHEMATICS, and MEDICINE, however, Byz. alchemy seems barely to have been enriched by translation from the Arabic, though there are some traces of eastern influence in the treatise from the 14th-C. codex Holkham gr. 290, now in the Bodleian (ed. O. Lagercrantz, *CMAG* 3), and in the work of Kosmas. The few treatises translated from the Latin texts influenced by the Arabic science were available only in Italy.

ED. *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, ed. M. Berthelot, C.E. Ruelle, 3 vols. (Paris 1887–88). Stephen of Alexandria—ed. I.L. Ideler in *PhysMedGr* 2:199–253; see also R.

Romano in *SBNG* 87–95. *Heliadori carmina quattuor*, ed. G. Goldschmidt (Giessen 1923). *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, 8 vols. (Brussels 1924–32). *Les alchimistes grecs*, ed. R. Halleux, vol. 1 (Paris 1981).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:279–84. R. Halleux, *Les textes alchimiques* (Turnhout 1979). —D.P., A.C.

ALEMANNI (Ἀλαμανοί), the Latin term for an amalgamation of a number of smaller Germanic tribes, including a segment of the Suevi. After some conflicts with the Roman Empire in the 3rd C., Alemanni concentrated in the area between the Upper Danube and middle Rhine. Relations with the native Roman population were frequently hostile. In 457 the Alemanni invaded Italy and later threatened Noricum. Following their defeat by Clovis (497?), some Alemanni escaped to Raetia to settle, after ca.500, south of Lake Constance under the protection of THEODORIC THE GREAT. Paganism remained widespread among the Alemanni until the late 6th C. They were eventually absorbed into the Frankish kingdom.

Coptic bronze vessels, Italian glass and ceramics, and a Byz. pectoral cross found in Alemanni graves indicate some economic and cultural links with the Mediterranean in the 5th to 7th C. The Byz. historians Prokopios and Agathias considered the Alemanni akin to the GERMANOI; according to H. Ditten (*StBalc* 10 [1975] 73–86), their name was distorted by later copyists and rendered *Albanoi*. After a period of absence from the sources, the name reappears in the *Souda* (corrupted as *Albanoi*) and in many authors of the 11th to 15th C. in reference to the Germans, whereas the term *Germanoi* sometimes meant French. When Alexios III concluded a truce with Henry VI of Germany, a new tax called ALAMANIKON was introduced to pay tribute to the Germans.

LIT. Thompson, *Romans & Barbarians* 29–37. L. Musset, *The Germanic Invasions* (London 1985) 80–83. R. Christlein, *Die Alamannen*² (Stuttgart-Aalen 1979). H. Ditten, "Germanen und Alamannen in antiken und byzantinischen Quellen," *BBA* 52 (1985) 20–31. —R.B.H.

ALEPPO. See BERROIA: Berroia in Syria.

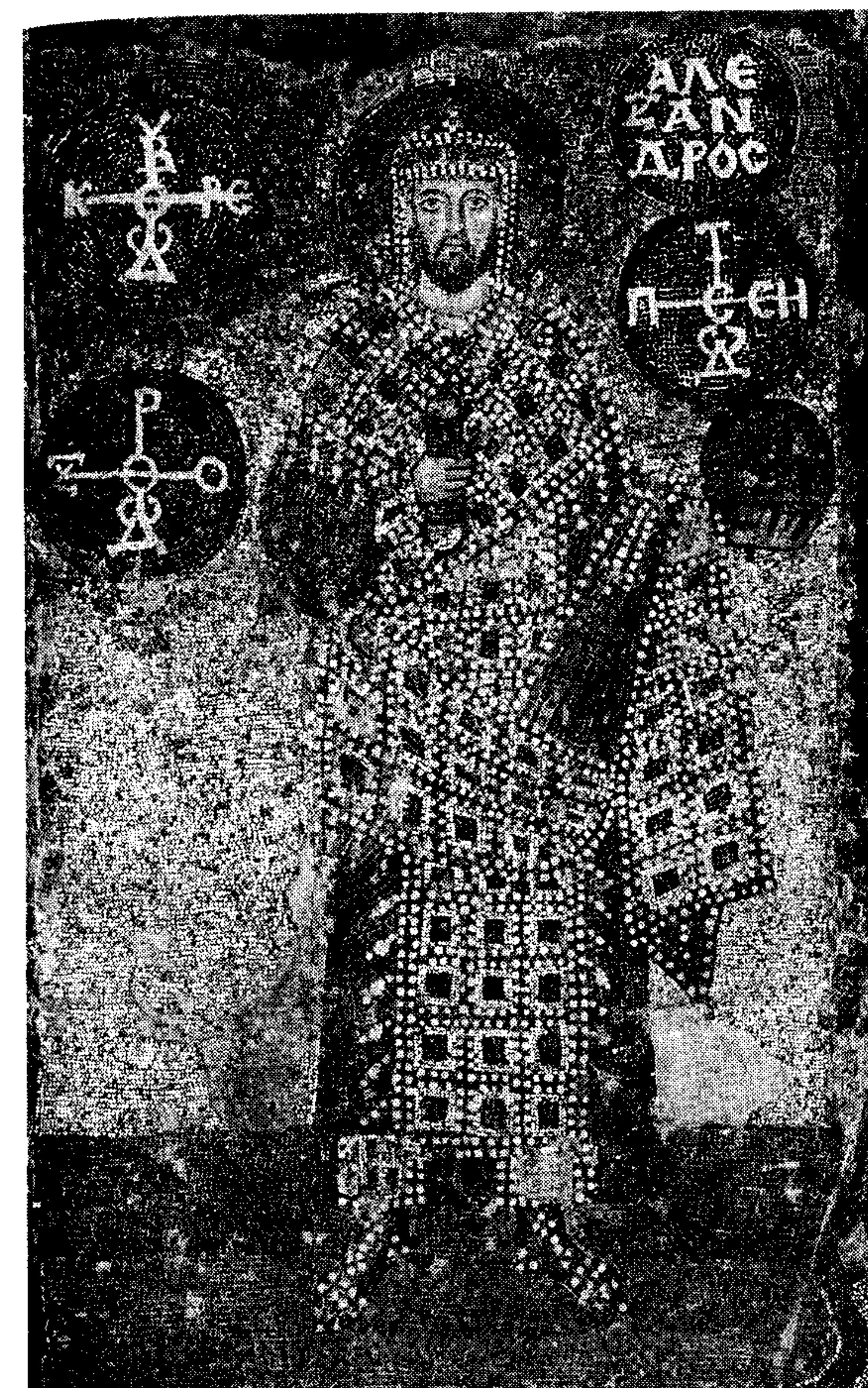
ALEXANDER, bishop of Alexandria (from 313); born Alexandria ca.250, died there 18 April 328. His first task as bishop was to deal with the MELETIAN SCHISM. Most of his reign, however, was concerned with his major adversary, ARIUS. Al-

though condemned and excommunicated by a synod convened by Alexander ca.321, Arius refused to abandon his teaching. This led to the convocation of the First Council of NICAIA (325) in which Alexander, accompanied by his deacon ATHANASIOS (future bishop of Alexandria), played an important role. Of his voluminous correspondence, only three letters survive. In these he reveals himself as an active and persistent supporter of the Orthodox position concerning the Son's perfect consubstantiality and eternal generation from the Father. Fragments of sermons ascribed to him are also preserved in Coptic and Syriac.

ED. Letters—ed. H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius' Werke* (Berlin 1934) 3.1: 6–11, 19–31. W. Schneemelcher, "Der Sermo 'de anima et corpore,'" in *Festschrift für G. Dehn* (Neukirchen 1957) 119–43. O. Perler, "Recherches sur le *Peri Pascha* de Méliton," *RSR* 51 (1963) 407–21.

LIT. G. Loeschcke, "Zur Chronologie der beiden grossen antiarianischen Schreiben des Alexander von Alexandrien," *ZKirch* 31 (1910) 584–86. V.C. de Clercq, *Ossius of Cordova* (Washington, D.C., 1954) 189–206. B. Pheidias, "Alexandros Alexandreas kai hai dyo enkyklioi epistolai autou," *Antidoron pneumatikon. Timetikos tomos Gerasimou Io. Konidare* (Athens 1981) 518–42. —A.P.

ALEXANDER, emperor (11 May 912–6 June 913); born Constantinople ca.870, died Constantinople. The youngest son of BASIL I and EUDOKIA INGERINA, according to the vita of St. BASIL THE YOUNGER, Alexander was co-emperor with his brother LEO VI from 879. During Leo's reign Alexander was at odds with his brother and was even suspected of plotting against him. After ascending the throne, Alexander demoted Leo's assistants (HIMERIOS was imprisoned), possibly deposed Patr. EUTHYMIOS, and reinstated NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS. ZOE KARBONOPSINA was expelled from the palace. Alexander's administration had to face assaults from two directions: the Arabs attacked the area under the control of MELIAS, and SYMEON OF BULGARIA apparently invaded Byz. before Alexander's death. R. Jenkins (*SBN* 7 [1953] 389–93) hypothesizes that an Arab embassy was sent to Constantinople during Alexander's reign. Both the author of the vita of Euthymios and chroniclers are hostile toward Alexander and represent him as lecherous and lazy. A mosaic portrait of Alexander is preserved in the north gallery of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 187–217). Coinage reflects Alexander's bad relations with



ALEXANDER. Portrait of the emperor; mosaic, 912–913. North gallery of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.

Leo VI: Leo's son, CONSTANTINE VII, although titular emperor from 908, does not share the reverse of Alexander's solidi. Rather, his place is taken by John the Baptist shown crowning Alexander, the first depiction of coronation by a sacred figure (C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Byzantion* 57 [1987] 447f).

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "The Emperor Alexander's Bad Name," *Speculum* 44 (1969) 585–96. H. Grégoire, "Un captif arabe à la cour de l'Empereur Alexandre," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 666–73. —A.K., A.C.

ALEXANDER III, pope (from Sept. 1159); born Siena between 1100 and 1105, died Rome 30 Aug. 1181. While a cardinal Alexander had favored a pro-Norman policy; therefore, his election to the papacy was opposed by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, who supported several antipopes and forced

Alexander to seek refuge in France. There the pontiff tried to organize an anti-German coalition, but the French king Louis VII was indifferent to this plan. Alexander eagerly negotiated with Emp. Manuel I. In 1161 Cardinal William of Pavia sent a letter to Manuel asking him to recognize Alexander and complaining that "the barbarians" had usurped the imperial throne. These negotiations became known in Frederick's camp, where Alexander was accused of making an alliance with the emperor. In 1167 Manuel sent the *sebastos* Iordanos to Rome, promising church union on condition that Alexander recognize him as the emperor of the East and West. The plan, however, was never executed because, although Alexander wanted to use Byz. resources against Frederick, he was not inclined to sever all links with Germany. In the 1170s Alexander based his anti-German policy primarily on the support of the Lombard League, a coalition of northern Italian cities.

LIT. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century* (Glen Rock, N.J., 1966). M. Pacault, *Alexandre III*. (Paris 1956) and rev. F. Kempf, *RHE* 52 (1957) 932–37. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III* (Berlin 1928; rp. Varduz 1965). J. Parker, "The Attempted Byzantine Alliance with the Sicilian Norman Kingdom (1166–1167)," *BSR* 24 (1956) 86–93. R. Weigand, "Magister Rolandus und Papst Alexander III," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 149 (1980) 3–44. —A.K.

ALEXANDER IV (Rainaldo, count of Segni), pope (from 12 Dec. 1254); born end of the 12th C., died Viterbo 25 May 1261. He was the nephew of GREGORY IX. From his predecessor INNOCENT IV Alexander inherited the war with MANFRED of Sicily and a dangerous situation in Palestine; he tried to find support in Germany through an alliance with Richard of Cornwall, son of King John of England. He also viewed THEODORE II LASKARIS as a possible ally, since the Latin Empire of Constantinople was in obvious decline. Negotiations reopened at Theodore's initiative and led to an exchange of envoys in 1256; Theodore, however, rejected the idea of papal PRIMACY and insisted on the equality of pope and emperor. Alexander's legate, Constantius of Orvieto, was instructed to agree to the convocation of an ecumenical council and to the absolution of the "schismatics" who were ready to convert to Catholicism, but not to abrogate the principle of primacy. On the other hand, despite the eirenic

tone of the epistle of Patr. ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1332), Theodore's administration arrogantly believed they could recapture Constantinople without papal aid. The negotiations in Thessalonike failed, as did Alexander's struggle for influence in Sicily.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Le Pape Alexandre IV (1254-1261) et l'empire de Nicée," *EO* 34 (1935) 26-55. P. Zavoronkov, "Nikejskaja imperija i Zapad," *VizVrem* 36 (1974) 117f. F. Schillmann, "Zur byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV.," *RQ* 22 (1908) 108-31. P. Toubert in *Études sur l'Italie médiévale* (London 1976), pt.XI (1963), 391-99. -A.K.

ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, physician; born Tralles 525, died Rome 605. According to Agathias (Agath. 5:6.3-6), Alexander was one of five prominent sons of a physician named Stephen; most famous of the brothers was ANTHEMIOS, the architect-engineer of Hagia Sophia. Alexander's family probably knew the navigator-explorer KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, a fact perhaps reflected in the Far Eastern drugs included in Alexander's 12-book medical encyclopedia. In his writing, Alexander exhibits a humane, enthusiastic approach to medicine and a continually adaptive sensitivity to active practice and therapy. These qualities have caused medical historians to call Alexander the "most modern" of the Byz. physicians, even though he readily prescribes AMULETS and other magical means for cures. Compared with AETIOS OF AMIDA, Alexander is certainly less concerned with theory than with the practical application of pharmaceuticals (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 226-28). Alexander is also rightly famous for his "Letter on Intestinal Worms," indicating an acute skill in observation of symptoms and precise case histories. His medicine is eminently sensible and one reads good accounts of ophthalmology (bk.2), what moderns would call angina (bk.4), diseases of the lungs and pleurisy (bks. 5-6), kidney and bladder ailments (bk.9), and gout (bk.12). Alexander knew his GALEN and other classical authorities, but subsumed them within his medical practice, continually adapting data from the written texts, nicely illustrated by Alexander's rearrangement of pharmaceutical ingredients in many of his suggested remedies for specific diseases.

ED. *Alexander von Tralles*, ed. T. Puschmann, 2 vols. (Vienna 1878-79; rp. with addenda, Amsterdam 1963). Fr. tr. F. Brunet, *Oeuvres médicales d'Alexandre de Tralles*, 4 vols. (Paris 1933-37).

LIT. J. Duffy, "Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *DOP* 38 (1984) 25-27. I. Bloch, *HGM* 1:535-44. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:297-99. M. Stoffregen, *Eine frühmittelalterliche lateinische Übersetzung des byzantinischen Puls- und Urintraktats des Alexandros* (Berlin 1977).

-J.S., A.M.T.

ALEXANDER ROMANCE. Ascribed to Kallisthenes of Olynthos, the historian who accompanied ALEXANDER THE GREAT on his expeditions (hence, pseudo-Kallisthenes), the Alexander Romance is based on an anonymous novel written originally in the 3rd C. and widely copied, with frequent accretions of fantastic episodes. Five recensions of the text, which can be dated from the 4th to 7th C., are identifiable. For their reconstruction the translations in Armenian (5th C.), Latin (by Julius Valerius Probus, 4th C., and the archpriest Leo, 9th C.), Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic are important. These recensions survive only in late MSS. There are also late Byz. redactions, one (the Byz. *Alexander-Poem*) in political verse and dated to 1388 and another in prose of uncertain date that survives in several discrepant MSS of the 13th to 16th C. The *Alexandria* became popular in Rus', where at least two recensions were known: one inserted in the chronographs (probably of the 12th C.) was close to the Alexander Romance, another, the so-called *Serbian Alexandria*, appeared about the 15th C. It was a free adaptation of pseudo-Kallisthenes, with an emphasis on the love affair of Alexander and Roxane, the daughter of Darius.

Although Alexander is treated as a traditional hero of ROMANCE (with a mysterious birth, etc.), he is nonetheless regarded as the first *basileus* of the Hellenes. As Alexander came to hold an emotive place in the Byz. view of the past, so the more sober accounts of the chroniclers were supplemented in the popular imagination (in, e.g., the vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME and the Apocalypse of pseudo-METHODIOS OF PATARA) by references taken from the Alexander Romance to the exotic palaces, giants imprisoned in mountains, strange monsters and barbaric peoples on the borders of the empire, and so forth that Alexander encountered on his campaigns. Figures from the Alexander Romance such as the KYNOKEPHALOS and scenes of Boukephalos and Alexander's pursuit of Darius entered the illustration of the *Kynegetika* of OPIAN, while Weitzmann (*infra*) interpreted panels on bone caskets as depictions of the ma-

gician Nektanebos, Olympias, and Philip of Macedon, drawn from the same source. Richly illustrated versions of the Alexander Romance in both Greek (L. Gallagher, *Thesaurismata* 16 [1979] 170-205) and Armenian survive from the 13th to 15th C.

ED. *Historia Alexandri Magni*, ed. W. Kroll (Berlin 1926). *Das byzantinische Alexandergedicht*, ed. S. Reichmann (Meisenheim am Glan 1963). *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob. theol. Gr. 244*, ed. K. Mitsakis (Munich 1967). *Aleksandrija*, ed. M. Botvinnik, Ja. Lur'e, O. Tvorogov (Moscow-Leningrad 1966).

LIT. R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* (Munich 1977). H. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner* (Munich 1961). G. Veloudis, *Der neugriechische Alexander* (Munich 1968). E. Bertel's, *Roman ob Aleksandre i ego glavnye versii na Vostoke* (Moscow-Leningrad 1948). Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 102-06, 186-88. A. Xyngopoulos, *Les miniatures du Roman d'Alexandre le Grand dans le codex de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise* (Athens-Venice 1966).

-E.M.J., A.C., A.K.

ALEXANDER THE AKOIMETOS, archimandrite and saint; died Gomon, Bithynia, ca.430; feastday 20 Feb., although not included in the Synaxarion of Constantinople. An islander by birth, Alexander was educated in Constantinople, where he began an administrative career. He then left for Syria, where he lived as a hermit, frequently intervening in the affairs of cities such as Edessa, Palmyra, and Antioch. From Syria he returned to Constantinople with a group of disciples and settled near the Church of St. Menas. The inflexibility of the service of perpetual prayer that Alexander instituted (see AKOIMETOI, MONASTERY OF) and his constant interference in political activity aroused the hatred of the authorities and local population. Accused of MESSALIANISM, Alexander was condemned by an ecclesiastical tribunal and narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the *demoi* (de Stoop, *infra* 698.4). He found temporary refuge in the monastery of HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI, then went to Gomon, where he died. The vita of Alexander is known from a single 11th-C. MS, the anonymous author describing himself as Alexander's pupil.

The chronology of Alexander's life is far from clear: R. Janin (*EO* 33 [1934] 340) asserts that Alexander arrived in Constantinople ca.405 and founded the monastery of the Akoimatoi ca.420 (Janin, *Églises CP* 16), but the vita places Alexander's quarrel with Theodotos, patriarch of Antioch (424-28) before his arrival. J. Pargoire (*BZ*

8 [1899] 447) speculates that Alexander's expulsion from Constantinople must have taken place before 430, since NEILOS OF ANKYRA alluded to Alexander's troublemaking. It is also uncertain whether Alexander was the founder of the Akoimatoi monastery; his vita (p.700.16-17) says that the monastery was founded after his death.

ED. E. de Stoop, "Vie d'Alexandre l'Acémète," *PO* 6.5 (1911) 645-705, with Lat. tr.

LIT. *BHG* 47. E. Wölfe, "Der Abt Hypatios von Ruphinianai und der Akoimete Alexander," *BZ* 79 (1986) 302-09. -A.K.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (Alexander III of Macedon), son of Philip II of Macedon and Olympias; born 356 B.C., died 323. Alexander was the instigator of the first attempt at world domination by a Greek-speaking ruler. His life and exploits are recorded briefly by Byz. chroniclers with emphasis given to his meeting with the widowed Kandake, the priests of Jerusalem, and the Brahmins of India. Little detail is given on his military campaigns, which are noted for starting from Constantinople and for destroying the empire of the Persians, which was then followed by that of the Macedonians in the succession of empires. As the ruler of a world empire that could be viewed as a predecessor of the Byz. and could also be fitted into the Old Testament framework, Alexander from the time of Constantine I was regarded as a model of the ideal emperor and appears as such in chronicles, orations, eschatological texts, etc. The legendary figure of Alexander was fostered by the ALEXANDER ROMANCE and other shorter texts, dealing with his encounters with apocryphal sages, as well as by the chronicles. Textiles of the 6th-7th C. showed him on horseback (D. Shepherd, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 58 [1971] 244-50), while later enamels and reliefs concentrated on the legend of his Ascension. Scenes from the life of Alexander—treated as the equivalent of the biblical heroes depicted there—decorated the palace of DIGENES AKRITAS. The emotive and symbolic role that Alexander played in the Byz. popular consciousness is demonstrated by his continued importance in Greek folklore even after the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. H.J. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner* (Munich 1961). A.K. Orlandos, "Neon anaglyphon tes analepsos tou Alexandrou," *EPhSpA* 5 (1954-55) 281-89.

-E.M.J., A.C.

ALEXANDER THE MONK, author of a treatise entitled *On the Cross*. He lived sometime between the mid-6th and 9th C.; the traditional date of the mid-6th C. or before 614 lacks any validity. Nothing is known of his biography. His identification with Alexander the Monk (from Cyprus?) who wrote an *enkomion* of the apostle BARNABAS after the discovery of the apostle's relic (488) is arbitrary.

On the Cross consists of two parts: a history of Christianity from the Roman emperor Tiberius to the discovery of the TRUE CROSS by Helena and the appearance of the Cross in Jerusalem in 351, and a panegyric on the Cross as the major symbol of Christianity: "God," says Alexander (PG 87.3:4021B), "made every visible and invisible creature in the shape of a cross," since everything in the world has "height, depth, breadth, and length" (cf. Eph 3:18); thus, the Seraphim are interpreted as "fourfold (*tetramorpha*) beings that prefigure the *typos* of the Cross" (4021C). The cult of the Cross exists in all cities, islands, and tribes (4072C). Because of this cosmic character of the Cross the Lord suffered death on the Cross (4036A). The treatise is known also in a Georgian translation whose earliest MSS belong to the 9th and 10th C.

ED. PG 87.3:4016–88.

LIT. S. Salaville, "Le moine Alexandre de Chypre," *EO* 15 (1912) 134–37. M. van Esbroeck, "L'opuscule 'Sur la Croix' d'Alexandre de Chypre et sa version géorgienne," *BK* 37 (1979) 102–32. —A.K.

ALEXANDRIA (Ἀλεξάνδρεια), third largest city of the late Roman world (after Rome and Constantinople); founded by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. Formerly capital of the Ptolemaic kingdom and the Roman province of Egypt, it was the administrative, military, and ecclesiastical center of the country as well as chief industrial entrepôt of the eastern Mediterranean and outlet for the annual shipments of Egyptian grain (the *embole*) to Rome and Constantinople. Its two harbors handled shipping for goods that had come down the Nile (papyrus, textiles, glass) and for the maritime trade of Oriens as well as transshipments upriver of olive oil, metal goods, pottery, and wine. Laid out on the Hellenistic grid pattern, the city preserved splendid ancient monuments including the Pharos lighthouse (one of the so-called Seven

Wonders); the Serapeum (temple of the syncretic god Serapis), which was partly demolished in Byz. times; and the Caesareum, converted into the patriarchal cathedral. Few remains are extant, except for the recently excavated theater, baths, and lecture hall at Kūm al-Dik (*infra*); the MUSEION and the Tomb (*Sema*) of Alexander are not attested after the 3rd C.

With its wealth, large population (about half a million) bilingual in Greek and Coptic, and flourishing infrastructure, Alexandria was the major intellectual and cultural center of the East, rivaling Constantinople in political influence as well. In literature, scholarship, science, and theology its schools attracted the best minds, and both secular and church patronage supported abundant production in written works and the visual arts. Christianity took root early, leading to the establishment of a powerful centralized patriarchate (see ALEXANDRIA, PATRIARCHATE OF), later split into Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian lines of succession; and a theological school, the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, renowned for its Neoplatonic approach and allegorical method of exegesis. Large urban monasteries, such as the Ennaton and the Metanoia, which are attested in numerous 6th- to 7th-C. papyri, supported guilds of *philoponoi* (charity workers) and varied trades and professions. The mint of Alexandria was revived by Emp. Justin II.

Alexandria was briefly occupied by the Sasanians between 618 and 628/9 (L. MacCoull, *Studi classici e orientali* 36 [1986] 307–13); it fell to the Arabs under 'AMR in 642 (Butler, *infra*, lxxii–lxxvi), was briefly retaken by the Byz. in 645 but immediately recaptured by the Arabs; a second Byz. attempt at recovery in 652 proved unsuccessful.

Monuments of Alexandria. Almost no Byz. monuments have survived. Only the names and a few details regarding the history and location of its once numerous churches are known. The Greek Orthodox patriarchal Church of St. Sabas may preserve some sections of its original 7th-C. foundations. In the area called Kūm al-Dik ("pottery hill") a late Roman bath, a 4th-C. odeon, and some 6th-C. Byz. houses have been excavated. There are also Early Christian tombs (e.g., the so-called Wescher Catacomb, now destroyed, which included a painted frieze representing the FEED-

ING OF THE MULTITUDE). With marble imported from Constantinople, a number of workshops in Alexandria produced architectural sculpture for use in the provincial towns of Lower Egypt; scores of examples have been found at ABŪ MĪNĀ as well as in Cairo.

LIT. A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, vol. 1 (Cairo 1935) 55–206. A. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (Berkeley 1986) 203–33. J. Irmscher, "Alexandria, die christusliebende Stadt," *BSAC* 19 (1967–68) 115–22. A. Martin, "Les premiers siècles du christianisme à Alexandrie," *REAug* 30 (1984) 211–25. M. Krause, "Das christliche Alexandrien und seine Beziehungen zum koptischen Ägypten," in *Alexandrien*, ed. N. Hinske (Mainz 1981) 53–62. M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie III. Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie* (Warsaw 1984). A.J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*² (Oxford 1978) 368–400. —P.G., L.S.B.MacC.

ALEXANDRIA, PATRIARCHATE OF. In addition to using the title of pope (PAPAS), Alexandria's bishop was, perhaps, the first to claim the title ARCHBISHOP. At NICAIA I (325) this see was mentioned, together with Rome and Antioch, among the major ecclesiastical divisions of the empire (canon 6). Its reputation was based on Alexandria's political importance, the support received from monasticism, vast landed wealth, and Egypt's long-standing tradition of centralization. In fact, by the 4th C. all of EGYPT, the Pentapolis, and Libya had been brought under its central authority.

As a result, Alexandria played a prominent part in the theological controversies and ecclesiastical power politics of the 4th–5th C. Nevertheless, its powerful bishops' claim to first place among the sees in the East gradually altered with the rise of Constantinople, promoted to second rank in 381. The bitter conflict that followed in the reigns of THEOPHILOS and CYRIL was finally resolved—at Alexandria's expense and humiliation—at the Council of CHALCEDON (451). Indeed, Chalcedon's rejection of DIOSKOROS and his MONOPHYSITISM were fatal to Alexandria's ecclesiastical and theological prestige and supremacy. Moreover, its unity also suffered. The patriarchate split into two unequal parties, with representatives of the non-Chalcedonian Monophysite majority contesting and sometimes occupying the patriarchal throne. This dissident group eventually formed the national Coptic church of Egypt. The decisive blow to the patriarchate came with the Arab con-

quest (641). Henceforth Constantinople, with the approval and confirmation of the caliphs, appointed Alexandria's Orthodox patriarchs as a rule; the patriarchs controlled only a small minority of Christians in Egypt and followed Constantinople in all liturgical and canonical matters.

LIT. J. Maspero, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie* (Paris 1923). Ch. Papadopoulos, *Historia ekklesias Alexandrias* (Alexandria 1935). *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. B.A. Pearson, J.E. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986). —A.P.

ALEXANDRIAN ERA, a system of computation of world CHRONOLOGY produced by two Egyptian monks and chronographers of the early 5th C., Annianos and Panodoros; the system is known from and was used by GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS (early 9th C.). Panodoros, a critic of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, tried to harmonize the data of the Bible with those of pagan sources (esp. the *Canon of Kings* by Ptolemy). He came to the conclusion that the Creation took place on 19 Mar. and the birth of Christ occurred 5,494 years after the Creation. The computation of Panodoros is the major Alexandrian Era (*aera Alexandrina maior*); the minor Alexandrian Era was suggested by Annianos who dated the Creation to the vernal equinox (25 Mar.) and placed the birth of Christ in 5501.

The Alexandrian Era remained in use outside Egypt: George the Synkellos (6.13–16) defended the idea that the first of the Jewish month Nisan (25 Mar.) and not the first of Thoth (29/30 Aug.), according to Egyptian custom, or the first of Jan. (the Roman usage), was the day of Creation; he also dated the Incarnation 5,500 years after the Creation (p.2.26–27). Traces of the Alexandrian Era can be found in Theophanes the Confessor as well. Maximos the Confessor (PG 19:1249B) also calculated that Christ was born 5,501 years after Adam. After the 9th C. the Alexandrian Era was abandoned even though a unified system of computation did not immediately replace it. The difference between the Alexandrian Era and the BYZANTINE ERA is approximately 16 years, but one also has to take into consideration the difference in the beginning of the year: 25 Mar. according to Annianos and 1 Sept. according to the official calculation of the INDICION and of the Byzantine Era. To convert an Alexandrian date to an A.D. date, 5,492 is subtracted for dates between 25 Mar. and 31 Dec., but 5,491 for dates

between 1 Jan. and 24 Mar. When 1 Sept. is used as the beginning of the era, however, 5,493 is subtracted for dates between 1 Sept. and 31 Dec., but 5,492 for dates between 1 Jan. and 1 Sept.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 85–97. O. Seel, "Panodoros," *RE* 18 (1949) 632–35. V. Loi, *DPAC* 1:211. —B.C.

ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, a conventional designation of two intellectual institutions. First of all, it was the theological tradition generally seen in opposition to the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL. As a developed institution it is attested from the early 3rd C. It consisted of an elementary (catechetical) school and a *didaskaleion* oriented toward the intellectual elite. The school operated under the control of the see of Alexandria, and a number of its teachers (Heraklas, Dionysios, Theognostos, Peter) became bishops of Alexandria in the 3rd C. The last known teacher of the school was DIDYMOS THE BLIND. The theology of the Alexandrian School was developed by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and ORIGEN, who envisioned primarily a cultivated and well-to-do urban audience and based their tenets on the Platonic tradition as revised by PHILO. The main points were typological or allegorical interpretation of the Bible—viewing the Old Testament as a prefiguration of events of the New Testament; the doctrine of three hypostases with an anti-Monarchian emphasis; focusing on Christ's divinity rather than his humanity; a dualistic anthropology in the manner of Plato; and a spiritual rather than "physical" perception of eschatology. The Arian distinction between the Father and Son was in a sense based on the Alexandrian concept of hypostases. Athanasios of Alexandria and esp. Cyril of Alexandria signified a disruption rather than a continuation of the school, since they stressed the unity in substance and the divine nature of Christ, but not the diversity in hypostases.

The term also refers to the Alexandrian School of philosophy that flourished in the 5th to early 7th C.; it included scholars such as HIEROKLES, HYPATIA, and John PHILOPONOS; studied Aristotle no less than Plato; developed an interest in science; and remained neutral toward Christianity.

LIT. G. Bardy, "Aux origines de l'école d'Alexandrie," *RechScRel* 27 (1937) 65–90. L.B. Radford, *Three Teachers of Alexandria* (Cambridge 1908). H. de Lubac, "Typologie et 'allegorisme,'" *RechScRel* 34 (1947) 180–226; 47 (1959) 5–43. E. Molland, *The Conception of the Gospel in the Alexandrian*

Theology (Oslo 1938). A. Le Boullvec, "L'école d'Alexandrie," in *Alexandrina: Mélanges offerts au P. Cl. Mondésert* (Paris 1987) 403–17. J.A. McGuckin, "Christian Asceticism and the Early School of Alexandria," in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition* [= *SChH* 22] (Oxford 1985) 25–39. —T.E.G.

ALEXANDRIAN WORLD CHRONICLE, the conventional title given to a chronicle, illuminated fragments of which survive in the so-called papyrus Goleniščev (now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow). The text is similar to that of BARBARUS SCALIGERI; the chronicle ends in 392. The papyrus has been dated by O. Kurz to ca.675–700 (in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen*, ed. A. Rosenauer, G. Weber [Salzburg 1972] 17–22). This MS is chiefly of interest to art historians, containing on eight fragments a profusion of unframed marginal illustrations, comparable to the Merseburg fragment of the ANNALS OF RAVENNA. The subjects represented include the Old Testament prophets, Roman emperors, a map of the Ocean and its islands, walled cities, and personifications of the MONTHS in bust form (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* I, no.8).

ED. *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik*, ed. A. Bauer, J. Strzygowski, *DenkWien* 51 (1905) 119–204. LIT. Weitzmann, *Studies* 106, 108, 121. —B.B., A.C.

ALEXIOS (Ἀλέξιος), personal name (etym. "helping, supportive"). Classical antiquity knew the similar forms Alexis and Alexion (*RE* 1 [1894] 1466–71), but neither form is listed in *PLRE*, vols. 1–2, or mentioned by historians of the 6th–7th C. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 466.4–5) refers to only a single Alexios, *droungarios tes viglas* under Irene. Alexioi also appeared as shadowy figures among two groups of martyrs allegedly murdered under Leo III (*BHG* 1:14), and in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* we find "Alexios, bishop of Bithynia," also a very vague reference. As far as ALEXIOS HOMO DEI is concerned, the origin of the legend remains obscure. After the 9th C. the name became more common: Skylitzes refers to three Alexioi, as does Anna Komnene. In Niketas Choniates' time the name Alexios was popular; he lists 24 Alexioi, second only to JOHN (35). The five emperors who bore the name ruled between 1081 and 1204. The fashion probably did not extend beyond the elite: in the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), the name appears only as that of emperors; in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3

(13th–15th C.), we meet an insignificant number of Alexioi and the name has fallen to twentieth place.

—A.K.

ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, emperor (from 4 Apr. 1081); born ca.1057, died Constantinople 15 Aug. 1118. Son of John KOMNENOS and Anna DALASENE, Alexios began his career as general under Michael VII and Nikephoros III. Together with his brother Isaac, Alexios revolted against Nikephoros (14 Feb. 1081). Constantinople fell on 1 Apr. and was sacked. Alexios came to the throne with the support of the military aristocracy, esp. the DOUKAI, to whom he was linked by marriage to IRENE DOUKAINA. He found a difficult situation: the government had to cope with the revolts of aristocrats, the Seljuks occupied most of Asia Minor, the Pechenegs threatened the Danubian provinces, and ROBERT GUISCARD was preparing to attack Constantinople. Alexios acted effectively: in 1081–93 he overcame the Normans, defeated the Pechenegs at Mt. LEBOUNION, and repelled TZACHAS from Constantinople.

Alexios's successes owed something to diplomacy—alliances with VENICE and Germany against the Normans (T. Lounghis, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 158–67) and with the CUMANS against the Pechenegs. His domestic policy was equally important: he restricted the influence of senators and eunuchs and relied upon a few military families. Those aristocrats who did not join the "clan" of the Komnenoi, esp. the Anatolian magnates whose estates had been taken by the Seljuks, lost power. His reform of titles was intended to reshape the ruling class. Conspirators (esp. aristocrats) repeatedly but unsuccessfully challenged Alexios (B. Scoulatos, *Byzantion* 49 [1979] 385–94). He supported provincial towns, regulated their trade, and by ca.1092 had restored a sound coinage. Alexios aimed at centralizing the state, even though this state was constructed on a familial or patrimonial principle. Thus his mother and his older brother Isaac acted as emperors. He consolidated the administration under the *logothetes ton sekreton* (see LOGOTHETES) and entrusted various departments to his courtiers. In the case of LEO OF CHALCEDON Alexios broke the church's resistance to official fiscal levies, but he consistently supported the church as the bearer of the true ideology (I. Čičurov, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 238–42). He

allowed the condemnation of heretical intellectuals such as JOHN ITALOS and—against his will—EUSTRATIOS OF NICAIA; Alexios tried and burned BASIL THE BOGOMIL.

The First CRUSADE created a serious problem for Alexios. Although he rid himself of the bands of PETER THE HERMIT, constrained most Crusader leaders to acknowledge their dependence on the empire, and used their forces to regain the coast of Asia Minor, he was unable (partly due to Taktios's mistakes, partly to the intrigues of BOHEMUND) to prevent the creation of independent Crusader states in Palestine. Alexios was critically judged by ZONARAS, treated equivocally by Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, and eulogized by Anna KOMNENE.

Zonaras described Alexios as having debased the coinage, which was already in a poor state at his accession, but this is true of only the first ten years of his reign. Circa 1092 he carried out a major monetary reform, restoring a gold coin of good fineness in the form of the HYPERPYRON and creating two new fractional denominations (see TRACHY) of electrum (see TRIKEPHALON) and billon, which with the copper (initially lead) TETARTERON were to form the standard coinage of the Komnenian period.

Alexios's reputation for piety is suggested by his gift of an icon, establishing the type known as the Virgin Kykkotissa, to the Kykko monastery on Cyprus at the time of its foundation. He also erected a mural (in one of the imperial palaces, according to Nicholas KALLIKLES) of the Last Judgment with Alexios on the side of the damned (Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C." 124–26). The illuminated MSS apparently sponsored by Alexios include two copies of the *Panoplia dogmatike* of Euthymios ZIGABENOS and the Barberini Psalter (Vat. Barb. gr. 372—J. Anderson, *CahArch* 31 [1983] 35–67).

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* vol. 1. Angold, *Empire* 102–49. Morisson, "Logarique" 419–64. P. Gautier, "L'édit d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène sur la réforme du clergé," *REB* 31 (1973) 165–201. —C.M.B., Ph.G., A.C.

ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1204–22); born ca.1182, died 1 Feb. 1222. Elder son of Manuel, son of Andronikos I Komnenos, Alexios was connected to T'amara of Georgia; Manuel's wife may have been T'amara's sister (K. Barzos, *Makedonika* 20 [1980] 30–47). When

Andronikos I fell and Manuel perished, Alexios and his brother DAVID KOMNENOS may have been taken to Georgia, but the fact that one of Alexios's sons was John Komnenos Axouch (1235–38) suggests that Alexios may have remained in Constantinople, possibly married a daughter or niece of John Komnenos "the Fat" (M. Kuršanskis, *ArchPont* 30 [1970] 107–16; K. Barzos, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 173), and fled only after John's conspiracy (1200). The fall of ALEXIOS III seemingly inspired T'amara to mount a Georgian expedition against TREBIZOND, with Alexios and David as nominal leaders (Mar.–Apr. 1204). Once the region from Phasis to Sinope had been occupied, Alexios remained at Trebizond, probably using an imperial title, while David advanced into Paphlagonia. Niketas CHONIATES criticizes Alexios for his inactivity. In 1214, when Kay-Kāvūs I seized Sinope, Alexios may have become his vassal: Ibn Bibī records an immense annual tribute owed. Alexios founded the dynasty of the GRAND KOMNENOI.

LIT. A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204–1222)," *Speculum* 11 (1936) 3–37. A. Savvides, "Hoi Megaloi Komnenoi tou Pontou kai hoi Seltzoukoi tou Rûm (Ikoniou) ten periodo 1205/6–1222," *ArchPont* 39 (1984) 169–93. —C.M.B.

ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS, emperor (1180–83); born Constantinople 14 Sept. 1169 (P. Wirth, *BZ* 49 [1956] 65–67), died Constantinople ca. Sept. 1183. A PORPHYROGENNETOS, son of MANUEL I and MARIA OF ANTIOCH, Alexios was crowned co-emperor in 1171, an elevation celebrated in pictures of Alexios, his father, and grandfather (Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C." 146f). In 1175, Alexios accompanied Manuel on an expedition to rebuild DORYLAION (P. Wirth, *Eustathiana* [Amsterdam 1980] 78). He married AGNES OF FRANCE on 2 Mar. 1180, a match that Spatharakis (*Portrait* 210–30) proposed was the occasion of an illustrated EPITHALAMION in the Vatican Library. Barely adolescent when he succeeded his father, largely uneducated, Alexios indulged in amusements, while his mother and Alexios KOMNENOS the *protopsebastos* ruled. Their regime favored the Italian merchants and the aristocracy, who pillaged the treasury and exploited government offices. To counter incursions by BÉLA III of Hungary and KILIC ARSLAN II, the regency sought assistance from the pope and SALADIN. Opposition from Maria KOMNENE was easily suppressed, but

ANDRONIKOS I KOMNENOS overthrew the regency (Apr. 1182). He recrowned Alexios (16 May 1182), bearing the youth on his shoulders. Closely guarded, Alexios continued to pursue pleasure; his supporters Andronikos Angelos, Andronikos Kontostephanos, and John Komnenos Vatatzes were suppressed. In 1183, Alexios condemned his own mother to death. Once Andronikos had been proclaimed emperor, he decreed Alexios's death. The youth was strangled and the body buried at sea.

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:454–71. Brand, *Byzantium* 31–49. Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 12–29. —C.M.B., A.C.

ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1297–1330); born 1283, died 3 May 1330. Son of JOHN II KOMNENOS of Trebizond and Eudokia Palaiologina, he used the surname Palaiologos as well as Komnenos (O. Lampsides, *REB* 42 [1984] 225–28). He was only 14 when his father died; he then came under the tutelage of his uncle, the Byz. emperor ANDRONIKOS II. Alexios refused, however, to marry Irene, daughter of Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, and thwarted the emperor's wishes by marrying the daughter of Bekha Jaqeli, the ruler of Samckhe, in 1300 (M. Kuršanskis, *REB* 35 [1977] 252f). In 1301 Alexios mounted a victorious campaign to drive the Turkomans out of KERASOUS; he had less success in his efforts to rid TREBIZOND of the Genoese domination of its commerce. Treaties with Genoa (1316) and Venice (1319) granted both Italian cities trading privileges and exemptions from customs duties. Alexios built the walls of Trebizond that run down to the sea. His patronage of the arts is revealed by his benefactions to the monasteries of St. Eugenios (in Trebizond) and of SOUMELA, as well as by his correspondence with the astronomer Gregory CHIONIADIS, who wrote a hymn to St. Eugenios at his request (L.G. Westerink, *REB* 38 [1980] 236, 239). Upon the death of Alexios, Constantine Loukites, *protonotarios* and *protopsebastos*, composed his funeral eulogy (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1:421–30).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 31–44, 120. PLP, no. 12084. —A.M.T.

ALEXIOS III ANGELOS, emperor (1195–1203); born ca. 1153, died Nicaea 1211 or 1212. Elder brother of ISAAC II, Alexios spent most of the

reign of ANDRONIKOS I in Syria and was imprisoned in TRIPOLI ca. 1185–87. Honored by Isaac, Alexios conspired and overthrew his brother. He was weak-willed, extravagant, and indolent, allowing birth, rank, and payments to guide his choice of officials, as in the case of Michael STRYPHNOS. Provincial officials (Leo SGOUROS, John SPYRIDONAKES) sought independence, while the court's tyranny appears in the case of KALOMODIOS. The populace of Constantinople caused occasional outbursts but failed to support the uprising of John KOMNENOS "the Fat." The strongest pillar of Alexios's regime was his wife EUPHROSYNÉ. Alexios experienced military successes in dealing with IVANKO and DOBROMIR CHRYSOS; with KALOJAN, he made a treaty. He favored PISA and GENOA at the expense of VENICE. The Fourth Crusade found the empire in disarray; after a brief resistance, Alexios fled (17/18 July 1203). He wandered until he fell into the hands of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT (late 1204). Sent to Montferrat, Alexios remained there until ransomed (1209 or 1210) by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros, who dispatched him to KAY-KHUSRAW I (R.J. Loenertz, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 370–76). When THEODORE I LASKARIS defeated the sultan (spring 1211), Alexios was captured. Theodore placed him in a monastery, where he died.

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:726–801. Brand, *Byzantium* 117–57, 234–41. —C.M.B.

ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1349–1390); baptismal name John; born 5 Oct. 1338, died 20 Mar. 1390. Son of Basil I Komnenos (1332–40), the infant Alexios was exiled to Constantinople after his father's death. At age 11, however, he returned to TREBIZOND to claim the throne and, subsequently, enjoyed the longest reign of any Trapezuntine emperor. The early years of his rule were troubled by internal dissensions and the Turkoman threat. In 1355, he led an ill-fated expedition against the Turkomans that resulted in a rout of the Greeks; the chronicler PANARETOS narrowly escaped with his life. Alexios, however, also pursued a conscious policy of cementing good relations with the Turkomans by marrying two of his sisters and four of his daughters to various of their rulers (A. Bryer, *DOP* 29 [1975] 129–31, 136f, 148f; E. Zachariadou, *ArchPont* 35 [1978] 339–51).

One of the main problems of Alexios's administration was relations with the Italian republics. At his accession, Alexios found the Venetian trading station ruined, and by 1350/1 regular transactions with Genoa ceased. In the 1360s the Venetians attempted to revive their activity in Trebizond and to attract Alexios to an anti-Turkish coalition, but chrysobulls issued by Alexios in 1364 and 1367 did not confer upon Venice any more privileges than it had had in the early 14th C. Since Alexios wanted to exploit Venetian trade for the benefit of his treasury, tensions arose. In 1376 Venice organized a military invasion, sponsoring the usurpers Michael Palaiologos the *despotes* (son of Emp. John V) and Andronikos the Grand Komnenos. Although the expedition failed to bring about Alexios's deposition, a new chrysobull in 1376 lowered Venetian *kommerkia* by 50 percent. Despite this chrysobull Venetian trade in Trebizond continued to decrease through the 1380s.

Alexios was a generous patron of monasticism, founding monasteries such as VAZELON in the empire of Trebizond and DIONYSIOU on Mt. Athos. The original chrysobull of foundation (dated 1374) of Dionysiou, portraying Alexios and his wife Theodora Kantakouzene, is preserved at that monastery (*Dionys.*, no. 4; Spatharakis, *Portrait* 185–87, figs. 136–38). Alexios also restored the SOUMELA monastery.

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 55–70. PLP, no. 12083. D.A. Zakynthinos, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène, empereur de Trébizonde, en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris 1932). Karpov, *Trapezundskaia imperija* 57–72. —A.M.T., A.K.

ALEXIOS IV ANGELOS, emperor (1203–04); born ca. 1182 or 1183, died Constantinople ca. 8 Feb. 1204. Son of Isaac II and his first wife, Alexios was left free after Isaac's blinding and in late summer/early autumn 1201 escaped to Italy. Welcomed in Germany by his sister Irene and PHILIP OF SWABIA, Alexios was present when Philip conferred with BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT. About Dec. 1202–Jan. 1203 envoys from Philip and Alexios offered generous concessions to the Fourth Crusade at ZARA, if the Crusaders would put Alexios on the Byz. throne. Once the Crusaders accepted his offer, he joined them (May 1203) at Kerkyra. After Alexios III fled and Isaac II had been restored, the Crusaders required that Alexios IV be named co-emperor. He was crowned in early Aug., then joined them in an expedition to

Thrace (Aug.–Nov.). Upon his return, Alexios IV became the dominant emperor. Isaac and Alexios IV had vainly endeavored to fulfill the Treaty of Zara by formally submitting to the pope and collecting money for the Crusaders. When they could not be satisfied, Alexios fell under the influence of those hostile to the Crusaders, esp. the future ALEXIOS V DOUKAS. Isolated from his former supporters, Alexios fell victim to Doukas, who induced him to flee the palace (28/9 Jan. 1204), then had him strangled in prison.

LIT. Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 30–136. C.M. Brand, "The Fourth Crusade: Some Recent Interpretations," *MedHum* n.s. 12 (1984) 33–45. —C.M.B.

ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1416–29); born 1382, died Achantos (near Trebizond) before 28 Oct. 1429. Son of MANUEL III KOMNENOS, Alexios served as co-emperor from 1395 to 1416. Sometime before 1404 he briefly rebelled against his father. Upon ascending to the throne, Alexios was first faced with war against the Genoese. In 1418 he agreed to pay them an indemnity of wine and nuts for four years. He tried to ensure the security of his kingdom through diplomacy, marrying his daughters to a White Sheep Turkoman chieftain and Emp. John VIII Palaiologos. It is unlikely that one of Alexios's daughters married GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ, ruler of Serbia, as is sometimes stated (A. Bryer, *ArchPont* 27 [1965] 28f). Alexios was assassinated during the coup d'état of his son, JOHN IV KOMNENOS (V. Laurent, *ArchPont* 20 [1955] 138–43).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 79–83. Kuršanskis, "Descendance d'Alexis IV," 239–47. *PLP*, no. 12082. —A.M.T.

ALEXIOS V DOUKAS, emperor (1204); died Constantinople ca. Dec. 1204. His sobriquet "Mourtzouphlos" (Μούρτζουφλος) was a reference to his overhanging brows, according to Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 561.23–25), but C. Symeonides (*Byzantina* 13.2 [1985] 1619–28) suggests it means "melancholy, sullen." A Doukas of unknown lineage, Alexios was allegedly behind the attempted usurpation of John KOMNENOS "the Fat" (1200); possibly for that reason he was in prison when the Fourth Crusade installed ALEXIOS IV. Released, he was named *protovestiaris*, but sought to undermine Alexios IV. To gain popular support for his intended usurpation, Alexios Dou-

kas led raids on the Crusaders outside Constantinople. Between 27 and 29 Jan. 1204, when the populace made Nicholas KANNABOS emperor, Alexios Doukas encouraged Alexios IV to seek Crusader assistance, then exploited this move to win Varangian support to depose Alexios. On 2 Feb., as emperor, Alexios V failed in an attempt to ambush some Crusaders. He strengthened the walls and revitalized his troops. Funds were secured by confiscating aristocratic property. His followers defeated the first Crusader attack (9 Apr. 1204), but on 12 Apr., when the Latins burst in, Alexios V fled to Thrace. Taking with him Empress EUPHROSINE DOUKAINA KAMATERA and her daughter Eudokia, his paramour, Alexios V encountered Alexios III at MOSYNOPOLIS (summer 1204). Alexios III first allowed Alexios V to marry Eudokia, then trapped and blinded him. Around late Nov., Alexios V was captured by Thierry de Loos, tried for treason to Alexios IV, and thrown from the Column of Theodosios.

LIT. Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 123–47. B. Hendrickx, C. Matzukis, "Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos: His Life, Reign and Death (?–1204)," *Hellenika* 31 (1979) 108–32. —C.M.B.

ALEXIOS HOMO DEI, saint; feastday 17 March. Born in Rome under emperors Honorius and Arkadios, Alexios was the son of a wealthy senator. To avoid an arranged marriage, Alexios sailed off to Syria, where he lived as a beggar in Edessa. After 17 years he returned to Rome and lived 17 more years on charity in his father's house, unrecognized. One day, when Archbp. Markianos (no pope of this name is known) was celebrating the liturgy, a divine voice indicated that Alexios was "the man of God" (*homo dei*). Alexios was found dead with a document in his hands revealing his origin and story. According to his vita, "the very pious emperors" attended his funeral. It is commonly accepted that the Greek legend summarized above was based on a Syriac vita of an anonymous "man of God": this saint, born in Rome, fled from his wealthy parents and his fiancée, lived as a beggar, and died in Edessa. Sixth-century MSS preserve the Syriac version. In Byz. the legend was known by the 9th C., when JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER eulogized Alexios. The text of the anonymous Greek vita was copied in many MSS, including one of 1023 (F. Halkin, *AB* 98 [1980] 5–16). The legend did not spread to Rome

before 977; thereafter it grew very popular in the West and in Slavic countries. The Ethiopic translation makes Alexios the son of Theodosios II and transfers the locale of his deeds to Armenia. The focus of the legend—rejection of family and marriage for the sake of God—was one of the most important hagiographical themes (B. de Gaiffier, *AB* 65 [1947] 157–95).

Representation in Art. Portraits of the saint, which are rare, give him the features of JOHN THE BAPTIST. The 11th-C. imperial *MENOLOGION* in Moscow (Hist. Mus. gr. 183, fol.210) shows the saint laid out on his bed, mourned by his father, as the emperor removes the document from the dead man's hands.

SOURCES. F.M. Esteves Pereira, "Légende grecque de l'homme de Dieu Saint Alexis," *AB* 19 (1900) 243–53. *Žitie Alekseja čeloveka božija*, ed. V.P. Adrianova (Petrograd 1917; rp. The Hague–Paris 1969) 458–75. M. Rössler, "Alexius-probleme," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 53 (1933) 508–28. E. Cerulli, *Les vies éthiopiennes de saint Alexis l'homme de Dieu*, 2 vols. (Louvain 1969).

LIT. *BHG* 51–56h. A. Amiaud, *La légende syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu* (Paris 1889). C.E. Stebbins, "Les origines de la légende de Saint Alexis," *RBPH* 51 (1973) 497–507. E. Krausen, *LCI* 5:90f. —A.K., N.P.S.

ALEXIOS STOUDITES, patriarch of Constantinople (between 12 and 15 Dec. 1025–20 Feb. 1043 [V. Laurent, *EO* 35 (1936) 75f]); died Constantinople. A former *hegoumenos* of the Stoudios monastery, Alexios was appointed patriarch without the necessary canonical formalities by Emp. Basil II, who was on his deathbed. Alexios acted in concert with Constantine VIII, and in July 1026 the new emperor, the patriarch, and the senate promulgated a novel anathematizing any revolt against the *basileus* (PG 137:1245AB). Alexios tried to protect the independence of the clergy, stressing in Jan. 1028 that no clergyman or monk could be judged by a civil authority, and in 1027 he condemned the practice of *CHARISTIKION*. With great energy Alexios attacked the Monophysites, esp. those in the Melitene region. He dealt also with matrimonial regulations. In 1038 Alexios and the synod defined the prohibitions on marriage between close relatives; they did not make a clear decision, however, concerning individuals of the seventh degree of relationship. The patriarch's relations with the government deteriorated under Michael IV: it is reported (Skyl. 401.67–80) that JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS, who desired

to become patriarch of Constantinople, incited some metropolitans to demand the deposition of Alexios under the pretext that he had not been elected canonically, but the plan failed because of Alexios's courageous resistance. No more successful was the attempt of Michael V to depose Alexios.

In 1034 Alexios founded a monastery of the Dormition near Constantinople. Its *typikon* is lost in the original but has survived in Slavic MSS, the oldest of which is of the 12th C. It reveals certain modifications of the original made by the translator (I. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav* [Moscow 1885] 113–28).

LIT. G. Ficker, *Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites* (Kiel 1911). *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 829–55. S. Petrides, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 398. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 13–14. —A.K.

ALIMPIJ, late 11th-C. Kievan painter. The *PATERIK* describes Alimpij as helping painters from Constantinople who came to decorate a church (of the Dormition) in the monastery of the Caves when Vsevolod was prince of KIEV and Nikon was third abbot of the monastery (1078–91?). After the church's dedication, Alimpij became a priest. Later portions of the *Paterik* are devoted to miracles associated with icons that he painted. Like many ARTISTS, therefore, Alimpij worked in a variety of media. VLADIMIR MONOMACH is mentioned as learning of the "venerable" Alimpij. The painter's career thus spanned at least a quarter of a century. The date of his death is unknown; he was buried in his monastery.

LIT. V. Pucko, "Kievskij chudožnik XI veka Alimpij Pečerskij," *WSljb* 25 (1979) 63–88. —A.C.

ALLAGION (ἀλλάγιον), a military detachment that in the 10th C. consisted of 50–150 warriors: imperial *allagia* had 320–400 (A. Dain, *Sylloge tacticorum* [Paris 1938] 56). In the late 13th–14th C. the term *mega allagion* designated a garrison, esp. in Thessalonike, and the old *allagion* of the emperor's guards was probably replaced by two *paramonai*, one on horseback, the other on foot. The *Chronicle of the Morea* describes *allagia* as mounted companies; Constantine, the brother of Michael VIII, had at his disposal 18 *allagia*, for a total of 6,000 warriors (D. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 2:133). In the 14th C. the commander of the

allagion was called the *archon tou allagiou*; side by side with him, a ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 138.34–35) mentions the *protallagator*, both subalterns of the *megas primikerios*. Since each of the *allagatores* stood at the head of a single *paramone*, the *protallagator* was the commander of the whole company; the difference between him and the *archon tou allagiou* is not clear. According to Pertusi (*infra*), the name *ta allagia* was reflected in the Arabic toponym Ṭālājā or Tafala for a theme located near Constantinople.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:524–26, 529f. A. Pertusi, “Il preteso thema bizantino di Ṭālājā” *BZ* 49 (1956) 90–95. —A.K.

ALLAXIMOI (ἀλλάξιμοι, from ἀλλάσσω, “to change”), or *allaximoi* of the *kouboukleion* (*De cer.* 7.1–6), aulic servants in charge of the emperor’s wardrobe. The word *allaxima* or *allaximata* designated ceremonial apparel (Ph. Koukoules, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 78) that was stored in great quantities in the palace. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos calls these servants *hoi epi ton allaximon* and places them under the command of the *DEUTEROS* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 131.16–18).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 127.

—A.K.

ALLEGORY (ἀλληγορία) in Byz. was used in the sphere of both literature and theology.

LITERARY ALLEGORY. In antiquity, literary allegory was understood as a *TROPE* whose goal was the expression of a concept that differed from the literal sense of the words but was connected with them by similarity or contrast. Allegory remained an important vehicle of Byz. literature: thus, the image of the castle in Palaiologan texts served the function of both romantic adventure and didactic allegory (C. Cupane, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 264). In literary interpretation, biblical exegesis, and philosophy, the search for allegory meant the revealing of hidden content.

The same principle was applied to classical texts: the allegorical exegesis of Homer (and other poets) was practiced by Neoplatonists, who also interpreted Plato allegorically. TZETZES, too, in his commentary on Homer, distinguished three kinds of allegory: physical, psychological, and pragmatic (historical). Late antique or Byz. novels and romances were interpreted allegorically to neutral-

ize their erotic content (cf. the commentary on the *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros, perhaps by PHILAGATHOS, and Manuel PHILES on *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*). Allegory was applied far beyond literary and philosophical exegesis: the ceremonial of the imperial court, the color of attire, the behavior of animals, an earthquake, all could receive an allegorical interpretation, since the cosmos was perceived as a *RIDDLE* that needed an explanation. This interpretative allegory could be many tiered, having various meanings that were construed as noncontradictory.

LIT. P. Rollinson, *Classical Theories of Allegory and Christian Culture* (London 1981). Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XIV (1954), 35–54. Wolfson, *Philosophy* 1:24–96. M.N. Esper, *Allegorie und Analogie bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Bonn 1979). W. Bienert, *Allegoria und Anagoge bei Didymos dem Blinden von Alexandria* (Berlin 1972). —A.K., I. Š.

THEOLOGICAL ALLEGORY. For theologians, allegory was the key method of hermeneutics (or *techne*) in textual interpretation from the Hellenistic period onward. The apologists, particularly theologians of the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, applied it to biblical exegesis in a manner similar to the interpreters of Homer and Hesiod, either to uncover the deeper, spiritual meaning behind the literal or historical sense, or to reevaluate offensive passages. At the same time, they opposed the allegorical interpretation of myths, seen as the main support of contemporary polytheism, and Gnostic allegorization, thus distancing themselves from both views. Likewise, they opposed Marcion and fellow adherents of Gnosticism who denied any salvific value to the Old Testament, and who regarded the Old Testament as a foreshadowing (*typos*) of the New Testament. In Galatians 4:21–30 the Alexandrian apologists found a model and justification for their “theological method” based on the unity of the Old and New Testaments, conducted on the premise that the Old Testament prefigures Christ, and that both constitute sacred Scripture.

Relating the two Testaments to the contemporary situation to uncover the desired inner meaning is clearly evident in the exegetical commentaries and sermons of ORIGEN. Therefore, so far as Origen is concerned, the old controversy originated by the reaction of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL as to whether or not Alexandrian allegory is more than an arbitrary interpretation of the texts, and thereby different from the Hellenistic or Gnostic

mythical interpretations, is relativized but not resolved.

Despite assertions to the contrary by all representatives of the Antiochene tradition, it is doubtful that Antiochene *theoria* or *anagoge* differed from the allegory of Origen as a theological or hermeneutical method. It is true that Antiochene thought is oriented more toward the text, and in the *catenae* of patristic exegesis after the Council in Trullo (691) and in the Byz. *erotapokriseis* typological exegesis stemmed largely from this orientation, which today is distinguished from allegorical exegesis. Nonetheless, radical allegorization continued to flourish, as shown, for example, in the commentary on the *Hexaemeron* by pseudo-Anastasios of Sinai (PG 89:851–1077), in which the first chapter of Genesis is given an allegorical interpretation to reveal Christ and the Church.

LIT. H. de Lubac, “‘Typologie’ et ‘Allégorisme,’” *RechScRel* 34 (1947) 180–226. Idem, *Histoire et esprit. L’intelligence de l’Écriture d’après Origène* (Paris 1950). R.P.C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen’s Interpretation of Scripture* (London 1959). K.J. Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen’s Exegesis* (Berlin–New York 1986). J. Tigcheler, *Didyme l’Aveugle et l’exégèse allégorique* (Nijmegen 1977). P. Ternant, “La *theoria* d’Antioche dans le cadre de l’Écriture,” *Biblica* 34 (1953) 135–58, 354–83, 456–86. J. Guillet, “Les exégèses d’Alexandrie et d’Antioche, Conflit ou malentendu?” *RechScRel* 34 (1947) 257–302. M. Simonetti, *Lettera elo Allegoria: Un contributo alla storia dell’esegesi patristica* (Rome 1985). —K.-H.U.

ALLELENGYON (ἀλληλέγγυον, “mutual security”). The term *allelengyue* first appears in papyri designating joint guarantors of a debt or other obligation (*P. Oxy.* 1408) and by the 4th–7th C. had in practice become synonymous with mutual *fideiussio*. Justinian I (in novel 99.1 pr.) distinguishes two types of *fideiussio*: one where the co-sureties answered fully and equally any legal action against them, and the other where a special contract limited each individual’s obligation to a portion of the total liability; in this case wealthy co-sureties were responsible only for their own portion and not for the liabilities of their impoverished or fugitive partners. Texts of the 9th and 10th C. employ the word in the context of obligations to the fisc, and it seems in some sense to have replaced the older term *epibole* to describe the longstanding principle of communal tax liability: Emp. Nikephoros I required peasants to pay *allelengyos* (collectively) for poorer neighbors

engaged in military service (Theoph. 486.26); the *Treatise on Taxation* compelled peasants to pay the taxes of neighbors who had fled the land (Dölger, *Beiträge* 119.2). In 1002 Basil II introduced the *allelengyon*, requiring *DYNATOI* to pay the arrears of poorer taxpayers; the precise procedures employed under this measure remain obscure. Under pressure from ecclesiastical officials, Romanos III abolished the *allelengyon* in 1028. Nevertheless, a deed of purchase of 1097 (*Lavra* 1, no.53.34) mentions property based on mutual solidarity—*allelengyos* and *alleloanadochos*—and ca.1100 Nicholas Mouzalon accused tax collectors of eliciting payments from members of the village community on the principle of *allelengyon* (F. Dölger, *BZ* 35 [1935] 14).

LIT. A. Segré, “L’*allelengye*,” *Aegyptus* 5 (1924) 185–201. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 78–80. —A.J.C.

ALMSGIVING (ἐλεημοσύνη) was a social function consistently praised by theologians and moralists, even though some writers, such as SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, denied the importance of almsgiving for personal salvation (Kazhdan, “Simeon” 12). Almsgiving is a major topos of hagiography, which presents saints either distributing their property among the poor or in conflict with their families over charitable giving (cf. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, MARY THE YOUNGER). Even monks in certain monasteries were permitted to have private funds for almsgiving, or at least the practice was tolerated (AASS Nov. 3:566D).

The scope of charitable giving is hard to calculate. JOHN ELEEMON reportedly compiled a list of the poor in Alexandria (more than 7,000) who were supported by his program of PHILANTHROPY. John Chrysostom stated that a tenth of the population of Antioch required material assistance; in Constantinople he counted 30,000 men and 20,000 women in need of welfare (Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 257–59).

With so many in need, the problem of how to influence (and control) them was of great import. The poor argued that they had a right to bread and entertainment; the state of the 4th–7th C. complied, distributing special tokens (*tesserae*) for theaters, bathhouses, etc. (glass *tesserae* of the 5th–7th C. are known; K. Regling, *RE* 2.R. 5 [1934] 854); esp. important was the distribution of GRAIN. Eventually the church transformed this

right of the poor into the charity of the church, the state, and the wealthy; the recipients had to stop demanding "bread and circuses" and to beg for alms.
—A.K.

ALOUSIANOS (Ἀλουσιάνος), second son of the Bulgarian tsar JOHN VLADISLAV, who gave his name to a Byz. family; fl. first half of the 11th C. The origin of the name is unclear: it has been interpreted as Armenian (J. Ivanov), Jewish (S. Gičev: from *alluf*, "prince"), or Latin (I. Dujčev, who connected it with "Aloisius"). He served as *strategos* of Theodosiupolis and possessed lands (his wife's dowry) in Charsianon. Aalousianos sided with rebels in Bulgaria in 1040. He joined Peter DELJAN at Ostrovo (near Thessalonike) and forced Deljan to accept him as co-ruler. During the siege of Thessalonike, discord in the rebel army broke out between Aalousianos and Deljan. According to Litavrin (*Bolgaria i Vizantija* 376–96), the Bulgarian nobles supported Aalousianos until he was defeated at Thessalonike. When Michael IV led an expedition against the rebels, Aalousianos blinded Deljan and fled to the emperor. For his treason Aalousianos was rewarded with the title of *magistros*. His son Basil was governor of Edessa. Another son, Samuel, was commander of troops in Armeniakon; perhaps the seal of a Samuel Aalousianos entitled *proedros* and *doux* was his. Basil and Samuel's sister married ROMANOS IV. Several Aalousianoï (Constantine, David) are known from seals with effigies of the military saints George and Demetrios. Later the family lost its military functions, although some Aalousianoï became higher civil officials, e.g., Thomas Aalousianos, *krites katholikos* in Constantinople ca. 1380–97. They were related to the AARONIOI.

LIT. J. Ivanov, "Proizchod na car Samuilovija rod," *Sbornik v čest na Vasil N. Zlatarski* (Sofia 1925) 59f. V. Zlatarski, "Molivdovulüt na Alusiana," *Izvestia* 10 (1930 [1931]) 49–63. I. Dujčev, "Vürchu njakoi bulgarski imena i dumi u vizantijskite avtori," *Ezikovedski izsledovanija v čest na Akademik Stefan Mladenov* (Sofia 1957) 159f. S. Gičev, "Essay on Interpreting the Name Aloussian," *EtBalk* 6 (1967) 165–78. *PLP*, nos. 692–97.
—A.K.

ALP ARSLAN, Seljuk sultan (1063–73); born ca. 1030, died Turkestan Jan. 1073. Nephew of TUGHRUL BEG, Alp Arslan ruled Iran, Iraq, and northern Syria. To keep his Turkomans occupied, he allowed them to raid Byz. In 1064 he captured

ANI with great slaughter. About 1070 he made a treaty with ROMANOS IV, which Alp Arslan considered violated by Romanos's subsequent recovery of Mantzikert (1071). Moving speedily from northern Syria, Alp Arslan inflicted a crushing defeat upon Romanos (see MANTZIKERT, BATTLE OF). Alp Arslan soon released Romanos, perhaps to encourage civil strife in Byz. MALIKSHÄH succeeded Alp Arslan.

LIT. C. Cahen, "Alp Arslan," *EF* 1:420–21. M. Canard in *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions* (London 1974), pt. VI (1965), 239–59.
—C.M.B.

ALT'AMAR (Aght'amar), island in Lake Van in eastern Anatolia. Gagik ARCRUNI, Armenian king of VASPURAKAN (908–36), had a fortified city built on this island; according to the 12th-C. addition to the *History of the House of the Artsrunik'* (tr. R. Thomson [Detroit 1985] 354–61), it included a church and a palace with domes or pavilions decorated with scenes of combat, courtly pleasures, and animals.

Only the church, dedicated to the Holy Cross, survives. Built probably 915–29, it became the center of an important monastery. A domed quatrefoil of the type of St. Hrip'simē in VALARŠAPAT, its blocky exterior carries the decoration described in the *History*: rinceaux enclosing scenes of courtly entertainments, Evangelists, and King Gagik offering the church to Christ. Individual animals, full figures and medallion busts of prophets and saints, and Old and New Testament scenes complete this most extensive of all surviving Armenian sculptural programs. Sources should be sought in the art of the Arab 'Abbāsid court, in 6th-C. Palestine, and in earlier Armenian sculpture. No principle governing the arrangement of scenes has been adduced.

The interior has an equally ambitious fresco program, including, in the drum of the dome, a GENESIS cycle and, along the walls of three secondary apses, a Gospel cycle that, although one-quarter obliterated, still contains 23 scenes. The *History* does not describe these paintings; A. Grishin (*Parergon*, n.s. 3 [1985] 39–51) has questioned a 10th-C. date, noting that in places two layers of painting are visible. A lost stone loggia balustrade featured heads of exotic animals, including an elephant (Grishin, fig. 4).

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar, Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). N. Thierry, "Le cycle de la

création et de la chute d'Adam à Altamar," *REArm* n.s. 17 (1983) 291–329. S. Der Nersessian, H. Vahramian, *Aght'amar* (Milan 1974).
—A.T.

ALTAR (ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα), the holy table on which the EUCHARIST is offered; it was located in the sanctuary behind the TEMPLON, at first in front of the apse, later within the main (central) apse of the Byz. triple-apsed sanctuary. Interpreted in Byz. COMMENTARIES as at once Jesus' tomb, the table of the Last Supper, Golgotha, the heavenly altar, and the throne of God, the altar as dread symbol of God's dwelling is reflected in the rites of access to the altar in Eucharist and ordination rites, and in the later practice of concealing it behind curtains (Taft, *Great Entrance* 279–83, 413–16). The altar also served as a place of ASYLUM.

The earliest altars—sometimes called *mensae*—appear to have been of timber and were portable. From the 4th C., as their place in the church became fixed, they began to be made of stone. Altars dressed in silver and gold and studded with precious stones are also recorded (Sozom., *HE* 9.1.4). Altars of this period were box-shaped or free-standing, the latter consisting of a circular, semicircular, or rectangular slab, variously attached to a plinth (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:444–52). Sometimes (as at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople), the altar was set on a small platform above the level of the sanctuary (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 45 [1979] 288.16, 298.8). Below or near the altar stood the *thalassa* (a small basin, usually connected with a drainage system, that served for the ceremonial washing of priests during the liturgy). In representations, an altar is often shown covered with an ENDYTE.

As early as the 4th C. altars were furnished with a case, called the *katathesis*, containing RELICS (K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:119). By the 8th C. relics became indispensable for the inauguration (ENKAINIA) of a church. The relics were placed either in a socket in the altar's plinth, as at DAPHNI (*ABME* 8 [1955–56] 76), or in a CRYPT under the altar. In Western churches transformed into MARTYRIA, the altar sometimes took the form of a SARCOPHAGUS enclosing the saint's relics, with an opening (the *fenestella*) facing west.

LIT. J.P. Kirsch, T. Klauser, *RAC* 1:334–54. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols. (Munich 1924).
—R.F.T., L.Ph.B.

ALTAR OF VICTORY, symbol of pagan resistance in 4th-C. Rome. A statue of Victory (NIKE) was apparently brought from Tarentum in the reign of Augustus and stood near the entrance to the senate, where senators regularly offered incense on a small altar as they entered. The altar was first removed by Constantius II, perhaps in 357, and there was no great resistance. It was put back in place by Julian and removed again by GRATIAN, but this time the opposition was considerable. A delegation of senators sought its return, but Pope Damasus and St. AMBROSE persuaded the emperor not to yield. In 384 SYMMACHUS, then prefect of the city, addressed his poignant appeal for restoration to the court of the young Valentinian II; it nearly succeeded until Ambrose threatened the emperor with excommunication. In 390 a delegation from the senate approached Theodosios I in Milan with the same request and after some hesitation he refused. After the return of Theodosios to Constantinople the senate again sought assistance from Valentinian II; even though the *magister militum* ARBOGAST favored restoration, the emperor did not yield. The usurper EUGENIUS feared an open break with Theodosios and did not replace the pagan symbol. Honorius restored the statue in the senate, but not the altar, claiming that it was merely decorative and not an object of worship.

LIT. A. Dihle, "Zum Streit um den Altar der Viktoria," in *Romanitas et Christianitas: Studia Iano Henrico Waszink oblata* (Amsterdam-London 1973) 81–97. F. Paschoud, "Le rôle du providentialisme dans le conflit de 384 sur l'autel de la Victoire," *MusHelv* 40 (1983) 197–206.
—T.E.G.

ALUM (στυπτηρία), double sulphate of aluminum and potassium, or aluminum and ammonium. In the Middle Ages, *alumen* designated a number of white astringent mineral substances. Primarily used as a mordant to fix dyes in woolen cloth and impart brilliance to the colors, it was indispensable to the textile industry and also useful to painters and tanners. For most of the medieval period, until the mines of Tolfa in Italy began to be exploited (1462), alum production was concentrated in Egypt and Asia Minor, and from there it was exported to the West. According to PEGOLOTTI, the best quality was *alume di rocca* from Koloneia. Alum of excellent quality was produced in PHOKAIA and KOTYAIION (Kütahya), while

there were also alum mines elsewhere in Asia Minor, in Thrace, and the islands of the Aegean. Descriptions of the production of alum may be found in Jordanus the Catalan (ca. 1330) and Pegolotti.

The rich alum mines of Phokaia were ceded by Michael VIII to the Genoese Manuele and Benedetto ZACCARIA in 1275. They built a manufacturing town and tried to monopolize the export of alum to the West by obtaining from Michael VIII a prohibition of the export of Koloneia alum by other Genoese. Although the prohibition was not effective, the Zaccaria were able to build a fortune on alum. Eventually alum became a major commodity in the commerce of GENOA, which retained a predominant position in the alum trade throughout the Middle Ages, although the price of its alum declined after 1382, as a result of political conditions, extensive mining, and the competition of Egyptian alum. Phokaia fell to the Ottomans in 1455, by which time Western sources of alum were being exploited.

LIT. C. Singer, *The Earliest Chemical Industry* (London 1948) 79–94. Heyd, *Commerce* 2:565–71. M.-L. Heers, "Les Génois et le commerce de l'alun à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 32 (1954) 31–53. D. Jacoby, "L'alun en Crète vénitienne," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 127–42. —A.L.

ALYATES (Ἀλύατης), a family of unclear ethnic origin. Its first known member, Anthes Alyates, a staunch supporter of Bardas SKLEROS, fell in the battle of 976 at Koukou lithos (between Melitene and Lykandos). I. Gošev (*Starobŭlgarski glagoličeski i kirilski nadpisi* [Sofia 1961] 31–35) identified him with the *stratelates* Alyates, using the insufficient data of a 10th-C. inscription from the Round Church in Preslav. The 11th-C. Alyatai were primarily military commanders: Leo, *strategos* of Cherson and Sougdaia in 1059; Theodore, governor of Cappadocia; another Alyates fell in battle against the Normans in 1108. In the 12th C. the Alyatai switched to civil service and occupied relatively low positions. Andronikos Alyates, contemporary of Alexios III, was *kanikleios*; the family retained the post, which Nikephoros Alyates held in 1258–61. Several Alyatai were active in administration throughout the 13th C.: the *vestiarios* Alexios Alyates was sent in 1275 with a fleet against Genoese pirates in the Black Sea; another Alyates was a fiscal functionary; a seal of the *sebastos* John

Alyates is dated by Laurent (*Méd. Vat.*, no.69) to the early 13th C. In the 14th C. the Alyatai played an important role in provincial life: George, *sebastos* in Thessalonike in 1327; an Alyates who was *sebastos* in Chalkidike before 1319; another Alyates, *ktetor* of a church in Philippopolis. Later they are known only as clerics; Gregory Alyates, *hieromonachos*, was a scribe and songwriter in 1433–47.

LIT. PLP, nos. 706–21. V. Latyšev, *Sbornik grečeskich nadpisej christianskich vremen iz Južnoj Rossii* (St. Petersburg 1896) 15–19. I. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt. XIII (1968), 65–72. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 281f. —A.K.

AMADEO VI, count of Savoy (1343–83); born Chambéry, Savoy, Jan. 1334, died near Castropignano, Italy, 27 Feb. 1383. Amadeo, the "Green Count," inherited the title to Savoy at age nine and expanded his territory into the Piedmont. A cousin of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS (through John's mother ANNA OF SAVOY), Amadeo became involved in Byz. affairs when he led a crusading expedition against the Turks. In 1366 he commanded a fleet and an army of 1,500–1,800 men that recovered Gallipoli (KALLIPOLIS), which had fallen to the Ottomans in 1354. He was, however, distracted from further campaigns against the Turks by news of John V's detention by the Bulgarians at Vidin. He sailed into the Black Sea and seized several Bulgarian coastal towns. Amadeo's siege of Varna forced the Bulgarians to give the Byz. emperor a safe-conduct through their territory (Dec. 1366). He delivered Sozopolis and Mesembria to the Byz. in exchange for 15,000 florins (to pay his mercenaries). Amadeo encouraged John to seek UNION OF THE CHURCHES and persuaded him to go to Rome in 1369 to make his personal submission to the pope and seek military aid. Amadeo's expedition was a rare example of co-operation between Crusaders and the Byz. Empire.

LIT. E.L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy: Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton 1967). O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw 1930; rp. London 1972) 138–62. *HC* 3:18f, 74–78. —A.M.T.

AMALARIUS OF METZ, archbishop of Trier (after 804–14) and of Lyons (835–838/9); liturgist active at the Carolingian court; died ca. 850. In 813 he traveled to Constantinople as ambassador

of CHARLEMAGNE to Emp. MICHAEL I RANGABE to confirm a treaty between the two powers; received at Constantinople by LEO V, Amalarius returned with the treaty and the Byz. ambassadors Christopher the *spatharios* and Gregory the deacon to find Louis I the Pious on the throne and lose his own see. Rehabilitated a few years later, Amalarius participated in the synod of Paris on ICONOCLASM (825) and may have been considered for a second embassy at that time. His *Versus marini* describes the trip to Constantinople via Zara (*Ep. ad Hilduinum*, 5, ed. Hanssens [*infra*] 1:342.1–14), an AUDIENCE with Leo V, and the dangers of shipwreck and Slav or Arab attack, while his liturgical works allude to contemporary customs at Constantinople (e.g., *Codex expositionis II*, *ibid.* 1:280.14–20, on the Exaltation of the Cross; *Liber officialis*, *ibid.* 2:197.2–6, on Latin LECTIONS at Constantinople).

ED. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet.* 1:426–28. *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, ed. J.M. Hanssens, 3 vols. [= ST 138–40] (Rome 1948–50).

LIT. F. Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich 1975) 437–40. O.G. Oexle, "Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967) 331–39. —M.McC.

AMALASUNTHA (Ἀμαλασοῦνθα), or Amalasuintha, Ostrogothic regent (526–34) and queen (534); died Lake Bolzano probably 30 Apr. 535. The younger daughter of THEODORIC, in 515 or 516 she married Eutharic, also a member of the AMALI, and bore him MATASUNTHA and Athalaric, who, after the deaths of his father (522) and grandfather, was raised to the Ostrogothic throne under Amalasuntha's regency. Together with Athalaric, Amalasuntha is depicted on a diptych of Orestes, Western consul in 530 (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.32). Her policy was pro-Roman; Prokopios and esp. Cassiodorus praised her highly as a well-educated and beautiful woman. Her pro-Roman tendency was opposed by the Gothic military aristocracy, led by Amalasuntha's cousin THEODAHAD, so that she considered fleeing to Constantinople. She changed her plan—according to Prokopios, because Theodora was jealous, but probably because Amalasuntha arranged a compromise with Theodahad. After Athalaric died she ruled as queen briefly but was compelled to marry Theodahad. Once proclaimed king, he exiled her to an island on Lake Bolzano where she

was strangled. The remonstrances of Peter, Justinian's envoy, were of no avail and Theodahad asserted that the murder had been committed against his will. Amalasuntha's death became Justinian's excuse for war: he ordered Mundus to invade from Illyricum and called BELISARIOS to Sicily. Amalasuntha was unequal to the challenge of preserving the heritage of Theodoric and miscalculated the consequences of her Roman ties.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:262–64, 328–39. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 203f. Wolfram, *Goths* 311–39. —W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

AMALFI (Ἀμάλφη), Tyrrhenian port in southern Italy, first mentioned in 596. Until 839 Amalfi belonged to the Byz. duchy of NAPLES. After that date the city and its territory became an independent state, within the orbit of the Byz. Empire. Imperial titles were conferred on most of the local rulers, *praefecturii* and, after 958, *duces*. From the 9th C. many Amalfitans were active in Mediterranean trade. Their ships were known in Egypt, the Maghreb, and Spain. They had colonies in DYRRACHION and Antioch and are frequently described as furnishing Oriental luxury goods to the West. Their quarter in Constantinople, with its Church of S. Maria de Latina, is documented from the mid-11th C.; on Mount Athos an Amalfitan monastery dedicated to the Virgin flourished between the end of the 10th and the 13th C. (A. Pertusi in *Mill. Mont-Athos* 1:217–51). Clerics and monks at both institutions translated Greek hagiographical texts into Latin. Between 1053 and 1062 Amalfi tried in vain to organize an alliance of the Western and the Eastern empires against the NORMAN invaders of southern Italy. Following the Norman occupation of 1073, political relations between Amalfi and Constantinople cooled; commercial relations also declined, with Amalfi losing ground to VENICE, Byz.'s main naval ally in the Mediterranean.

Bronze DOORS commissioned in Constantinople for the cathedral of Amalfi survive *in situ*, although the cathedral itself was completely rebuilt after 1204 and the façade was again rebuilt after 1871. Nearly identical doors are in nearby Atrani, on the Church of S. Salvatore.

LIT. U. Schwarz, *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter (9.–11. Jahrhundert)* (Tübingen 1978). *Amalfi nel medioevo* (Salerno 1977). M. Balard, "Amalfi et Byzance (Xe–XIIe siècles)," *TM* 6 (1976) 85–95. *Istituzioni civili e organizzazione ecclesiastica nello stato medievale amalfitano* 5 [= *Atti del congresso inter-*

nazionale di studi amalfitani, vol. 3 (luglio 1981)] (Amalfi 1986). M.E. Frazer, "Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy," *DOP* 27 (1973) 145–62. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 5:576–78, 627–28. –V.V.F., D.K.

AMALI, or Amelungen, royal house of the Ostrogoths, whose genealogy—in its earlier part fictitious—was established by CASSIODORUS and taken from him by JORDANES (*Getica*, ed. T. Mommsen [Berlin 1882] 76–78). The earliest securely historical member of the house was Hermenerig/Hermanaricus (died 375/6), the king who enlarged Ostrogothic possessions on the northern shore of the Black Sea but was routed by the Huns. THEODORIC, AMALASUNTHA, and her children, Athalaric and MATASUNTHA, were members of the Amali. Jordanes considers the captivity of VITIGES (540) as the end of the Amali.

LIT. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 92–96. E. Chrysos, "Die Amaler-Herrschaft in Italien und das Imperium Romanum," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 430–74. Wolfram, *Goths* 268–78. –W.E.K., A.K.

AMALRIC I (Ἀμερρίγος), king of JERUSALEM (1163–74); born 1136, died Jerusalem 11 July 1174. Upon succeeding his brother BALDWIN III, Amalric sought a Byz. bride to renew the alliance with Manuel I. Manuel rejected his accompanying request to be recognized as overlord of ANTIOCH. In 1167 Amalric married Maria Komnene, daughter of John Komnenos the *protosebastos*. Amalric sought Byz. aid in 1168 to prevent ZANGID occupation of Egypt, but by 1169, when a joint expedition occurred, SALADIN already controlled Egypt. A combined siege of Damietta (Oct.–Dec. 1169) collapsed over disagreements between Amalric and the Byz. commander, Andronikos KONTOSTEPHANOS. In the same year, EPHRAIM and other mosaicists commissioned by Manuel worked in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. From Apr. to June 1171 Amalric visited Constantinople. He was received privately by Manuel, did homage, and was magnificently entertained (Runciman, *infra*). A treaty proposing joint action against Egypt was never implemented. With Amalric's death, the alliance of Byz. and Jerusalem effectively ended.

LIT. S. Runciman, "The Visit of King Amalric I to Constantinople in 1171," in *Outremer* 153–58. R.-J. Lilie, "Noch einmal zu dem Thema 'Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten,'" in *Varia* 1 (Bonn 1984) 132–42. –C.M.B.

AMASEIA (Ἀμάσεια, mod. Amasya), a site of great natural strength on the Lykos in PONTOS. A strategic road junction, Amaseia was made metropolis of Diospontus (later Helenopontus) by Diocletian. Christianized early, Amaseia became the seat of a metropolitan bishop. Justinian I restored its churches after the earthquake of 529. When the Pontic provinces were merged in 535, Amaseia remained a metropolis; it provided refuge in 575 for the populations of neighboring cities fleeing the Persians. Although briefly taken by the Arabs in 712, it was a bulwark of the ARMENIAKON theme and an APLEKTON where the thematic troops joined imperial expeditions. Bardas PHOKAS led a revolt there in 971. In the confusion following the battle of MANTZIKERT, Amaseia fell to ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL, but in 1074 Alexios I Komnenos persuaded a gathering of its inhabitants (evidently acting with considerable independence) to surrender to him and reestablished imperial control. Soon after, the Turks of Danişmend conquered Amaseia. The sole remaining Byz. structure is a powerful and complex fortress as yet unstudied.

LIT. F. and E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* (Brussels 1906) 2:146–84. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 964–70. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (Paris 1934) 2:6–16. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 17–19. –C.F.

AMASTRIS (Ἀμαστρίς or Ἀμαστρά, now Amasra), city on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia. It first appears in Byz. history when Kyros, a local monk, predicted to Justinian II in 695 that he would regain the throne. Amastris gained importance in the 9th C. as a port for communication across the Black Sea and as a military base. The vita of GEORGE OF AMASTRIS mentions an attack of the Rus' on Amastris, but the date of the attack and even its historicity are under discussion. The city prospered in the 10th C.: NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON, in an *enkomion* of a local saint Hyakinthos (PG 105:421C), calls it "the eye of Paphlagonia and even of the *oikoumene*" and the EMPORION for trade with the northern Scythians. Amastris was a city of the theme of PAPHLAGONIA and seat of a *katepano* in the 10th C. (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 111). In the 12th C. it was administered by a *doux* (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.227). Amastris was ruled by the Laskarids after a brief occupation (1204–14) by David Komnenos of Trebizond. Its later history is obscure: in the late 13th or early

14th C. it apparently was turned over to the Genoese, whose merchants were already established there. Amastris was a suffragan bishopric of GANGRA; it became a metropolis by 940.

The site occupies the neck and steep slopes of a peninsula, with two harbors. The ancient city, which stretched to the mainland, was abandoned, apparently after the Rus' attack, as Amastris contracted within new walls. Its Byz. monuments include two small single-aisled churches, perhaps of the late 9th C., and remains of a monastery that have been dated to the early 8th C.

LIT. S. Eyice, *Küçük Amasra Tarihi* (Ankara 1965). Idem, "Deux anciennes églises byzantines de la citadelle d'Amasra (Paphlagonie)," *CahArch* 7 (1954) 97–105. –C.F.

AMATUS, bishop, possibly of Paestum-Capaccio or Nusco (E. Cuozzo, *Benedictina* 26 [1979] 323–48), and monk of MONTECASSINO; born Salerno ca.1010, died ca.1083? Amatus wrote several Latin poetical works and a *History of the Normans*, which survives only in a 14th-C. French version. Amatus's account of events from 1016 to 1078 reflects Montecassino's pro-Norman stance and includes the revolt of the Lombard Meles (pp. 26.6–32.12), the expedition of MANIAKES against Sicily, and the struggle for southern Italy (pp. 66.5–93.8).

ED. *Storia de' Normanni*, ed. V. de Bartholomaeis [= FSI 76] (Rome 1935).

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 3:898–900. W. Smidt, "Die 'Historia Normannorum' von Amatus," *StGreg* 3 (1948) 173–231. –M.McC.

AMBASSADORS (πρέσβεις, ἀποκρισιάρχοι) in Byz. were normally recruited from the higher echelons of the administration, the emperor's immediate entourage, or those clerics (sent mainly to Christian countries, and, for specific reasons, to Sasanian Persia) or laymen, regardless of class or experience, who were considered able to succeed in their missions abroad. Their rank depended upon the importance of the ruler to whom they were sent. None of them were permanently accredited to a foreign country; they were sent or exchanged only when required for specific reasons of DIPLOMACY. Beyond having the emperor's confidence, an ambassador was expected to be honest, pious, able to resist corruption, and ready to sacrifice himself if necessary for the empire. He was expected to know something of the coun-

try to which he was sent and, if possible, its language (INTERPRETERS were also available). Able negotiators were entrusted with a series of embassies (e.g., Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES) or had their sons appointed as ambassadors in their place (some cases in early Byz., e.g., NONNOSOS).

Byz. ambassadors going abroad carried their own safe-conducts and letters of accreditation (*prokouratorikon chrysoboullon*). Unlike low-ranking letter-carriers, ambassadors were fully or partly empowered to negotiate. The state covered their expenses and those of their suite. Embassies could be quite large, with many interpreters and servants. One aspect of their mission was to collect INTELLIGENCE about the country they visited. (See also APOKRISIARIOS. For ambassadors to Byz., see EMBASSIES, FOREIGN.)

LIT. N. Garsoian, "Le rôle de l'hierarchie chrétienne dans les rapports diplomatiques entre Byzance et les Sasanides," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973) 119–38. V. Beševliev, "Die Botschaften der byzantinischen Kaiser aus dem Schlachtfeld," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 71–83. D. Obolensky, "A Late Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Diplomat: Michael, Archbishop of Bethlehem," in *Mél. Dujčev* 299–315. –N.O.

AMBO (ἄμβων, also called πύργος), a platform, often standing on four, six, or eight columns, in a church. Ambos were first recorded in the second half of the 4th C. (e.g., at the Council of Laodikeia of 371), but most surviving examples date from the 5th or 6th C. (C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:127). The example in the Dormition Church in Kalambaka (STAGOI) shows that at least in some places Early Christian ambos continued to be used in the 12th C. (G.A. Soteriou, *EEBS* 6 [1929] 292f, 302–04). The ambo stood in the nave, between the chancel barrier and the west wall, and took one of four main forms: the first and earliest has a single staircase; the second is "fan-shaped" with two curving staircases; the third and most widespread type has two staircases on its east-west axis; distinct from these is the fourth, Syrian type, combining the functions of ambo and SYNTHRONON (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 34 [1968] 326.59). The ambo of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, described by PAUL SILENTIARIOS, was made of colored marbles of many hues and dressed with silver slabs (S.G. Xydis, *ArtB* 29 [1947] 1–24), but most surviving examples are carved in white marble. Some 13th-C. examples were of wood and portable (Kazhdan, *infra* 425f).

Liturgically, the ambo (together with the BEMA) was one of the two focal points of the church, and processions back and forth along the SOLEA or pathway connecting the two were a standard part of the ritual. It was at the ambo that the liturgy used to open with the intonation of the TRISAGION and close with the final blessing or Opisthambonos Prayer (A. Jacob, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 306–15). In Hagia Sophia the choir sang from beneath the ambo, the readers mounted it to read the LECTIONS, and the singers intoned from it the psalmody and *troparia* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:281; Germanos, *Liturgy* 74). On the ambo or its steps the deacons proclaimed the litanies and other *diakonika* and exchanged the kiss of peace. Solemn ORTHROS (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:309) and special ceremonies such as imperial coronation rites and the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 Sept. (illustrated in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.35) were celebrated at the ambo, which also served as a pulpit for the proclamation of councils and their anathemas (THEODORE LECTOR, ed. Hansen 113.17–20, 142.26, 144.12–13, 149.25–28), and even for secular announcements (*Chron.Pasch.* 715.16–716.8). Chrysostom even preached from the ambo by way of exception, the better to be heard (Sozom., *HE* 357.14–15).

Because the Gospel was proclaimed from the ambo, liturgical COMMENTARIES interpreted it as symbolizing the stone rolled back from Jesus' tomb from which the angel announced the Resurrection to the Myrrophoroi in Matthew 28:2–7 (Germanos, *Liturgy* 62).

SOURCE. Paul Silentiarios, *Ekphrasis tou ambonos in Prokop: Werke* 5, ed. O. Veh (Munich 1977) 358–75, with Germ. tr.

LIT. Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* 94–120. J.-P. Sodini, "L'ambon de la Rotonde Saint-Georges," *BCH* 100 (1976) 493–510. E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, "Hoi dyo ambonotes basilikes tou mouseiou stous Philippous," in *Aphieromate mneme Stylianou Pelekanide* (Thessalonike 1983) 193–212. A. Kazhdan, "A Note on the 'Middle-Byzantine' Ambo," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 422–26. —L.Ph.B., R.F.T.

AMBROISE, late 12th-C. Norman jongleur, possibly from Evreux. Ambroise participated in the Third Crusade and composed a lengthy verse *Estoire de la guerre sainte* (History of the Holy War) in Old French after his return from the Levant. Its vivid portrayal of the heroic deeds of RICHARD I LIONHEART espouses the perspective of the average Crusader and describes, for example, the

relations of the Greek population of Messina with the Crusaders (vv. 601–06) and the ruins of Rhodes (1287–1302). His account of Richard's conflict with Isaac Komnenos of Cyprus and the king's conquest of the island (1355–2106) includes a description of Isaac's Greek and Armenian troops (1439–1700), his magnificent tent and gold and silver dishes (1669–72), the superb Byz. war horses (e.g., 1842–50, 1938), and Richard's shaving of Byz. burghers who surrendered to him (1948). The *Estoire* was translated into Latin and incorporated into the revised version of ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM by 1222.

ED. *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. G. Paris (Paris 1897), with Fr. tr. M.J. Hubert, tr., *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart by Ambroise* (New York 1941).

LIT. *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. H.E. Mayer [= MGH *Schriften* 18] (Stuttgart 1962) 107–51. —M.McC.

AMBROSE (Ἀμβρόσιος), bishop of Milan (from 373 or 374) and saint; born Trier ca.339, died Milan 4 Apr. 397; feastday 7 Dec. Son of a praetorian prefect of Gaul, Ambrose was trained as a lawyer and ca.374 became governor of Aemilia and Liguria, with his residence at Milan. In the same year the Arian bishop of Milan died and the people of the city demanded that Ambrose succeed him even though he was then a layman. Ambrose vigorously opposed Arianism and paganism and campaigned for the removal of the ALTAR OF VICTORY from the Senate House in Rome; his moral authority forced Theodosios I to accept church-imposed penance after his massacre of thousands in Thessalonike in 390. Ambrose wrote in Latin but knew Greek and translated JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS into Latin. He made extensive use of eastern ideas, esp. those of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzos. Many of his works are commentaries on the Old and New Testaments. His funeral orations on Valentinian II and Theodosios I as well as his letters are important sources for the history of the late 4th C.

The Greek church held Ambrose in high regard. His vita by Paulinus was translated into Greek (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1:27–88), while an anonymous vita that relied upon Theodoret of Cyrillus was compiled in Greek (C. Pasini, *AB* 101 [1983] 101–50); the latter served in its turn as the source for Symeon Metaphrastes (*BHG* 69). Numerous Greek hymns (*kontakia* and

kanones) were devoted to the celebration of Ambrose's feastday (C. Pasini, *BollBadGr* 37 [1983] 147–209; 38 [1984] 67–140; 39 [1985] 113–79).

ED. *Opera*, ed. C. Schenkl et al., 7 vols. in 8 pts. (Vienna-Prague-Leipzig 1897–1982).

LIT. A. Paredi, *Sant'Ambrogio* (Milan 1985). J.R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain* (Paris 1933). F.H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1935). J. Irmscher, "Ambrosius in Byzanz," *Ambrosius Episcopus* (Milan 1976) 297–311. —T.E.G.

AMBULATORY, a passage around a major space. Prokopios of Caesarea (*Buildings* 1.1.58) uses the term *aule* (aisle?, lit. "courtyard") for the colonnaded spaces around the NAOS (nave) of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. Ambulatories facilitate movement in a church without disturbing central and sacred areas; they can give independent access to the PASTOPHORIA or lead to a contiguous church (LIPS MONASTERY, Constantinople; HOSIOS LOUKAS). The ambulatories also served as spaces for ecclesiastical gatherings and for burials. The "ambulatory church" type consists of a naos separated by piers or columns from ambulatories to the south, west, and north, which often provided access to lateral chapels; the term has been applied to such late 13th-C. structures as the main church of the PAMMAKARISTOS (S. Eyice, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 1.2 [1959] 223–34).

LIT. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 198–203. —W.L., K.M.K.

AMBULATORY CHURCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

AMERALIOS (ἀμηνάλιος), commander of a fleet. A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 183.21–23) defines an *ameralios* as subaltern of the MEGAS DOUX and commander of the whole NAVY. It is generally accepted that the term was borrowed from the Catalans at the beginning of the 14th C. since Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:420.7–8) relates that ROGER DE FLOR appointed an exarch of his 12 ships, "whom their dialect calls *amerales*." *Amerales* as a family name is known, however, at least from 1280 (*PLP*, no.774). In the court hierarchy the *ameralios* was placed between the SKOUTERIOS and EPI TON DEESEON.

LIT. L.R. Menager, *Amiratus-Ameras* (Paris 1960) 108f. Stein, "Untersuchungen" 57. —A.K.

AMIDA (Ἀμίδα, Diyarbakır in Turkey), capital and metropolitan bishopric of Mesopotamia. Fortified by Constantius II in 349, Amida was frequently contested between Byz. and the Sasanians. It was conquered by Shāpūr II in 359, retaken by Julian in 363, taken by Kavād in 502, and returned to the Byz. in 504; its buildings were restored by Anastasios I. It fell again to the Persians in 602, but was recovered in 628 by Hera-kleios, who built a Church of St. Thomas there. Amida came under Arab control in 640. The city walls, which still stand, are attributed to Constantius or Justinian I and were restored in the medieval period by various Muslim rulers. The Church of St. Kosmas disappeared in this century, but the sanctuary of the large tetraconch Church of the Virgin survives. According to JOHN OF EPHEBUS, a native of the region, there were five monasteries at Amida in his time. Amida was reportedly attacked five times by JOHN (I) TZIMESKES: in 958, 959, 972, 973, and 974.

LIT. M. van Berchem, J. Strzykowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg 1910). J. Sourdel-Thomine, *El²* 2:344f. Bell-Mango, *Tur Abdin* 105–09. —M.M.M.

‘AMİR. See EMIR.

AMIROUTZES, GEORGE, philosopher, theologian, and writer; born Trebizond ca.1400, died Constantinople after 1469. The name is a diminutive of the Turkish "emir." Amirutzes (Ἀμιρούτζης) is first mentioned as a lay adviser to the Byz. delegation to the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, where he supported UNION OF THE CHURCHES (M. Jugie, *EO* 36 [1937] 175–80). Later, he allegedly repudiated his earlier views in a letter to Demetrios, duke of Nauplion (ed. M. Jugie, *Byzantion* 14 [1939] 77–93); Gill (*Personalities* 204–12) has, however, challenged the attribution to Amirutzes of this anti-Unionist tractate. In 1447 Amirutzes was an envoy from Trebizond to Genoa; from ca.1458 to 1461 he served as *proto-vestiarios* and *megas logothetes* of the last Trapezuntine emperor, DAVID I KOMNENOS (1458–61). After the surrender of TREBIZOND to the Turks (Aug. 1461), he went to the court of MEHMED II at Adrianople and then to Constantinople, where he continued his scholarly activity, discussing philosophy with the sultan and preparing a map of the world based on Ptolemy (F. Babinger, *Mehmed the*

Conqueror and His Time [Princeton 1978] 246–48). Because of his Turcophile stance, Amiroutzes has frequently been charged with treachery and hypocrisy; he has been defended, however, by N.B. Tomadakes (*EEBS* 18 [1948] 99–143) and O. Lampsides (*ArchPont* 17 [1952] 15–54), who also dispute his alleged conversion to Islam.

The few surviving works of Amiroutzes include a dialogue with Mehmed on Christianity, poems of fulsome praise for the sultan, and a few letters to contemporaries such as BESSARION and Theodore AGALLIANOS.

ED. Dialogue—Lat. tr. by J. Werner (Nuremberg 1514). Poems—ed. S. Lampros, *DIEE* 2 (1885) 275–82. Letter to Bessarion—PG 161:723–28. List of ed. in Tomadakes, *EEBS* 18 (1948) 102f.

LIT. *PLP*, no. 784. Beck, *Kirche* 772.

—A.M.T.

AMISOS (Ἀμισός, now Samsun), coastal city of PONTOS. Amisos is rarely mentioned before its capture by the Arabs in 863. It was a city of the ANATOLIKON theme and played an essential commercial role in supplying Cherson with grain (*De adm. imp.* 53.533–35). Seals mention several fiscal functionaries of Amisos: *kommerkiarios*, *dioiketes*, and *abydikos*. The city was occupied by the Turks in 1194, by the Komnenoi of Trebizond in 1204, and definitively by the Seljuks in 1214. During the first Turkish occupation it appears that Greek and Turkish settlements coexisted side by side. The remains of Amisos include late Roman walls, floor mosaics, churches, and inscriptions. Amisos was a suffragan of AMASEIA.

Because of similarity of names, Amisos was formerly identified with the Sampson ruled by Sabbas ASIDENOS; his base was actually PRIENE.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 92–95. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1289f.

—C.F.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, Latin historian; born Antioch ca. 330, died after 392. Born to a noble family, Ammianus saw wide military service in east and west as a staff officer (*protector domesticus*) in the years 354–63, including the siege of Amida (359) and Julian's Persian expedition (363). After returning home, he embarked on more scholarly travels to Egypt, Greece, and Rome, where, to judge from his resentful remarks, he fell victim to the expulsion of foreigners in the famine of 383. He was back in Rome in 392, enjoying the fame of his published history.

In his own concluding words (31.16.9), his *Res Gestae* covered the period 96–378 from the standpoint of a “former soldier and Greek.” The first 13 books, covering 257 years with a starting point designed to provoke comparison with Tacitus, are lost. The surviving books 14–31 cover in obviously much greater detail the years 353–78, ending in catastrophe (battle of ADRIANOPLE) and forebodings of doom. Ammianus combines traditional prejudices (patriotism, contempt for barbarians and mobs, outbursts against corruption and luxury) with a refreshing religious tolerance and balanced appreciation of his protagonists—even his hero Julian's feet of clay are acknowledged. His style is just as mixed, with Tacitean epigram and Vergilian color blended with a jagged Latin that wavers between clumsiness and power. Although a pagan, Ammianus includes a surprising amount of information and detached commentary on Christian affairs (E.D. Hunt, *CQ* n.s. 35 [1985] 186–200).

ED. *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. W. Seyfarth, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1978). *Römische Geschichte*, ed. W. Seyfarth, 4 vols. (Berlin 1968–71), with Germ. tr. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ed. J.C. Rolfe, 3 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1935–39), with Eng. tr.

LIT. R.C. Blockley, *Ammianus Marcellinus, A Study of His Historiography and Political Thought* (Brussels 1975). K. Rosen, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (Darmstadt 1982), rev. T.D. Barnes, *ClRev* n.s. 35 (1985) 48–50. R. Rike, *Apex Omnium: Religion in the Res Gestae of Ammianus* (Berkeley 1987). R. Seager, *Ammianus Marcellinus, Seven Studies in His Language and Thought* (Columbia, Mo., 1986). A. Demandt, *Zeitschrift und Geschichtsbild im Werk Ammians* (Bonn 1965).

—B.B.

AMMONIOS (Ἀμμώνιος), teacher and commentator on Aristotle; born Alexandria late 5th C., died after 517. Ammonios imbibed paganism from his philosophically minded parents; after the death of his father Hermeias, his mother took him and his brother to Athens to study under PROKLOS. His studies complete, Ammonios returned home where, except for some time in Constantinople, he remained as a lecturer on PLATO and ARISTOTLE. PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod. 187) vouchsafes his reputation in astronomy and geometry. He is variously praised and damned for his paganism, industry, and greed. Of his many writings, only the commentary on Aristotle's *On Interpretation* remains, though the gist of his lectures survives in students' notes. His most famous pupils included John PHILOPONOS, who edited his lectures on Aristotle's *Physics*, DAMASKIOS, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and SIMPLIKIOS.

ED. Commentaries on Aristotle—CAG 4:3–6. *Les Attributions (Catégories): le texte aristotélicien et les Prologomènes d'Ammonios d'Hermeias*, tr. Y. Pelletier (Paris 1983).

LIT. Westerink, *Prolegomena* x–xiii. K. Kremer, *Der Metaphysikbegriff in den Aristoteles-Kommentaren der Ammonius-Schule* (Münster 1961).

—B.B.

AMNOS (ἄμνος “lamb”), term that refers esp. to the sacrificial lamb. In the Old Testament the lamb was a common sacrificial victim, esp. the paschal lamb; in the New Testament and church fathers it became a symbol of Jesus as victim (see LAMB OF GOD). In Byz. liturgical usage, the *amnós* is the central portion of the principal PROSPHORA bread, signifying Christ's body; marked with a stamp, it is cut out at the PROTHESIS rite and consecrated at the EUCHARIST. GERMANOS I (Germanos, *Liturgy*, pars. 6, 21, 36) applied the symbolism of Isaiah 53 to this rite, and within a century the prophetic verses (Is 53:7–8) became the liturgical formula for the excision of the *amnós*. The use of a lance for this excision is symbolic of the soldier's lance (see RELICS) that pierced Christ's side at the Crucifixion (Jn 19:34). In wall painting at KURBINOVO and elsewhere in and after the 12th C., the image of the *amnós*, in the form of a prone Christ Child on the altar, replaces the officiating Christ earlier represented in the apses of churches.

—R.F.T., A.C.

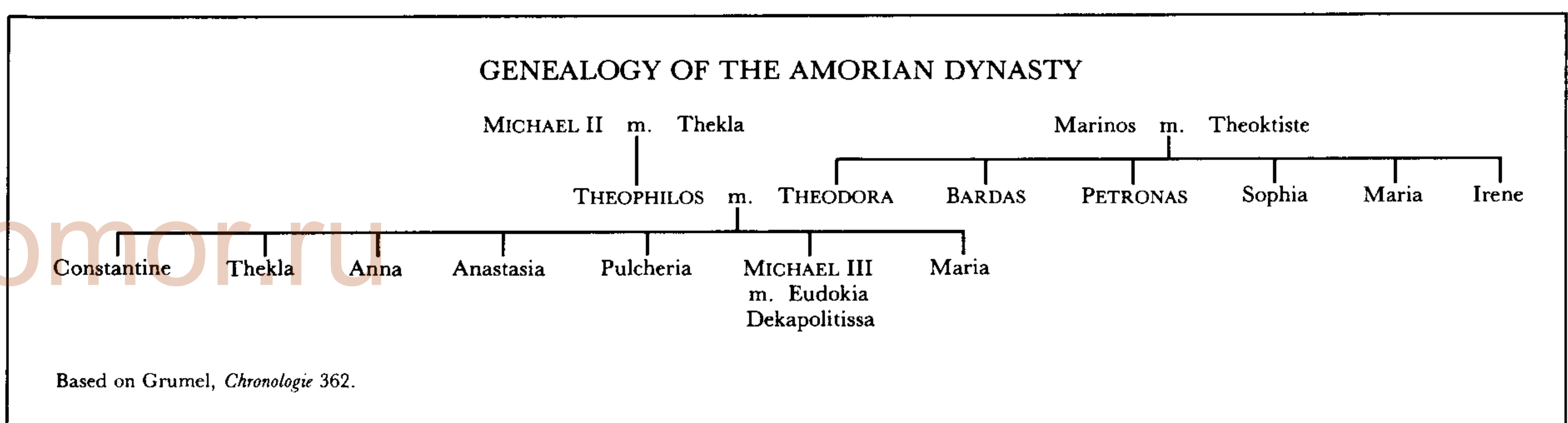
AMORIAN OR PHRYGIAN DYNASTY, family that ruled from 820 to 867 and included MICHAEL II, THEOPHILOS, THEODORA, and MICHAEL III; it was so called because its founder, Michael II, was born in AMORION (see genealogical table). The dynasty is best known for its role in several significant religious events. It was responsible for the final defeat of ICONOCLASM, which Michael II had tolerated and Theophilos had revived, but which

Theodora ended (see TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY). Michael III created a schism with Rome by permitting the election of Patr. PHOTIOS, but his sponsorship of the mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to Moravia and the baptism of BORIS of Bulgaria helped draw the Slavs into the Byz. cultural orbit. The Amorian dynasty also witnessed the revival of secular learning through patrons such as THEOKTISTOS and Caesar BARDAS and scholars such as LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN. Under the dynasty the Arabs occupied Crete, Sicily, and parts of southern Italy, but, despite victories by MA'MÜN and MU'TAŞIM over Theophilos, they made no permanent gains in Asia Minor and were on the defensive by the end of Michael III's reign (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:22–264).

LIT. B. Melioranskij, “Iz semejnoj istorii Amorijskoj dinastii,” *VizVrem* 8 (1901) 1–37. Bury, *ERE* 77–179. Vasiliev, *History* 271–90. *CMH* 4.1:100–16.

—P.A.H.

AMORION (Ἀμόριον), now Hisar near Emirdağ on the borderlands of Galatia and Phrygia, was fortified by Zeno but gained importance only in the 7th C. when it became capital of the ANATOLIKON theme because of its strategic location on the main southern invasion route. First attacked by the Arabs in 644 and taken in 646, it was a frequent goal of their raids. In 742–43 it was the base of Constantine V during the revolt of ARTABASDOS. Amorion gained its greatest fame when a native son, Michael II, became emperor and founded the “Amorian” dynasty. In 838, Amorion was taken and destroyed by the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-MU'TAŞIM in a great campaign mounted against it. The officers and civic officials captured at that time and later executed for their refusal to renounce Christianity are renowned as the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION. The city never



recovered from this attack, though it survived as a bishopric (under PESSINOUS; autocephalous by 787, metropolis before 860). Although Alexios I defeated the Turks there in 1116, Amorion had fallen definitively to the Seljuks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The site preserves traces of its fortifications and foundations of several buildings, including a large church.

LIT. *TIB* 4:122–25.

–C.F.

AMORKESOS (Ἀμορκέσος, possibly Ar. Imru' al-Qays), 5th-C. Arab chief (probably GHASSĀNID) in the service of Persia who for some reason left the Great King and crossed over to Byz. Having consolidated his position among the Arabs in northern Arabia he began to attack Byz. territory in Palestina III and finally crowned his successes with the occupation of the island of Iotabe in the Gulf of Eilat. Desirous of becoming a Byz. PHY-LARCH, he sent Bp. Petros to Constantinople ca.473 to negotiate with Leo I. This mission was successful and the emperor brought Amorkesos to Constantinople, where he treated him royally and made him phylarch.

LIT. I. Kavar, "On the Patriarchate of Imru' al-Qays," in *The World of Islam: Studies in Honor of Philip K. Hitti*, ed. J. Kritzeck, R.B. Winder (London–New York 1960) 74–82. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (5th C.)* 59–106. N.V. Pigulevskaja, *Araby u granic Vizantii i Irana v IV–VI vv.* (Moscow 1964) 51–54. –I.A.Sh.

AMPHILOCHIOS OF IKONION, churchman, theologian, and saint; born Diokaisareia? between ca.340 and 345, died after 394; feastday 23 Nov. Amphilochios (Ἀμφιλόχιος) was overshadowed by the big three CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS to whom he was connected by friendship and family, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS being his cousin. The hypothesis of K. Bonis (*SBN* 8 [1953] 3–10) that Amphilochios was the uncle of the deaconess OLYMPIAS was rejected by Oberg (*infra* 48, 78). After studying under LIBANIOS at Antioch, and a decade or so as rhetor in Constantinople, he was consecrated bishop of Ikonion ca.373 at the behest of BASIL THE GREAT. An efficient fighter of heretics, he spoke at the Council of Constantinople in 381 and earned the praise of Theodosios I; subsequently he procured the condemnation of the supporters of MESSALIANISM at the Council of Side ca.390. His last recorded appearance was at

the synod of Constantinople in 394. The bulk of his writings is lost or fragmentary. Nine homilies survive, mostly on biblical texts, as does a treatise on false asceticism and his letter on the Holy Spirit. Most interesting are his 333 iambics *For Seleucus*, not so much for their routine exhortations to virtue as for their list of biblical books.

ED. *Opera: Orationes, etc.*, ed. C. Datema (Turnhout 1978). *Peri pseudous askeseos*, ed. K.G. Bones (Athens 1979). *Iambi ad Seleucum*, ed. E. Oberg (Berlin 1969); rp. with Germ. tr. in *JbAChr* 16 (1973) 67–97.

LIT. K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen 1904). –B.B.

AMPHIPOLIS (Ἀμφίπολις), city of Macedonia on the Via Egnatia not far from the mouth of the STRYMON. In Roman times Amphipolis was capital of Macedonia I but by late antiquity it was subject to Thessalonike (Hierokl. 640.2). The bridges across the Strymon both north and south (at Marmarion) of Amphipolis were used throughout the Byz. period. Slavs were established in the region in the 7th–8th C. The bishop of Amphipolis, first mentioned in 553, was suffragan of Thessalonike. The bishopric appears for the last time in a notitia dated after 787 (*Notitiae CP* 3.272). Even though authors of the 12th–14th C. continued to use the name as a geographic designation, F. Papazoglou (*ZRVI* 2 [1953] 7–24) demonstrated that this was the result of conscious archaizing and that the late antique city had ceased to exist; its place was taken by CHRYSOPOLIS, which is mentioned in various documents from the end of the 10th C. onward (including portulans of the 15th C.).

Near ancient Eion south of Amphipolis is a large rectangular fortress, undated but probably still used in the 14th C. Extensive excavation at Amphipolis has revealed the remains of four large basilicas of the 5th–6th C. with rich mosaic pavements (D. Lazarides, *PraktArchEt* [1959] 42–46; [1964] 35–40; E. Stikas, *PraktArchEt* [1962] 42–46; [1964] 41–43; [1978] 59–63). A centralized building with a circular outer wall and a hexagonal nave and projecting apse bears comparison with San Vitale in RAVENNA (E. Stikas, *PraktArchEt* [1966] 46; [1971] 46–48; [1981] 26–32; [1982] 43–51). In 1367 two brothers, the *megas primikerios* John and the *stratopedarches* Alexios, constructed a tower north of Amphipolis to protect lands here that they had given to the Pantokrator monastery on Mt. Athos.

LIT. Lemerle, *Philippes* 172f, 208f. E.G. Stikas, "Les fouilles d'Amphipolis paléochrétienne en Macédoine orientale," *BS/EB* 8, 11, 12 (1981–85) 351–84. –T.E.G., N.P.S.

AMPHORA (ἀμφορεύς), large ceramic transport and storage vessel used in all parts of the empire, at least through the 13th C. The amphora shapes of the 4th–7th C. were developed from ancient prototypes and manufactured in many centers throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Amphoras were normally either round or cylindrical in shape, with two handles extending from the shoulder to the mouth; the shoulder and often the whole body were marked with grooves, wheel-ridges, or combing, presumably to facilitate the use of ropes to secure the vessels in the holds of ships.

Archaeological evidence, from shipwrecks and land sites, reveals the extent of the use of amphoras in contexts ranging from household and commercial storage to long-distance transportation. Excavations in Constantinople (esp. at Saraçhane and Kalenderhane), in Cherson and the eastern Crimea, and in Pliska, Tomis, and Dinogetia show the development of amphora types in the 8th–10th C. when evidence from elsewhere is slight. By the 11th C. Byz. amphoras are again found commonly throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, a characteristic type being a relatively small conical-shaped amphora with heavy wheel-ridges, a mouth with a very short neck, and short handles. While amphoras of the 4th to 7th C. are frequently marked with graffiti, those of the 11th to 12th C. are occasionally stamped, usually on the shoulder. Since these stamps are often monograms or abbreviated names (Nicholas, John, George, etc.), Jakobson (*infra*) believes them to be potters' marks (see STAMPS, COMMERCIAL).

Amphoras were still quite common in the 12th–13th C., but their usage seems to have declined in the 14th C., perhaps because materials were transported in other containers, possibly barrels. Amphoras were inserted into the walls of churches, esp. in the masonry of pendentives; according to some authorities, this was for acoustical purposes, but the amphoras were probably used simply as lightweight filling material. Amphora-like vessels could also be made of metal (see PLATE, DOMESTIC GOLD AND SILVER).

LIT. J. Čangova, "Srednovekovni amfori v Bŭlgarija," *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 22 (1959) 243–62. I. Barnea, "Amforele feudale de la Dinogetia," *SCIV* 5 (1954) 512–27. A.L. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovnyj Chersones* (Moscow–Leningrad 1959) 302–17. W. Hautumm, *Studien zu Amphoren der spät-römischen und frühbyzantinischen Zeit* (Fulda 1981). J. Schaefer, "Amphorae as Material Indices of Trade and Specialization," *AJA* 84 (1980) 230f. –T.E.G.

AMPHORA STAMPS. See STAMPS, COMMERCIAL.

AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE, vessels of lead, clay, and other materials that were used by pilgrims to transport oil, water, earth, etc., from the LOCA SANCTA. Particular types include UNGUENTARIA and MENAS FLASKS. The main collections are at MONZA AND BOBBIO in Italy, where are preserved more than three dozen small (diam. approximately 7–9 cm), embossed tin-lead pilgrim flasks, closely

AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE. Ampulla; silver. Monza Cathedral Treasury. To the left of the seated Virgin and Child are the Three Magi; to the right, the Annunciation to the shepherds.



related to the SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY in date (ca.600), provenance (Palestine), iconography, and function. Their iconography is drawn from the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE, with special stress (by frequency of choice and size) on the Veneration of the Cross and the Myrophoroi—scenes evocative of the Holy Land's two most famous shrines, the Holy SEPULCHRE and Golgotha in JERUSALEM. The pilgrim EULOGIA they contained is revealed by a recurrent inscription: "Oil of the Wood of Life of the Holy Places of Christ." Indeed, the PIACENZA PILGRIM describes a ceremony in the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem for the blessing of such oil flasks through contact with the True Cross. Their amuletic function for pilgrims is revealed by their emphasis on the scene of Peter Saved from Drowning, and the inscription on one specimen: "Oil of the Wood of Life, that guides us by land and sea."

LIT. Grabar, *Ampoules*. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 20–25.
—G.V.

'AMR ("Αμρος, "Αμβρος), more fully 'Amr ibn al-'Ās; Muslim conqueror of Byz. Egypt; born Mecca between ca.575 and 595, died al-Fustāt (Cairo) 6 Jan. 664. He converted to Islam between 627 and 630. A member of the tribe of Quraysh, he was a trader between Hijāz, al-'Arish, and towns in southern Palestine. Short but hardy and broad-shouldered, he was brave, cool-headed, and clever, and an excellent horseman. Muḥammad gave him various military commands; ABU BAKR appointed him to lead one of four armies against Byz. Syria. Victorious in southern Palestine, 'Amr conquered Jerusalem, Askalon, Gaza, and Eleutheropolis (Elousa) and participated in the siege of Caesarea. Strategically well placed for an attack on Byz. Egypt and aware of its vulnerabilities, in Dec. 639 'Amr launched the invasion. At his own or 'Umar's initiative, he set out with a small force (3,500 or 4,000) for Egypt, via the coastal route to al-'Arish. Soon 10,000 or 12,000 reinforcements followed. After taking Pelousion, 'Amr defeated the Byz. at Heliopolis (640); by 642 he had overrun Egypt, including Babylon (Cairo) and Alexandria, and captured Barca in Cyrenaica. 'UMAR restricted 'Amr's command to the army in the lower Delta. 'UTHMĀN removed 'Amr, but a Byz.-inspired rebellion of the Greek population in 645 and a Byz. maritime expeditionary army forced his reinstatement.

ment. He checked the Byz. army at Alexandria and retook the city.

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 113–16, 129–31, 134–37, 151–53. Butler, *Arab Conquest* 194–334, 546–48. A.J. Wensinck, *ET* 1:451. U. Luft, "Der Beginn der islamischen Eroberungen Ägyptens im Jahre 639," *Forschungen und Berichte, Archäologische Beiträge* 16 (1974) 123–28.
—W.E.K.

AMULET (φυλακτήριον). Although it could take many forms, from medicinal animal fur to apotropaic door frames, an amulet was usually a small artifact worn on the body, such as a pendant, armband (see ARMBANDS, AMULETIC), ring, or token. Severos of Antioch (PO 29.1:79 [583]f) advises against "the suspension and attachment to necks or arms or other members [of those objects] called *phylacteria*, or protective amulets . . ."

Especially common in the 4th to 8th C., and among the lower strata of society, amulets were roundly condemned by the church fathers and the church councils (e.g., Laodikeia I, canon 36). Magical power was invoked through medium, inscriptions, and/or imagery. For example, the earth of which PILGRIM TOKENS were made was believed to convey the power of the deity or saint from whose LOCUS SANCTUS it was taken. As for inscriptions, apotropaic ACCLAMATIONS, such as *Heis Theos*, commonly appear on 4th- through 8th-C. amulets, as do Hebrew sacred names, such as *Iaō*. These were thought to convey the protection of divine power as, commonly, was the 90th Psalm: "He that dwells in the help of the Highest. . . ."

Like these inscriptions, amuletic iconography reflects varied, often ancient, sources. The HOLY RIDER—the generic emblem of good conquering evil—was an esp. popular image with pre-Christian roots, as were the Greco-Egyptian RING SIGNS that commonly accompanied it. Alexander of Tralles (Alex.Trall. 2:377) prescribes a treatment for colic involving a jasper ring bezel engraved with HERAKLES choking the Nemean Lion. Yet, much as biblical quotations eventually found a role on amulets, so also did biblical imagery. Most often themes of deliverance or protection—such as the Sacrifice of Isaac—were chosen with the aim of establishing a typological bond. The Adoration of the Magi was a preferred theme for pilgrim amulets. More generic in its applicability was the EVIL EYE.

Medical Amulets. Amulets in this subcategory were designed for specific diseases—thus excluding relics, icons, and pilgrim tokens, whose mi-

raculous powers might incidentally encompass HEALING. Clearly some of the more common Greco-Egyptian medico-magical gem amulet types (governing sciatica and hemorrhaging) continued into Byz. times. Some 5th- through 7th-C. pendants include amulets bearing texts invoking "good digestion" and related benefits. As with more generally efficacious amulets, power could derive from substance (e.g., haematite, which was thought to absorb blood), symbols (e.g., ring signs), phrases, or images: the image of a man bending over to cut grain provided "sympathetic magic" to treat sciatica, much as a representation of the Woman with the Issue of Blood would be used to treat hemorrhaging.

Medusa Amulet. This is the modern term for a very popular form of uterine amulet known from the 5th to 8th C. and esp. favored from the 9th C. onward. Its power derives from an image characteristically formed of a human head with seven (earlier) or 12 (later) serpentlike rays, all enclosed in a solar disc, which may also include magical ring signs. This image appears frequently on pendant medallions and less often on ring bezels and armbands (here, in the company of the Holy Rider and *locus sanctus* iconography). That their magical domain was the uterus is clear from many of their inscriptions. The uterus (*hysterā*) is addressed directly, usually with the double epithet "dark and black one." It is often accused of "coiling like a serpent, hissing like a dragon, and roaring like a lion"—and then is admonished to "lie down like a lamb"; a ring excavated at Corinth is inscribed: *hysterikon phylakterion* ("uterus amulet"). The Medusa-like image on these amulets developed out of the Greco-Egyptian CHNOUBIS, one of antiquity's most popular gem-amulets—and one long recognized as specifically effective in treating disorders of the abdomen and uterus.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, "Amulettes byzantins anciens destinés à combattre les maléfices & maladies," *REGr* 5 (1892) 73–93. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, & Magic." Bonner, *Studies* 51–94.
—G.V.

'AMWĀS. See EMMAUS.

ANACHARSIS OR ANANIAS (Ἀνάχαρσις ἢ Ἀνανίας), title of an anonymous 12th-C. pamphlet (probably written soon after 1158). Chrestides (*infra*) unconvincingly attributed it to Niketas

EUGENEIANOS. The pamphlet is in the form of a dialogue between Aristagoras and the personification of Grammar, but is in fact a soliloquy by Aristagoras. Anacharsis, whose name is John (identified by Chrestides as John KAMATEROS, *logothetes tou dromou*), received his derisive nickname ("delighted with Anna") from the name of his second spouse, Anna. The author presented him as the scion of a rich family who was the antithesis to the ideal of elite behavior: Anacharsis was a failure as a warrior, rider, and hunter and an unsuccessful musician, scribe, and astrologer. (The author dwells much more on these "social" accomplishments of an aristocrat than on traditional moral values or failings.) To make matters worse, after the death of his model first wife, Irene, Anacharsis became involved with the Jewish community. At the instigation of the Jew Mordecai, he married Anna, described as a "frog" who was baptized but was not improved even by this sacrament. The originality of the main image is in contrast to the imitateness of the vocabulary, which relies greatly on the Bible, ancient authors, church fathers, and contemporary writers, primarily Eugeneianos, MICHAEL ITALIKOS, and PRODOMOS.

ED. D.A. Chrestides, *Markiana Anekdotia* (Thessalonike 1984) 205–90, rev. A. Kazhdan, *Hellenika* 36 (1985) 184–89.
—A.K.

ANACREONTICS, a short-lined lyrical verse named after the 6th-C. B.C. Ionian poet Anacreon. Since Anacreontics always had a basic eight-syllable pattern, they were adapted more easily than other forms of METER (whose syllable numbers were more varied) from ancient patterns of long and short syllables to the Byz. rules of stress accents. Anacreontics were used for religious compositions (e.g., by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and SYNESIOS of Cyrene and by SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem); they were used for a secular composition by DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO. Subsequently they became assimilated into Byz. metrics as an eight-syllable verse, parallel to 12- and 15-syllable meters (DODECASYLLABLE and POLITICAL VERSE respectively). Later Byz. Anacreontics (which might better be called trochaic octosyllables) had a rather monotonous tendency to include a stress on odd-numbered syllables and a central caesura after the fourth syllable.

LIT. T. Nissen, *Die byzantinischen Anakreonteen* (Munich 1940). Hunger, *Lit.* 2:93–95.
—M.J.J.

ANAGNOSTES (ἀναγνώστης), reader or lector, at first a layman, then a cleric in minor orders whose primary function was to read, from the AMBO, the texts from the Epistles (and, until the 7th C., from the Old Testament) prescribed for the liturgy. *Anagnostai* are classified by Byz. canonical commentators among the minor CLERGY (*klerikoi*), who received ordination through the sign of the cross (*sphragis*). In 535 Justinian I tried to limit the number of readers in the Great Church of Constantinople to 110 (nov.3); in 612 Hera-kleios set the limit at 160 (ed. J. Konidaris, *FM* 5 [1982] 68). The emperor Julian was an *anagnostes* before renouncing his Christian faith, as were the 9th-C. patriarchs JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS and PHOTIOS in the first stage of their clerical careers.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 79. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 87–91. –P.M.

ANAGNOSTES, JOHN. See JOHN ANAGNOSTES.

ANAGRAPHEUS (ἀναγραφεὺς), fiscal official whose functions were hardly distinguishable from those of the EPOPTES. The earliest mention is on a seal of Leo, imperial *balnitor* and *anagrapheus* of Opsikion (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2095) of 750–850. The term is not used, however, in the TAKTIKA. *Anagrapheis* are mentioned in documents from 941 (*Lavra* 1, nos. 2 and 3) to at least 1189 (MM 4:320.7); Dölger thinks that they existed up to 1204. Their major function was the revision of the cadaster; thus an act of 1044 (?) states that *anagrapheis* can be sent by the emperor to confiscate the lands of those owners who did not pay *demosion* to the DIOIKETES (*Pantel.*, no.3.1–4). Their function presupposed the measurement of land (see LAND SURVEY), and both THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid and Michael CHONIATES accuse *anagrapheis* of using false measures. *Anagrapheis* were usually attached to specific themes—Peloponnesos (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.3220), Thrakesion (V. Laurent, *EO* 32 [1933] 36), Thessalonike, etc. (Dölger, *infra* 88). There were also *anagrapheis* of special departments, such as George, *anagrapheus* of the Eastern DROMOS (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.466), or the *anagrapheus* of the soldiers (*kontaratoi*) and of sailors (Kek. 268.4–5). The *anagrapheus* often combined his duties with those of the KRITES. After 1204 he was replaced by the APOGRAPHEUS.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 82f. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantijska* 301–03. –A.K.

ANALOGY (ἀναλογία, lit. “proportion” or “resemblance”) was considered in antiquity, primarily by Aristotle, as a mode of predication using a term that is neither univocal nor equivocal but indicates a resemblance between parallel cases. In antiquity analogy served philosophical goals (primarily in mathematics and biology); the church fathers applied it to theology, esp. to discussing an essentially ineffable God. Origen (*Comm. on Gospel of John* 1:26.167—ed. E. Preuschen [Leipzig 1903] 31), while defining Christ as “light of the world,” notes that spiritual concepts could have analogies to sensible objects. Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:768A) states that the development of the soul presents a certain analogy to the stages of development of the human body through which is revealed order and sequence of the steps that lead man to the virtuous life. Greek theologians, however, did not elaborate a theory of analogy in the style of Thomas Aquinas. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, who rarely mentions the word analogy (e.g., *Contra Jacobitas* 77.3—ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:134), broadly uses reasoning by analogy; he also attacks the weak analogies of his opponents, such as the Nestorians’ assertion that Christ was a human being because of his “dwelling” within a human being (i.e., the Virgin), just as he is called a Nazarene because of his “dwelling” in Nazareth, although he had been born in Bethlehem (*Contra Nestor.* 22.6–11—ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:271). –A.K., M.W.T.

ANAMUR. See ANEMOURION.

ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK (Anania Širakac’i), the most notable early Armenian scholar of scientific subjects; he lived in the 7th C. (exact dates unknown). Ananias traveled to Theodosiupolis, Constantinople, and Trebizond, where he studied mathematics with Tychikos, a Greek from Pontus who had learned Armenian. Ananias wrote numerous works on cosmography, a *Chronicle*, and some theological works. The *Geography* (wrongly attributed to MOSES XORENAC’I) has also been ascribed to him. Noteworthy is an introductory textbook of mathematics, with tables and a section of “Problems and Solutions,” the first of its kind in Armenian. The *katholikos* Anastasios (661–67) asked Ananias to establish a fixed calendar, but this was not put into effect (Grumel, *Chronologie* 143).

ED. Anania Širakac’u *Matenagrut’yunē*, ed. A. Abrahamyan (Erevan 1944). *Voprosy i rečenijsa vardapeta Ananija Širakca*, ed. I.A. Orbeli, *Izbrannie Trudy* (Erevan 1963) 512–31.

LIT. H. Berbérien, “Autobiographie d’Anania Širakac’i,” *REArm* n.s. 1 (1964) 189–94. R. Hewsen, “Science in Seventh-Century Armenia: Anania of Širak,” *Isis* 59 (1968) 32–45. J.-P. Mahé, “Quadrivium et cursus d’études au VII^e siècle, en Arménie et dans le monde byzantin d’après le ‘K’nnikon’ d’Anania Širakac’i,” *TM* 10 (1987) 159–206. –R.T.

ANAPHORA (ἀναφορά, lit. “offering”), initially the eucharistic offering itself, but by the 6th C. the prayer accompanying that offering, the Eucharistic Prayer. Usually addressed to God the Father, the anaphora is the central element of the entire EUCHARIST, the text that reveals its meaning: it recounts what Jesus did at the Last Supper (see LORD’S SUPPER) when he instituted the rite. Originally extemporaneous, fixed texts of the anaphora first appear in the 4th C. (A. Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula* [Washington, D.C., 1981] 217–53).

Eastern anaphoras show three structural types, Antiochene, Alexandrian, and East Syrian, distinguished from each other by the position of the intercessions (a later interpolation) relative to the anaphora’s other, older elements. The Byz. anaphora of Sts. John Chrysostom, Basil, and James are all Antiochene in structure. They open with an introductory dialogue (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 49 [1983] 340–65; 52 [1986] 299–324; 54 [1988] 47–77; 55 [1989] 63–74) followed by a prayer of praise and thanksgiving to the Father for creation and salvation. This introduces the biblical TRISAGION, which is followed by a prayer recounting in greater or lesser detail the story of salvation in Jesus, esp. the account of the Last Supper, concluding with the chanting of Jesus’ Words of Institution over the bread and cup (“This is my body, this is my blood”). The anamnesis prayer follows, recalling Jesus’ command to repeat the rite (“Do this in memory of me,” Lk 22:19), his death, resurrection, ascension, and second coming. Then in the EPICLESIS the Father is asked to send down the Holy Spirit upon the bread and wine to change them into Jesus’ body and blood for the salvation of those who receive them worthily in COMMUNION. This petition leads to others: the DIPTYCHS and the intercessions for the living and dead. The anaphora concludes with a DOXOLOGY, chanted aloud, to which the people re-

spond with “The Great Amen.” The term *anaphora* may also refer to the PROSPHORA, whether consecrated or unconsecrated, or to the veil (AER).

ED. A. Hänggi, I. Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica* (Fribourg 1968) 101–415, esp. 223–63.

LIT. L. Bouyer, *Eucharist* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1968) 244–314. E.J. Kilmartin, “Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers,” *TheolSt* 35 (1974) 268–87. –R.F.T.

ANAPLOUS. See BOSPOROS.

ANARGYROI (ἀνάργυροι, lit. “without money”), epithet of healing SAINTS who, unlike secular physicians, performed cures without taking payment. The wondrous HEALING of the *anargyroi* was favorably contrasted with the activity of pagan deities such as Asklepios and Isis and with ordinary PHYSICIANS (J. Duffy, *DOP* 38 [1984] 24f). The principal *anargyroi* were KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, but the epithet was applied also to KYROS AND JOHN, SAMPSON, and PANTELEEMON. From the 10th C. a similar term was used to designate a healing saint or his tomb (“the free hospital,” *amisthon iatreion*), for example, LOUKAS THE YOUNGER and ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

Representation in Art. The *anargyroi*, generally depicted as young or middle-aged, are clad soberly in tunics and *phelonias*. They carry attributes of their profession: little medicine chests (sometimes oblong, sometimes cylindrical like a pyxis), narrow boxes of medical instruments, phials, little spoons, spatulas, or pincers (see PHYSICIAN’S BOX).

LIT. A. Chatzinikolaou, *RBK* 2:1077–82. A. Müseler, *LCI* 5:255–59. C.H. Wendt, “Die heilige Ärzte in der Ostkirchenkunst,” *Centaurus* 1 (1950–51) 132–38.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

ANASARTHA (Ἀνασάρθα, now Khanāzīr in Syria) was made a *polis* of SYRIA I in 528 by Justinian I, who renamed it Theodorias after his empress (Malal. 444.20–22). Anasartha was situated on the desert LIMES. Two *martyria* were built there in the 5th–6th C., apparently by Arab wives of Byz. generals (Victor and Silvanus). City walls were constructed in 594/5, in the name of Emp. Maurice, state officials, and the local bishop, perhaps by ISIDORE THE YOUNGER, a *mechanikos* who had earlier built the walls at CHALKIS and buildings at ZENOBIA. The walls of Anasartha may have been extended in 604 by a local (Arab?) Gregory

Abimenes in the name of Emp. Phokas and his empress Leontia.

LIT. R. Mouterde, A. Poidebard, *Le "Limes" de Chalcis: Organisation de la steppe en haute Syrie romaine* (Paris 1945) 68, 193–97. —M.M.M.

ANASTASIA, APOCALYPSE OF, a compilation that describes the fate of sinners whom the pious nun Anastasia chanced to see during her visionary journey to Hell. The text, dated by Speranskij (*infra*) in the 10th or 11th C. and by Beck (*Kirche* 653) in the 11th or 12th C., survives in late Greek MSS (of the 15th–16th C.) and in two Slavic versions. Its content is banal, with an emphasis on the moral decline of mankind, and its cosmogony is traditional, resembling that of the Book of ENOCH. The author, however, mentions some historical personages and such events as the reconciliation of Emp. Nikephoros II Phokas with his murderer John I Tzimiskes. Anastasia also reports meeting the *protospatharios* Peter of the *kastron* of Corinth, who is replaced in the Slavic version by Paul Samonas.

ED. *Apocalypsis Anastasiae*, ed. R. Homburg (Leipzig 1903).
LIT. M. Speranskij, "Malo izvestnoe vizantijskoe 'Videnie' i ego slavjanskije teksty," *BS* 3 (1931) 110–33. R. Ganszyniec, "Zur Apocalypsis Anastasiae," *BNJbb* 4 (1923) 270–76. —J.I., A.K.

ANASTASIOPOLIS. See DARA.

ANASTASIOS (Ἀναστάσιος), patriarch of Constantinople (22 Jan. 730–Jan. 754), probably of Syrian origin (Gero, *Leo III* 29, n.17). Anastasios was originally a disciple and *synkellos* of Patr. GERMANOS I. He changed sides, however, and supported the Iconoclastic policy of Leo III. After Germanos's deposition, Leo appointed Anastasios patriarch. He compiled and signed a document (*libelloi*) against the veneration of icons and sent *synodika* to Pope Gregory II defending the Iconoclastic position; the papal reaction was to excommunicate the patriarch. Nothing is known of any further activity of Anastasios during the reign of Leo III; after the emperor's death he supported ARTABSDOS and denounced Constantine V, alleging in a public statement that the emperor had confessed to the patriarch that Christ had been an ordinary man and not the Son of God (Theoph.

415.24–29). After his victory, Constantine ordered that Anastasios be flogged and ignominiously paraded naked on a donkey in the Hippodrome; nevertheless he retained him on the patriarchal throne. When Anastasios died, Constantine kept the see vacant for several months before appointing his successor, the Iconoclast Constantine II (754–66); both actions contributed to the declining reputation of the patriarchate.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 343–44. R. Janin, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1465f. —A.K.

ANASTASIOS I, emperor (from 11 Apr. 491; born Dyrrachion ca.430, died Constantinople 8 or 10 July 518. He was nicknamed Dikoros ("with two pupils") because his eyes were of different colors. His flatterers called Anastasios a descendant of Pompey, a later legend (in George Hamartolos) made him a son of a priest; his mother is described as a Manichaean. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 149.27–150.1) calls him a supporter of the Manichees and rebukes him for patronizing a painter of this persuasion. He was famous for his Christian devotion (of Monophysite type). Circa 488 he was proposed as successor to PETER THE FULLER as bishop of Antioch. Even though he held the relatively unimportant post of *decurion* of the *silentiarii*, in 491 Zeno's widow ARIADNE selected him as emperor against the wishes of Patr. Euphemios (490–96) and of Zeno, who had wanted his brother Longinos to succeed him. Anastasios married Ariadne on 20 May 491 and banished Longinos to the Thebaid to die of starvation.

By 497 Anastasios quelled the independence of the Isaurian faction both in Constantinople and in ISAURIA. He reformed the fiscal administration by shifting the main tax burden from the urban centers (abolition of the CHRYSARGYRON) to rural areas and transferred tax collection from the *curiales* to state-appointed *vindices* (E. Chrysos, *Byzantina* 3 [1971] 93–102). Anastasios created the *comitiva sacri patrimonii*, transmitting a section of state property to the emperor's private estate. In 494 he reformed the bronze coinage, issuing the large FOLLIS and several subdivisions. His frugal administration resulted in substantial economies so that at the time of his death the treasury contained 320,000 pounds of gold, despite energetic build-

ing activity in various frontier zones (I. Barnea, *Dacia* n.s. 4 [1960] 363–74).

Anastasios met with political resistance, esp. dangerous during the revolt of VITALIAN, as well as religious opposition from the Orthodox, who accused him of Monophysite tendencies. He had to deal with severe tensions on the frontiers. After a period of relative calm on the Danube, the Bulgars began to penetrate into the empire. To check them, Anastasios ordered construction of the LONG WALL in Thrace in ca.503/4 according to B. Croke (*GRBS* 23 [1982] 73f). His relations with THEODORIC THE GREAT were hostile, and the popes condemned the AKAKIAN SCHISM and tried to establish their jurisdiction over the northern Balkans. The Persians attacked Mesopotamia and temporarily seized AMIDA. Anastasios had no children, but his nephews and their descendants retained an influential position for at least five generations (Al. Cameron, *GRBS* 19 [1978] 259–76). Anastasios is sometimes held to be the emperor portrayed on the BARBERINI IVORY.

LIT. C. Capizzi, *L'imperatore Anastasio I (491–518)* (Rome 1969). *PLRE* 2:78–80. P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire* (Thessalonike 1974). —T.E.G.

ANASTASIOS I, patriarch of Antioch (559–70; 25 March 593–end of 598); born Palestine, died Antioch end of 598. Scholars (Sakkos, Weiss) now have rejected his identification with ANASTASIOS OF SINAI. Before his election as patriarch he had been *apokrisiarios* of Alexandria to the see of Antioch. For his stiff opposition to the APHTHARTO-DOCETISM of Justinian I, he was banished, probably to Constantinople, under Justin II (570). During this period he was befriended by the future Pope GREGORY I, with whom he was later to correspond. His literary output is primarily dogmatic and polemic. Although the authenticity of some of his homilies is debatable, the address he delivered on his return to Antioch is genuine (25 March 593). Five of his treatises on the Trinity and the Incarnation exist in Latin translation. As a Neochalcedonian, Anastasios used a strict Orthodox vocabulary but in some points (e.g., in the emphasis on the unity of divine and human natures in the Savior) he came close to moderate Monophysites. John of Damascus used him, and during the Iconoclast disputes both parties referred to Anastasios as an authority.

ED. PG 89:1289–1408. J. Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta* (Rome 1868) 2:251–57.

LIT. S.N. Sakkos, *Peri Anastasion Sinaiton* (Thessalonike 1964) 44–86. G. Weiss, *Studia Anastasiana I* (Munich 1965). K.-H. Uthemann, "Des Patriarchen Anastasios I. von Antiochien Jerusalem Streitsgespräch mit einem Tritheiten (CPG 6958)," *Traditio* 37 (1981) 73–108. —A.P.

ANASTASIOS II, emperor (713–15); baptismal name Artemios; died Constantinople 1 June 719. Following the deposition of PHILIPPIKOS by officers of the OPSIKION theme, the *protasekretis* Artemios was crowned as Anastasios on 4 June 713. He reversed his predecessor's support of MONOTHELETISM by eventually replacing Patr. John VI (712–15) with GERMANOS I and by revalidating the Third Council of Constantinople. The raid of MASLAMA into Galatia in 714 prompted Anastasios to send entreaties for peace to Caliph Walid, but reports of large-scale campaign preparations in Syria spurred him to prepare Constantinople for an assault. He appointed competent thematic officers, including the future LEO III; ordered individuals in Constantinople to be able to support themselves for three years or else to leave the city; rebuilt the fleet; restored the land and sea walls; erected siege weapons; and stored grain. He also dispatched a fleet in 715 to destroy the Arabs' timber supply in Phoenicia, but the expedition broke up in Rhodes and the Opsikion troops revolted in favor of THEODOSIOS III. After a six-month struggle, Anastasios abdicated, became a monk, and was exiled to Thessalonike. In 719, at the instigation of the *magistros* Niketas Xylinites, he marched on Constantinople with help from TERVEL, but eventually the Bulgars surrendered him to Leo and he was beheaded. His wife Irene buried him in the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople.

LIT. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:312–18. Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasios II & Theodosios III" 289–91. —P.A.H.

ANASTASIOS OF SINAI, theologian and saint; died after 700; feastday 21 Apr. S. Sakkos identified him with Anastasios II, patriarch of Antioch, murdered by the local Jews ca.609. However, the brief note in the SYNAXARION OF CONSTANTINOPLE (*Synax.CP* 607f) contradicts the hypothesis of Sakkos and reports that Anastasios of Sinai died peacefully after having written "saints' lives

and works which profit the soul." Anastasios participated in anti-Monophysite discussions in Alexandria between 635 and 640 but was still active ca. 700, although he was a monk at the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai.

His major work is the *Guidebook* (*Hodegos*), completed and supplied with the author's scholia sometime between 686 and 689. It is a polemic against heresies, esp. MONOPHYSITISM and MONOTHELETISM. Anastasios also wrote sermons, including two that dealt with the creation of man: man was created from two natures, mortal and immortal, and thus was a paradigm of God's incarnation or Christ's synthesis. The distinction between his genuine works and spuria is not always clear. An EROTAPOKRISIS and a FLORILEGIUM that had an anti-Monothelite tendency are ascribed in MSS to a certain Anastasios, who may be identical with the monk of Sinai. The HEXAEMERON is evidently not by Anastasios, although the conclusion of J. Baggarly (*The Conjugates Christ-Church in the Hexaemeron of pseudo-Anastasios of Sinai* [Rome 1974]) that the author cribbed from Psellos and lived in the 11th-12th C. does not prove valid. In the *Hexaemeron* pseudo-Anastasios interpreted the six-day creation legend allegorically as a prefiguration of the relations between Christ and the Church. Some works of Anastasios are preserved in Oriental translations.

ED. PG 89. *Viae dux*, ed. K.H. Uthemann (Turnhout-Louvain 1981). *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem dei*, ed. K.H. Uthemann (Turnhout-Louvain 1985).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 442-46. M. Richard, *Opera minora* 3 (Turnhout-Louvain 1977) nos. 63-64. S. Sakkos, *Peri Anastasion Sinaiton* (Thessalonike 1964) 87-171. T. Spáčil, "La teologia di s. Anastasio Sinaita," *Bessarione* 26 (1922) 157-78, 27 (1923) 15-44. —A.K.

ANASTASIS (Ἀνάστασις) or RESURRECTION is the Easter image of the Orthodox church. Usually believed to be based on apocryphal texts such as the Gospel of NICODEMUS (but see Kartsonis, *infra*), it shows Christ bursting the gates of Hell and releasing those said to have believed in him before his Incarnation. First encountered in the 8th C., the Anastasis had assumed its classic form by the 11th: Christ strides over the shattered bolts of Hell's gates, sometimes treading upon the shackled personification of HADES; flanking Christ are sarcophagi from which emerge figures including Adam, Eve, and sometimes Seth on one side and

David, Solomon, and John the Baptist on the other. Christ strides toward Adam, reaching to release him (DAPHNI), or upward, dragging Adam behind him (HOSIOS LOUKAS). A rare variant shows Christ standing centrally, exposing his wounds. In a Palaiologan version he pulls Adam with his right hand and Eve with his left (CHORA). The image of the Anastasis is integral to GREAT FEAST cycles in all media; accompanying the Easter lection (Jn 1:1-18), it opens many LECTIONARIES and precedes John's Gospel in many Gospel books; it illuminates the Easter homily of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and hymns of resurrection; and it occupies the apse of certain late funerary chapels (Chora) and Crusader churches (see "Holy Sepulchre" under JERUSALEM).

LIT. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986). —A.W.C.

ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS, papal official, Latin writer, and translator; born Rome? ca. 800 or before 817 (H. Wolter, *LMA* 1:573), died ca. 879. Anastasius was 9th-C. Europe's leading expert on Byz. His rocky career saw him as cardinal priest of St. Marcellus in 847/8, a fugitive around Aquileia in 848-53, excommunicated and reduced to lay status by Pope LEO IV, and unsuccessful antipope in 855. Subsequently rehabilitated, Anastasius became abbot of S. Maria in Trastevere and, from 861 or 862, served as private secretary to Pope NICHOLAS I, regained the priesthood and became *bibliothecarius Romanae Ecclesiae* (head of the archive) to HADRIAN II. From late 861, he shaped policy and authored diplomatic correspondence with Constantinople, particularly concerning PHOTIOS (N. Ertl, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 15 [1938] 82-121). Anastasius knew CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS and backed their endeavors to evangelize the Slavs (F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method: Lehrer der Slaven* [Wiesbaden 1960] 78-82). In 868, Anastasius was accused of complicity in his relatives' attack on Hadrian's wife and daughter but was acquitted.

The following year, he traveled to Constantinople as Louis II's envoy to BASIL I and probably negotiated the projected marriage alliance between the two empires. In the same capacity, he participated in the Constantinople council of 869-70 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF),

earning Basil's irritation and papal satisfaction through a murky affair of documents stolen from the pope's ambassadors. Between 2 Feb. and 13 Aug. 871, Anastasius probably wrote the letter of Louis II to Basil I preserved in the CHRONICON SALERNITANUM. After the accession of Pope JOHN VIII in Dec. 872, his influence waned (P. Devos, *Byzantion* 32 [1962] 97-115) and he devoted himself to writing.

In addition to the many letters composed in his lords' names, Anastasius probably wrote sections of the biography of Nicholas I in the LIBER PONTIFICALIS—its views on Byz. are his—and influenced the author of the Life of Hadrian II. His unparalleled, if imperfect, knowledge of Greek allowed him to translate into Latin numerous works of Byz. literature desired in the West. A dozen such hagiographical texts, dedicated to popes, churchmen, and the Frankish ruler include a sermon by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Constantine the Philosopher's lost writings on St. Kliment (the surviving preface from 877 or 878 sheds light on Constantine's earlier career—P. Devos, P. Meyvaert, in *Cyrrillo-Methodiana* [Cologne 1964] 65), as well as a *Passion of Peter of Alexandria*. These works seem to betray a fascination with the East combined with fear of Byz. heresy and political oppression (C. Leonardi in *Hagiographie—cultures et sociétés* [Paris 1981] 471-89).

Anastasius's translations of theological works included MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, a revision of John Scot Eriugena's translations of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, and *Collectanea* of documents from the crisis over MONOTHELETISM. The recent relations of the PAPACY with Constantinople explain Anastasius's improved translation of the acts of the Second Council of NICAEEA, the version of and commentary on the 869-70 council of Constantinople (C. Leonardi, *StMed* 3 8 [1967] 59-192), and a *Chronographia tripartita* based in large part on THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, the nearly slavish translation of which (D. Tabachovitz, *BZ* 38 [1938] 16-22) reflects older and more reliable MSS than the revised Greek originals that have survived.

ED. E. Perels, G. Laehr, in MGH *Epist.* 7:395-442. *Theophanes Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1885) 31-346. *Sermo Theodori Studitae de sancto Bartholomaeo apostolo*, ed. U. Westerberg (Stockholm 1963). P. Devos, "Une passion grecque inédite de s. Pierre d'Alexandrie et sa traduction par Anastase le Bibliothécaire," *AB* 83 (1965) 157-87.

LIT. G. Arnaldi, "Anastasio Bibliotecario," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 3 (Rome 1961) 25-37. A. Lapôtre, *Études sur la papauté au IXe siècle*, vol. 1 (Turin 1978) 121-476. —M.McC.

ANASTYLOSIS. See DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS.

ANATHEMA (ἀνάθεμα, "that which is set aside, accursed"), the highest form of ecclesiastical censure directed at obstinate or unrepentant heretics, normally found at the conclusion of conciliar decrees and canons. The earliest recorded usage of the term is at the Council of Elvira, ca. 305 (canon 52). The New Testament formula εἰ τις . . . , ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (Gal 1:9), met frequently in conciliar documents, was first employed by the local council of GANGRA. The term supposed exclusion from the church's fellowship and, as such, does not appear to have been clearly distinguishable from EXCOMMUNICATION. Nevertheless, anathema, in contrast with the disciplinary procedure of excommunication, was essentially a more solemn pronouncement of condemnation. It was thus not a precise ecclesiastical punishment as much as a curse directed almost exclusively against false teaching. From the 7th C. onward the term is clearly distinguishable from excommunication in conciliar decrees (cf. NICAEEA II, canon 1). According to BALSAMON the church cannot exercise the right of total or eternal anathema by which the transgressor is deprived of all hope of salvation (PG 137:1237A). The word, which was used broadly as a malediction by individuals (e.g., in purchase deeds, MM 6:159.26-27, 161.30-31), was often coupled with the curse (ἀρά) of the 318 Fathers of Nicaea I. The SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, first drafted in the early 10th C., with additions made up to the 15th C., contains numerous anathemas of heretics.

LIT. A.S. Alivizatos, "Anathema," *THEE* (Athens 1969) 2:469-73. —A.P.

ANATOLIA. See ASIA MINOR.

ANATOLIKON (Ἀνατολικόν), one of the original THEMES of Asia Minor, attested by 669. Stretching from the Aegean to Lykaonia and Isauria, it ranked first among all the themes. Its troops rebelled against Constantine IV in 681,

and in 714 its *strategos* successfully revolted to become emperor Leo III. Conscious of the power of the general, Leo apparently detached the western districts to form the THRAKESION theme. Anatolikon supported Constantine V in 742 against ARTABASDOS; in 803 its *strategos* BARDANES TOURKOS led a revolt. Early in the 9th C. its eastern districts were removed to form CAPPADOCIA; under Theophilos, SELEUKEIA became a separate theme; and Leo VI added the region west of the Salt Lake to Cappadocia. The capital of Anatolikon was AMORION until at least 838. In the mid-9th C. Anatolikon contained 34 forts; its *strategos*, who bore the title *patrikios*, commanded 15,000 troops and drew a salary of 40 pounds of gold. Anatolikon last appears when its *strategos* Nikephoros Botaneiates was proclaimed emperor in 1077.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 114-17. *TIB* 4:63-66.

-C.F.

ANATOLIOS (Ἀνατόλιος), member of a famous family of jurists, ANTECESSOR, professor at the law school of Berytus, and one of the eight addressees of the *Constitutio Omnem* of Justinian I from the year 533. Anatolios was appointed by Justinian to the commission for the compilation of the *DIGEST*. He is probably identical with the jurist Anatolios, named specifically in some scholia to the *Basilika*, who wrote Greek paraphrases of constitutions of the *Codex Justinianus*. According to the generally accepted view of K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal (*Kritische Jahrbücher für Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft* 8 [1844] 803f), the Greek versions of the *Cod. Just.* VIII 4-56 that were admitted into the text of the *Basilika* originate in a paraphrase of the *Codex* by Anatolios. Since Ferrini's edition of approximately 200 anonymous paraphrases of constitutions of the *Codex* (two of which are inscribed with "Anatolios" in the scholia to the *Basilika*), these have been regarded as extracts from this paraphrase.

ED. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:69-72. C. Ferrini, *Opere*, vol. 1 (Milan 1929) 254-90.

LIT. Zachariä, *Kleine Schriften* 2:326-33.

-A.S.

ANAZARBOS (Ἀνάζαρβος, now Anavarza), a city in the eastern plain of Cilicia on a tributary of the Pyramos. The civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of

CILICIA II, Anazarbos was destroyed by earthquakes and rebuilt by Justin I, then Justinian I, and assumed their names in turn. Occupied by the Arabs in the mid-7th C., its exposed frontier location led to depopulation until it was restored in 796. After many Byz. attempts, Nikephoros II Phokas took Anazarbos in 962. It became the seat of a *strategos*, but fell to the Armenians in 1085 and to the Crusaders in 1097. Retaken by John II Komnenos in 1137 and by Manuel I in 1158, it was finally lost again to the Armenians ca. 1174. The site contains two basilicas of the 6th C., a cruciform church of uncertain date, and extensive remains of fortifications, some of them Byz.

LIT. M. Gough, "Anazarbus," *AnatSt* 2 (1952) 85-150. H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit* (Bonn 1976) 191-201.

-C.F.

ANCHIALOS (Ἀγχίαλος), Thracian city on the Black Sea coast; in the late Roman period it was in the province of Haemimontus. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (*Amm.Marc.* 27.4.12), it was a *civitas magna*. Prokopios (*Buildings* 3.7.18) identified its inhabitants as Thracians. Occupied by Avars at the end of the 6th C., Anchialos was later contested between Bulgarians and Byz.: in 763 Constantine V defeated the Bulgarians in a battle on the "field of Anchialos" (*Theoph.* 433.5). Empress Irene ordered the fortification of Anchialos, but under Michael I the Christian population left the town. In 917 a Byz. army was defeated near Anchialos in the battle at ACHELOUS, and the town was annexed to Bulgaria. Anchialos was in Bulgarian hands in the 13th and 14th C., although Michael VIII tried to regain it by marrying his relative Maria to the Bulgarian tsar Constantine Tich. It was under Byz. control ca. 1423, but soon thereafter was conquered by the Turks.

According to legend, Anchialos was a Christian city as early as the 1st C.; Eusebios mentions its bishop Sotas (ca. 170). From the 7th C. onward, Anchialos was an autocephalous archbishopric under the direct jurisdiction of Constantinople.

LIT. A.N. Diamantopoulos, *He Anchialos* (Athens 1954). V. Velkov, *Gradūt v Trakija i Dakija prez kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959) 96. I. Dujčev, *LMA* 1:577. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1511-13.

-A.K.

ANCHORITE. See HERMIT.

ANCIENT OF DAYS. See CHRIST: Types of Christ.

ANCONA (Ἀγκών), Adriatic port in central Italy and an important Byz. stronghold during the Gothic war of the 6th C. In the mid-12th C. Manuel I used the commune of Ancona, which recognized him as overlord, as a Byz. base to fight the Norman kingdom, the Venetian predominance in the Adriatic, and the growing influence of the Western Empire in Italy. With the help of Byz. money and military advisers Ancona resisted the German assaults in 1158, 1167, and 1173. From the second half of the 12th C. Anconitan merchants are known to have traded in Dalmatia and in the eastern Mediterranean. Their colony in Constantinople, with its Church of St. Stephen (attested from 1199), was headed by a consul. According to a chrysobull of Andronikos II (1308), Anconitan ships paid 2 percent tax on goods entering or leaving the port of Constantinople (*Reg* 4, no. 2315), the same percentage as that paid by Venetian and Genoese ships. The travels of CYRIACUS OF ANCONA in the eastern Mediterranean resulted in the first important archaeological information about this region. In 1453 the Anconitan consul helped to defend Constantinople's walls.

LIT. J.-F. Leonhard, *Die Seestadt Ancona im Spätmittelalter* (Tübingen 1983). D. Abulafia, "Ancona, Byzantium and the Adriatic, 1155-1173," *BSR* 52 (1984) 195-216. A. Pertusi, "The Anconitan Colony in Constantinople and the Report of Its Consul, Benvenuto, on the Fall of the City," in *Charanis Studies* 199-218.

-V.v.F.

ANDRAVIDA (Ἀνδραβίδα, Fr. Andreville, origin of the name disputed), city in Elis in the northwestern Peloponnesos; primary residence of the prince of ACHAIA. According to the *CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA* (vv. 1426-29, ed. Schmitt 98f), Andravida was already a town before the Frankish conquest, but was not fortified. GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN established himself in Andravida almost immediately after his arrival. Its location in the rich Elean plain allowed it to be well supplied for the great gatherings the Frankish chivalry so enjoyed, while its proximity to the sea, through the port at Clarenza, permitted easy contact with the West; never fortified, it was protected by the

castle of CHLEMOUTSI 5 km to the east. The city witnessed great assemblies of troops and courtiers, including the marriage of Hugues de Brienne and Isabelle de la Roche in 1277. Geoffrey I transferred the bishopric of Olena (*Notitiae CP* 21.134) to Andravida and it kept that title, although the bishop was a Frank.

No monuments from before 1204 are known, but three churches of the Frankish period can be identified in the sources: St. Sophia, St. Stephen, and St. James; this last possessed a hospital and was the burial place of the Villehardouins. The sanctuary and side chapels of the Dominican Church of St. Sophia survive: it was an enormous cathedral, more than 41 m long and nearly 19 m wide. It can be paralleled by many late 13th- and early 14th-C. Gothic churches in France and Italy. Its plan resembles that of St. Paraskeve in CHALKIS. Inside the church was the tombstone of the princess Agnes (died 1286), with what is probably the coat of arms of the Villehardouin family (A. Bon, *Mon Piot* 49 [1957] 129-39).

LIT. C.D. Shepherd, "Excavations at the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Andravida, Greece," *Gesta* 25 (1986) 139-44. Bon, *Morée franque* 1:318-20, 547-53. Panagopoulos, *Monasteries* 65-77.

-T.E.G.

ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO, prince of Suzdal'; born ca. 1111, died 29 June 1174. Intending, like his father JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ, to rule over all of Rus', Andrej did not aim to be prince of Kiev, which his army sacked in 1169. He developed his capital Vladimir on the Kljazma River after Kievan, Byz., and Romanesque models and maintained a country residence at Bogoljubovo, after which he was nicknamed. Andrej tried to erect a second metropolitan see at Vladimir, but the Byz. patriarch LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES rejected this project in a letter (ca. 1165-1168; wrongly dated to ca. 1161 by Grumel in *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no. 1052). Andrej promoted the cult of the THEOTOKOS as his and his principality's patroness (see VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR) and the veneration as a saint of LEONTIOS, a Greek and the first bishop of Rostov, who was martyred by local pagans in the 1070s. Andrej participated in church discussions concerning fasting on holy days, a topic simultaneously debated in Constantinople. His relations with Byz. were not as close as those of his father because in Constantinople relations with the Kievan ruler

took priority. Andrej was ruthless toward both his family and his close associates, a policy that precipitated a plot which ended his days.

LIT. N.N. Voronin, *Zodčestvo Severo-Vostočnoj Rusi XII–XV veka* (Moscow 1961) 1:113–342. W. Vodoff, "Un 'parti théocratique' dans la Russie du XIIe siècle?" *CahCM* 17 (1974) 193–215. E. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: the Man and the Myth* (Florence 1980). —An.P.

ANDREW (Ἀνδρέας), apostle and saint; feastday 30 Nov. He was the brother of PETER and, like him, a fisherman. The early legend, preserved in EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, describes only his mission to Scythia; eventually he was said to have visited Thrace, and GREGORY OF TOURS states in passing that Andrew was in Constantinople as well. Not until the end of the 7th C., however, did the idea appear that Andrew ordained Stachys, the first (legendary) bishop of Constantinople. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.179) mentions "the so-called Acts of the twelve apostles, primarily Andrew" that were used by the Manichaean Agapios, but we do not know the contents of the Manichaean legend.

The story of Andrew was developed by Epiphanius of the monastery of Kallistratos in Constantinople in the early 9th C. (PG 120:215–60); the author's identity with EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPO-LITES has been suggested but remains questionable. Epiphanius was followed by various writers, including NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON. Legend called Andrew the *protokletos* (first of the apostles) and made wordplays on his name (which means "courageous"); he is presented as a tireless missionary who traveled to Paphlagonia, the Caucasus, and the northern shores of the Black Sea. However, the notion of Andrew as the founder of the see of Constantinople did not become popular in Byz. and was invoked infrequently (e.g., by Neilos DOXOPATRES in 1143). The cult of Andrew seems to have been more intense at Patras, with which legend associated his martyrdom and death. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.*, 49.26) ascribes to Andrew's intervention the victory over the Slavs, who besieged Patras between 802 and 806.

Representation in Art. From the 6th C. onward, Andrew's disheveled white hair and beard distinguish his portraits. He is often represented in the FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDE and with Peter in the scene of their calling. This usually follows Matthew 4:1–18 (Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, RA-

VENNA; Tokalı Kilise, GÖREME) and only rarely John 1:37–42, in which Andrew is the central figure, shown introducing Peter to Christ as in an 11th-C. Gospel book in Vienna (ÖNB, theol. gr. 154, fol. 223r). Of the apocryphal events from Andrew's life, only his crucifixion on a cross or tree is illustrated: Belli Kilise, SOÇANLI; bronze doors of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, 1070. He is shown preaching in the marginal PSALTERS (Ps 19) and baptizing in the PARIS GREGORY (fol. 426v). He appears among other saints on 10th- and 11th-C. ivories. Though both the LIBER PONTIFICALIS (s.v. Gregory III) and the LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS (p.351) mention panels portraying him, the earliest surviving single-figure icons of Andrew are from the 14th C. (Nicosia, Icon Museum; Venice, Museo Correr).

LIT. BHG 93–110c. J. Flamion, *Les Actes apocryphes de l'apôtre André* (Louvain 1911). F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). E.C. Suttner, "Der hl. Andreas und das ökumenische Patriarchat," *Der christliche Osten* 38 (1983) 121–29. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2.1 (1909) 213–95. O. Demus, "Zum Werk eines venezianischen Malers auf dem Sinai," in *Byz. und der Westen* 131–42. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:154–56. —J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

ANDREW, archbishop of Caesarea (563–614). Andrew composed the second oldest commentary on the APOCALYPSE after that of OIKOUMENIOS, with whom he was often in principled disagreement. His exegesis is esp. valuable as a source for the textual tradition of the Apocalypse. ARETHAS of Caesarea freely exploited it in the 9th C., and its influence spread further afield through translations into Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic. Fragments also remain of a work of moral comfort entitled *Therapeutike*; his commentary on Daniel is lost.

ED. Commentary on Apocalypse—PG 106:207–458, 1387–1412. *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, ed. J. Schmid, vol. 1 (Munich 1955). *Therapeutike* frag. in Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 161–72.

LIT. A.M. Castagno, "Il problema della datazione dei Commenti all'Apocalisse di Ecumenio e di Andrea di Caesarea," *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filosofiche* 114 (1980) 223–46. F. Diekamp, "Das Zeitalter des Erzbischofs Andreas von Cäsarea," *HistJb* 18 (1897) 1–36. —B.B.

ANDREW OF CRETE, poet, ecclesiastical orator, and saint; born Damascus ca.660, died Lesbos 4 July 740. Tonsured at an early age at the mon-

astery of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Andrew became a notary of the Great Basilica there. Contrary to legend, he did not participate in the Council of Constantinople of 680. He was, however, sent on a mission to Constantinople in 685 and administered an orphanage and a poorhouse there. Between 692 and 713 he was elected metropolitan of Crete; the seal of Andrew, *proedros* of Crete (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.619), is probably his. Andrew's homilies allude to the invasions of the Scythians (Bulgarians) and of "the tribe of the maidservant Hagar" (Arabs) as well as to Leo III's persecution of the Jews.

Andrew is often considered the creator of the new genre of the KANON that replaced the KON-TAKION. His Great Kanon is enormously long, with 250 strophes. As a theologian Andrew was indifferent to MONOTHELETISM and developed the idea that the Virgin, although born of a human marriage, was in a sense the daughter of God (M. Jugie, *EO* 13 [1910] 129–33). Some works ascribed to Andrew in MSS are not genuine, for example the panegyric of James, the brother of the Lord (ed. J. Noret, H. Gaspard [Toronto 1978]). Andrew enjoyed considerable renown. His vita, written (9th C.?) by Patr. Niketas (to be distinguished from NIKETAS MAGISTROS), was later reworked several times. After 1204 a certain Akakios Sabaites produced a commentary on the Great Kanon that mentioned Basil II's victory over the Bulgarians, the foundation of Mosynopolis, and the news of the Latin conquest of Constantinople (M. Richard, *EEBS* 34 [1965] 304–11).

ED. PG 97:790–1444. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 54. Eng. tr. *The Great Canon* (Jordanville, N.Y., 1982).

LIT. BHG 113–114c. S. Vaillhé, "Saint André de Crète," *EO* 5 (1901–02) 378–87. S. Eustratiades, "Andreas ho Kretes ho Hierosolymites," *Nea Sion* 29 (1934) 673–88. Beck, *Kirche* 500–02. —A.K.

ANDREW THE FOOL (ὁ σαλός), a "created" saint; feastday 28 May. He was supposedly a contemporary of the 5th-C. emperor LEO I, although his biographer presented him as an imitator of SYMEON OF EMESA, the holy FOOL who lived in the 6th C. A certain Nikephoros, priest of Hagia Sophia, wrote Andrew's Life; its date remains disputed. According to C. Mango (*RSBS* 2 [1982] 309), the most probable date is between 674 and 695; J. Wortley (*Byzantion* 43 [1973] 248) ascribes to the vita a *terminus post quem* of 920, though he

dates some parts of it to the early 880s; L. Rydén (*DOP* 32 [1978] 129–55) prefers a date of ca.950–59. The earliest MS is a quire in Munich (Bayer. Staatsbib. gr. 443) in a 10th-C. uncial script. The vita was translated into Georgian and Slavonic.

The Life of Andrew presents him as Scythian and the slave of the *protospatharios* Theognostos; Andrew acquired fluent Greek surprisingly quickly and became his master's notary, but after a dream he turned to a spiritual life. He rejected all social conventions, lived in the streets, drank from puddles, slept on a dung heap, and not only endured hardships supernaturally but knew hidden things and foresaw the future. His behavior, however, is less extreme than that described in the Life of Symeon. Andrew's endurance is emphasized: he was beaten up by visitors to a tavern, a heavy cart ran over him, he survived bad storms. The Life introduces a certain Epiphanius, who was handsome, rich, socially conventional, and part of the establishment; he was nevertheless Andrew's beloved pupil, whose election as "the bishop of the imperial city" Andrew predicted. The Life is consistently Constantinopolitan, its action unfolding on the streets of the capital. Its several visions and apocalypses include the prophecy that Egypt will pay her tribute, PAKTA (L. Rydén, *DOP* 28 [1974] 202.32–40). The Life describes Epiphanius's vision of HADES: a murky area full of prisons and populated neither by devilish executioners nor tortured sinners but rather by animals that symbolize the souls of sinners.

Representation in Art. One of the very rare images of this saint is a late 12th-C. fresco in the cell in the Enkleistra of St. NEOPHYTOS on Cyprus. The rather emaciated saint wears a fleecy, short-sleeved, belted tunic and carries a little sprig of flowers (C. Mango, E. Hawkins, *DOP* 20 [1966] fig.92).

SOURCE. PG 111:627–888.

LIT. BHG 1152–117k. S. Murray, *A Study of the Life of Andreas, the Fool for the Sake of Christ* (Borna-Leipzig 1910). J. Grosdidier de Matons, "Les thèmes d'édification dans la vie d'André Salos," *TM* 4 (1970) 277–328. L. Rydén, "Style and Historical Fiction in the Life of St. Andreas Salos," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 175–83. —A.K., N.P.Š.

ANDREW THE SCYTHIAN, late 9th-C. general of BASIL I who distinguished himself in wars against Tarsos. He received the title of *patrikios* and was appointed *domestikos ton scholon*. Andrew was re-

portedly (*TheophCont* 234–36) angered by a blasphemous letter sent him by the emir of Tarsos and led an expedition against this city; at the Podandos River he defeated an Arab army and took prisoner its commander, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Rashīd (878). His enemies charged him with pusillanimity because, after his victory at Podandos, Andrew retreated without proceeding to Tarsos; according to another version (*TheophCont* 847.10–12), SANTABARENOS accused Andrew of supporting Leo against his father, Basil I. Kēsta STYRPEIOTES replaced Andrew as *domestikos* (ca.883?), but Leo VI restored him to his previous position and possibly granted him the title of *magistros*.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:84,101–02. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:438f. —A.K.

ANDRONIKOS I KOMNENOS, emperor (1183–85); born ca.1118–20, died Constantinople Sept. 1185. Son of Isaac the brother of JOHN II, Andronikos was nurtured with the future MANUEL I, who remained personally partial to him. Andronikos, however, renewed his father's hostility to the ruling Komnenoi. Reconciled with Manuel in 1180, after many adventures, he became governor of Pontos. During the reign of ALEXIOS II, he stirred opposition to MARIA OF ANTIOCH. In Apr. 1182, Andronikos overthrew her, allowed a massacre of citizens of PISA and GENOA in Constantinople, and became regent for Alexios II. He murdered Maria KOMNENE, her husband, and Maria of Antioch. His coronation as co-emperor (Sept. 1183) led to Alexios II's death.

Internally, Andronikos attempted reforms: provincial governors received adequate salaries, sale of offices ceased, corruption was prosecuted, pillaging of wrecked ships prohibited, and taxation moderated. He used the bureaucracy against the aristocracy; he harshly persecuted nobles, esp. rival Komnenoi (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 263–65); however, some nobles (including Constantine DOUKAS and Andronikos DOUKAS) were among his supporters. Many aristocrats (notably Alexios KOMNENOS the *pinkernes*) fled to neighboring rulers, stirring opposition to Andronikos.

Externally, he had few successes. BÉLA III occupied Niš (see NAISSUS) and Sofia (see SERDICA) in 1182–83, then withdrew (1184). To gain naval support, Andronikos turned to Venice. The re-appearance of Venetians in Constantinople alien-

ated the populace. CYPRUS fell to ISAAC KOMNENOS. After the forces of WILLIAM II took Thessalonike, the multitude in Constantinople were terrified; the populace seized an occasion to dethrone Andronikos (12 Sept. 1185). Captured after attempted flight, he was cruelly put to death.

Andronikos's talents and personality earned the people's admiration, but his violence and lasciviousness marred his achievements. His first wife was a Byz. aristocrat, his second AGNES OF FRANCE; his favorite mistress was Theodora Komnene, widow of BALDWIN III of Jerusalem. Representations of Andronikos are rare, though he is distinguished on his coins (Grierson, *Byz. Coins*, figs. 1109–12) by his long forked beard, remarked upon by Choniates.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 28–75. Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 30–86. O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam 1970). —C.M.B., A.C.

ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1282–1328); born 1259 or 1260, died Constantinople 13 Feb. 1332. His 46-year reign, the third longest in the history of the empire, was plagued by religious dissension, Ottoman advances, civil war, and financial problems; at the same time, arts and letters flourished, and Andronikos presided over a court that included such distinguished intellectuals as Theodore METOCHITES and Nikephoros CHOUMNOS. During his reign there was considerable construction activity in the capital, esp. the restoration of churches and monasteries.

Co-emperor from 1272, Andronikos repudiated the unpopular Unionist policies of his father, MICHAEL VIII, immediately upon the latter's death in 1282; he was unable, however, to resolve the ARSENITE schism until 1310. He was staunchly Orthodox and pious, even superstitious, and very much under the influence of Patr. ATHANASIOS I.

The financial difficulties of the empire during his reign are reflected in the continuing depreciation of the HYPERPYRON. The resulting rise in prices and the emperor's use of a "scorched-earth policy" in Thrace in an attempt to stop the Catalans (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 91–113) led to widespread famine. Andronikos tried to increase revenues by raising taxes, adding a new tax on agricultural produce, and reducing tax exemptions. One of his most serious mistakes was

the dismantling of the fleet in 1285, which proved to be a false economy (Laiou, *infra* 74–76, 114f).

At the beginning of his reign Andronikos had to confront the growing threat of the Serbs on his northern frontier, under the leadership of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN. After the Serbs took considerable Byz. territory in Macedonia, Andronikos decided to negotiate a peace treaty with the Serbs. As a pledge of alliance he married his five-year-old daughter SIMONIS to Milutin in 1298. The efforts of Andronikos to save Asia Minor from the Turks, such as hiring the mercenary CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, proved fruitless; during his reign, the Ottomans seized much of Bithynia, including PROUSA, which fell in 1326. The final years of the reign of Andronikos, 1321–28, were troubled by civil war with his grandson, the future ANDRONIKOS III. He was deposed on 24 May 1328 and died as the monk Antonios four years later.

Andronikos was married twice. His first wife, Anna, daughter of Stephen V of Hungary, whom he married in 1273, bore him MICHAEL IX; his second wife was IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT.

LIT. A.E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972). Papadopoulos, *Genealogie*, no.58. —A.M.T.

ANDRONIKOS III PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (24 May 1328–1341); born 25 Mar. 1297 (cf. R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 29 [1963] 333, 348), died Constantinople 15 June 1341. Son of MICHAEL IX PALAIOLOGOS and Rita-Maria of Armenia, he became co-emperor sometime between 1308 and 1313 (Lj. Maksimović, *ZRVI* 16 [1975] 119–22). Andronikos was second in line to the throne until he antagonized his grandfather, ANDRONIKOS II, by his dissolute behavior and by inadvertently causing the death of his brother Manuel. With the support of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS and SYRGIANNES, Andronikos rebelled in 1321 against the old emperor. The civil war lasted, on and off, for seven years; in 1328, Andronikos entered Constantinople and forced his grandfather to abdicate.

During the reign of Andronikos his *megas domestikos*, Kantakouzenos, held real power, while the emperor devoted himself to military campaigns and hunting. He restored northern Thessaly and Epiros briefly to the empire and strength-

ened the imperial navy. These gains were offset, however, by Serbian expansion in Macedonia under STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN and the Ottoman advance in Bithynia. In 1333 Andronikos joined an anti-Turkish alliance with Venice and Latin lords in the Aegean (S. Theotokos, *EEBS* 7 [1930] 283–305). Andronikos reformed the judiciary system by instituting a new "supreme court," composed of four judges with the title KRITAI KATHOLIKOI. He died at age 44, leaving as his heir his nine-year-old son, JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, fruit of his second marriage to ANNA OF SAVOY.

LIT. U.V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos* (Amsterdam 1965). Nicol, *Last Centuries* 159–92. C. Kyrris, "Continuity and Differentiation in the Régime Established by Andronicus III after his Victory of 23/24 v.1328," *EEBS* 43 (1977–78) 278–328. —A.M.T.

ANDRONIKOS IV PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1376–79); born Constantinople 11 Apr. 1348, died Selymbria 25 or 28 June 1385. Although the eldest son and heir of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS and his regent in 1366 and 1369–71, Andronikos was on uneasy terms with his father and twice engaged in open rebellion against him. The tension between the two men first surfaced in 1370, when Andronikos refused to help his father who was stranded penniless in Venice. In 1373, Andronikos joined forces with SAVCI BEG, son of MURAD I, in conspiracy against their respective fathers. After the failure of the attempted rebellion, Andronikos was imprisoned and replaced as heir by his brother MANUEL (II). He was also subjected to blinding, but apparently suffered the loss of only one eye.

In 1376, Andronikos escaped from prison. With Genoese and Ottoman support, he seized Constantinople and the imperial power. He was formally crowned on 18 Oct. 1377. His brief reign was marked by dependence on the Genoese and upon the Turks, to whom he ceded the crucial fortress of Gallipoli (KALLIPOLIS). In 1379 John V overthrew his son and regained the throne. In a pact of 1381 he once more recognized Andronikos as his heir and granted him the appanage of SELYMBRIA. In 1385, however, Andronikos again rebelled, unsuccessfully, against his father; he died shortly thereafter.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 18–36, 41f, 50–52, 458–61. R.-J. Loenertz, "La première insurrection d'Andronic IV Paléologue (1373)," *EO* 38 (1939) 334–45. F. Dölger, "Zum

Aufstand des Andronikos IV. gegen seinem Vater Johannes V. im Mai 1373," *REB* 19 (1961) 328–32.

–A.M.T.

ANDRONIKOS V PALAIOLOGOS, a shadowy child emperor whose existence has only recently been acknowledged by Byzantinists; born ca. 1400, died 1407? The title of a monody on the untimely death of a seven-year-old emperor (*basileus*) specifically names the child Andronikos and describes him as the son of JOHN VII. He was thus apparently the son of John and his wife Irene GATTILUSIO (subsequently the nun Eugenia), born while his father was regent in Constantinople. Andronikos must have predeceased his father, probably in 1407, since John VII is said to have died childless in 1408. Other evidence for Andronikos's short life includes an ivory at Dumbarton Oaks, probably depicting John VII and Andronikos at Thessalonike in 1403/4 (Oikonomides, "Ivory Pyxis" 329–37).

LIT. G.T. Dennis, "An Unknown Byzantine Emperor, Andronicus V Palaeologus (1400–1407?)," *JÖB* 16 (1967) 175–87.

–A.M.T.

ANEMAS (*Ἀνεμάς*), a family of the military aristocracy. The sobriquet Anemas is attested at the beginning of the 9th C. (Theoph. 482.30). The etymology of the name is debatable; the logical derivation from *anemos*, "wind," was rejected by Ph. Koukoules, who connected it with *aneme*, "spool" (*EEBS* 5 [1928] 3). On the other hand, Chalandon (*Comnène* 1:240) considered them descendants of the Cretan emir 'Abd al-'Azīz, whose son is called Anemas by Byz. chroniclers: he deserted to the Byz., became an army commander, and fell in the battle against SVJATOSLAV in 971. Whether the four Anemas brothers who were Alexios I's generals belonged to his progeny is unknown; names of two of them—Leo and Michael—are attested. Despite their involvement in the plot of 1105, the family maintained its position; Manuel Anemas (died 1149), military commander, married Theodora, John II's daughter, and had the high title of *protosebastohypertatos*. The family also intermarried with the Angeloi and Doukai. Alexios Anemas (who as a monk was called Athanasios) was eulogized in an anonymous epigram as a skilled archer and rider (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," no. 276.7–15). In 1162 Pankratios Anemas owned a *proasteion* and *paroikoi* near

Thessalonike and a *pronoia* (*Lavra* 1, no. 64). The family's position declined after Manuel I's reign, although sources mention them through the 15th C. (*PLP*, nos. 974–75).

–A.K.

ANEMODOULION (*Ἀνεμοδούλιον*, also *Ane-modourion*; etymology, according to Cedr. 1:565.20, from *deris anemon*, "the contest of winds"), a monument in Constantinople, probably located between the Artopoleion (the bakers' quarter) and the Forum Tauri. It was built by order of Theodosios II (in the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE, its builder is called Heliodoros, a contemporary of Leo III), was made of bronze, and had the shape of a pyramid on a square foundation. The monument was ornamented with figures of animals, birds, plants, agricultural laborers, and other symbols of spring. Atop the Anemodoulion was a statue of a woman that moved at the slightest breath of wind and thus served as a weather vane. A part of the bronze ornamentation was reportedly brought from Dyrrachion, where it belonged to the adornment of a pagan shrine. According to a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 332.37), Andronikos I intended to erect his own statue at the summit of the pyramid, evidently to replace the female figure. The Anemodoulion was destroyed by the Crusaders in 1204.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 100. E. Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'Église des saints Apôtres de Constantinople," *REGr* 9 (1896) 86f.

–A.K.

ANEMOURION (*Ἀνεμούριον*, mod. Anamur), city and bishopric of ISAURIA, at the southernmost point of Asia Minor opposite Cyprus. Excavations have revealed the nature and development of Anemourion through the 7th C. After a major setback in the late 3rd C., recovery is attested in the 4th by the construction of large baths and in the 5th by basilical churches with mosaic decoration. In 382, a new city wall was erected against the Isaurians, but their attacks led to a decline by the late 5th C.; prosperity returned with the establishment of peace in the 6th C. Major changes affected Anemourion in the late 6th and early 7th C., when large churches were abandoned and the baths and other civic buildings were filled with small houses and industrial workplaces, evidently a reflection of crowding and impoverishment. Anemourion was abandoned peacefully ca. 660

when the Arabs gained control of Cyprus; its population probably retreated to the adjacent hill, whose extensive unstudied fortifications appear to include Byz. sections.

LIT. J. Russell, "Anemurium: The Changing Face of a Roman City," *Archaeology* 33.5 (1980) 31–40. Idem, *The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium* (Vienna 1987).

–C.F.

ANGAREIA (*ἀγγαρεία*), a term designating both state and private *corvée*. The term is of Persian origin, as noted by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his commentary on the *Odyssey*. The term was used in the Roman Empire for state *corvée*, esp. the service for the *dromos*, and for coercive sale of goods to the state. In Byz. it was expanded to include private services owed by peasants to their lord.

LIT. A. Stauridou-Zaphraka, "He angareia sto Byzantio," *Byzantina* 11 (1982) 21–54.

–A.K.

ANGEL (*ἄγγελος*, lit. "messenger"). Byz. angelology was developed primarily by pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien* [Paris 1954] 135–67) and later by Patr. NIKEPHOROS I (B. Giannopoulos, *Theologia* 44 [1973] 312–38). Angels were construed as spiritual, that is, incorporeal beings (*ASOMATOI*), even if in early patristic writing their incorporeality was treated as relative: they were described there as having spiritual bodies of finer substance than those of men. Angels were held to be much more numerous than men, or even innumerable. Created beings, angels were brought forth by divine will, either before the material world or simultaneously with it. They had free will and were liable to sin: thus the DEVIL was a fallen angel. They had no foreknowledge of the future. Their function first and foremost was to praise God. They also served Christ and the church, assisting the faithful in the struggle against DEMONS. Some theologians (but not Dionysios) developed the idea of guardian angels protecting individuals, nations, and esp. the souls of the dead. John of Damascus insisted that angels were not demiurges, thus rejecting the interpretation of DUALISM.

Dionysios advanced the concept of a hierarchy, dividing the angels according to their proximity to God into nine orders and three triads: SERAPHIM, CHERUBIM, thrones; virtues, dominations, powers; principalities, ARCHANGELS, angels. The

idea of angelic hierarchy was understood as parallel to the human ascent to the divine via three rungs of purification, illumination, and unification with God; in this connection monastic status was defined as the "angelic life." The cult of angels developed esp. in southwest Asia Minor, arousing concern among some church fathers of the 4th–5th C.: the Council of Laodikeia in Phrygia warned against the worship of angels, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus stigmatized it as a specifically Jewish superstition (C. Mango, *DChAE* 4 12 [1984–86] 53). Nevertheless, their veneration was strong in Byz. Hagiographic texts often represented them as fulfilling divine commands and particularly as eunuchlike guardians, clad in white, who accompanied the Virgin.

After the 5th C., the wingless divine messengers of the Old Testament (in such scenes as the PHILOXENIA OF ABRAHAM and JACOB'S LADDER) were invariably represented like the NIKE and the winged creatures of the ANNUNCIATION and the MYRROPHOROI. Endowed with curly heads, Hellenic profiles, and white garments, even in groups angels displayed an unvarying perfect uniformity. Across a millennium, their only significant iconographical development was a marked tendency to multiply in number.

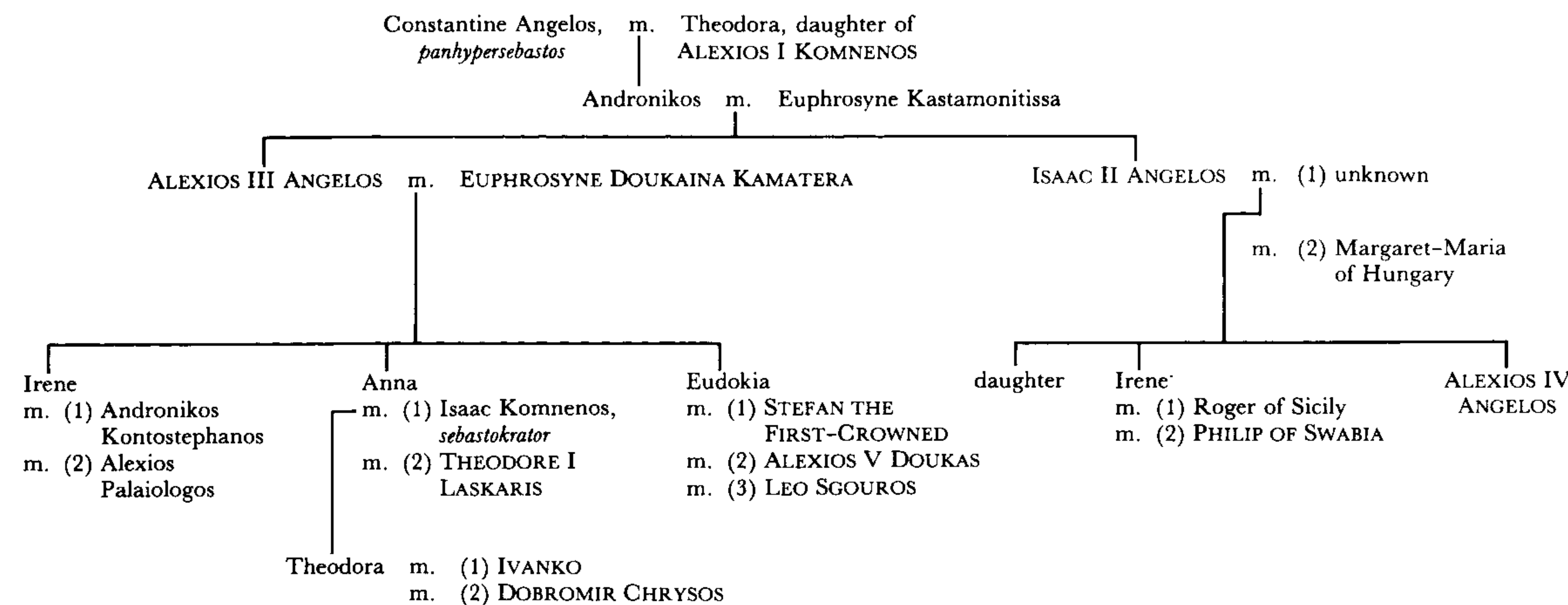
Commenting on their traditional iconography, Psellos (ed. K. Snipes in *Gonimos* 200f) declares that angels have human form because they are rational beings but are winged because of their motion toward heaven. They carry orbs to indicate their speed, for a sphere scarcely touches the ground; the fillet around their heads suggests purity and chastity.

LIT. J. Daniélou, *The Angels and their Mission* (Westminster, Md., 1957). L. Heiser, *Die Engel im Glauben der Orthodoxie* (Trier 1976). U. Mann, "Ikone und Engel als Gestalten geistlicher Mittlerschaft," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 52 (1983) 1–53. M. Alpatov, "Gli angeli nell'iconografia," *L'altra Europa* 10 (1985) 44–62. A. Recheis, *Engel. Tod und Seelenreise* (Rome 1958). E. Turdeanu, "Le mythe des anges déçus," *RSBS* 2 (1982) 73–117.

–G.P., A.C.

ANGELOS (*ἄγγελος*, fem. *Ἀγγελίνα*), a noble Byz. lineage founded by Constantine from Philadelphia, who married Theodora (born 1096), the daughter of Alexios I. According to a 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:740.1–2), Constantine Angelos was handsome but of lowly origin. The derivation of the name from "angel" seems plausible; rhetoricians called members of the family *angelony-*

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE ANGELOS DYNASTY (1185-1204)



Based on C. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) 278.

moi, "named after the angels" or "bearing the name of angels." This type of name formation is exceptional, however, in Byz., and it is possible that the Angeloi took their name from the toponym of Angel or Agel (a district near Amida); this would explain why John Kamateros called ISAAC II ANGELOS "a man of the Orient" (Regel, *Fontes* 2:247.12). In the 12th C. several Angeloi served as military commanders; their identification is not always possible. In 1185 Isaac II Angelos was proclaimed emperor, succeeded by ALEXIOS III ANGELOS and ALEXIOS IV. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the Angeloi asserted their power in EPIROS and THESSALONIKE, first as independent rulers, later as imperial dignitaries; there they assumed the name of Angeloi Komnenoi Doukai to distinguish themselves from the "humble" Angeloi who are known as functionaries, physicians, clergymen, etc. (PLP, nos. 159-224). (See MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS, NIKEPHOROS II of Epiros. See also genealogical table.)

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Geschichte* 166-82. L. Stiernon, "Notes de prosopographie et de titulature byzantines. Constantine Ange (pan)sebastohypertate," *REB* 19 (1961) 273-83. J.-L. van Dieten, "Manuel Prinkips † 17.06.6719 (1211). Welcher Manuel in welcher Kirche zu Nikaia?" *BZ* 78 (1985) 63-91. P. Rokai, "O jednom naslovu Kalojana An-

djela," *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 167-71. R. de Francesco, *Michele II° Angelo Comneno d'Epiro e la sua discendenza* (Rome 1951). -A.K.

ANI (Ἄνιον), fortress and city in the district of Širak on the west bank of the Aḫurean/Arpa-Çayı River in northeast Anatolia. It became the capital of ARMENIA under the later BAGRATIDS.

Ani, which had an important strategic position, was already known in the 5th C. as a fortress belonging to the Kamsarakan family. In the 9th C. Ani was sold to the Bagratids and became the royal capital with the coronation of Ašot III in 961. The city grew so rapidly as an administrative and trade center that its dimensions tripled within 40 years and it became known as "the city of 1,001 churches."

In 1045, the Armenian *katholikos* Peter Getadarj surrendered the city to Byz. and it became for a time the capital of the theme of IBERIA. Captured by the Seljuks in 1064 and sold by them to the Kurdish Shaddādīd emirs in 1072, Ani continued to flourish under them and under the ZAK'ARIDS. Its slow decline began with the Mongol capture in the 13th C.

Monuments of Ani. Although the city has only been partially excavated, hundreds of its structures are known. It is closed at the south by Smbat II's walls (989) and dominated by a citadel at its

narrow north end. Buildings lie outside the walls and along the cliffs; under the city, extensive chambers were cut from living rock. Palaces, comfortable homes, dovecotes, caravanserais, warehouses, cisterns, meeting halls, monasteries, churches, and at least one mosque survive. Very few of these structures are dated, and none to the period of Byz. rule.

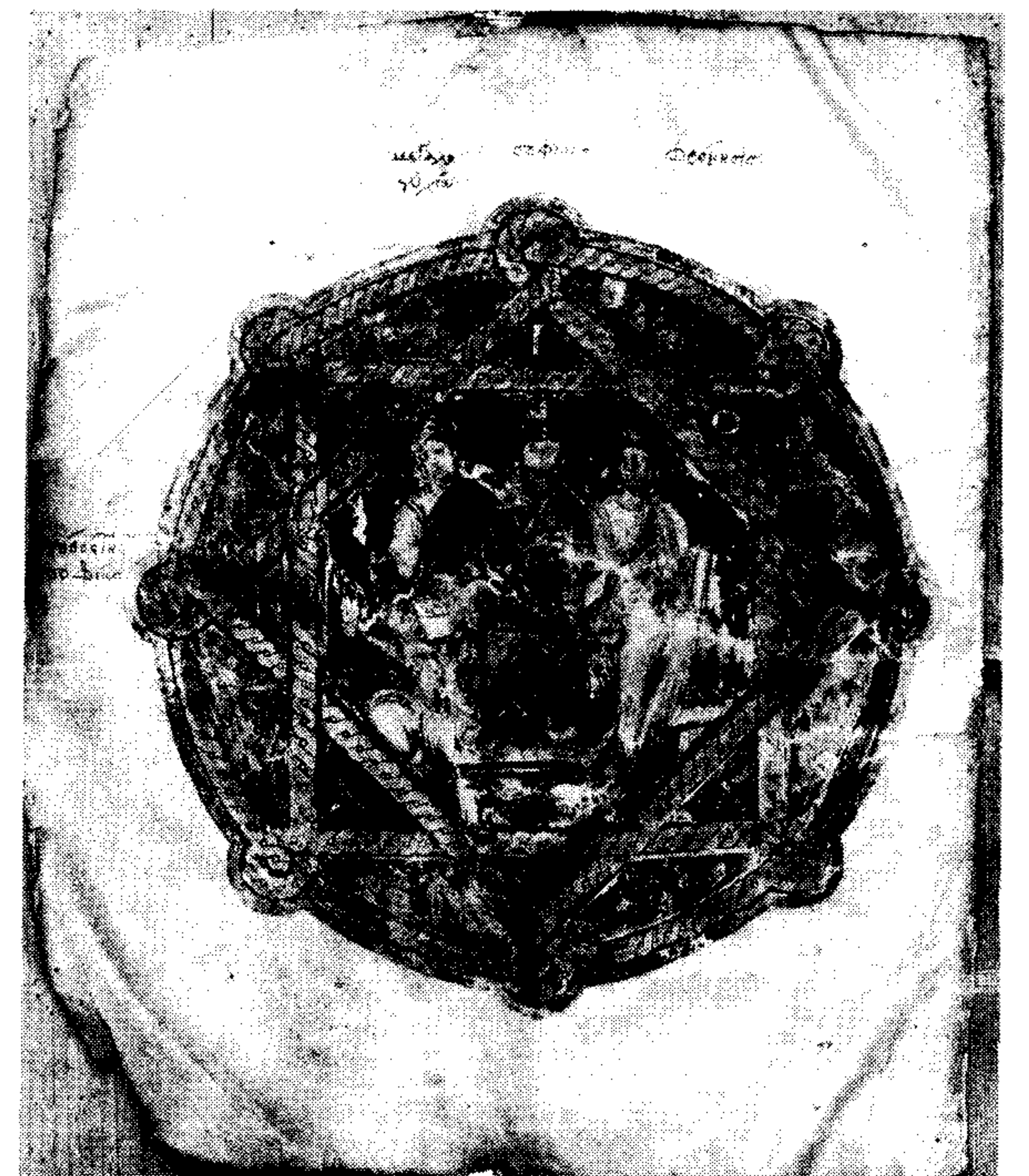
Three buildings are attributed by inscription to the architect Trdat: for Smbat II and Katranide, the wife of GAGIK I, he built the cathedral (989-1001); for Gagik I, he built in 1001-20 St. Grigor (i.e., GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR). Like other Bagratid donations, these are variations on 7th-C. church plans: the cathedral on that of St. Gayanē at VAĀRŠAPAT; St. Grigor, on ZUART'NOC'. The Church of the Redeemer, which Trdat built for the merchant Apllarip in 1036, is an octafoil carrying a very large dome.

A lifesize relief, almost in the round, of Gagik I (now lost) was unearthed at St. Grigor, along with bronze censers with New Testament scenes and a chandelier with birds. Commissioned by the merchant Tigran Honens', Georgians frescoed (1215) the Church of St. Grigor, but the program includes Armenian features, such as a life of the saint. N. Thierry (in Cuneo [1984] *infra*) believes that the poorly preserved frescoes of its fore-church, which have Greek and Georgian inscriptions, are late 13th-C. Byz. work.

Ani adopted Turko-Iranian elements, particularly under the Zak'arids. Armenian and Georgian palaces and forechurches in the city feature *muqarnas* (stalactite squinches) and double-storied portals in geometric polychrome stonework and carpet like filigree relief.

LIT. N.G. Garsoïan, *DMA* 1:290f. N. Marr, *Ani* (Moscow 1934). Manandyan, *Trade and Cities* 139-51, 154f, 173, 178-87, 197-99. V.F. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London 1953) 79-106. P. Cuneo et al., *Ani* [Documenti di architettura armena 12] (Milan 1984). Ibid., *L'architettura della scuola regionale di Ani nell'Armenia medievale* (Rome 1977). -N.G.G., A.T.

ANICIA JULIANA (Ἰουλιάννα), *patrikia* and patron of the arts; born Constantinople probably 461 or 463, died Constantinople 527 or 529. The daughter of the future Emp. Anicius Olybrius and Placidia the Younger, Anicia Juliana remained at Constantinople with her mother when Olybrius went to Italy to become emperor in 472.



ANICIA JULIANA. Portrait of Anicia Juliana as donor in a manuscript of the works of Dioskorides (Vienna, med. gr. 1, fol.6v); ca.512. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Anicia Juliana is shown seated between Magnanimity and Prudence.

Probably by 478 Anicia Juliana was the sole heir of her two famous parents. She married AREO-BINDUS soon after 478 and had a son, Olybrius (junior), who married Irene, niece of Anastasios I. Anicia Juliana often visited St. Sabas at Constantinople in 511/12; she reportedly was served by many eunuchs, who became monks of the monastery of St. Sabas in Palestine after her death. At her house in Constantinople a mob proclaimed Areobindus emperor in 512. She was a devout Chalcedonian who resisted the theological pressures of Emp. Anastasios and the Constantinopolitan patriarch Timotheos (511-18); she also corresponded with Pope Hormisdas to help to end the AKAKIAN SCHISM. She built and embellished many churches in Constantinople, including St. Euphemia, St. POLYEUKTOS, and a church of the Theotokos in the Honoratae quarter. The Vienna DIOSKORIDES was written for her.

LIT. PLRE 2:635f. C. Capizzi, "L'attività edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," *OrChrAn* 204 (1977) 119-46. Idem, "Anicia Giuliana (462 ca.-530 ca.): Ricerche sulla sua famiglia e la

sua vita," *RSBN* n.s. 5 (1968) 191–226. R.M. Harrison, "A Source for Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 141f. —W.E.K.

ANICIUS, a noble family, originating from Praeneste, which in the 4th C. became one of the most influential and wealthy lineages in Rome. Unlike most Roman senatorial aristocrats, the Anicii converted to Christianity and supported the emperor of Constantinople. In the 5th C. the Anicii were believed to favor the barbarians and rumor spread that Anicia Falconia Proba ordered her servants to open the gates of Rome to ALARIC. Between 455 and 457 Anicius Olybrius married Placidia, youngest daughter of Valentinian III, and in 472 became Roman emperor; after a few months' reign he died on 2 Nov. 472 of natural causes, a rare case among 5th-C. Western emperors. His daughter ANICIA JULIANA moved to Constantinople and was an important patron of art and architecture. Sextus Claudius Petronius PROBUS belonged to this lineage. The family retained influence until at least the mid-6th C., when Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius was the last CONSUL.

Another branch of the Anicii stayed in Italy and contributed much to the alliance of the Roman aristocracy with the house of the AMALI; BOETHIUS, for example, served Theodoric. Theodahad, while promoting Maximus, a member of the family, praised the Anicii as a lineage almost equal to the *princeps*. JORDANES completed his *Getica* with the statement that a union between the Amali and Anicii was embodied in the persons of Germanos, the son of Justinian I's nephew, and of Mathesuentha (MATASUNTHA), granddaughter of THEODORIC THE GREAT.

LIT. F.M. Clover, "The Family and Early Career of Anicius Olybrius," *Historia* 27 (1978) 169–96. A. Momigliano, "Gli Anicii e la storiografia latina del VI secolo d.C.," in *Histoire et historiens dans l'antiquité* (Geneva 1958) 247–83. M.T.W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972) 109–13. —A.K.

ANIMAL COMBAT (τοῦ θεάτρον κυνήγια). The exhibition of animals at the circus games, the so-called *venationes*, was popular in ancient Rome, but it seems that by the 4th C. large-scale shows were hard to arrange. Although the *Historia Augusta* describes the games in the Circus Maximus in 281, when thousands of ostriches, stags, and

boars were on display and the next day hundreds of lions, leopards, and bears, the correspondence of SYMMACHUS is a more dependable source. He tells of the difficulties he encountered while organizing animal shows, saying that he had to be satisfied with Irish hounds, Italian and Adriatic bears, Egyptian crocodiles, and probably some antelopes, lions, and leopards from Africa. *Venationes* were still being held in the Colosseum under the rule of Theodoric the Great, and Justinian I, in novel 105.1, ordered the consuls to arrange *venationes* and to show men fighting beasts. A Byz. legend relates that ritual required the emperor to kill a bear and a lion in the "theater"; since Galerius was allegedly afraid to undergo this trial, the young Constantine (I) slaughtered the beasts (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 57 [1987] 216f).

Scenes of animal combat were common on consular DIPTYCHS, while, later, scenes of hunting animals and birds became predominant. Although gladiatorial battles were prohibited by Constantine in 325, animal combat survived despite protests of the church fathers (thus, John Chrysostom [PG 59:519.33–34] condemned both horse races and the show of *theriomachountes*, as did the Council in Trullo). In the 12th C., Benjamin of Tudela observed the combat of lions, bears, leopards, and wild asses in the HIPPODROME.

Combat between animals and humans occupies an important place in hagiography and art, providing numerous legends about martyrs thrown into the arena and beasts refusing to attack them, or about martyrs who were killed by wild animals.

LIT. G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (Manchester 1937) 93–98, 177–81. A. Manodori, *Anfiteatri, circhi e stadi di Roma* (Rome 1982) 55–68. J. Théodoridès, "Les animaux des jeux de l'Hippodrome," *BS* 19 (1958) 73–84. T. Talbot Rice, "Animal Combat Scenes in Byzantine Art," in *Studies in Memory of D. Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh 1975) 17–23. —A.K.

ANIMAL EPICS, narratives akin to the FABLE, though normally on a larger scale and lacking an explicit moral. Such material, which also had a worldwide currency (see STEPHANITES AND ICHNELATES), circulated throughout Europe from antiquity onward in the stories attributed to AESOP, which were well known in Byz. Though it lacks the narrative element and includes inanimate objects in its christianizing observations, the PHY-

SIOLOGOS can perhaps be viewed as an extension of the Aesopic tradition. In late 12th-C. France, the *Roman de Renart*, drawing on traditional material, but adding an element of social satire to the tales of the cunning Fox, sparked a new interest in animal epics, which spread rapidly throughout Europe.

Byz.'s representative in this genre is the SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY. With a similar tone of mild cynicism, though a different range of characters, are the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON, the POULOLOGOS, and the *Cat and the Mice* (*Ho kates kai hoi pontikoi*), all anonymous and written in POLITICAL VERSE at a popular level of the language; they reflect 14th-C. social conflicts. Shorter, and in prose, are the PORIKOLOGOS and the OPSAROLOGOS of approximately the same date, also anonymous; these satirize Byz. legal customs. Lively and written in the vernacular, the late Byz. animal epics offer many insights into both the small matters of everyday life and the larger issues of contemporary social tensions.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 173–79. J. Irmscher, "Das mittelgriechische Tierepos, Bestand und Forschungssituation" in *Aspects of the Medieval Animal Epic*, ed. E. Rombauts, A. Welkenhuysen (Leuven–The Hague 1975) 207–28. V.S. Šandrovskaja, "Svedenija o remesle v vizantijskom basennom epose XIII–XIV vv." in *Issledovanija po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (Moscow–Leningrad 1960) 504–10.

—E.M.J.

ANIMALS. The Byz. kept a wide variety of domesticated animals and LIVESTOCK to provide meat, milk, eggs, leather, wool, and feathers (see SWINE; SHEEP; GOATS; FOWL, DOMESTIC) and to serve as draft animals, BEASTS OF BURDEN, or riding mounts (HORSES, CAMELS, donkeys, oxen, etc.). Horses were also used for CAVALRY, HUNTING, and equestrian SPORTS. The Byz. kept DOGS, cats, and some BIRDS as pets; predator birds, like hawks and falcons, were also used for HAWKING.

The Byz. clearly distinguished between wild beasts and domesticated animals; the wild were not always identified with evil and the domesticated with good, however. The DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON (11.15–16) discriminates between carnivorous and herbivorous beasts, and domesticated animals such as dogs and swine were sometimes perceived as the embodiment of demonic power.

Exotic Animals. In an empire that, at its greatest extent, stretched from the Atlantic to the Ti-

gris and from the Danube to the Nile, the Byz. encountered a wide range of exotic animals. They were exhibited in the hippodrome (see also ANIMAL COMBAT) and zoos, paraded through city streets, and presented as diplomatic gifts. The existence of exotic animals excited chroniclers and geographers alike. TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA reported on two giraffes and an ELEPHANT that passed through his city and eventually arrived in Constantinople, as noted by MARCELLINUS COMES. KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES describes the rhinoceros of Ethiopia and the hippopotamus of Egypt. In the capital in the 11th C. wild and exotic animals were displayed in a menagerie organized by Constantine IX Monomachos (Attal. 48–50). Attalicates described a giraffe as a *kameleopardos*, a combination of a leopard and camel. LIONS were also exhibited in Constantinople.

Mythical Animals. Fantastic creatures haunted the imagination of poets, sculptors, potters, and illuminators who favored motifs such as the Iranian *simurgh*, winged felines, and GRIFFINS. PHILOSTORGIOS reported that he had seen a picture of a unicorn. Dragons, which were the embodiment of evil, were overcome by saints such as GEORGE, ELISABETH, and MERKOURIOS; they might also be used to represent enemies of the church, such as Emp. Julian, or symbolize temptation. John of Damascus insisted that dragons existed, but affirmed that they could not be killed by thunder, contrary to popular opinion.

Animal Imagery. Animal imagery was important in the Byz. world view, animals being treated, esp. in the PHYSIOLOGUS and the HEXAEMERON, as symbols of passions and virtues; even sober writers such as Symeon SETH preserve traces of legendary perception (e.g., about deer feeding on snakes and echidnae—*Syntagma kata stoicheion peritrophon dynameon*, ed. B. Langkavel [Leipzig 1868] 36.1–2). Literature actively used animal images in ANIMAL EPICS, in particular for political satire, as found in the *Katomyomachia* of Theodore PRODROMOS or later FABLES. Political and religious ideology also developed standard animal attributes: the lion was a constant symbol of imperial power and the serpent (see SNAKE) that of the DEVIL (both images evidently derived from the Bible).

LIT. N. Vačnadze, "A propos de l'histoire de symbolique chrétienne," *BS* 48 (1987) 39–44. Mango, *Byzantium* 179f. J. Théodoridès, "Les animaux des jeux de l'Hippodrome

et des menageries impériales à Constantinople," *BS* 19 (1958) 73–84. — A.K., A.C., A.M.T.

ANKARA, BATTLE OF. In 1402, on the Çubuk plain north of Ankara (ANKYRA), the Ottomans, whose power had been rapidly expanding, suffered a temporary setback when they were decisively defeated by the Mongols. The battle took place on 28 July (*Kleinchroniken* 2:370). The course of the fighting is described by Greek historians (Chalk. 1:145–47; Sphr. 208.6–10). The Ottoman army of BAYEZID I that occupied a hill was attacked by TIMUR and was defeated, chiefly owing to the defection of the Anatolian Muslim contingents, in contrast to the sultan's Christian vassals (notably STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ) who fought loyally. Bayezid and his younger son MUSA were taken captive by the victor. Rumors spread that JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS had conspired with Timur (Barker, *Manuel II* 504–09). After the battle Timur reestablished the traditional *beyliks* (see BEG) and reduced Ottoman territory in Anatolia to its original heartland; he did not, however, invade RUMELI. The ensuing struggle for succession among Bayezid's sons 'İsâ, Süleyman Çelebi, Musa, MEHMED (I), and later Mustafa allowed Byzantium to recover its autonomy for a short period, down to 1424, when it again became tributary to the Ottomans.

LIT. K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar 1981). M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)* (Bucharest 1942). G. Dennis, "Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401–1402," *StVen* 12 (1970) 243–65. Idem, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," *OrChrP* 33 (1967) 72–88. G. Roloff, "Die Schlacht bei Angora," *HistZ* 161 (1940) 244–62. —S.W.R., A.K.

ANKYRA ("Ἀγκυρα, mod. Ankara), civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of GALATIA. Ankyra's strategic location on the main highway across Anatolia made it a center of trade and a major military base. Frequently visited by emperors, it was an imperial summer residence in the late 4th and early 5th C. In the 4th C., Ankyra was the seat of a cultivated pagan landowning aristocracy (known from the letters of LIBANIOS); they were closely connected with the governors, who frequently adorned the city with public works. The local ruling class became Christian only in the 5th C., when the rich were famed for their piety and

philanthropy. In the 6th C., the governor, bishop, and local magnates dominated Ankyra; its population was devoted to St. THEODORE OF SYKEON, who reportedly wrought many miracles in the city. Ankyra remained peaceful and prosperous through the early 7th C. In 610–11 it was the base of the revolt of KOMENTIOLOS. Sources attest a large range of public buildings, both pagan and Christian; few survive.

In 622, the Persians captured and destroyed Ankyra; afterward the large area of the ancient city was abandoned and Ankyra retreated to its heavily fortified acropolis. It became capital of the OPSIKION theme in the 7th C. and of the BOUKEL-LARION in the 8th. The frequent goal of Arab attacks, Ankyra fell to al-MU'TAŠIM in 838, was rebuilt by Michael III in 859, and taken by the Paulicians in 871. After the Turks captured it ca. 1080, Ankyra only briefly returned to Byz. rule following the Crusade of 1101.

An important center of Christianity, Ankyra was the home of Sts. Plato and Clement and the site of councils in 314, 358, and 375. The council of 325, planned for Ankyra, was transferred to Nicaea.

The site contains scattered remains of civic buildings, including a large bath that functioned until the 7th C., traces of luxurious houses, and the Church of St. Clement, a cross-domed brick structure (8th/9th C.). Its fortress, one of the greatest of Anatolia, consists of a citadel, an upper rampart with closely spaced pentagonal towers, and an extensive lower wall. The inner fortress apparently dates to the mid-7th C., the outer to the early 9th; all were rebuilt by Michael III.

LIT. C. Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," *DOP* 31 (1977) 27–87. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 133–35, 143f. *TIB* 4:126–30. —C.F.

ANNA ("Ἀννα) or Hanna, feminine personal name of Hebrew origin (etym. "veneration"). A similar name appeared in Greek and Roman mythology (G. Wissowa, *RE* 1 [1894] 2223–25; M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*³ [Munich 1967] 251). In the New Testament (Lk 2:36) Anna is a prophetess of the tribe of Asher, but in a later Christian legend another Anna appeared, mother of the VIRGIN MARY. There is confusion between the female name Anna and the male Annas (also present in the New Testament); thus, ca. 507 or

511 a man, Anna (probably of Germanic origin), was known as *comes* in Italy (*PLRE* 2:91f). Relatively rare in late Roman texts, the name became popular by the 11th C.: Skylitzes cites six Annas, more than Theodora and Irene. In the late Byz. acts Anna remained one of the most popular female names: vols. 2–3 of *Lavra* list 48 Annas, second only to MARIA.

LIT. M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Person- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg 1911; rp. 1965) 22. —A.K.

ANNA, princess of Kiev; porphyrogennete daughter of Romanos II and sister of Basil II; born Constantinople 13 Mar. 963, died Kiev 1011 (acc. to Skylitzes, after her husband). In 968 Otto I unsuccessfully sought Anna's hand for his son Otto II. Hugh Capet (king of France 987–96), who desired alliance and kinship with Byz., was surprised in early 988 by news of Anna's impending marriage to VLADIMIR I of Kiev and withdrew from his plan to ask for the princess's hand for his son Robert. Although legend places Anna's marriage in Cherson in 989, it actually took place in Kiev in 988. In summer of that year Anna was welcomed in Rus', accompanied by a large retinue headed by Theophylaktos, the first metropolitan of Kiev (and formerly of Sebasteia). In the 990s Byz. architects engaged by Anna raised Kiev's first stone buildings—the palace and the palace church of the Virgin, called the "Church of the Tithe." YAHYĀ OF ANTIOCH attributed to Anna the construction of many churches. BORIS AND GLEB were probably her sons.

—An.P.

ANNA KOMNENE. See KOMNENE, ANNA.

ANNALES BERTINIANI (so-called from the provenance of one MS from St. Bertin) continue the ANNALES REGNI FRANCORUM. The first, anonymous section (a.830–34) was begun in the chapel of the Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious (814–40); it was continued by Prudentius, who took his work with him when he became bishop of Troyes (843–61), after which the tone grows increasingly independent of Charles the Bald. The continuation by Hincmar, archbishop of Reims (845–82), offers a wide-ranging but very personal view of

the history of his times. In the royal annals' tradition, the *Annales Bertiniani* record Byz. diplomacy and military relations with the Franks (a.842, p.42; a.853, p.68; a.869, pp. 153, 164f; a.873, p.192) and the "Rhos" (a.839, pp. 30f) as well as Frankish activities among the Bulgars and Slavs (e.g., a.853, p.68; a.864, p.113; a.866, p.133f). They also attest to the impact of Byz. ceremonial on Frankish kingship (a.876, p.205) and Byz. pirates' activity in the western Mediterranean (a.848, p.55). Hincmar's relations with the papacy explain his knowledge of its affairs, particularly the Photian schism (a.867, pp. 138f; a.869, pp. 155f; a.872, p.187).

ED. F. Grat et al., *Annales de Saint-Bertin* (Paris 1964). Germ. tr. R. Rau, *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, vol.2 (Berlin 1956) 11–287.

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 348f, 502f, 520. J.L. Nelson, "The Annals of St. Bertin," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Oxford 1981) 15–36. A.V. Riasanovsky, "The Embassy of 838 Revisited," *JbGOst* 10 (1962) 1–12. —M.McC.

ANNALES FULDENSES, Latin narrative of events from 714 to 887. The first section was compiled in the Mainz area (838–63) and subsequently (864–82) reflects views characteristic of the court of Louis the German (843–76) and his son, apparently in connection with the career of Liutbert, archbishop of Mainz, as royal archchaplain (870–82). Although it is not clear where compilation ends and year-by-year redaction begins, the *Annales Fuldenses* record eastern Frankish events, particularly in relation to Moravia, the Bohemians, and Bulgars (e.g., a.828–29, pp. 25f; a.845, p.35; a.866–67, pp. 65f), and document Byz. diplomacy, mentioning a crystal reliquary sent by Basil I to Louis the German (a.872, p.75; a.873, p.81), Western repercussions of the Photian schism (a.867, pp. 66f), and of Byz. ceremonial (a.876, p.86). The Bavarian continuation (a.882–901, pp. 107–35) preserves the court connection and describes Byz. embassies and Byz.-Magyar relations (a.896, pp. 129f).

ED. F. Kurze, *Annales Fuldenses* [= MGH SRG 7] (Hanover 1891).

LIT. H. Löwe, "Geschichtsschreibung der ausgehenden Karolingerzeit," *DA* 23 (1967) 1–30. M. Hellmann, "Bemerkungen zum Aussagewert der Fuldaer Annalen und anderer Quellen über slavische Verfassungszustände," in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. H. Beumann, vol. 1 (Cologne 1973–74) 50–62. —M.McC.

ANNALES IANUENSES, official historical record of the commune of GENOA and a prime source on relations with Byz. between 1099 and 1294. Caffaro (ca.1080–1166) began the *Annales Ianuenses* (by 1100?) and established the model for his successors. He had joined the First Crusade's Genoese contingent (Aug. 1100–Jan. 1101) and visited the Orient again between ca.1130 and 1140. His career included stints as a diplomat (e.g., negotiations with Pisa, the papacy, and Frederick I), a successful admiral, and eight terms as consul (1122–49). In 1152, at Caffaro's urging, the commune ordered a copy of the *Annales Ianuenses* for the public archive (preserved in Paris, B.N. lat. 10136; sketches illustrate various personalities and places), which he continued to 1163, narrating Genoa's enterprises in the Levant and her competition with Italian rivals (e.g., the Pisan attack on 300 Genoese merchants at Constantinople: a.1162, 11.67.22–68.15). Caffaro also wrote a work *On the Liberation of the Cities of the East* (*De liberatione civitatum orientis*; ca.1155–56 in connection with a dispute with the kings of Jerusalem?) describing Genoese relations with Emp. Alexios I Komnenos and his lieutenants (11.114.15–115.7; 117.5–118.19) as well as travel distances in the Levant. From 1169 to 1294, the *Annales Ianuenses* were continued by various chancery officials, including the scribe and diplomat Ogerius, whose detailed account (1197–1216) records conflicts with the Latin rulers of Constantinople (e.g., a.1205, capture of a Venetian textile cargo, 12.98.22–99.16). Subsequent sections added by an anonymous continuator and by a committee treat the Palaiologans (a.1261, 1262, 1264–14.42.14–43.6, 44.9–45.15, 65.11–66.19).

ED. L.T. Belgrano, C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi continuatori* [= FSI 11–14 bis] (Genoa 1890–1929).

LIT. G. Petti Balbi, *Caffaro e la cronachistica genovese* (Genoa 1982). R.D. Face, "Secular History in Twelfth-Century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa," *JMedHist* 6 (1980) 169–84.

—M.McC.

ANNALES REGNI FRANCORUM, written in the chapel of CHARLEMAGNE and Louis the Pious (814–40), present a detailed but slanted—particularly by omission—record of royal activities (741–829). Writing probably began sometime between 787 and 793 with a retrospective account of events

from 741 and continued to 795. The *Annales Regni Francorum* were then composed on a year-by-year basis to 829, with probable shifts in authorship in 808 and 820, and were continued in the **ANNALES BERTINIANI**. They are an essential source on Byz. relations with the FRANKS, esp. diplomacy; a Byz. invasion of southern Italy (a.788, p.82); the capture of Sisinnios, Patr. Tarasios's brother (a.798, p.104); Emp. Nikephoros I's recognition of Charlemagne as *basileus* (a.812, p.136); competition over Venice and Dalmatia (a.806–10, pp. 122–30; a.817, pp. 145f; a.821, pp. 155f); relations of Byz. and the Franks with the Bulgars (e.g., a.812–13, pp. 136–39; a.824, pp. 164–67); an earthquake at Constantinople (Aug. 815, p.143); etc. Between 814 and 817, an unidentified member of the court began rewriting the text down to 817, improving the Latin, changing the political perspective slightly, and adding some details on Byz. (e.g., exarchs of Sicily in 788, p.83; a.798, p.105, the family name "Ganglianos" of an ambassador). This revised version is called *Annales Einhardi*, reflecting an abandoned theory on its authorship.

ED. F. Kurze, *Annales regni Francorum* [= MGH SRG 6] (Hannover 1895). Tr. B.W. Scholz, B. Rogers, *Carolingian Chronicles* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972) 37–125.

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 247–57, 260–65, 347f. M. McCormick, *Les annales du haut moyen âge* (Turnhout 1975) 16–19, 38–49.

—M.McC.

ANNALS OF BARI (Lat. *Annales Barenses*). The region of BARI produced three closely connected historical works on Apulia that are valuable sources for Byz.'s conflict with the Arabs and the Normans: (1) the *Annales Barenses* (605–1043), whose short notes grow more detailed for the 11th C. and are essentially local in focus; (2) the *Annals* (860–1102), ascribed in the 17th C. to "Lupus Protospatharius," which are somewhat less parochial in their awareness of events elsewhere in the Empire; and (3) the *Anonymous Chronicle of Bari* (860–1115). All three relied on earlier, lost sources, some of which they shared (cf. Skabalanovič, *Go-sudarstvo* xxix–xxxiii).

ED. *Annales Barenses*—MGH SS 5:52–56. "Lupus"—ibid. 52–63. *Anon. Chronicle*—RIS 5:147–56.

LIT. *RepFontHist* 2:251f. W.J. Churchill, "Per una edizione critica degli *Annales Barenses* e degli *Annales Lupi Protospatharii*," *BollCom* n.s. 27 (1979) 113–37.

—M.McC.

ANNALS OF RAVENNA, conventional title of a Latin chronicle (probably of the 6th C.) of which only half of an 11th-C. folio (MS 202) has survived in the library of the cathedral in Merseburg (Saxony, in central Germany). The preserved folio encompasses events of 411–54, with numerous lacunas because of the absence of the upper half of the folio. The *Annals*, in the form of consular *fasti* with brief historical notes, belong to the type of the **CALENDAR OF 354** and like the latter are illustrated. The special characteristic of the Merseburg folio is its attention to RAVENNA, usually ignored in other late Roman chronicles, and its indication of precise dates; the *Annals* mention the death of the Western emperor Honorius (who died in Ravenna) and give its precise date—27 Aug. 423—thus permitting a rejection of the date in Sokrates and Theophanes, 15 Aug. The Merseburg folio confirms the existence of the lost local annals of Ravenna, which may have been a source for such later chronicles as AGNELLUS as well as CASSIODORUS and MARCELLINUS COMES. Drawings in the columns of the text illustrate martyrdoms and other scenes of violence as well as an emperor (Valentinian III) enthroned on an orb in the manner of Christ in the apse of S. Vitale, Ravenna.

ED. B. Bischoff, W. Koehler, "Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der spätantiken Ravennater Annalen," in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, ed. W. Koehler, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1939) 125–38; reissued (in Ital.), *Studi Romagnoli* 3 (1952) 1–17.

LIT. G. Kaufmann, "Die Fasten der späteren Kaiserzeit als ein Mittel zur Kritik der weströmischen Chroniken," *Philologus* 34 (1876) 235–95. O. Holder-Egger, "Untersuchungen über einige annalistische Quellen zur Geschichte des V. und VI. Jahrhunderts," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 1 (1876) 13–120, 213–368; 2 (1877) 47–109. B. Croke, "The City Chronicles in Late Antiquity," in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Clarke et al. (Canberra 1989) 165–204.

—A.K., B.B., A.C.

ANNA OF SAVOY, empress; baptismal name Ioanna; born 1306?, died Thessalonike ca.1365 (R.J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 21 [1955] 218). Daughter of Count Amadeo V of Savoy, Anna married Emp. Andronikos III Palaiologos in Oct. 1326. She was accompanied by a large Italian entourage and promoted such Western customs as tournaments (see **SPORTS**) at the Byz. court. After her husband's death in 1341, she became regent for her nine-year-old son John V. She joined with

Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS and Alexios APOKAUKOS in opposition to JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS, eventually forcing him into the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. The war necessitated drastic measures. Anna pawned the Byz. crown jewels to Venice (1343) and hired Turkish mercenaries to fight Kantakouzenos (1346). Although she converted to Orthodoxy at the time of her marriage, in 1343 Anna declared her submission and that of her son to the pope. In the hesychast controversy, she supported Kalekas, the opponent of PALAMAS, until 1347 when she turned against the patriarch and presided over the synod that deposed him, just as Kantakouzenos was entering Constantinople in triumph. Kantakouzenos pardoned Anna, but relations remained tense. In 1351 the empress went to Thessalonike to dissuade John V from rebelling against John VI. She remained there until her death, ruling the city as her appanage. Historians such as Gregoras and Kantakouzenos are very hostile to Anna, depicting her as a foreigner and cruel tyrant, but Nicholas KABASILAS composed a eulogy of her (M. Jugie, *IRAIK* 15 [1911] 112–21). Mosaic portraits of Anna and Andronikos survived in the PAMMAKARISTOS church in Constantinople until at least 1579.

LIT. D. Muratore, "Una principessa sabauda sul trono di Bisanzio. Giovanna di Savoia imperatrice Anna Paleologina," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Savoie* 11 (1909) 221–475. A. Christophilopoulou, "He antibasileia eis to Byzantion," *Symmeikta* 2 (1970) 91–127. T. Bertelè, *Monete e sigilli di Anna di Savoia* (Rome 1937), corr. Dölger, *Paraspora* 208–21. D. Nicol, S. Bendall, "Anna of Savoy in Thessalonica: The Numismatic Evidence," *RN* 19 (1977) 87–102.

—A.M.T., A.C.

ANNONA (*res annonaria*, ἀννῶνα), financial term referring to (1) in-kind taxation, including both *annona civica* (which governed the requisition and transfer of commodities from Africa and Egypt for the maintenance of Rome and Constantinople) and *ANNONA MILITARIS*, or (2) any type of rations or provisions. Originally an irregular imperial levy of commodities, *annona* was established by Diocletian as the empire's fundamental tax, paid in kind and based upon periodic assessments. From the end of the 4th C., however, the role played by *annona* in taxation diminished, as taxes came to be assessed and remitted in money; even the remaining *annona*, although still assembled in kind, was now frequently commuted into cash

payments (*adaeratio*). Thus, by the 6th C., the term was applied almost exclusively to rations and supplies, distinct from the public tax. When the term *annona* appears in later sources (e.g., the will of Eustathios BOILAS [ed. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 27.217]), it invariably refers to that portion of a salary paid in kind rather than with cash.

LIT. A. Cerati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris 1975) 1–183. –A.J.C.

ANNONA MILITARIS (ἀννῶνα). The *annona militaris* began as an unofficial tax in kind imposed by Septimius Severus (193–211) to obtain rations (wine, meat, oil, bread) or other necessities (e.g., wood) for the army. Another ration, the *capitus*, provided fodder for its horses. The *annona* and *capitus* became regular issue during the 3rd C., and the task of their assessment, collection, and distribution fell to the praetorian prefecture (Jones, *LRE* 448–62). These provisions were collected in supply depots and issued to the soldiers by the army quartermasters (*actuarii*). As taxes in kind were increasingly commuted to cash throughout the 5th C., the *annona* and *capitus* became ration allowances (in some cases at fixed rates of 5 and 4 solidi, respectively, in the *Cod. Just.* I 27.1, par.22), although rations in kind continued to be issued, esp. in the East. Eventually soldiers' pay, and that of civil officials, was computed in the cash equivalents of the *annona* and *capitus*, assessed at varying rates according to rank or grade of service (Haldon, *Praetorians* 120–25).

LIT. A. Cerati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris 1975) 103–51. W.E. Kaegi, "The *Annona Militaris* in the Early Seventh Century," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 589–96. –E.M.

ANNUNCIATION (εὐαγγελισμός τῆς Θεοτόκου), feast of the angel Gabriel's announcement of the coming of the Holy Spirit on the Virgin Mary (Lk 1:26–38), celebrated 25 Mar. In Syria, Constantinople, and possibly Asia Minor, a feast of the Virgin that included the annunciation theme was originally part of pre-Nativity celebrations on the first or second Sunday before Christmas; this preparatory Sunday is attested in Constantinople before 431 (F.J. Leroy, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* [Vatican 1967] 66). But in 560 a letter of Justinian I defended 25 Mar. as the historical date of the annunciation event and af-



ANNUNCIATION. The Annunciation; icon, 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.

firmed that the feasts of the Nativity and Presentation in the Temple (HYPAPANTE) should be celebrated 25 Dec. and 2 Feb., respectively, because they depend on the Annunciation (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 86 [1968] 351–71; 87 [1969] 442–44). Actually, the March date, probably introduced to Antioch in the 6th C., and to Jerusalem and the whole Christian world shortly thereafter, was chosen not in order to coordinate with Christmas, but because the identification of John the Baptist's conception with the autumn equinox put Jesus' conception at the spring equinox six months later and his Nativity (25 Dec.) at the winter solstice. The date 25 Mar. was, furthermore, considered the day of the Crucifixion, and to make Jesus' life a perfect cycle, his conception and death had to coincide, since fractions were imperfect (Talley, *Liturgical Year* 8–13, 91–103).

One of the five Marian GREAT FEASTS, and, with the Hypapante, one of two not based on New Testament apocrypha, the Annunciation is the

only one of the 12 fixed Great Feasts that can fall in Lent, Holy Week, or the week after Easter; if in Lent, it has an afterfeast of but one day, and if in Holy or Easter Week, this *metheorta* is suppressed entirely. On the day of the Annunciation, the emperor went in procession to the column of Constantine, celebrated the liturgy in the Church of the CHALKOPRATEIA, and feasted in the palace (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.30; Philotheos, *Kletor.* 195.16–197.5).

Illustrations of the Annunciation show GABRIEL approaching the standing or seated Virgin Mary. Depicted by the 3rd C., the Annunciation became a pervasive Christian image. It appears in Christological cycles and also independently on jewelry, icons, bema doors, the triumphal arches of churches, and in some Gospel books preceding the text of Luke. The initial, simple confrontation of the holy figures was quickly elaborated. The well and purple wool, derived from the PROTO-EVANGELION OF JAMES (11:1–3), appear in 5th-C. art. The 6th-C. mosaic at POREČ shows Mary enthroned before a basilican façade, as a royal figure, a type of the Church, and a portal of salvation. Post-Iconoclastic art, drawing on homilies, embroiders the scene with springtime elements incorporating Marian symbols (lilies, the closed garden) and doctrinal ones (the arc of Heaven, the dove and impregnating light, and—in the Hagioi Anargyroi at KASTORIA—God himself). The richest of all Byz. Annunciation compositions is the late 12th-C. icon on Mt. Sinai, which, along with numerous Marian motifs, includes on Mary's breast a faint mandorla containing the infant Christ, a reference to the VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA.

LIT. R.A. Fletcher, "Celebrations at Jerusalem on March 25th in the Sixth Century A.D.," *StP* 5 (1962) 30–34. Idem, "Three Early Byzantine Hymns and their Place in the Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople," *BZ* 51 (1958) 53–65. D.M. Montagna, "La liturgia mariana primitiva," *Marianum* 24 (1962) 84–128. D. Denny, *The Annunciation from the Right: From Early Christian Times to the Sixteenth Century* (New York 1977). Maguire, *Art & Eloquence* 44–52. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

ANOINTING (χρίσμα), a ritual rubbing with a blessed OIL or chrism, derived from widespread ancient use of unguents. Early Christian initiation rites like BAPTISM used anointing; in the medieval West it marked accession to political power from the 7th C. onward. At what date anointing entered Byz. CORONATIONS is controversial. Old Tes-

tament metaphors, the Septuagint's very frequent use of the phrase *chriein basilea* (e.g., 1 Sam [1 Kg] 11:5, 15:17), and the iconography of Davidic kingship (C. Walter, *BMGS* 2 [1976] 58–73) encouraged similar wording for the Byz. emperor's accession, regardless of ritual. Neither *De ceremoniis* nor *euchologia* make reference to coronation anointing. Although there is some discussion about Niketas Choniates' testimony (Nik.Chon. 457.15), anointing in connection with coronations appears irrefutably only after 1204, when debate waxed over whether Byz. anointing was introduced in response to Baldwin I's Latin-style coronation anointing at Constantinople or could have entered Byz. ceremonial shortly before. Even in the latter case, the Western presence at court and in the imperial family scarcely excludes the possibility of Latin influence.

Theodore I Laskaris was anointed emperor in 1205 and anointing became solidly entrenched thereafter. A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 258.3–29) describes how the patriarch mounted the ambo and anointed the emperor's head just before crowning him, as he declared him "Holy!" (*hagios*) and the audience echoed the ACCLAMATION. Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:353B–D) gave the rite a christomimetic interpretation, reasoning that the emperor's anointing paralleled that of Christ by the Holy Spirit. (For anointing of the sick, see UNCTION.)

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Geschichte* 142–52. D.M. Nicol, "Kaisersalbung: The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *BMGS* 2 (1976) 37–52. M. Arranz, "L'aspect rituel de l'onction des empereurs de Constantinople et de Moscou," in *Roma, Costantinopoli, Mosca* (Naples 1983) 407–15. –M.McC.

ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES," jurist. Numerous scholia to the BASILIKA are inscribed "(τοῦ) Ἀνωνύμου" or "(τοῦ) Ἐναντιοφανοῦς." According to the generally accepted opinion of K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal (*Kleine Schriften* 2:152–54), these texts originate in the writings of an "elder Anonymous" and a "younger Anonymous," the latter of whom should be identified with "Enantiophanes." The "elder Anonymous" was perhaps active under Justinian I and may have composed a paraphrase of the DIGEST that served as the basis for the text of the *Basilika*. The "younger Anonymous" may have lived under Herakleios and provided the *Digest* paraphrase of

the "elder Anonymous" with explanatory notes (*paraphrasi*). The "younger Anonymous" was called "Enantiophanes" because he wrote a work entitled *Peri enantiophaneion* (On Apparent Contradictions), which is mentioned in the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES, a work that likewise can be attributed to him.

LIT. Scheltema, "Kommentarverbot" 308–15. N. van der Wal, "Wer war der 'Enantiophanes?'" *Tijdschrift* 48 (1980) 125–36. L. Burgmann, "Neue Zeugnisse der Digestensumme des Anonymos," *FM* 7 (1986) 101–16. —A.S.

ANONYMOUS FOLLES. See COINS; MINTS.

ANONYMUS VALESII. See EXCERPTA VALESIANA.

ANSBERT. See HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI.

ANSELM, author, ambassador, bishop of Havelberg (1129–55), and archbishop of Ravenna (1155–58); born Germany? ca.1100, died Milan 12 Aug. 1158. In 1135/6 Anselm visited Constantinople as the ambassador of the German emperor Lothair III to John II Komnenos to discuss possible joint action against ROGER II of Sicily. In Apr. 1136, with the cooperation of Emp. John and Patr. Leo Styppes (1134–43), he participated in public debates in Constantinople with Niketas, archbishop of Nikomedeia, on the FILIOQUE, the AZYMES, and papal PRIMACY. In order to rebut Niketas's criticism of the Roman church's "innovations" in faith and practice, Anselm used his own theory of the church's historical growth in understanding the faith through the Holy Spirit. He politely, but firmly, upheld the Latin *filioque* doctrine and claimed that Niketas accepted his compromise formula: the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, but "properly and principally" only from the Father. Niketas evidently also agreed that the Greek "through the Son" was equivalent to the Latin "from both" (*ab utroque*). Both Anselm and Niketas called for an ecumenical council that would, they hoped, result in UNION OF THE CHURCHES. At the request of Pope Eugenius II, Anselm wrote (1150) the *Dialogues*, a detailed account of his debates with Niketas.

In 1153 Frederick I Barbarossa sent Anselm to

Manuel I Komnenos to negotiate a marriage between Frederick and the Byz. princess Maria. While in Thessalonike in 1154, en route home, Anselm discussed the procession of the Holy Spirit with BASIL OF OHRID and acknowledged that Latin arrogance impeded reunion.

ED. *Dialogues*—PL 188:1139–1248. Fr. tr. of book 1 by G. Salet (Paris 1966); book 2 by P. Harang, *Istina* 17 (1972) 375–424.

LIT. J. Dräseke, "Bischof Anselm von Havelberg und seine Gesandtschaftsreisen nach Byzanz," *ZKirch* 21 (1901) 160–85. L.F. Barmann, "Reform Ideology in the *Dialogi* of Anselm of Havelberg," *ChHist* 30 (1961) 379–95. N. Russell, "Anselm of Havelberg and the Union of the Churches," *Sobornost* 1.2 (1979) 19–41; 2.1 (1980) 29–94. J. Darrouzès, "Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine," *REB* 23 (1965) 59–65. —F.K.

ANTAE (*Ἀνταί*), a group of people in the area north of the Black Sea. According to Jordanes, in the 4th C. the Goths defeated the Antae and murdered their "king" (*rex*) Boz and 70 elders. Other authors (Prokopios, pseudo-Maurice, etc.) mention the Antae, usually alongside the SKLAVENOI, in connection with the events of 535–602. Prokopios describes the Antae as a conglomeration of primitive and dirty nomads who practiced democracy and made war on foot, half-naked, armed with only spears and shields; they venerated the god of lightning.

The origin of the Antae is hotly discussed. Many scholars (e.g., Č. Bonev, *EtBalk* 19 [1983] no.3, 109–20) consider them early Slavs; G. Vernadsky (*JAOS* 59 [1939] 56–66) developed the theory of their ALAN origin; B. Struminskij (*HUKSt* 3/4 [1979–80] 786–96) saw in them Goths. The Antae were probably professional warriors, neighbors originally of the Alans and subsequently of the Ostrogoths, the Huns, the Bulgars, and the Avars. Justinian I, who accepted the title "Antikos," made them allies, and between 545 and 602 the Antae usually cooperated with the empire. Around 560 the Avars began to assume hegemony in eastern Europe and to demand the loyalty of the Antae. Attempts at negotiation failed, and the Avars killed the Antae envoy Mezamer. In 602 the Antae allied with Maurice against the Avars; Simokattes (Theoph.Simok. 293.15–16) relates that the *kha-gan* dispatched an army under the command of Apsich to exterminate the Antae but the Avars were afraid and began to desert; after 602 the Antae disappear from the sources.

LIT. O. Pritsak, "The Slavs and the Avars," *SettStu* 30 (1983) 394–411. R. Werner, "Zur Herkunft der Anten," in *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte: Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff* (Cologne-Vienna 1980) 573–95. —O.P.

ANTECESSORES (*ἀντικήνσορες*, "those who precede"), an honorary designation used by Justinian I for the professors of jurisprudence at the state LAW SCHOOLS in Constantinople and Berytus. The *Constitutio Omnem* (a. 533), which regulated legal education, is addressed to eight *antecessores*: THEOPHILOS, DOROTHEOS, Theodore, ISIDORE, ANATOLIOS, THALELAIOS, Kratinos, and Salaminios. Of their writings—mainly summaries of and notes on the *Corpus Juris Civilis*—only the paraphrase of the *Institutes* by Theophilos has been preserved in full; numerous fragments from works on the *Digest* and on the *Codex Justinianus* are transmitted, esp. in the scholia to the *Basilika*, often inscribed with the author's name. With the decline of state legal instruction in the second half of the 6th C., the designation *antecessor* fell out of use.

LIT. P. Jörs, *RE* 1.2 (1894) 2347f. H.J. Scheltema, *L'enseignement de droit des antécédents* (Leiden 1970). P. Pieler, *LMA* 1:692. —A.S.

ANTHEMIOS (*Ἀνθέμιος*), prefect under Arkadios and Theodosios II; died after 414. Probably of Egyptian origin, Anthemios was a member of one of the most distinguished aristocratic families of the period. He was *magister officiorum* in 404 and praetorian prefect of the East from 405 to 414. He may have assisted in the deposition of John Chrysostom in 404, but he was presumably a Christian and escorted the relics of the prophet Samuel into Constantinople in 406. Sokrates (Sokr. *HE* 7.1.1) reports that he was the virtual ruler of the empire during the critical period of the minority of Theodosios II. He reorganized the food supply of the capital (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 5.32) and rebuilt its walls (*Cod.Theod.* XV 1.51) before he fell from power (see PULCHERIA).

LIT. *PLRE* 2:93–95.

—T.E.G.

ANTHEMIOS Western emperor (467–72); born Constantinople, died Rome 30 June or 11 July 472. Grandson of the prefect ANTHEMIOS and son-in-law of Marcian, *patrikos*, and commander

against the Huns and Ostrogoths, Anthemios was a candidate for the throne in Constantinople in 454. Leo I named him caesar and in 467 sent him to Italy, where he was proclaimed augustus by the army. Leo concurred in the nomination as did RICIMER (who married the daughter of Anthemios), both hoping to counter the power and influence of the Vandal king GAISERIC. Celebrated by Sidonius Apollinaris and by Leo as the hope for unity between East and West, Anthemios was distrusted as a Greek and suspected of pagan sympathies. He played no part in the naval expedition against the Vandals in 468. Hostility developed with Ricimer, who finally invested Olybrius with the purple in 492. Ricimer attacked Rome, and Anthemios was captured and beheaded.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:335–40. Kaegi, *Decline* 35–43. G. Härtel, "Die zeitgeschichtliche Relevanz der Novellen des Kaisers Anthemius," *Klio* 64 (1982) 151–59. *PLRE* 2:96–98. —T.E.G.

ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES, architect, engineer, physicist, and mathematician; born Tralles in Lydia, died Constantinople? before 558 (the traditional date of his death, ca.534, is erroneous: G. Soulis, *Speculum* 35 [1960] 124). Anthemios was the son of a physician, Stephen; one of his brothers, Metrodoros, was a grammarian, another was a lawyer, and others were doctors. Anthemios achieved fame as the architect (with ISIDORE OF MILETUS) of HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople. Nothing is known of his other architectural projects. Prokopios relates that Justinian I consulted Anthemios about flood control at Dara. According to Agathias, Anthemios was one of those scientists "who apply geometrical speculation to material objects and make models or imitations of the natural world" (Agath. 5:6.3). Anthemios's experiments included the production of an artificial earthquake (using steam power) and artificial thunder as well as the creation of a powerful reflector. He wrote treatises such as *Concerning Remarkable Mechanical Devices* and *On Burning-Mirrors*; in the former he describes a curved reflector similar to one that he is said to have built. According to TZETZES, Anthemios also wrote on mechanical and hydraulic subjects.

LIT. G.L. Huxley, *Anthemios of Tralles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959). G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects," *Byzantion* 18 (1946–48) 112–14. —M.J., A.K.

ANTHIMOS OF NIKOMEDEIA, martyr under Diocletian and saint; feastday 3 Sept. According to Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *HE* 8.6.6), Anthimos ("Ἀνθίμος), bishop of Nikomedeia, was decapitated in 303; he was among those charged with setting fire to the imperial palace in Nikomedeia. A Life attributed to SYMEON METAPHRASTES presents the trial and torture of Anthimos by Maximian. It is questionable whether any of his writings survive: the legend of Sts. Domna and Indes mentions a letter of Anthimos to persecuted communities (PG 116:1073C–1076B); a fragment, *On the Holy Church*, attributed to Anthimos by G. Mercati, is actually a work of MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA according to Richard (*Opera minora* 2, no.33).

Representation in Art. The earliest known portrait of Anthimos, on a mosaic (now lost) in the south tympanum of HAGIA SOPHIA, apparently showed the saint as an elderly bishop; this is the most usual type, though his features vary. In the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.95v), he bears witness to the burning of the church in Nikomedeia in which 20,000 Christians are said to have lost their lives. Four scenes enclosed in roundels recount his martyrdom (including torture on a wheel) in a *menologion* MS of Symeon Metaphrastes (London, B.L. Add. 11870, fol.44v); other MSS depict only his beheading.

SOURCE. PG 115:171–84.

LIT. BHG 1347–135c. U. Knoen, *LCI* 5:199f.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

ANTHOLOGIA PALATINA AND ANTHOLOGIA PLANUDEA. See GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

ANTHOLOGIES, collections of largely secular verse, esp. EPIGRAMS, similar to a FLORILEGIUM (excerpts from theological texts) or a *gnomologion* (GNOMAI, or moralizing excerpts from secular texts in both prose and verse). Selections from the major classical anthologies (those of Meleager of Gadara, Philip of Thessalonike, etc.) were combined in the 10th C. by Constantine KEPHALAS with material from the Byz. period, esp. from the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS. This collection, now lost as an independent work, in turn formed the basis for the main surviving Byz. anthologies, the *Anthologia Palatina* and the *Anthologia Planudea* (see GREEK ANTHOLOGY). There also survive a number of

short anthologies (e.g., the 9th-C. *Sylloge Euphemi-ana*, the 13th-C. *Sylloge Crameriana*, the 14th-C. *Appendix Barbaro-Vaticana*), which contain a few epigrams not attested by the two major collections.

ED. See GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

LIT. *AnthGr* 1:82–84.

–E.M.J.

ANTHOUSA (Ἀνθοῦσα, lit. "flourishing"), the name or epithet given by Constantine I the Great to Constantinople–New Rome. John Lydos uses the epithet as a translation of Roman Flora, but E. Fenster (*Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 93, n.5) questions his explanation. The epithet appears in historians and panegyrics; PAUL SILENTIARIOS, for instance, speaks of "golden-clad Anthousa" who subjugates barbarians (vv. 156–58). It is also found in geographical nomenclature (e.g., Eustathios of Thessalonike's commentary on Dionysios Periegetes), and Manuel Holobolos still used it in his speech on Michael VIII's reconquest of Constantinople.

LIT. J. Bernays, "Quellennachweise zu Politianus und Georgius Valla," *Hermes* 11 (1876) 129–34. A. Riese, "Anthousa," *Hermes* 12 (1877) 143f. M. Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung* (Mainz 1963) 151, n.2.

–A.K.

ANTHROPOLOGY. The classical Byz. definition of man stems from the Greek philosophical tradition and is common to theologians, philosophers, and even elementary school textbooks; man is a rational, mortal being, or corporeal essence, endowed with speech and thought, capable of reason and knowledge. Man, a being that unites two natures in one person, was the favorite model for the hypostatic union from the 6th C. In this context the SOUL or spirit of man is contrasted to the BODY in purely negative terms (incorporeal, immortal, incorruptible), and man is perceived as a simultaneous synthesis of opposites: as "a being united ineffably and simultaneously of different essences" (Anastasios of Sinai, ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux* 2.5, p.58f), or as a "mixture of opposites" (Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:212D, 1032B).

In referring to Genesis 1:27, the patristic tradition sees man as the image of God, or, insofar as the Logos alone is the image of God, man is seen as an "image in the image of God." From Genesis 1:26, "Let us make man in our image, and according to our likeness," man is seen as an image of the Trinity in the structure of his soul,

not in the sense of Plato's tripartite division of the soul, but rather in the relationship of man's *psyche* to his *logos* and *nous* or *pneuma*.

The ability of Byz. anthropology to shed its theological context, at least outwardly, is shown in the thought of Michael Psellos and John Italos in the 11th C. (See also NEMESIOS.)

LIT. S. Otto, *Person und Subsistenz: Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontius von Byzanz* (Munich 1968). K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215–312. F.R. Gahbauer, *Das anthropologische Modell: Ein Beitrag zur Christologie der frühen Kirche bis Chalkedon* (Würzburg 1984). L. Benakis, "Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos in der byzantinischen Philosophie," in *L'homme et son univers au moyen âge* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986) 56–76. P. Joannou, *Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Joannes Italos* (Ettal 1956) 88–106, 126–135.

–K.-H.U.

ANTHROPOS (ἄνθρωπος, "man," Lat. *homo*), a term designating an individual in a relation of personal dependence; its synonyms were *philos* ("friend"), *oikeios*, and *lizios*. The term *anthropos* could cover relations between a *strategos* and his retinue, as in the *Strategikon of Maurice*; this usage is also found later, for example, in a 10th-C. source (*TheophCont* 374.17) that relates that Leo Argyros attacked Tephrike "with his *anthropoi*." An *anthropos* could be a subordinate of a civil official; thus an anonymous letter of the 10th C. was addressed to an *anthropos* of the *krites* of the Aegean Sea (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 377, no.47). More evidence of the "parafeudal" nature of Byz. "homage" is revealed in sources of the 11th and 12th C., in a Cretan charter of 1118 (MM 6:95–99), and in Kekaumenos as well as in the *typika* of Pakourianos and of the Kosmosoteira monastery. A seal of Niketas, "*anthropos* of the most fortunate caesar," is published but not dated (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.643). *Anthropoi* not only served as a private retinue that followed their commander to battle, but also received land for their service. In later documents the term *anthropoi* was also applied to PAROIKOI. The "imperial men," BASILIKOI ANTHROPOI, formed a special category.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 236–38. V. Arutjunova, "K voprosu ob *anthropoi* v 'tipike' Grigorija Pakuriana," *Viz-Vrem* 29 (1968) 63–76. N. Oikonomides, "Hoi authentai ton Kretikon to 1118," *Pepragmena tou D' diethnous Kretologikou synedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1981) 313–17.

–A.K.

ANTHYPATOS (ἀνθύπατος), Greek translation of Latin *proconsul* or CONSULARIS, a governor of

some special provinces (B. Kübler, *RE* 4 [1901] 1140–42). The term probably also designated the head of the administration of Constantinople until 359, when it was replaced by the URBAN PREFECT. From the 9th C. *anthypatos* was used as a DIGNITY. According to E. Stein (*BNJbb* 1 [1920] 372f), the TAKTIKON of Uspenskij (842/3) still listed the *anthypatos* as a provincial governor—a conclusion based only on the place of the title in the list. Guiland suggests that *anthypatos* as a dignity was first applied to Alexios Mousle under Emp. Theophilos. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos the term, often in conjunction with PATRIKIOS, was listed in a position between MAGISTROS and regular *patrikios*. The term *protanthypatos* is known from 11th-C. sources. A *disanthypatos* is also mentioned on a seal. These titles were not used after the beginning of the 12th C.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:68–79. Oikonomides, *Listes* 287, 294. Bury, *Adm. System* 28f. C. Emereau, "L'archonte-proconsul de Constantinople," *RA* 5 23 (1926) 103–08.

–A.K.

ANTICHRIST (Ἀντίχριστος), the greatest antagonist of Christ, esp. at the Second Coming (PAROUSIA). The Greek word *Antichristos* appears in the Bible only in the epistles of John (1 Jn 2:18–22; 4:3; 2 Jn 7), but the concept of the final struggle between a diabolic ruler (anti-Messiah or "the beast") and the divine forces is to be found in the Hebrew (esp. Essene and apocalyptic) tradition. Hippolytos of Rome in the 3rd C. was the first Christian author to devote a tract to the Antichrist (*On Christ and on the Antichrist*), the core of which was opposition to the Roman Empire. The theme was developed in Byz. commentaries on the APOCALYPSE by OIKOUMENIOS, ANDREW of Caesarea, ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, and NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS, since the two beasts in the Apocalypse that are identified with the Roman Empire or the cult of the emperor were interpreted as referring to the Antichrist.

Byz. theologians gave the Antichrist various names: Lampetis, Tetian, Lateinos, Benediktos (or Niketas), names for which the numerical equivalents of their Greek letters add up to 666, the number of the Antichrist (Rev 13:18). He was perceived either as the DEVIL incarnate or as a being consisting of a man combined with satanic energy. He was expected to come "when the time of the Roman Empire was fulfilled" (Cyril of Je-

rusalem, *Catech.* 15.12, PG 33:885A) and to subjugate Egypt, Libya, and the Ethiopians. He will deceive people by his external resemblance to Christ and by his power of working miracles. Drought, famine, and portents will manifest his coming, and he will persecute the saints. Accordingly, drought and similar phenomena were often interpreted as foreboding the coming of the Antichrist. The years of the reign of the Antichrist are numbered, and in the end he is to be defeated.

The Antichrist was often connected with the Jews, whom he specially honors, even rebuilding the Temple, over which he will preside, proclaiming himself a god. Pseudo-METHODIOS OF PATARA as well as SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem (PG 87.3:3197D) identified the Antichrist with Islam—an interpretation that spread particularly in the post-Byz. period.

LIT. B. Rubin, "Der Antichrist und die 'Apokalypse' des Prokopios von Kaisareia," *ZDMG* 110 (1961) 55–63. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie* (Munich 1972) 79–99. P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985) 193–225. K. Wessel, "Der Antichrist am Kreuz," in *Eikon und Logos*, ed. H. Goltz, vol. 2 (Halle 1981) 323–37. —G.P.

ANTIGRAPHEUS (ἀντιγραφεύς), in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos a subordinate of the *QUAESTOR*. According to Bury (*Adm. System* 75f), *antigraphes* were successors of the late Roman *magistri scriniorum* under the *MAGISTER OFFICIORUM*. As the Greek rendition of the *magister* of a *scrinium*, the term *antigraphes* was used by various late Roman authors. It is not known what the functions of the *antigraphes* were after they moved to the department of the quaestor. *Antigraphes* are mentioned in the *ECLOGA* (162.42, 166.104) as involved in the preparation of legislative acts. Later, the term *antigraphes* designated responses issued by the emperor (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.67.17), letters sent abroad (Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 89), etc. The seals of *antigraphes*, some dated to the 7th C., do not clarify their duties.

LIT. J. Bury, "Magistri scriniorum, antigraphes, and repherendarioi," *HStClPhil* 21 (1910) 23–29. Zacos, *Seals* 2:159. —A.K.

ANTIMENSION (ἀντιμήνσιον), also *antimesion* (from Lat. *mensa*, "table"), a portable ALTAR, often made of cloth. The term is first found in an *enkomon* of an obscure saint, Markianos of Syra-

cuse (text probably early 8th C.), where the "antimimension" is identified as "*mystike trapeza*" (AASS June 3:281C–282D). Patr. Niketas I (766–80) reportedly set up an "antimimension" in the Hippodrome and prayed before it when Leo IV crowned his son Constantine VI (Theoph. 450.16). The word occurs more frequently from the 12th C. onward when it refers specifically to a piece of cloth—linen (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:332D–333A) or possibly silk. The so-called Nomocanon of Cotelier (J.B. Cotelier, *Monumenta ecclesiae graecae* 1 [Paris 1677]), produced between the 12th and 14th C., prescribes punishment for a priest who officiates without an *antimimension*. The *antimimension* contained a small pocket for RELICS and had to be consecrated by a bishop. Although consecrated as a portable altar, an *antimimension* was to be used only when a consecrated altar-table was not available, or if consecration was in doubt. Its usage was quite common, esp. during the late period. The *antimimension* became mandatory for the celebration of liturgy only in the post-Byz. period when it replaced the EILITON as the altar cloth on which eucharistic vessels were set; in earlier practice the *antimimension* had been spread underneath the ENDYTE. Since no Byz. *antimensia* are preserved, their exact appearance is not known, and there is no evidence that they were ever extensively decorated.

LIT. J. Izzo, *The Antimimension in the Liturgical and Canonical Tradition of the Byzantine and Latin Churches* (Rome 1975) 23–144. S. Pétridès, *DACL* 1.2:2319–26. —A.G.

ANTINOÖPOLIS (Ἀντινόου πόλις, also Antinoë, Antinou, mod. Shaikh Abāda), town in Upper Egypt founded by Hadrian in 130; a flourishing center of Hellenic culture. In 297 Diocletian made Antinoöpolis an important administrative center and under Justinian I it became the seat of the *doux* of the Thebaid. It had a Christian community and was an episcopal see already in the early 4th C. The ANTINOÖPOLIS PAPYRI make reference to many churches, but excavations have unearthed only a few. There are two large basilicas in the east and south parts of the town, the latter of which dates probably from the 4th C.; it has five aisles and is built entirely of mudbrick. Of the former, only the crypt and sections of the atrium have survived. A third smaller church was discovered in the north cemetery. The site preserves traces of a colonnaded street, a large bath,

a theater, a hippodrome, and other public buildings. The ruins to the south of Antinoöpolis are of early monasteries.

Among the burials of Antinoöpolis the most famous is the chapel of Theodosia (probably late 4th C.); its frescoes represent Christ and the owner of the tomb accompanied by several saints. Other painted tombs were discovered in the mountains east of the city. The so-called Underground Church contains biblical scenes, e.g., The Marriage at CANA and the Massacre of the Innocents.

LIT. *Antinoe 1965–1968*, ed. S. Donadoni (Rome 1974). P. Grossmann, "Die von Somers Clark in Ober-Ansinā entdeckten Kirchenbauten," *MDAI K* 24 (1969) 144–68. E. Mitchell, "Osservazioni topografiche preliminari sull'impianto urbanistico di Antinoe," *Vicino Oriente* 5 (1982) 171–90. Timm, *Ägypten* 1:111–28. —P.G.

ANTINOÖPOLIS PAPYRI, literary and documentary papyri and parchments in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, and even Gothic, found by British and Italian excavations at the site of Hadrian's foundation in Middle Egypt (modern Shaikh Abāda), attesting to the flourishing and multiform culture of ANTINOÖPOLIS from the 2nd C. until after the Arab conquest. They include biblical, theological, medical, legal, grammatical, and stenographic texts, poetry, drama, philosophy, rhetoric, and all the usual documentary genres, from petitions to letters. The role of Antinoöpolis as capital of the Thebaid under its *doux* in the 6th C. is apparent from the abundant paperwork generated by the official chancery. The lawyer-poet DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO lived and practiced there during 566–73, and many papyri from his archive were written at Antinoöpolis. Illustrated Greek papyri were found at the site, including herbal illustrations and a drawing of charioteers. Coptic papyri, esp. tax receipts, provide evidence of ecclesiastical institutions and of the role of the *doux* of the Thebaid into post-conquest times.

ED. C.H. Roberts, J.W.B. Barns, H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoöpolis Papyri*, 3 vols. (London 1950–67).

LIT. *Antinoe 1965–1968* (Rome 1974). M. Manfredi, "Notizie sugli scavi recenti ad Antinoe," *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, vol. 1 (Naples 1984) 85–96. S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1984) 111–28. —L.S.B. MacC.

ANTIOCH (Ἀντιόχεια), the name of two cities in the Byz. Empire. The less important city was

located in Anatolia, while Antioch on the Orontes, in Syria, was one of the major cities of late antiquity and the seat of one of the four Eastern patriarchates.

ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA, metropolis east of Lake Eğirdir on major routes through southern Anatolia; now Yalvaç. A Roman colony, Pisidian Antioch saw a revival of Latin and of prosperity in the 4th C. It remained a stronghold of paganism—centered on its temple of the moon god, Men—until ca.400, when the temple was destroyed and replaced by a church. Remains, which include a church with a floor mosaic of ca.380, indicate an active civic life in late antiquity. Thereafter, Antioch was exposed to attack: the Arabs wintered there in 665/6 and destroyed it in 717. The city never really recovered, but it did remain the ecclesiastical metropolis into the 12th C. The PAULICIANS established their church, Philippi, here in the mid-8th C. In 1097, the First Crusade rested in the fertile plain of Antioch, which by then had been permanently lost to the Turks.

LIT. B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967) 178–81. D.M. Robinson, "A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Pisidian Antioch," *AJA* 28 (1924) 435–44. E. Kitzinger, "A Fourth Century Mosaic Floor in Pisidian Antioch," in *Mél. Mansel* 385–95. S. Mitchell, "Pisidian Antioch," *AnatSt* 34 (1984) 8–10. —C.F.

ANTIOCH ON THE ORONTES (now Antakya in Turkey), city about 25 km from the Mediterranean and its port at SELEUKEIA PIERIA, situated between the Orontes River and Mt. Silpios, and crossed east to west by the Parmenios torrent. Seleucid Antioch came to replace BERROIA as the principal city of SYRIA until the latter city regained preeminence following the Arab conquest (636/7). The evidence varies as to the size of Antioch's population. In 363 Libanios referred to 150,000 *anthropoi*, while 250,000 or 300,000 people reportedly perished in the earthquake of 526 (G. Downey, *TAPA* 89 [1958] 87–90). Excavations in 1939–45 at Antioch, its port, and the suburb of Daphne, revealed large houses and five churches at the three sites; a circus, stadium, the *cardo*, and several baths in Antioch itself; and a theater at Daphne. The numerous tessellated pavements uncovered illustrate the development of FLOOR MOSAICS from the 2nd to 6th C. As an imperial residence (of Constantius II, Julian, Jovian, and Valens) in the 4th C., Antioch expanded. In its

environs, at Kausiye, a cruciform basilica was built, probably in 379, for the local martyr BABYLAS. The city walls were extended by Theodosios II in 430/1, and numerous other emperors also erected public buildings at Antioch. At least four gates led into the walled city, which was 3 km long from the years 430 to 540 and 2.3 km thereafter, when it was approximately 1.6 km wide.

The Tetrarchic palace, public baths, circus, and stadium (built 5th–6th C.) were on an island in the Orontes excluded from Justinian I's circuit wall, which reduced the defended perimeter of Antioch. The island was connected by a bridge with the heart of the city, which was constructed in part over the Parmenios and contained the Forum of Valens, the *praetorium* of the governor of Syria I, a public bath (the Kommodion), and a market. To the southeast of this lay the district of Epiphaneia built against the slopes of Mt. Silpios. Here were concentrated the *bouleuterion*, the *praetorium* of the *comes Orientis*, a law court, two tetrastylons, an *antiphoros* (an open space in front of a forum), various civil basilicas and stoas, and the Church of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos. The south gate of the city, beyond the Jewish quarter of Kerateion, led to Daphne with its theater, hippodrome, and closely spaced "country houses."

Antioch was capital of the diocese of ORIENS under the *comes Orientis*, provincial capital from ca.350 of Coele-Syria, and from ca.415 of Syria I under a governor, and seat of the MAGISTER MILITUM for Oriens. Antioch was also the seat of a patriarch (see ANTIOCH, PATRIARCHATE OF). In 451, JERUSALEM (which had been a suffragan of CAESAREA MARITIMA) became a separate patriarchate with control over the three provinces of Palestine; in 488, the church of Cyprus was likewise made independent of Antioch.

Antioch has been described (Jones, *LRE* 857f) as a consumer rather than a manufacturing city. Certain goods were, however, produced there in connection with its role as an administrative center. It had an arms factory and a provincial mint from the 4th C. to 611, with workshops producing ceremonial armor and, in the 4th C. and 602–10, silver vessels with SILVER STAMPS. Antioch was also a commercial center whose port linked the trade routes from the East with the Mediterranean. There were KOMMERKIARIOI of Antioch from the 6th C. The city apparently had a large middle

class: in the late 4th C. John Chrysostom claimed that only 10 percent of the population was wealthy and only 10 percent poor. The inhabitants of Antioch were, moreover, "urbanized," preferring the suburban pleasures of Daphne to rural villa life (Liebeschuetz, *infra* 51). The country around Antioch was noted for its pasture land (Libanios, or.11.23,26), and the province of Syria I contained such agriculturally productive centers as DEHES and KAPER BARADA.

The literary culture of Antioch was primarily Greek, and the use of Latin by the imperial government was considered an intrusion. The city was noted for rhetoricians, historians, and theologians. In the 4th C. all these came under the influence of the pagan rhetor LIBANIOS whose pupils at Antioch included—in addition to numerous future civil servants—not only AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS but also the Christian authors BASIL THE GREAT, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. The last, the foremost member of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, which later came to include THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, applied to the Bible the principles of Hellenistic exegesis learned from his teacher. A prolific church writer in Greek in the 6th C. was the Monophysite SEVEROS of Antioch (although his works survive only in Syriac). Three types of historiography are represented by the works of Antiochene authors: the classical history of Ammianus, who followed Tacitus; the universal chronicle of MALALAS; and the church history of EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS—the last following in the tradition of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA.

Antioch was proud of a classical heritage that also manifested itself in art (e.g., in the personifications and mythological subjects of its 5th–6th-C. pavements) and in a civic pride, best exemplified by Libanios's *Oration on Antioch*. In 438 the city was flattered by another oration, that of the visiting empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, who alluded to the Athenian heritage that she shared with Antioch. The city responded appropriately with the erection of two statues in her honor by the local *boule*. Other classical traditions were maintained: curial building continued alongside public works financed by the imperial government. Although described by Prokopios in 540 as hedonistic and "not seriously disposed" (*Wars* 1.17.37, 2.8.6), the Antiochene mentality was then undergoing a change toward a collective religious

consciousness. When in 459 the body of Symeon the Stylite the Elder was brought from Telanissos into Antioch, the people refused to give it up to Emp. Leo I because they felt it would protect their city. The sanctification of the city proceeded when, after the earthquake of 526, a cross appeared in the sky and Antioch was renamed (528) Theoupolis in propitiation for contemporary calamities.

Like other cities, Antioch experienced incidents of urban unrest in the 4th–7th C. After the Riot of the Statues (387), when, in response to increased taxation, the population overturned the imperial images, both city and rioters were punished by Theodosios I: Antioch was for a time stripped of metropolitan rank and its baths, hippodrome, and theaters closed; some rioters were executed. Antioch also witnessed the intrigues of the imperial usurpers GALLUS (died 354) and ILLOS (died 488). The first outbreak of violence at Antioch involving the Blue and Green circus FRACTIONS occurred in the Hippodrome ca.490, with further riots in 494/5 and 507, when the charioteer Porphyrios was transferred to Antioch from Constantinople. The unruliness of the factions and financial problems led to the closing of the Olympic Games at Antioch in 520, but the theater was still in use in 531.

Religious divisions and conflict recurred in this period. Paganism continued late at Antioch: the sophist Isokasios was prosecuted for pagan beliefs in 468, and in 562 two pagan priests from Antioch were brought to trial in Constantinople. In 578 a circle of pagans, exposed by popular protest, was said to include highly placed individuals in several cities including HELIOPOLIS, EDESSA, and, at Antioch, the patriarch Gregory himself, who was, however, acquitted. Antioch was also the scene of heretical conflict: until 378 the Arians at Antioch were alternately supported and persecuted by the resident emperors Constantius, Julian, and Valens. The local council of 341 (see under ANTIOCH, LOCAL COUNCILS OF) dealt with the problem of Athanasios and Arianism by drawing up four creeds. With the rise of the Monophysite movement in the 5th–6th C., the Chalcedonian patriarch Stephen was murdered (479) and succeeded by the Monophysites PETER THE FULLER (died 488) and Severos (512–18). From 518, when a separate Monophysite patriarch was established in exile, local Monophysites were persecuted, notably by

Ephraim, Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (526–45). In 610 there was an uprising of both Monophysites and Jews at Antioch.

Antioch served as a military administrative center between the 4th and 7th C. The large army stationed in the East was paid and provisioned from here. It was the headquarters of the *magister militum* (e.g., Zeno, Belisarios, Tiberios, Maurice) and served as a base for imperial campaigns led by Constantius, Julian, and Jovian into Persia in the 4th C. and for Herakleios's defense against the Arabs in the 7th C. The city itself was besieged by the Lakhmids in 529 and taken and sacked in 540 by the Persians; the Sasanians led away many of the inhabitants and resettled them in a replicated Antioch at Ctesiphon. After an unsuccessful attack in 573, the Persians occupied the city from 609/10 to 628.

According to Downey the decline of Antioch was occasioned by the Persian sack of 540, after which the city was rebuilt by Justinian on a lesser scale but never recovered its former vitality. Lassus, however, has demonstrated that in the 2nd half of the 6th C. the reconstruction of the main street was on a large scale. Furthermore, the city was again rebuilt by Maurice in 588, following an earthquake, and in 592 Evagrios Scholastikos mentions by name as still standing many of the buildings erected from the 4th C. onward (*HE* 1.16,18,20; 3.28; 6.8). From the late 6th through 10th C. Antioch's local history is obscure. Physically, however, many buildings erected before the 7th C. still stood in the Arab (later Byz. and Crusader) city, as attested by Arab geographers, and Justinianic circuit walls enclosed the medieval city.

After Antioch fell to the Arabs in 636–37 (Donner, *Conquests* 148–51), it became part of a frontier district called al-ʿAWAṢIM and was hardly mentioned. In 944 it was taken by the Ḥamdānīd SAYF AL-DAWLĀ, who lost it in turn to the Byz. generals Michael BOURTZES and Peter Phokas on 28 Oct. 969. NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS described it as the third city of the world, noted for its beauty, strength, size of population, and impressive buildings (Leo. Diac. 73.12–15). While Arab geographers likewise praised its attractions, IBN ḤAWQAL complained in 978 of the damage inflicted there by the Byz. (G. LeStrange, *Palestine under the Moslems* [rp. Beirut 1965] 369). After its recovery by the Byz., Antioch was administered after 969 first

by a *strategos* and then a *doux* or *katepano* (V. Laurent, *MéUnivJos* 38 [1962] 221–54). It served as a base of military operations elsewhere in the region against the Hamdānids and, starting in 974, the Fāṭimids, whose authority had extended into central Syria. The Seljuk invasions of the Caucasus in the 1040s drove the inhabitants of Armenia into northern Syria, where they infiltrated the government at Antioch until in 1078 Philaretos BRACHAMIOS established his rule there, becoming a vassal of the *atabeg* of Mosul. Six years later Antioch fell to the Seljuks and in 1098 to the Crusaders (see ANTIOCH, PRINCEDOM OF).

LIT. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton 1961). P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 1955). J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972). G.L. Kurbatov, *Rannevizantijskij gorod (Antiochija u IV veke)* (Leningrad 1962). J. Lassus, *Antioch on the-Orontes: V. Les portiques d'Antioche* (Princeton 1972).

—M.M.M.

ANTIOCH, LOCAL COUNCILS OF. Antioch was the site of two notable local councils.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 324/5. This pre-Nicene council convened under the presidency of Hosius of Cordoba. Its purpose was to forestall, through its censure of ARIANISM, any favorable outcome regarding ARIUS at the first ecumenical council of NICAEEA. Its relationship to the latter is underscored by its provisional excommunication of the Arian sympathizer EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, whose formal rehabilitation or condemnation was left to Nicaea to decide. Additionally, its anathemas anticipate those adopted later by the general council. Furthermore, its censorship of Arianism was quite explicit—Christ was said to be begotten “not from that which is not,” but ineffably and indescribably from the Father—even though the council was unaware of the theological terminology subsequently used at Nicaea. The council’s existence was unknown until E. Schwartz discovered a Syriac translation of its synodal letter. Its authenticity is now generally assumed, although contested initially by A. Harnack (*Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 26 [Berlin 1908] 477–91).

ED. Synodal letter—E. Schwartz, “Zur Geschichte des Athanasius, VI,” *NachGött* (1905) 271–88. Eng. tr. F.L. Cross, “The Council of Antioch in 325 A.D.,” *Church Quarterly Review* 128 (1939) 49–76.

LIT. R. Seeberg, *Die Synode von Antiochien im Jahre 324–5* (Berlin 1913; rp. Aalen 1973). H. Chadwick, “Ossius of Cordova and the Presidency of the Council of Antioch, 325,” *JThSt* n.s. 9 (1958) 292–304. D.L. Holland, “Die Synode von Antiochien (324/25) und ihre Bedeutung für Eusebius von Caesarea und das Konzil von Nizäa,” *ZKirch* 81 (1970) 163–81. L. Abramowski, “Die Synode von Antiochien 324/25 und ihr Symbol,” *ZKirch* 86 (1975) 356–66. —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 341. The pretext for the convocation (6 Jan.) of this “Dedication” council (*concilium in encaeniis*) was the consecration (ENKAINIA) of the Golden Basilica, begun in the reign of Emp. CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT. Ninety-seven bishops and Emp. CONSTANTINUS II, an Arian sympathizer, attended. The four creedal statements associated with the council were intended to avoid, if not reject, the homoousian terminology adopted by NICAEEA I; hence their subsequent condemnation by the orthodox party. The first of these statements, it is true, is susceptible to an orthodox interpretation, while the second is possibly based on the creed of LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH. Equally, the council was not intentionally disloyal to Nicaea. Indeed, it expressly denied that its members were Arians. Still, the council’s pre-Nicene theology was semi-Arian, as ATHANASIOS of Alexandria and the Western episcopate perceived. Most scholars believe the so-called 25 disciplinary “Canons of Antioch” to be the work of this council.

SOURCE. Mansi 2:1305–50.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 50f. E. Schwartz, “Zur Geschichte des Athanasius, IX,” *NachGött* (1911) 469–522. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur S. Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris 1936) 85–132. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (New York 1981) 263–74. W. Schneemelcher, “Die Kirchweihsynode von Antiochien 341,” in *Bonner Festgabe Johannes Straub* (Bonn 1977) 319–46. —A.P.

ANTIOCH, PATRIARCHATE OF, one of the earliest bishoprics. Its archiepiscopal status and jurisdiction received canonical sanction at NICAEEA I when it was recognized, together with the bishoprics of Rome and Alexandria, as a major see of Christendom (canon 6). Given Antioch’s size and importance within the empire, the city—the capital of the civil diocese of ORIENS—was the major ecclesiastical center in the East after Alexandria. In the 5th C., however, the patriarchate began to lose its prestige as well as some of its jurisdiction—the result often of imperial pressure. At the Council of EPHEBUS (431) it failed to annex CYPRUS, which was declared autocephalous. Then, at the

Council of CHALCEDON (451), its Palestinian dioceses were placed under the jurisdiction of the newly created patriarchate of JERUSALEM. This reduced the see to eleven provinces. The religious crises of NESTORIANISM and MONOPHYSITISM and the simultaneous growth of the patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE also contributed to Antioch’s weakness and dismemberment. Monophysitism, in fact, resulted in permanent schism dividing the faithful into MELCHITES and JACOBITES and the formation of a separate “heretical” hierarchy within its borders.

After the Arab conquest (636) Antiochene metropolitans with provinces still under imperial control were placed under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. The vacancy in the throne that occurred after 702 ended only in 742 when elections were again permitted. After the Byz. reconquest (969) candidates were appointed by the emperor and often consecrated, as in the case of JOHN III, by the patriarch of Constantinople, but Antioch did not sever its relations with Rome (J. Nasrallah, *Istina* 21 [1976] 184f, 375f). Eventually, though, the synod of Antioch was allowed to present its own candidates for the emperor’s selection. The Crusaders’ promise not to elect the patriarch was not always kept. The existence of a Latin patriarch along with the Orthodox of course caused frequent tension. During the Crusades and Mamluk period, the titular patriarchs of this once powerful see usually resided in Constantinople. The transfer of the see to Damascus occurred under the MAMLUKS.

LIT. R. Devrèsse, *Le patriarcat d'Antioche* (Paris 1945). Ch. Papadopoulos, *Historia tes Ekklesias Antiocheias* (Alexandria 1951). Grumel, “Patriarcat.” J. Nasrallah, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire du patriarcat Melchite d'Antioche* 1 (Jerusalem 1965). E. Honigmann, “The Patriarchate of Antioch: A Revision of Le Quien and the Notitia Antiochena,” *Traditio* 5 (1947) 135–61. H. Kennedy, “The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation,” *ByzF* 10 (1985) 141–83. —A.P.

ANTIOCH, PRINCIPALITY OF. Founded by BOHEMUND after he took the city, the principality included the lower Orontes valley, the adjacent coast, and occasionally parts of Cilicia. ALEXIOS I and his successors never abandoned their claims to the region, which still had a substantial Orthodox population. Bohemund’s promised allegiance (1108) was refused by TANCRED. Prince RAYMOND OF POITIERS was constrained by John II to render

homage but avoided surrendering the citadel to the emperor. Following conflicts with John and MANUEL I, Raymond had to visit Constantinople and renew his allegiance. After Raymond’s death, his widow Constance married Renaud of Châtillon, who first allied himself with Manuel, then, in 1155, plundered Cyprus. In 1158 Manuel’s advance through Cilicia obliged Renaud to beg for mercy. He acknowledged his vassalage to Byz. and promised to yield the citadel of Antioch and accept a Greek patriarch. In 1159 Manuel entered the city in triumph. After Renaud’s capture by the governor of Aleppo-BERROIA (1160), Manuel assisted Antioch. In 1161 he married Constance’s daughter MARIA OF ANTIOCH. His general Constantine KALAMANOS was captured by Nūr al-Dīn along with Bohemund III in 1164. After Bohemund was ransomed by Manuel, he had to introduce an Orthodox patriarch into Antioch (1165–70). About 1178 Bohemund married a niece of Manuel, but abandoned her when Manuel died. Thereafter, Byz. was too preoccupied to pursue domination of the principality, one of the long-term goals of the Komnenoi. Antioch was seized by the Mamluks on 18 May 1268.

LIT. C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la Principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris 1940). S. Runciman, “The Greeks in Antioch at the Time of the Crusades,” *Pepragmena*, 9 *CEB* (Athens 1956) 2:583–91 [= *Hellenika* supp. 9.2]. —C.M.B.

ANTIOCH “CHALICE,” dated to the 6th C., an ornate silver goblet on a low foot, composed of a plain cup set inside an openwork shell decorated with a grapevine containing 12 seated figures (identified as two representations of Christ and ten Apostles). It was reportedly found at Antioch in 1910, as part of the Antioch Treasure (see KAPER KORAON TREASURE), and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Its first modern owners, Kouchiakji Frères, maintained that the inner cup was the Holy Grail, which Christ used at the Last Supper and which, as a holy object, had been placed soon after within the protective and decorative outer cup. Although initially accepted by some scholars as a work of the 1st C., it was seen by others as either a late Roman object or a modern forgery; the general consensus is for a date of 500–550 (*Age of Spirit.*, no.542). Now corroded and in fragile condition, its craftsmanship was of a high order, including

figures carved from solid silver. Its original function—as a CHALICE OF LAMP—remains unclear.

LIT. G.A. Eisen, *The Great Chalice of Antioch*, 2 vols. (New York 1923). Mango, *Silver* 183–87. —M.M.M.

ANTIOCHENE ERA. In antiquity there was a proliferation of eras in which events were dated from some fixed starting point of purely local, rather than cosmic, significance. The era used at Antioch in Syria began on 1 Oct. 49 B.C. in honor of some event associated with Julius Caesar (probably the commencement of his dictatorship). It was established in 47 B.C. when Caesar visited Antioch. Each new year of the Antiochene Era began on 1 Oct., until some point in the second half of the 5th C. when it reverted to 1 Sept., thereby bringing it into line with the official Byz. year. The Antiochene Era continued in use until the time of the Arab conquest and was esp. employed by two 6th-C. Antiochenes, the chronicler John MALALAS and the church historian EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS. To convert an Antiochene date to an A.D. date, subtract 49 for dates between 1 Sept. (or 1 Oct.) and 31 Dec., but 48 for dates between 1 Jan. and 31 Aug. (or 30 Sept.).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 215f. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton 1961) 157f. —B.C.

ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, a conventional designation for a group of theologians (DIODOROS OF TARSOS, THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS) active mainly in Syria in the 4th and 5th C. Unlike the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL it had no formal institution, and the "Antiochene" theologians taught in different cities. The origin of the tradition is obscure; it is often connected with LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH who reportedly conducted a *didaskaleion* ca.270–312, but Lucian was probably an editor of the Old Testament rather than an exegete. EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH, the anti-Arian leader, attacked the Alexandrian School and its allegorical interpretation of the Bible and thus set the foundation for future Antiochene exegesis and theology. One of its main points was an emphasis on "historical" (sometimes literal) interpretation of the Bible in the manner of classical philology and its commentaries on Homer; allegorical exegesis was not completely rejected but the Antiochenes criticized ar-

bitrary associations between the Old Testament, the New Testament, and contemporary events. Their glorification of the human nature of Christ was closely connected with this "rationalist" interpretation of the Bible. The Antiochene stress on the immutability of the Logos, and accordingly the existence of two natures in Christ as "Son of God" and "Son of Mary," led to a conflict with Alexandrian Monophysitism and to a moderate attitude toward Nestorianism. The "school" did not survive the 5th C.; some of its representatives were posthumously condemned in the 6th C. (see THREE CHAPTERS, AFFAIR OF THE), and allegorical biblical interpretation won out over a rationalist historical approach.

LIT. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* (London 1965) 243–70, 329–452. R.V. Sellers, *Two Ancient Christologies*² (London 1954) 107–201. C. Schaublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese* (Cologne-Bonn 1974). —T.E.G.

ANTIOCHOS (Ἀντίοχος), or Antiochites (Ἀντιοχ(ε)ῖτης, fem. Ἀντιοχεῖτις), a name, later a family name, deriving from the city of Antioch where it was common in the 4th C. Several 5th-C. Antiochoi were high-ranking officials in Constantinople (O. Seeck et al., *RE* 1 [1894] 2491; *PLRE* 2:101–06): the eunuch Antiochos, Persian by origin, had much influence with Arkadios but was dismissed by Theodosios II ca.421; Antiochos Chouzon (died between 438 and 444), was praetorian prefect of the Orient (430) and a member of the commission on the Theodosian Code; his son was praetorian prefect of the Orient in 448. Another Antiochos was prefect of Italy from 552 to 554. Some Antiochoi were active in cultural life: Antiochos, the rhetorician, bishop of Ptolemais (Palestine) ca.400, is known as an adversary of John Chrysostom; another Antiochos, author of the *Pandektes*, a collection of biblical and patristic quotations, witnessed the fall of Jerusalem in 614—his identification with ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS, however, cannot be proved. In the mid-8th C., Antiochos, *logothetes tou dromou*, was a very influential politician; condemned by the council of 754, he was blinded and exiled. Another Antiochos was *protostrategos* of Italy ca.763. Antiochoi of the 10th and 11th C. held military posts: Antiochos, father of PAUL OF LATROS, was *komes* of the fleet; another Antiochos was *doux* of the ME-

LINGOI; the *protospatharios* Antiochos was *doux* of Calabria probably in the 11th C.; another Antiochos commanded a troop of Macedonians in 1081.

As a surname, Antiochos appears from the 11th C. onward: Leo Antiochos, Isaac I's general, fell in battle in 1057; Constantine was *megas hetairiarches* ca.1094; his contemporary Michael Antiochos was *primikierios* of the external *vestiaritai*. The sister of Stephen Antiochos married Constantius, son of the *sebastos* Isaac Komnenos ca.1100—the identification of the Isaac is impossible. The noble family of Antiochos was supposedly involved in a plot against Alexios I. In the 12th C. Gregory Antiochos was an official and a literary figure (see ANTIOCHOS, GREGORY).

Several 11th- and 12th-C. Antiochitai are known, primarily from seals that preserve their titles but rarely their offices (e.g., Theocharistos, a fortress commander, or *kastrophylax*). Epigrams of the 12th C. also mention several Antiochitai, praising George for decorating a monastery and Theodore and John for supporting the poor (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," nos. 77.3, 82.11). The social character of the Antiochites family is unclear, esp. since their identification with the Antiochoi remains questionable. Apparently part of the 11th-C. military aristocracy, they seem to have lost their military functions after Alexios I. They possessed lands and supported monasteries; they produced a few intellectuals, including a military engineer ca.1091 and an Antiochites who corresponded with EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. The names of Antiochos and Antiochites are rare in later centuries (*PLP*, nos. 1031–40); Theodore Antiochites (died 1407), a friend of John Chortasmenos, was John VIII's tutor in 1400–03.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:71f. J. Darrouzès, "Notice sur Grégoire Antiochos," *REB* 20 (1962) 76f. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 198f. Chortasm. 67f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 233f. —A.K.

ANTIOCHOS, GREGORY, high-ranking official, writer; born Constantinople 1125?, died after 1196. Antiochos did not claim descent from a noble lineage (Darrouzès incorrectly hypothesized his relationship to the Komnenoi), but his father was a man of means able to found a small convent. Antiochos was educated in Constantinople under *magistros ton rhetoron* Nicholas KATAPHLORON,

Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. His first datable work is of ca.1159. He gave up intellectual circles and his literary career, however, and entered the civil service. After a brief and unhappy period of private employment, he served in the imperial administration; in 1181 he was imperial secretary, then a judge. It is plausible that Antiochos supported ANDRONIKOS I and Patr. Basil II Kamateros (1183–86) and was forced to resign under ISAAC II. He reappeared in the administration as *megas droungarios* ca.1196. Antiochos was a defender not only of imperial omnipotence, but also of the senate; he favored "democratic" phraseology but stood aloof from military commanders. As a writer he was influenced by Eustathios of Thessalonike (esp. in letters addressed to the latter). He presents a vivid description, tinged with sarcasm, of the climate of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian way of life. He gives life to books and fruits, and endows animals with reason.

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 183–228, 300–04. M. Bachmann, F. Dölger, "Die Rede des *megas droungarios* Gregorios Antiochos auf den Sebastokrator Konstantinos Angelos," *BZ* 40 (1940) 364–401. J. Darrouzès, "Deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos écrites de Bulgarie vers 1173," *BS* 23 (1962) 276–80; 24 (1963) 65–86.

LIT. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 196–223. Darrouzès, *Littérature*, pt.VII (1962), 61–92. G. Cankova, P. Tivčev, "Novi dannii za istorijata na Sofijskata oblast prez poslednite desetiletija na vizantijskoto vladичество," *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 14–15 (1964) 315–24. Wirth, *Untersuchungen* 10–12, 22f. —A.K.

ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS, author of a narrative on the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614. The Greek original is lost, the text preserved in Georgian and Arabic versions. The identification of Antiochos Strategos with a contemporary monk ANTIOCHOS, author of the *Pandektes*, is not proved. Antiochos Strategos describes the siege of Jerusalem, stressing, on the one hand, the role of the Jews in the massacre and, on the other hand, the desire of the patriarch Zacharias (609–31) to conclude a treaty with the Persians and to prevent the pillaging of the city. The last chapter of the narrative is dedicated to the restoration of the TRUE CROSS to Jerusalem by Herakleios on 21 Mar. 631.

ED. Georgian version with Lat. tr.—G. Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, 2 vols. (Louvain 1960). Eng. tr., F.C. Conybeare, "Antiochus Strategos' Account of

the Sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 614," *EHR* 25 (1910) 502–17. Arabic version—P. Peeters, *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1951) 78–116. —A.K.

ANTIOCH TREASURE. See KAPER KORAON TREASURE.

ANTIPHON (*ἀντίφωνον*), a selection from the Psalter, followed by a DOXOLOGY, to be sung in the liturgy by two choirs in alternation. The singing of *antiphona* (*antipsallein*) is known from the 4th C. onward (Basil the Great, PG 32:764A). An *antiphon* may consist of several psalms, not necessarily consecutive; of one psalm only; or even of single verses. A refrain is not essential, but when found it is called *hypopsalma*, *ephymnion*, *hypakoe*, or TROPARION—the name *antiphon* never being applied to the refrain itself. An archaic musical feature survives in the cadence of the *antiphon*, where the last four syllables of a line are applied mechanically, without regard for word accent, to four fixed, stylized melodic elements.

LIT. Strunk, *Essays* 112–50, 165–90.

—D.E.C.

ANTIPROSOPON (*ἀντιπροσωπῶν*), a deputy, probably identical with the *ἐκ προσωπου*. The term is known from 995 onward (*Ivir.* 1, no.8.10–11) and was used primarily in the 11th C. The earlier chrysobulls describe exemptions from the *antiprosopountes* of the *strategoï*, but a charter of 1081 (*Lavra* 1, no.43.45–49) mentions the deputies of both military commanders and civil officials; in later documents the *antiprosopon* of the PARATHALASSITES is cited (nos. 55.32–33, 67.57). Seals dated by the editors to the 11th C. belonged to the *antiprosopountes* of the GENIKON (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.957), of the *sekretion* of the *sakelle* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.817), and of an unspecified *sekretion* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.851).

—A.K.

ANTIQUITY. The Greco-Roman heritage was a powerful tradition, which, together with that of the Bible, influenced Byz. CULTURE. From antiquity Byz. inherited the Greek LANGUAGE, the system of EDUCATION, Roman LAW, the basic principles of RHETORIC and literary STYLE, and substantial forms of social and political organization. The Byz. did not differentiate themselves from their ancestors who lived in the eastern Roman

Empire, but called themselves RHOMAIOT and viewed classical Greek authors as models for IMITATION: HOMER was the Poet, ARISTOTLE the Philosopher, GALEN the Physician, etc. They often compared events of their lives with episodes of Greek or Roman history, their institutions with those of the Greco-Roman past. Nevertheless, Byz. cannot be placed within the framework of antiquity.

First of all, the general social and cultural setting had changed: high antiquity was primarily an urban society, but after the 7th C. the empire lost its predominantly urban character; antiquity was a society of *cives* ("citizens"), united around *municipia* and *gentes*, whereas Byz. was family oriented; antiquity was pagan, while Byz. was consistently Christian, thus entailing a radical change in ethical values and the replacement of pluralistic approaches in philosophy by mandatory doctrine. The ancient heritage, always present, was in a state of constant flux. This was partly a natural result of the passage of time. Thus the VERNACULAR, developing beneath the surface of written compositions, from the 12th C. onward overtly penetrated into written literature, first into poetry: meter based on the length of vowels—HEXAMETER, etc.—was pushed into the background by meter based on accentuation; toward the very end of Byz. RHYME began to develop under Western medieval influences. The transformation of the ancient heritage was also connected with the change in the social and cultural setting. Even though the principles of Roman law remained alive in the works of 14th-C. jurists, the elaborate system of contracts was simplified, the distinction between ownership and possession confused, the law of marriage radically changed, and the impact of the totalitarian state on law grew substantially. Education also retained general patterns of the ancient system, but Christian textbooks were introduced, concern with physical development (gymnastics) was abandoned, elementary education shifted from the school of the *paedagogus* to the church, monastery, or the family circle, and the purpose of liberal education became the development not of a free and noble citizen, but of a state functionary or a high ecclesiastic.

Second, even though the Byz. referred often to classical authors they were more likely to cite late Roman masters. In an analysis of Byz. attitudes toward the past, I. Ševčenko (*infra* [1987–88] 20–

24) has suggested three phases, corresponding to the 4th–6th C., the 7th–11th C., and the 12th–15th C., respectively. During the 4th–6th C., there was a manifest familiarity with antique authors. In the 7th–11th C., Byz. writers made greater use of late antique models than of ancient Greek authors. Thus the works produced in the 10th C. under the patronage of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos more frequently cited the Old Testament, Hellenistic and late Roman authors, even authors of the 6th–9th C., than Homer or Demosthenes. Similarly the *Bibliotheca* of Photios cites a number of late Roman historians while ignoring classical poetry. Finally, during the 12th–15th C., admiration for classical Greek authors revived, and Byz. scholars prepared commentaries on and new editions of the writings of high antiquity.

Third, there was an ideologically mandated ambivalent attitude toward antiquity among Byz. lay and ecclesiastical literati. Conditional veneration and respect had to go side by side with official rejection—this ambivalence was codified by church fathers (esp. the Cappadocians), who repudiated paganism, mythology, theater, "licentious behavior," luxury, and the ideology of success, but in practice retained most elements of Hellenic culture (as transmitted by the SECOND SOPHISTIC) as a powerful means of education and mental training. In the 10th and 11th C., involvement in the study of antiquity and ancient philosophy could make one liable to accusations of anti-Christian attitudes, and a few literati discussed the images of mythology and history to claim that "our" events are more significant, more virtuous, and more beneficial than those of antiquity. It must be remembered that more than half of surviving Byz. literature, for example, hagiography and hymnography, was virtually devoid of any influence from or allusions to classical authors.

Not many Byz. were able to understand the achievements of antiquity as well as did Michael Psellos or Eustathios of Thessalonike; cases of misunderstanding and distorting of tradition are numerous. Sometimes this distortion reflected a Byz. perspective: when Photios read Herodotus, he remained lukewarm to the development of Athens as a democratic republic—in his perception Herodotus was a historian of Persian *basileis* and of a Persian usurper; Eustathios used Homeric images to criticize excessive asceticism.

The concept of antiquity varied, depending on

a Byz. author's social and educational level. Thus the world chronicle of MALALAS mentions almost nothing about Periclean Athens, but a great deal about Roman history, esp. the imperial period. On the other hand, Nikephoros BLEMMYDES is well informed on Persian campaigns against Athens. The concept of antiquity also changed as time went on. The late Roman period assumed antiquity to be a living phenomenon. Consequently, we view the philosophy of this period, represented by PROKLOS, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and even John PHILOPONOS, as a branch of ancient philosophy, while in 6th-C. Italy BOETHIUS continued the same tradition. Historians such as PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA also worked in the classical vein and even many church fathers were educated in the principles of classical rhetoric and applied it to their sermons. It was probably the art and architecture of the period that diverged most from the antique ideal.

The second half of the 7th C. and the 8th C. were difficult times, when much of the learned tradition, including the ancient heritage, was lost. It is therefore logical that the next period of material and cultural revival—which acquired, undeservedly, the title of "Macedonian renaissance"—was devoted primarily to the retrieval and collection of the cultural, including ancient, heritage; from the *Bibliotheca* of Photios to the *Souda* the main tasks were the reediting and copying of the surviving texts, the accumulation of excerpts and fragments, and the ordering of scraps of information.

The situation changed in the 11th and 12th C., when the simple collection and organization of materials was replaced by commentaries and the development of the heritage. An advance was made from the satisfaction of practical needs (mathematics, agriculture, moral "science," political "science") that was predominant in the 9th–10th C. to an aesthetic perception of antiquity. The study of Homer, the tragedians, and Aristophanes progressed from the copying of scholia typical of the 9th and 10th C. to the essays and detailed commentaries of scholars such as Michael PSELLOS, EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, and John TZETZES; a very nonorthodox LUCIAN was broadly copied and imitated, and PLATO gained popularity on a level with Aristotle. There was a trend to combine both heritages—the ancient and the biblical—and direct comparison with personages of

myth and ancient history became legitimate. Scholars and writers like Psellos, Tzetzes, and Eustathios had an enormous, if antiquarian, knowledge of ancient events, names, and terms.

Thus reacquired in the 9th–12th C., after a short gap around the 8th C., the ancient tradition was not lost during the Palaiologan period. The greatest achievements of Byz. classical philology occurred during that period, in the work of MAXIMOS PLANOUDÉS, THOMAS MAGISTROS, and DEMETRIOS TRIKLINIOS. As a result of contacts with the West, the Byz. concept of antiquity was even expanded to the Latin heritage, including poets such as OVID. PLETHON made the most passionate attempt ever to use ancient tradition as a tool for reorganization of society and its beliefs, or at least as a vehicle for criticism of its social, political, and religious shortcomings. It was, however, impossible to restructure the Byz. world and to achieve a Platonic UTOPIA. Moreover, the Byz. began to feel some weariness with regard to antiquity: Theodore Metochites was extremely well read in ancient literature (albeit he sometimes misunderstood his reading), but he complained that the ancestors of the Byz. had said everything so perfectly that there was no room for improvement by posterity. This awe of antiquity was in stark contrast to a RENAISSANCE perception of ancient culture as exemplary, but distinct from the present.

LIT. *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. M. Mullett, R. Scott (Birmingham 1981). *Antičnost' i Vizantijska*, ed. L. Freiberg (Moscow 1975). I. Ševčenko, "A Shadow Outline of Virtue: the Classical Heritage of Greek Christian Literature," in *Age of Spirit*, 53–73. Idem, "Byzantium, Antiquity and the Moderns," *Association Internationale des Études Byzantines: Bulletin d'Information et de Coördination* 14 (1987–88) 19–26. Dölger, *Paraspora* 38–45. E. von Ivánka, *Hellenisches und Christliches im frühbyzantinischen Geistesleben* (Vienna 1948). A. Garzya, "Visage de l'hellénisme dans le monde byzantin (IVe–XIIe siècle)," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 463–82. G. Cavallo, "Conservazione e perdita dei testi greci: fattori materiali, sociali, culturali," in *Società romana e impero tardoantico* 4 (Bari 1986) 83–172. —A.K., I.S.

ANTIRRHETIKOS (ἀντιρρητικός), "refutation," a genre of polemical literature; often used as an adjective with such nouns as *logos*, *kephalaia*, and *biblion*. The word is rare in classical Greek (e.g., Sextus Empiricus 1:21), but Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.160) uses it as a generic term when he writes that CHORIKIOS OF GAZA produced panegyrics, mono-

dies, epithalamia, and antirrhetics; by the last term Photios probably meant Chorikios's refutation of the common views that attacked the theater. Palladios in the *Lausiaca History* (ch.38, ed. C. Butler [Cambridge 1898; rp. Hildesheim 1967] 2:121.1–2) relates that a certain deacon Evagrius wrote three books against demons, one of them entitled *Antirrhetikon*. From the 9th C., when Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and THEODORE OF STOUDIOS issued their antirrhetics against the Iconoclasts, and esp. in the 12th–15th C., the term designated treatises refuting heretical tenets: thus NICHOLAS OF METHONE devoted an *Antirrhesis* to the refutation of Soterichos PANTEUGENOS, and George MOSCHABAR and JOHN XI BEKKOS exchanged antirrhetics (Beck, *Kirche* 678, 683); an anti-Palamite Arsenios wrote several antirrhetics against the Latins (Beck, *Kirche* 722), and Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS composed antirrhetics against GREGORAS.

—A.K., E.M.J.

ANTI-SEMITISM. In Byz. anti-Semitism was manifested primarily in legal, secular, and religious texts; iconography; and periodic forced baptism of Jews. The economic rivalry and mob violence that characterized post-11th-C. Western Christendom appeared late in Latin-controlled areas such as Crete and Corfu. Theodosios II's codification of many local or ad hoc anti-Jewish laws effectively reduced Jews to a second-class citizenship, prohibiting proselytism, government or military service, and use of public baths. The *Codex Justinianus* interfered with their hitherto guaranteed social and religious autonomy as a *religio licita* (nov.146). Subsequent Byz. law codes (*Basilika*, *Ecloga*) and legal collections (HARMENOPOULOS) perpetuated some restrictions. Parallel-ing Muslim discrimination, Jews were forbidden to ride horses.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA observed that 12th-C. Greeks hated Jews (particularly tanners); further evidence of this prejudice is found in ANACHARSIS's snub of social climbers and Tzetzes' outright nastiness; the introduction of a humiliating oath; and their expulsion from Chonai by Metr. Niketas. This secular and intellectual animosity was replaced under the Palaiologoi by concern over Jewish influence. Patr. Athanasios I protested their importance at court and in the market and objected to Byz. recourse to Jewish doctors; he tried

to banish all Jews from Constantinople. So too Maximos Planoudes complained of Jewish tanners housed in an abandoned monastery.

Byz. anti-Semitism derived mainly from polemics that justified the Christian appropriation of the Bible by denigrating Jews and Judaism. Byz. ecclesiastics effectively used the chastising and polemical language of the Septuagint and New Testament against Jews. In his *Evangelical Demonstration*, Eusebios of Caesarea emphasized Paul's teaching of God's rejection of Old Israel and Christ's salvation of New Israel. Patristic and later sermons (John Chrysostom's attack on the Jewish Sabbath) and hagiography (the vita of Basil the Younger even questions whether Jews can attain salvation) influenced the masses as did an iconography that depicted Jews as Christ-killers. In marginal PSALTER illustration they are physically caricatured, to the point of being given dogs' heads, and are shown tormenting Christ. Athanasios I refers to the "deicidal synagogue"; and from the 11th C., in MS illustration the personification of Synagogue (see EKKLESIA) is driven from the crucified Christ by an angel, while the apocryphal story of Jephonias the Jew, whose hands are cut off for upsetting the Virgin's bier, enters images of the DORMITION. Indeed, Jews were frequently accused of desecrating icons while Jewish insults to icons are an abiding theme in hagiography. A vocabulary of rejection permeates church canon and liturgy (esp. in Jerusalem). Theological polemics continued as a popular literary genre, for example, Matthew Blastares and John VI Kantakouzenos. The non-Orthodox practices and beliefs of heterodox Christians (pejoratively called "Jews") were rejected or punished as "judaizing," as in Latin AZYMES. Even ICONOCLASM was blamed on the Jews; for example PHOTIOS (*Hom.* 17.3) attributes the destruction of the apse mosaic of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, to a Jewish hand. Christian ecclesiastics recognized and feared the passive challenge of Judaism both as ideology and system of practices and its potential appeal to Christian converts, heretics, and rebels against the state religion. Condemnation of judaizing heresies—Quartodecimanism, NOVATIANISM, Tetradi-tism, etc.—permeate Byz. legislation. Judaism thus became the perennial foil against which Christian Byz. expressed its self-identity. (See also JEWS and JUDAISM.)

LIT. A.L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge 1935). D.J. Constantelos, "Greek Orthodox–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective," *GOrThR* 22 (1977) 6–16. Z. Ankori, "Greek Orthodox–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective—The Jewish View," *ibid.* 28–46. J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to Religious Persecutions," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 4 (1927) 241–310. A.W. Epstein, "Frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Anti-Semitism in the Wake of the First Crusade," *Gesta* 21 (1982) 21–29. —S.B.B., A.C.

ANTITHESIS (ἀντίθεσις), opposition or confrontation, was considered by ancient rhetoricians as a kind of RHETORICAL FIGURE of expression (Martin, *Rhetorik* 312f). Church fathers used antitheses both for doctrinal and stylistic purposes (opposition between divinity and humanity of Christ; Christ the child and Christ the universal ruler). Byz. writers broadly employed traditional antitheses, such as light and darkness; esp. masterful use of antithesis is found in ROMANOS THE MELODE. Antithesis encompasses not only the contrasting of opposites (strong-weak, cold-hot), but also more complex cases; thus, Niketas Choniates constantly contrasts the objective and result: describing the defeat of the Normans, he exclaimed that "the captors became captives and the victors were vanquished" (Nik.Chon. 362.81–84, tr. Magoulas 200). On the lexical level, antithesis could be expressed as oxymoron, e.g., "unplowed plowland" in Germanos I (PG 98:308C). More than a figure of speech, however, antithesis was a substantial element of the worldview: the cosmos was an antithesis between earth and heaven, the microcosm an antithesis between soul and body. Existence seemed to be permeated by oppositions, floating in a constant imbalance. The resolution of this contradiction could be achieved only by means of a miracle: in the sphere of theology, the major miracle was that of the INCARNATION. Literature also sought to resolve antitheses. Thus Gregoras (Greg. 3:130f) tells the legend of the kingfisher, based on the antithesis between violent storms and the bird hatching its chicks; the resolution is achieved "by God's hand" that cares for both the chicks and, by analogy, Gregoras himself. The principle of antithesis was also used by Byz. artists (e.g., juxtapositions of the birth of Christ and the death of the Virgin; Christ as an infant and presiding over the Last Judgment; Christ

entering earthly Jerusalem on a donkey and Christ in heavenly glory).

LIT. H. Hunger, "Die Antithese," *ZRVI* 23 (1984) 9–29. Maguire, *Art & Eloquence* 53–83. —A.K., I.S.

ANTONINA (Ἀντωνίνα), wife of BELISARIOS; born Constantinople (?) ca.484, died probably Constantinople after 548. She was the daughter and granddaughter of charioteers in Constantinople and Thessalonike. Her mother may have been an actress at Constantinople. Married to an Antiochene merchant, Antonina had one legitimate daughter and no legitimate sons before being widowed. She married Belisarios and accompanied him to Carthage in 533 and thence to Italy in 535/6; she was at Porto during the siege of Rome by TOTILA in 546. Antonina remained at Constantinople when Belisarios was ordered to lead armies against the Persians in 540, but later set out to join him. Prokopios accuses her of sinister political influence on Justinian's wife THEODORA (e.g., contriving to depose Pope Silverius [536–37] and undermine JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA) and of conduct that made Belisarios look foolish, allegedly including a romance with her adopted son Theodosios and the execution of two pages to hide the affair.

LIT. Cameron, *Procopius* 70–74, 159–62. Stein, *Histoire* 2:285f, 495–98. E.A. Fisher, "Theodora and Antonina in the Historia Arcana," *Arethusa* 11 (1978) 253–79. —W.E.K.

ANTONY (secular name Dobrynja Jadrejkovič), archbishop of Novgorod (1210–22, 1223, 1225–28); died 8 Oct. 1232. He authored a description of Constantinople, *Kniga palomnik* (The Pilgrim Book, ca.1200), and possibly also the TALE OF THE TAKING OF TSAR'GRAD [by the Franks] (M. Aleškovskij, *Povest' vremennykh let* [Moscow 1971] 71–83). The most detailed account of Constantinople's sacred sites immediately preceding 1204, the *Kniga palomnik* is esp. valuable for its information on objects destroyed or looted by the Latins, such as the icon of Christ Antiphonetes taken from the Chalkoprataia. It describes sites in Constantinople, Pera, and Galata as well as Hagia Sophia, where Antony pays particular attention to the relationship between the church's layout and the conduct of services, although he is not above inventing pipes, a cistern, and "patriarchal baths"

in the galleries. Antony is esp. interesting on the use made of RELICS—the head of STEPHEN THE YOUNGER carried around Constantinople by the city eparch on the saint's day—and miraculous objects: a door bolt, called the Romaniston, located somewhere in Hagia Sophia, would draw the venom from snakebites. Antony also notes items of specific interest for the Rus' (two tombs, an icon and church of BORIS AND GLEB) and provides the only known reference to an embassy to Constantinople from Roman of Galič (GALITZA) in 1200. The literary and formal qualities of the *Kniga palomnik* have been variously interpreted as either a plain and factual guidebook with anecdotal digressions or as a rhetorical narrative in which Constantinople is presented as a model.

ED. *Kniga palomnik*, ed. Ch. Loparev (St. Petersburg 1899). Fr. tr. by M. Ehrhard, *Romania* 58 (1932) 44–65.

LIT. Seemann, *Wallfahrtslit.* 213–21. G. Lenhoff, "Kniga Palomnik: A Study in Old Russian Rhetoric," *Scando-Slavica* 23 (1977) 39–61. O.A. Belobrova, "O 'Knige Palomnik' Antonija Novgorodskogo," *VizŌč* (Moscow 1977) 225–35. —S.C.F., A.C.

ANTONY I KASSYMATAS (Κασ(σ)υματᾶς), patriarch of Constantinople (ca. Jan. 821–Jan. 837?); baptismal name Constantine. Of low birth, he received a good education and became a lawyer (*nomikos*) in the Sphorakiou district of Constantinople ca.800. Subsequently he became a monk and then *hegoumenos* of the Constantinopolitan monastery called *Ta metropolitou* (Janin, *Églises CP* 197). By 814 he was the Iconodule bishop of Syllaion; when Emp. LEO V ushered in a new period of ICONOCLASM, however, Antony shifted his position, tempted by the offer of the patriarchate (*Script. incert.* 350–52). In 814 he became a member of the committee headed by JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS that prepared a florilegium of scriptural and patristic passages supporting Iconoclasm. In 821 Emp. Michael II named Antony patriarch, thus disappointing Theodore of Stoudios, who hoped that NIKEPHOROS I might be recalled to the patriarchal throne. Around 822 Antony excommunicated Job, patriarch of Antioch, for proclaiming THOMAS THE SLAV emperor (*RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.412). According to the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* (ed. L. Duchesne, *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 [1912–13] 359), Antony participated in an Iconoclast council (of uncertain date) and, as divine punishment, was stricken with a loathsome

disease. The sources differ on the length of his patriarchate, ranging from 12 to 16 years. V. Grumel argues that Antony was still alive in Apr. 836, but gravely ill, and continued to be patriarch until 837, when he was succeeded by his *synkellos*, John VII Grammatikos (*EO* 34 [1935] 162–66, 506). He was anathematized in the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY (ed. Gouillard, "Synodikon" 57.173).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.112. Lemerle, *Humanism* 161f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.4. —A.M.T.

ANTONY II KAULEAS, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug. 893–12 Feb. 901 [*Synax.CP* 461]) and saint; feastday 12 Feb. The scanty facts of Antony's biography are known primarily from a 14th-C. vita by Nikephoros GREGORAS. According to this source, Antony lost his mother as a child, became a monk at age 12, was subsequently ordained priest, and elected *hegoumenos* of an unnamed monastery. He then came to the attention of Emp. Leo VI, who made him patriarch; Antony supported the emperor against Photios. Gregoras emphasized the charitable works of the patriarch and praised his acts of social justice.

Antony is best known as the founder or restorer of the monastery known variously as *tou Kaleos*, *tou Kalliou*, or *tou Kaulea*. After 1192 the foundation was called *tou kyr Antoniou*. Emp. Leo VI preached at the dedication of a church in this monastic complex (ed. Akakios, *Leontos tou Sophou panegyrikoï logoi* [Athens 1868] 243–48), describing its mosaics, pavement, and polychrome marble revetment. This text, outlining a conventional program of church decoration of the 9th–10th C., is notable for the analogy drawn between the splendor of the mosaics and that of the emperor's entourage. Antony was buried in this church, as was Stylianos Zaoutzes. The vita by Gregoras describes a number of posthumous miracles at Antony's shrine.

SOURCE. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1899) 1–25.

LIT. R. Guiland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Gregoras* (Paris 1926) 174f. BHG 139–139b. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 594–97. A. Frolov, "Deux églises byzantines," *Études byzantines* 3 (1945) 43–63. Janin, *Églises CP* 39–41. —A.C., A.M.T.

ANTONY IV, patriarch of Constantinople (Jan. 1389–July 1390; early 1391–May 1397); died Constantinople May 1397. A former hieromonk,

perhaps from the Dionysiou monastery on Athos (F. Tinnefeld, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 106 and n.130, 115), Antony served twice as patriarch under John V and Manuel II. He was deposed in 1390 during the occupation of Constantinople by JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS and temporarily replaced by Makarios (who had previously been patriarch during 1377–79). Antony was restored to the patriarchate after Manuel regained his throne.

Antony is best known for a letter addressed to Grand Prince BASIL I of Moscow, probably in 1393 (Meyendorff, *infra* 254), which not only asserts the universal spiritual authority of the ecumenical patriarch but also defends the universal sovereignty of the Byz. *basileus*, even though the empire was severely weakened by Ottoman invasions. In response to Basil's statement, "We have a Church, but not an emperor," Antony replied, "It is not possible for Christians to have a Church without an emperor," and urged that the name of the Byz. emperor be restored to the diptychs in Moscow. Antony also corresponded in 1397 with Jagiello, grand duke of Lithuania (1377–1434) and king of Poland (1386–1434), saying that he would consider UNION OF THE CHURCHES if Jagiello joined Sigismund, king of Hungary (1387–1437), in a crusade against the Turks. Three of Antony's seals survive (Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, nos. 155–57).

ED. Acts—MM 2:112–14, 156–292.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 6, nos. 2844–77, 2882–3051. Barker, *Manuel II* 105–10, 150–53. Meyendorff, *Russia* 75f, 236–40, 253–57, 307–10. I. Sorlin, "Un acte du patriarche Antoine IV en version slave," *REB* 43 (1985) 253–58. —A.M.T.

ANTONY THE GREAT, Egyptian hermit and saint; born Kome, Upper Egypt, ca.251, died Pispir 356; feastday 17 Jan. Antony is often cited as one of the founders of the eremitic form of MONASTICISM.

Born to a prosperous peasant family, Antony gave away all his property and withdrew from society in order to follow strict asceticism. After a period of complete isolation in an abandoned fort, he began to attract followers. Together they settled at Pispir in the Egyptian DESERT. Here the monks lived separately but received guidance from their leaders.

The *Life of Antony* (356–57), attributed to ATHANASIOS of Alexandria after a Coptic original,

made him the model for many Christians, even outside of Egypt, who were drawn to the solitary life. In the *Life*, Antony is depicted as the perfect man who follows moderate ascetic practices, supports the church hierarchy, and performs miracles with divine assistance. According to the *Life*, he visited Alexandria to support Athanasios against the Arians. But there is no independent confirmation of his anti-Arianism; in the sayings and letters, Antony addresses practical and ethical questions only.

Antony was Coptic-speaking, not Greek-speaking, and probably dictated his letters in Coptic, even though it is not impossible that a Greek papyrus contains a fragment of Antony's letter to Am[mon?], his pupil (G. Garitte, *Muséon* 52 [1939] 17, n.23). The letters of Antony are preserved in two collections: seven letters surviving in Latin translation are usually considered genuine since Jerome mentioned a collection of Antony's letters in seven parts—but Bardenhewer (*Literatur* 3:81) questioned their authenticity; a collection of 20 Arabic letters is attributed to Antony. In addition, some Georgian, Syriac, and Coptic letters and fragments are known. The Sahidic vita of PACHOMIOS contains fragments of two of Antony's letters. Some forged texts exist under his name, including monastic rules. Some of his sayings were incorporated into the APOPTHEGMATA PATRUM.

ED. PG 40:977–1000. *Lettres de S. Antoine: version géorgienne et fragments coptes*, ed. G. Garitte (Louvain 1955), with Lat. tr. CPG 2 (1974) 2330–50.

SOURCES. Athanasios, *Life of Antony*, PG 26:835–978; Eng. tr. R.T. Meyer, *The Life of Saint Antony* (Westminster, Md., 1950) and R.C. Gregg, *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (New York 1980) 29–99.

LIT. T.D. Barnes, "Angel of Light or Mystic Initiate? The Problem of the Life of Antony," *JThSt* 37 (1986) 353–68. H. Dörries, *Die Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle* [= *NachGött* 14] (Göttingen 1949). R.C. Gregg, D.E. Groh, *Early Arianism: A View of Salvation* (Philadelphia 1981) 131–59.

—J.A.T., A.K.

ANTONY THE YOUNGER, saint; baptismal name John; born Phossaton near Jerusalem 785, died 11 Nov. 865. Born to a noble family, Antony left for Attaleia, enlisted in the navy, and was eventually promoted by Michael II to *ek prosopou* (deputy governor) of the theme of Kibyrrhaiotai. He successfully fought against THOMAS THE SLAV in 822/3, but in 825 abandoned his post to become the disciple of a stylite monk. He took the monastic habit and lived in various monasteries on Bithynian OLYMPOS and in Constantinople. An-

tony was very close to PETRONAS, whose victory over the Arabs (863) he predicted.

His picturesque vita, written by a contemporary and preserved in 10th-C. and later MSS, is rich in information about Byz. medical services, everyday life, law, and the administrative system; for example, the trial of Antony by the *epi ton deeseon* Stephen in 829/30 is described in detail.

SOURCE. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *PPSb* 19.3 (1907) 186–216, corr. P. van den Ven, *BZ* 19 (1910) 307–13. Add. F. Halkin, *AB* 62 (1944) 210–23.

LIT. *BHG* 142–143a. F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863," *AB* 62 (1944) 187–225. —A.K.

ANZAS (Ἀνζᾶς, Ἀντζᾶς), a family of civil functionaries. Their origins, which are unclear, are variously described: Zlatarski (*Ist.* 2:554) considered Ivan Anzas (Ančo, his transliteration) a Bulgarian name; S. Rudberg (*Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile* [Lund 1953] 149f) thought it Italian. The first of them, John Anzas, assisted Theodoulos, archbishop of Bulgaria, in building the Church of Hagia Sophia in OHRID in 1056. The family was active in administration in the second half of the 11th C.: Michael, quaestor and *nomophylax* (1077); John, notary (1087); Niketas, judge of the *velum* (1098). Some are known only by their seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:679), which are dated predominantly to the same period: Constantine, judge of the *velum*; Nikephoros, SYMPONOS; Niketas and Nicholas, judges of the Hippodrome. The Anzades served throughout the 12th C. as civil (Nik. Chon. 57.57) and ecclesiastical officials: Leo, bishop of Argos and Nauplia (ca.1143–57) and founder of the AREIA MONASTERY, calls himself nephew of Constantine Anzas; the monk and *orphanotrophos* Basil Anzas was the addressee of Manuel I's ordinance of 1171. The last known Anzas, John, was an official responsible for assigning land to the Genoese in 1202.

LIT. Svoronos, *Études*, pt.VII (1965), 327, n.12. —A.K.

ANZITENE (Ἀνζιτηνή), district of the eastern Byz. frontier, southeast of Armenia, commanding major routes through Armenia and across the Euphrates. Conquered from Persia by Diocletian in 297, Anzitene was important for frontier defense until Justinian I conquered territory farther east. Under the Arabs, who took it in the 640s, Anzitene was a base for attacks against Byz. and

for control of Armenia. During this period, much of its Christian population immigrated to the more protected hills to the north. The object of frequent Byz. attacks, Anzitene was reconquered by 950 and assigned to the theme of MESOPOTAMIA. Anzitene, whose centers were at ARSAMOSATA and CHARPETE, is best known from the narrative of the campaign of Sayf al-Dawla in 956 and from the surveys and excavations at Asvan and the Keban region that have revealed many details of local conditions in the Byz. period, which here ended after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.

LIT. J. Howard-Johnston, "Byzantine Anzitene," in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 239–90. —C.F.

APA ABRAHAM, bishop of Hermonthis in Upper Egypt and *hegoumenos* of the nearby monastery of Phoibammon; born ca.554, died 624. His archive consists of more than one hundred Coptic ostraka, primarily letters, and his will, written in Greek but dictated in Coptic. The contents illustrate the power and prestige of the local bishop: supervising the requirements for candidates for ordination; celebrating the Eucharist and administering the provision of the bread and wine; choosing his successor as *hegoumenos* and disposing of his property; imposing ecclesiastical sanctions; being concerned with the morals and behavior of his flock; and protecting the interests of the poor. His encaustic portrait is preserved in Berlin (M. Krause in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 97 [1971] 106–11), and a liturgical book binding (inscribed with his name) and other altar furnishings from his church near LUXOR are in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (M. Krause in *The Future of Coptic Studies*, ed. R. McL. Wilson [Leiden 1978] 10–12).

ED. W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben* (Vienna 1962) 52 (list of sources). *P.Lond.* I 77. W.E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca* (London 1902) nos. 49–76.

LIT. M. Krause, "Apa Abraham von Hermonthis" (Ph.D. diss., Berlin 1956), summarized by C.D.G. Müller in *ZKirch* 75 (1964) 283–92. Idem, "Die Testamente der Äbte des Phoibammon-Klosters in Theben," *MDAI K* 25 (1969) 58–60. —L.S.B.MacC.

APAMEIA (Ἀπάμεια) on the Orontes River, now Arab village of Qal'at al-Muḍīq in modern Syria; capital city and metropolitan bishopric of the province of SYRIA II that was formed between

413 and 417. The Neoplatonic school of IAMBLICHOS flourished there in the 4th C. A synagogue was paved probably in 391 by donors who recorded in inscriptions the size of the area that each had financed. Following earthquakes in 526–28, the tetraconch cathedral was rebuilt (?) in 533 by the archbishop Paul, and what may have been the governor's palace was redecorated in 539, with a hunting pavement. An important relic of the TRUE CROSS was preserved at Apameia until its removal by Justin II (566 or 574). In 540 Apameia was stripped by the Persians of over 10,000 pounds of silver (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.11.2–38), and of yet more silver in 573 when they burned the city (John of Ephesus, *HE* 6.6). Following this event the *cardo*, an "atrium church," numerous large private houses, and other buildings were rebuilt or repaired. Urban life continued at Apameia after the Arab conquest of 639 and came to an end only at some undetermined period thereafter.

In the illuminated *Kynegetika* of the pseudo-OPPIAN (Furlan, *Marciana* 5, fig.37a), Apameia is represented as a walled city, dominated by a huge domed church and flanked by the Orontes between Mt. Diokleios and Mt. Emblonos.

LIT. J.C. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée* (Brussels 1981). *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan des recherches scientifiques 1973–1979*, ed. J. Balty (Brussels 1984). —M.M.M., A.C.

APATHEIA. See EMOTIONS.

APELATAI (sing. ἀπελάτης, lit. "one who drives away"), irregular light soldiers stationed along the frontiers who supplemented their military activities with BRIGANDAGE, first appear under Basil I (*TheophCont* 685.5). Their duties primarily involved raiding (and plundering) enemy territory and acting as border-scouts and guides for Byz. expeditionary forces (DE RE MILITARI, ed. Dennis 292.16–34). *Apelatai* were recruited from Armenian and Bulgarian freebooters and from Byz. soldiers otherwise unable to fulfill obligations for military service (*De cer.* 696.4); their commanders were appointed by Byz. provincial officials (DE VELITATIONE, 41.19–20). *Apelatai* were included in the muster rolls of themes, although it is unclear whether their remuneration comprised simply cash and rations or also STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA. In western portions of the empire, *apelatai* were also termed *chonsarioi* (Bulg. for "thieves"—*Souda*