

treatises—Ptolemy, Hephaestion, Olympiodoros, and the beginning of Rhetorios—and the Greek translations of Shādhān and of Aḥmad the Persian. Eleutherios was apparently responsible for the vast compilation of Greek and Arabic astrology which he falsely attributed to Palchos. The labors of these scholars have served to obscure and pervert the true history of ancient and Byz. astrology, although they did preserve many fragments that would have otherwise been lost. Their work was to some extent carried on in the 15th C. by men like John CHORTASMENOS and ISIDORE OF KIEV.

ED. *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, 12 vols. in 20 pts. (Brussels 1898–1936).

LIT. D. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.—London 1978) 421–45. U. Riedinger, *Die Heilige Schrift im Kampf der griechischen Kirche gegen die Astrologie* (Innsbruck 1956). H.G. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937) 65–84. —D.P., A.K.

**ASTRONOMY** in Byz. began with commentaries on PTOLEMY. In the 11th C. this activity was supplemented by an infusion of short texts based on Arabic astronomy. Finally, in the Palaiologan period, two contrasting schools developed, one based on the Ptolemaic tradition and the other on Islamic astronomy presented in translations either from Persian and Arabic or from Latin.

From the 4th to the early 7th C. were produced the commentaries on the *Almagest* by PAPPUS and THEON, the summary of that work in the *Outline* of PROKLOS, and the introduction to it by EUTOKIOS; the two commentaries of the *Handy Tables* by Theon and that by STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA; and a large number of scholia connected with both of these works of Ptolemy. There was also collected together, perhaps already in the 4th C., a group of early treatises on spherics by Autolykos, EUCLID, and Theodosios, which formed a sort of corpus throughout the Byz. period. Other signs of astronomical activity in this period include the observations made by Heliodoros and Ammonios between 475 and 510; perhaps the planetary tables based on Babylonian goal-year periods that al-Zarqālī in the late 11th C. associated with Ammonios's name; and some papyrus fragments of *ephemerides* (tables of true longitudes of the sun, moon, and planets) based on the *Handy Tables*. In this early period elementary astronomical knowl-

edge was necessary for the church—both for its practical needs such as establishing the CALENDAR, esp. the date of EASTER, and for outlining the image and the history of the cosmos. GEORGE OF PISIDIA in his *Hexaemeron* was able to draw upon a good astronomical textbook (G. Bianchi, *Aevum* 40 [1966] 35–42).

The study of astronomy lapsed in Byz. after Stephen's commentary on the *Handy Tables* of ca.620 but continued to flourish outside the empire in Egypt, Syria, and Armenia. Its restoration in Constantinople in the 9th C. is attested to by the brief discussion of Greek and Islamic tables given by Stephen the Philosopher, probably in ca.800, and by the career of LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN. Further witness to the revival of interest in astronomy is the production of a number of deluxe MSS with astronomical contents during the 8th–9th C.; Vat. gr. 1291, which has a sun-table accurate only for 826–35, was dated by I. Spatharakis (*BZ* 71 [1978] 41–47) to the reign of Theophilos, but redated by D. Wright (*BZ* 78 [1985] 355–62) to ca.753, on a palaeographical basis. It was brought up to date until 866 and was in use possibly as late as the 12th C. A primitive text on computing the longitudes of the planets based on Vettius Valens (I 18) was written in 906 and was still being studied in the Palaiologan period (*Vettii Valentis Antiocheni Anthologiarum libri novem*, ed. D. Pingree [Leipzig 1986] 398–406). In addition an elementary *Quadrivium* with instructions and examples for using the *Handy Tables* was produced in 1007/8.

In the 11th C. Islamic astronomy began to be familiar to the Byz., as can be seen from some translations of Arabic star catalogs; from the writings of Symeon SETH (which may include the scholium of 1032 to the *Prolegomena to the Almagest*); and from an anonymous astronomical treatise written between 1072 and 1088 (A. Jones, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy* [Amsterdam 1987]). From the 12th C., however, nothing survives. From the 13th C. survive mainly uninspired texts by Nikephoros BLEM MYDES, George AKROPOLITES, George PACHYMERES, and John PEDIASIMOS.

In the early Palaiologan period, however, a knowledge of Ptolemaic astronomy was restored by Manuel BRYENNIS, Theodore METOCHITES, and Nikephoros GREGORAS and was continued into the later 14th C. by Nicholas KABASILAS and

Isaac ARGYROS, and into the 15th by John CHORTASMENOS and BESSARION. The interpenetration of theology, celestial mechanics, geography, and harmony is clear in the early 14th-C. miniatures inserted into Venice, Bib. Marc. gr. 516. Furlan (*Marciana* 4:40–48) related many of these diagrams to the thought of Manuel Bryennios and Pachymeres. Followers of the so-called Islamic school included Gregory CHIONIADIS, who by 1300 had translated into Greek a number of Persian and Arabic astronomical tables; this tradition was followed by George CHRYSOKOKKES and several anonymous treatises of the later 14th C. One work that encompasses both Ptolemaic and Islamic astronomy is the *Three Books* written by Theodore MELITENIOTES in ca.1361; also drawing upon both traditions were the pupils of John ABRAMIOS. Other Byz. discussions of Persian astronomy were composed on Cyprus in ca.1347 and on Rhodes in ca.1393.

The Latin texts translated into Greek include the *Toledan Tables* prepared on Cyprus in the 1330s, perhaps by George LAPITHES, and again by Demetrios CHRYSOLORAS with an epoch of 1377; and the tables of Jacob ben David Yom-tob by Mark EUGENIKOS in 1444. Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils's *Seven Wings* was translated from Hebrew by Michael Chrysokokkes in 1435.

Classical Greek astronomical texts mention a number of observational instruments: meridional and equinoctial armillaries, a plinth, an armillary sphere, a parallactic instrument, and a diopter are all described in the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. The Byz. also knew about the construction of these instruments through commentaries on the *Almagest* by Pappos and Theon, and through the summary of it in Proklos's *Outline*. Ptolemy also described the principles of the two main time-keeping devices, the ASTROLABE and the SUNDIAL, in other treatises.

ED. *Corpus des astronomes byzantins*, ed. A. Tihon (Amsterdam 1983–).

LIT. A. Tihon, "L'astronomie byzantine (du Ve au XVe siècle)," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 603–24. —D.P., A.C.

**ASYLUM** (ἀσυλία), the refuge given by the church to all Orthodox Christians seeking protection from the threat of imprisonment or physical harm. Sources refer to asylum as the "privilege" of the church; it was evidently established by custom. The earliest mention, in canon 7 of Serdica (a.342/3) (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:248–52), takes it for

granted, and there are no ecclesiastical laws establishing it, only civil legislation from the late 4th C. onward, acknowledging and regulating it. In 431 (*Cod.Theod.* IX 45.4) the boundaries of ecclesiastical sanctuary were extended from the nave and ALTAR to include the entire precinct of the church building and severe sanctions were introduced against the transgressors of the rights of refugees (J. Herrmann in *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte, Gedächtnisschrift für Hermann Conrad* [Paderborn 1979] 271–82). In many cases, nevertheless, fugitives (e.g., political) were forcefully dragged from the church. The church punished such violations by the imposition of EPITIMIA and even EXCOMMUNICATION (cf. vita of TARASIOS, ed. Heikel, 407.11–37, 408.1–18).

Although Justinian I excluded from asylum the perpetrators of the crimes of RAPE, ROBBERY, ADULTERY, and MURDER (NOVS. 17.7 and 37), a significant change occurred in the 10th C. with the novel of CONSTANTINE VII, which allowed murderers the protection of asylum. By the 12th C. HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople had become famous as a place of asylum, esp. for killers (Nik.Chon. 342.9–15). It had a tribunal for such cases, headed by the PROTEKDIKOS, and certain parts of the church were known as the "Refuge" (R.J. Macrides, *Speculum* 63 [1988] 509–38). The right of asylum for murderers was again abolished by Manuel I (R.J. Macrides, "Justice" 190–204). In 1343 John V prescribed that those who sought protection in Hagia Sophia should head for a special room without disturbing the divine service (*Reg* 5, no.2886). Although there is less evidence for it, Hagia Sophia appears also to have offered protection to insolvent debtors (MM 2:448f, a.1400).

LIT. E. Herman, "Zum Asylrecht im byzantinischen Reich," *OrChrP* 1 (1935) 204–38. P.T.D. de Martin, *Le droit d'asile* (Paris 1939). G. Crifó, *Libertà e uguaglianza in Roma antica* (Rome 1984) 71–89. —A.F., R.J.M.

**ATALANTA.** See MELEAGER.

**ATHANASIOS**, archbishop of Alexandria, theologian, philosopher, and saint; born Alexandria 295, died Alexandria 2 May 373; feastdays 18 Jan., 2 May. After a fierce struggle (L. Barnard, *OrChrP* 41 [1975] 344–52), Athanasios was elected archbishop of Alexandria on 8 June 328. He



succeeded ALEXANDER, whom he had served as secretary and accompanied to the Council of Nicaea in 325. Continuing Arian influence at the imperial court caused Athanasios to be deposed and exiled five times (335, 339, 356, 362, 365); his removal in 362 was due to his refusal to be maneuvered by Emp. JULIAN into fomenting Christian infighting. Two early tracts (ca.318), *Against the Hellenes* and the *Incarnation of the Logos*, attack pagan mythology and defend the Christian faith against Jewish and pagan criticism, respectively. His major work was the refutation of ARIANISM in four books: the authenticity of the final volume has long been suspect, and recently C. Kannengiesser (*Athanasie d'Alexandrie évêque et écrivain* [Paris 1983]) tried to attribute the third book to APOLLINARIS.

The focal point of Athanasian theology is the concept of salvation, which Athanasios understood as the deification of man: "All are named sons and gods both on earth and in heaven." This deification is possible because the incarnate Logos who assumed human flesh was—in contradiction to Arian dogma—the genuine God, of the same nature as the Father. "He was not a man who later became God, but God who later became man in order to deify us" (PG 26:92C–93A). Athanasios explains the mystery of the generation of the Son-Logos by the Father by using the metaphor of the sun, which is constantly emitting its rays. Athanasios, however, did not elaborate a refined terminology to describe the TRINITY, nor did he draw a strict line between nature and hypostasis, nor between HOMOUSIOS and plain "likeness" (*homios*). Athanasios acknowledged the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit.

The fragments of his biblical exegesis show some allegorizing tendencies. His 39th *Festal Letter* (367) contains an important list of Old and New Testament books, with distinctions between genuine and apocryphal works. His Life of St. ANTONY THE GREAT, a landmark in Christian literature and model for later hagiography, is a valuable source for early monasticism as well as for Egyptian social history and popular beliefs, esp. demonology.

**Representation in Art.** Athanasios was included in almost every painted group of CHURCH FATHERS as a balding white-haired bishop with a somewhat squared beard. His funeral is mentioned in the *Homilies* of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and there are numerous representations of this scene in illustrated MSS of these *Homilies*; the scene takes the

form of a funeral around the bier, attended by bishops and other clergy (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 49f). He is often paired with his fellow citizen CYRIL of Alexandria, whose feast is celebrated the same day.

ED. PG 25–28. *Athanasius Werke*, ed. H.G. Opitz, W. Schneemelcher, M. Tetz, 3 vols. (Berlin 1934–38). *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, tr. R.C. Gregg (New York–Ramsey–Toronto 1980). *Athanasius: Contra gentes and De incarnatione*, ed. R. Thomson (Oxford 1971), with Eng. tr.

LIT. F.L. Cross, *The Study of St. Athanasius* (Oxford 1945). *Politique et théologie chez Athanasie d'Alexandrie*, ed. C. Kannengiesser (Paris 1974). M. Tetz, "Zur Biographie des Athanasios von Alexandrien," *ZKirch* 90 (1979) 304–38. H.A. Drake, "Athanasios' First Exile," *GRBS* 27 (1986) 193–204. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 5:268–72. —B.B., A.K., N.P.Š.

**ATHANASIOS I**, patriarch of Constantinople (Oct. 1289–Oct. 1293; June 1303–Sept. 1309) and saint; born Adrianople ca.1235, died Constantinople ca.1315; feastday 28 Oct. From his youth Athanasios was an ascetic monk who moved frequently from one monastery to another: he resided in turn on the holy mountains of Athos, Auxentios, Latros, Galesios, and Ganos, and made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Soon after 1282 Andronikos II installed him in a monastery on the Xerolophos hill in Constantinople and eventually made him patriarch. Athanasios was deposed from his first patriarchate because of his unpopular insistence on strict monastic discipline and the requirement that bishops reside in their sees. After ten years in retirement, he returned to the patriarchal throne but was again deposed to bring an end to the ARSENITE schism.

His letters and sermons reveal a rigid and fervently pious individual who hoped to check the Turkish advance by urging repentance on emperor and people alike. Under his guidance the synod issued a new law (*neara*) in 1304 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1607), confirmed by the emperor in 1306 (*Reg* 4, no.2295), which was designed to rectify injustices and raise moral standards; it covered such topics as inheritance, opening hours of taverns and bath houses, prostitution, and adultery. Athanasios sought to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and personally supervised distributions of food and clothing. He also organized a commission to control the supply and price of grain in Constantinople. At times he had considerable influence on the emperor; nonetheless his petitions were frequently ignored. After

his death his popularity led to the development of a local cult at his tomb where numerous miracles were attested. His sanctity was recognized sometime before 1368. Two vitae are preserved, both by Palamite authors, Joseph KALOTHETOS and THEOKTISTOS THE STOUDITE (*BHG* 194, 194c).

ED. *The Correspondence of Athanasius I*, ed. A.-M.M. Talbot (Washington, D.C., 1975), with Eng. tr.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1549–60, 1589–1780, App. 1–12. J. Boojamra, *Church Reform in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Thessalonike 1982). A.-M.M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983). —A.M.T.

**ATHANASIOS II**, Melkite patriarch of Alexandria (ca.1275–ca.1315). He was a former Sinaite monk who, because of the Mamlūk occupation of Egypt, spent most of his tenure in exile. In 1275 or 1276 Athanasios went to Constantinople, where Michael VIII and his son Andronikos (II) granted him monasteries, to provide him with both a residence and income. He rapidly became involved in ecclesiastical controversies and found himself in opposition to his contemporary patriarchs of Constantinople, GREGORY II and esp. ATHANASIOS I, who confiscated Athanasios's monasteries and forced him into exile on Rhodes ca.1289. Athanasios returned to Constantinople during the interval between the two patriarchates of Athanasios I (1293–1303). In 1294 he was entrusted with an embassy to Cilician Armenia that was aborted when pirates attacked his ship. Athanasios opposed the reinstatement of Athanasios I and by 1305 was again compelled to leave the capital. After a series of narrow escapes in Greece, he presumably made his way to the *metochion* of Sinai on Crete. The place and date of his death are unknown.

Athanasios was bilingual in Greek and Arabic and a cultured bibliophile who acquired several MSS in Constantinople for the see of Alexandria. His most notable acquisition was the 5th-C. Codex Alexandrinus (London, B.L. Royal 1.D.v–viii).

LIT. A. Failler, "Le séjour d'Athanasie II d'Alexandrie à Constantinople," *REB* 35 (1977) 43–71. *PLP*, no.413. T.C. Skeat, *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus* (London 1955; rp. 1963) 31–33. —A.M.T.

**ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS**, founder of the Great LAVRA; saint; born Trebizond between 925 and 930, died Mt. Athos 5 July ca.1001. Baptized Abraamios, he began a career as a teacher in Constantinople but resigned and left the capital

for the Bithynian monastery of Kyminas, in which he lived ca.952–58 together with Michael MALEINOS. He then moved to Mt. ATHOS, where in 962/3, with the support of Emp. Nikephoros II Phokas, he founded the Lavra. Athanasios was closely connected with aristocratic families and was Nikephoros's private counselor. He effected a radical change in Athonite MONASTICISM, from scattered hermitages to large monasteries. With imperial support (the Lavra was granted SOLEMNIA and lands), Athanasios initiated large-scale construction; he even died while supervising the construction of a church. He also introduced new time-saving devices (e.g., a *mechane* driven by oxen to prepare dough) and composed Rules for the monks (*typikon*, *diatyposis*, and *hypotyposis*).

Two Lives of Athanasios were written soon after his death: one by a certain Athanasios of the monastery of Panagios in Constantinople, another on Athos; the problem of their interdependence is not yet solved (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 538–44). The theme of both Lives is Athanasios's thwarted desire to escape earthly glory; he was unable to conceal his educated background under the disguise of illiterate simplicity, nor was his flight from growing popularity successful. The Constantinopolitan Life of Athanasios contains important evidence concerning the painter PANTOLEON.

**Representation in Art.** Portraits of the saint are found primarily in works associated with Athos: in manuscripts of the saint's vita and in churches under the influence of the Holy Mountain. He is depicted as an elderly man in monastic habit with balding head and a long white two-pointed beard.

SOURCES. *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout 1982).

LIT. *BHG* 187–88. P. Lemerle in *Lavra* 1:13–48. D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 69–102. J. Noret, "La vie la plus ancienne d'Athanasie l'Athonite confrontée à d'autres vies de saints," *AB* 103 (1985) 243–52. G. Galavaris, "The Portraits of St. Athanasios of Athos," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 96–124. U. Knoen, *LCI* 5:267f. —A.K., N.P.Š.

**ATHANASIOS OF METEORA**, saint; baptismal name Andronikos; born Neopatras 1305, died Meteora 20 Apr. 1383. Born to a noble family, Athanasios was orphaned at an early age and entrusted to the care of his paternal uncle. He eagerly pursued both secular and religious studies in Thessalonike and Constantinople, where he met GREGORY SINAITES, ISIDORE (I) BOUCHEIRAS,



and Gregory AKINDYNOS. After a period on Crete as a hesychast, he became a monk on Mt. ATHOS in 1335 and took the name Antony (later changed to Athanasios). After a Turkish attack on Athos, Athanasios left the Holy Mountain ca. 1340 with his spiritual master, a hesychast named Gregory. The two sought refuge and tranquillity among the rocky spires of the METEORA in Thessaly. For years Athanasios lived in solitude; eventually he settled on a pinnacle called Platylithos ("broad rock"), which he named Meteoron ("suspended in midair"). Here he established a cenobitic community of 14 monks for whom he drafted a short rule (vita, 251f) and built a church dedicated to the Theotokos (later reconstructed and rededicated to the Metamorphosis). His anonymous Life (BHG 195) was written sometime after 1388 by a monk who had lived on Athos and had known Athanasios briefly at Meteora.

SOURCE. N.A. Bees, "Symbole eis ten historian ton monon ton Meteoron," *Byzantis* 1 (1909) 237-70.

LIT. PLP, no.359. Nicol, *Meteora* 73-76, 88-105. D.M. Nicol, "A Layman's Ministry in the Byzantine Church: The Life of Athanasios of the Great Meteoron," *SChH* 26 (1989) 141-54. -A.M.T.

**ATHANATOI** (ἀθάνατοι, "immortals"), a TAGMA of noble youth. Created by John I Tzimiskes in 970 (Leo Diac. 107.11-12), they were armed and preceded the emperor on campaign (132.17-18). They camped, together with the HETAIREIA, next to the emperor's tent (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 250.100). The 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escorial first mentions the *domestikos* of the *athanatoi*. John I's *athanatoi* probably did not endure; they are not mentioned again until the end of the 11th C. when, according to Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 265-67), NIKEPHORITZES revived the corps of *athanatoi* and supplied them with armor, shields, helmets, and spears. Some chrysobulls of the end of the 11th C. (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.48.28) place the *athanatoi* together with the ethnic contingents, but S. Kyriakides (*Makedonika* 2 [1953] 722-24) strongly insists on their autochthonous origin. There is no evidence that the *athanatoi* survived the 12th C.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 27f. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 143. -A.K.

**ATHENA**, in Greek mythology, daughter of ZEUS, virgin goddess of wisdom, and eponymous patron of Athens. Myths about Athena, drawn from the

standard classical curriculum of Byz. education, continued to furnish literary material down to the time of TZETZES, who reproduced them in his *Histories*. The *Iliad* passage (5.837-39) describing Athena's chariot creaking under her weight was often discussed by Christian apologists, who were concerned to reject the old embodiment of virginity and its power in Athena in favor of the new figure of the Virgin Mary. They ridiculed Homer's description: a weightless deity could not have caused that phenomenon (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 2:213.5-7). A 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 158.70-72) used the same Homeric image to describe Manuel I's bringing of an icon of the Virgin into Constantinople on a chariot: in the triumphal procession, the vehicle did not creak under the true Virgin. In Gnosticism, on the other hand, the figure of Athena was used positively to represent the divine SOPHIA.

An antique bronze statue of Athena, 30 feet high, stood in the Forum of Constantine in Constantinople until just before 1204, when the mob, interpreting the hand's gesture as inviting the Latin army, tore it down (Nik.Chon. 558f). In Byz. art Athena appears in depictions of the Judgment of Paris (J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage* [Washington, D.C., 1982] 46, no.25; H. Zalusker, *Die Kunst im christlichen Ägypten* [Vienna 1974] pl. 48). Clad as a Byz. empress, she is shown born from Zeus's head in illustrations of the scholia of pseudo-NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS on the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. George Gemistos PLETHON addressed a hymn to Athena in his *Laws*, hailing her as the power presiding over form (*eidōs*) and impelled movement (*kinesis gignomene*), who rejects the superfluous (Alexandre, *Pléthon* 210).

The Byz. TZETZES (*Historiae*, 1.176-77, 5.671-72) and Kosmas the Hymnographer (PG 38: 487.27-28) were also acquainted with the ancient myth that Athena, though a virgin, had borne to Hephaistos a son called Erichthonios: how the perpetuation of this legend is related to the contrast between Athena and the Virgin Mary is unclear.

LIT. W. Kraus, *RAC* 1:88of. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 50-52. -L.S.B.MacC., A.C.

**ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA**, wife of Theodosios II, augusta (from 2 Jan. 423); born Athens ca.400, died Jerusalem 20 Oct. 460. The daughter of

Leontios, a pagan philosopher in Athens, Athenais (Ἀθηναίς) came to Constantinople where she was baptized, taking the Christian name Eudokia. She soon attracted the attention of powers at court, possibly those in opposition to PULCHERIA, the emperor's sister. Athenais married Theodosios on 7 June 421 and bore him three children. The oldest, Licinia Eudoxia (born 422), was to become the wife of VALENTINIAN III. In these years Athenais enjoyed considerable power and may have been the center of a faction of "traditionalists"—men such as her uncle Asklepiodotos and the prefect KYROS—who urged policies of religious moderation and supported classical culture. Athenais was, however, gradually eclipsed by Pulcheria, who gained increasing control over her brother. In 438 Athenais departed with MELANIA THE YOUNGER for the Holy Land, where she encountered Cyril of Alexandria and Barsauma. She returned to Constantinople the next year and reached the height of her power. By 443, however, she again fell from favor as a result of allegations of adultery. She went to Jerusalem in voluntary exile, but apparently retained her imperial title. She sided with anti-Chalcedonian monks in Jerusalem in 452. Although she was ultimately reconciled to Chalcedon, she was nonetheless revered in Monophysite tradition (H. Drake, *GRBS* 20 [1979] 381-92). Athenais was highly educated and obviously independent-minded; some fragments of her poetry survive. Her story was romantically enhanced by later Byz. tradition.

ED. *Eudociae Augustae, Procli Lycii, Claudiani carminum graecorum reliquiae*, ed. A. Ludwich (Leipzig 1897) 11-79.

LIT. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* 112-224. Al. Cameron, "The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II," *YCS* 27 (1982) 217-89. F. Gregorovius, *Athenais, Geschichte einer byzantinischen Kaiserin*<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig 1892). A. Pignani, "Il modello omerico e la fonte biblica nel centone di Eudocia imperatrice," *Koinonia* 9 (1985) 35-41. -T.E.G.

**ATHENS** (Ἀθήναι), city in central Greece, in late antiquity part of the province of Achaia, listed by Hierokles as the "metropolis of ATTICA." Sacked by the Heruli in 267 and ALARIC in 396, the city lost much of its ancient splendor and was surrounded by a fortification embracing only a fraction of its former area: at the end of the 4th C. Synesios of Cyrene described Athens in disparaging terms, as a place famous only for its production of honey. From the 4th to early 6th C.,

however, Athens maintained its place as an academic center and home of NEOPLATONISM, centered in the revived ACADEMY OF ATHENS and independent philosophical schools; among the students there were BASIL THE GREAT of Caesarea, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and the future emperor JULIAN. Paganism apparently remained strong in Athens in the late Roman period, and Christian symbols did not become common on lamps until the early 5th C. (A. Frantz, *DOP* 19 [1965] 187-205). The empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, an Athenian, was noted for her learning. The effect of Justinian I's closing of the Schools of Athens in 529 remains controversial (Al. Cameron, *Literature*, pt.XIII [1965], 7-29).

The city was apparently sacked by the Slavs in 582 but remained in Byz. hands; in the 7th C. there was some political recovery, highlighted by the visit of Constans II in 662/3. From the late 7th C. Athens was part of the theme of HELLAS. The city was threatened by Arab pirates but more peaceful relations are suggested by the probable existence of an Arab mosque (G. Miles, *Hesperia* 25 [1956] 329-44). It is usually assumed that during the Iconoclast crisis Athens supported icon worship; at any rate, Empress Irene, born in Athens, played a decisive role in the restoration of the cult of icons. In the early 9th C. another woman from Athens, Theophano, a relative of Irene, married the future emperor Staurakios (Theoph. 483.18). In 1018 Basil II visited Athens and gave thanks in the Church of the Virgin in the Parthenon for his victory over the Bulgarians. The letters of Michael CHONIATES, who was metropolitan of Athens 1182-1204, complain of the poverty of the city, the ignorance of the inhabitants, and the rapacity of imperial officials (J. Herrin, *DOP* 29 [1976] 253-84).

In 1204 the city withstood a siege by Leo SGOUROS, but by the end of the year it fell to Boniface of Montferrat, who appointed Guy de la Roche as the first duke of Athens. The duchy of Athens controlled all of central Greece and had interests in the Peloponnesos and as far north as BOUDONITZA; the dukes, however, had their primary residence at THEBES. In 1311 the city came under the control of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, who surrendered it to Nerio I ACCIAJUOLI in 1385 (K.M. Setton, *The Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388*<sup>2</sup> [London 1975]). In 1394 it passed briefly to Venice and then to Antonio Acciajuoli



after 1403. In 1446 the future Constantine XI took Athens for Byz. but in 1456 it fell to the Turks.

The bishop of Athens was under the authority of the bishop of Thessalonike; he was raised to metropolitan status, probably in the 9th C. (V. Laurent, *REB* 1 [1943] 58–72); his suffragans included the bishops of EUBOEA, central Greece, and the nearby islands (*Notitiae CP* 7.496–506, etc.). A Latin archbishop, who replaced the Orthodox bishop after 1204, played an important role in the papacy's plan to control the Greek church (J. Koder, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 129–41). Under the Acciajuoli the Orthodox bishopric was re-established.

**Monuments of Athens.** Athens preserves many standing Byz. monuments and more have been brought to light by excavation, esp. in the Agora. In the courtyard of the Library of Hadrian a large quatrefoil structure of the 5th C. has been uncovered, probably a church rather than a lecture hall or audience hall as previously believed. On the slopes of the Areopagos and the south side of the Acropolis have been found houses associated with the philosophical schools. Basilican churches (e.g., the so-called Ilissos Basilica) were constructed on

the periphery, but most of the pagan temples were not converted to Christian use until the late 6th C. or even later. From the 5th C. onward small-scale industrial activity was introduced into the former city center, as the ancient urban pattern was abandoned. The extensive ancient enceinte, repaired by Justinian I, was soon thereafter allowed to fall into decay; coin finds after the mid-7th C. are infrequent (F. Kleiner, *Medieval and Modern Coins in the Athenian Agora* [Princeton 1978] 12), and certain areas—the region of the Odeion (H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 19 [1950] 137) and the Pnyx (H.A. Thompson, R.L. Scranton, *Hesperia* 12 [1943] 376)—were deserted. Recovery began in the 9th C. and reached its peak in the 11th–12th C. This period of prosperity ended, as far as the archaeological evidence shows, ca. 1180 (Ch. Bouras, *JÖB* 31.2 [1981] 626f).

Beginning ca. 975 with the *katholikon* of Mone Petrake, there is an unbroken string of surviving churches, nearly all of the Constantinopolitan cross-in-square type; many have pseudo-Kufic decoration. The Church of the Holy Apostles in the Agora is a domed quatrefoil of considerable sophistication (A. Frantz, *The Church of the Holy Apostles* [*The Athenian Agora* 20] [Princeton 1971]);

the Church of Sts. Theodore is dated by an inscription to 1065, while the Kapnikarea (1060–70) has an exonarthex, as well as a *parekklesion* perhaps added during the Frankish period. The Panagia Gorgoepikoos/St. Eleutherios (Little Metropolis) is made entirely of marble, mostly reused blocks, many of them sculptured; it dates probably to the period shortly after 1200. Most of the Athenian churches are small and are grouped in the area immediately to the north of the Acropolis. The poorly restored Panagia Lykodemou (11th C.) was a large domed octagon, presumably representing influence from the capital. None of these churches retains its original painted decoration. Fresco programs have survived, however, in several churches on the outskirts of Athens, notably the cave chapels on Mt. Pentele of the early 13th C., similar in style to that of the late Komnenian period, which preserve a haloed portrait of Michael Choniates (D. Mouriki, *DChAE* 7 [1974] 79–119), and the Omorphe Ekklesia of the late 13th C. which already reflects the latest stylistic developments in the contemporary painting of Macedonia (A. Basilake-Karakatsane, *Hoi toichographoi tes Omorphes Ekklesias sten Athena* [Athens 1971]). The Parthenon was the cathedral church and the other buildings of the Acropolis were used as churches, while the Propylaia was converted by the Frankish dukes into a palace with a large tower.

LIT. *TIB* 1:126–29. K.M. Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London 1975). I. Traulos, *Poleodomike exelisis ton Athenon* (Athens 1960). Idem, *RBK* 1:349–89. A. Frantz, *Late Antiquity* [= *The Athenian Agora* 24] (Princeton 1988). Idem, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens," *DOP* 19 (1965) 187–205. T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 1–57. Janin, *Églises centres* 298–340. —T.E.G., N.P.S.

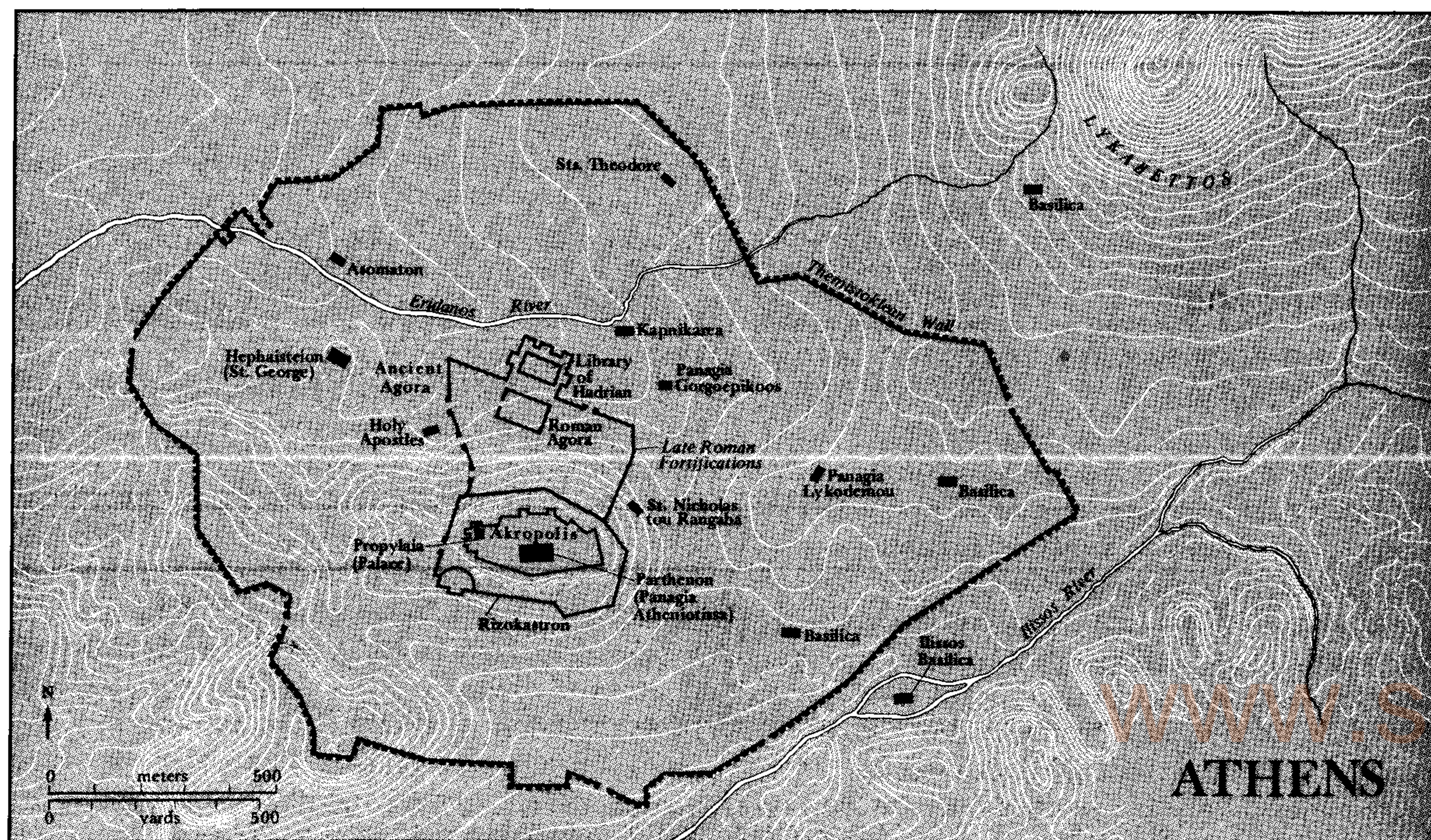
**ATHINGANOI** (*Ἀθίγγανοι*, lit. "Untouchables"), judaizing heretics in Phrygia and Lykaonia first mentioned as favored by Emp. Nikephoros I, who, according to the hostile report of Theophanes the Confessor, invited them in 810 to sacrifice a bull to quell a revolt. Emp. Michael I condemned them to death and massacred many but later relented. Theophanes Continuatus defined them as Sabbath observers who were baptized and followed the laws of Moses except for circumcision, while each Athinganos was under the spiritual and material influence of a Jew. Constantine VII apparently disputed with them. An

11th-C. (?) abjuration formula accused them of practicing magic, astrology, and a ritual purity characterized by Levitical ablutions. The name was later attached to other groups, e.g., Adsinca-noi (GYPSIES).

LIT. J. Starr, "An Eastern Christian Sect: The Athinganoi," *HThR* 29 (1936) 93–106. P. Alexander, "Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," *Speculum* 52 (1977) 239, 245. I. Rochow, "Die Häresie der Athinganer im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert und die Frage ihres Fortlebens," *BBA* 51 (1983) 163–78. —S.B.B.

**ATHOS, ACTS OF.** The monasteries of Mt. Athos possess numerous charters of the Byz. (and post-Byz.) period, both in original and in copies. In its totality the collection is by far the richest Byz. archive of documentary material, providing abundant data on political, economic, and ecclesiastical history, the history of institutions and law, ethnic composition, literacy, etc. The oldest extant documents date to the late 9th C. The richest collections belong to the LAVRA, IVERON, HILANDAR, and VATOPEDI monasteries; in addition are preserved the acts of DIONYSIOU, DOCHEIARIOU, ESPHIGMENOY, KASTAMONITOU, KOUTLOUMOUSIOU, PANTOKRATOR, St. Paul, PANTELEEMON, PHILOTHEOU, XENOPHONTOS, XEROPOTAMOU, and ZOGRAPHOU, as well as those of the PROTATON and of several minor archives (Karakalou and Simopetra).

Attempts at systematization of the archives were begun at the end of the 18th C. by the monks themselves: Cyril of Lavra compiled a list of acts in his monastery's archive (A. Guillou, *BCH* 82 [1958] 610–34). In the 19th C. some travelers to Athos copied and later photographed selected charters; an important collection of photographs was assembled by P.I. Sevast'janov (E. Granstrom, I. Medvedev, *REB* 33 [1975] 277–93). Russian scholars began the systematic publication of the acts of Athos—first of Panteleemon (Kiev 1873), then Vatopedi (St. Petersburg 1898), then in appendices to *Vizantijskij Vremennik*—while Greek scholars published individual acts in various periodicals. A systematic survey, started by G. Millet and continued by P. Lemerle, has resulted in the publication of many Athonite documents in Paris (now in progress); V. Mošin and F. Dölger also made important contributions. The Acts contain some of the most important surviving INVENTORIES of icons and liturgical equipment.





ED. *Archives de l'Athos*, ed. P. Lemerle, N. Oikonomides, J. Lefort et al. (Paris 1937-). (See entries on individual monasteries for editions of specific volumes.)

LIT. M. Manoussakas, "Hellenika cheirographa kai engrapha tou Hagiou Orous," *EEBS* 32 (1963) 391-419.

-A.K., A.C.

**ATHOS, MOUNT**, also called the **HOLY MOUNTAIN** (*Hagion Oros*), from the late 10th C. the most important center of Eastern Orthodox MONASTICISM. Athos ("Ἄθως) is the name given to the northernmost projection of the CHALKIDIKE peninsula, 45 km long, 5-10 km wide, as well as to the peak (2,033 m) that dominates this rocky finger of land. It is linked to the mainland by a narrow isthmus 2 km in width. The peninsula has forests, meadows for pasturage, and small plots of land suitable for vineyards, orchards, olive groves, and gardens.

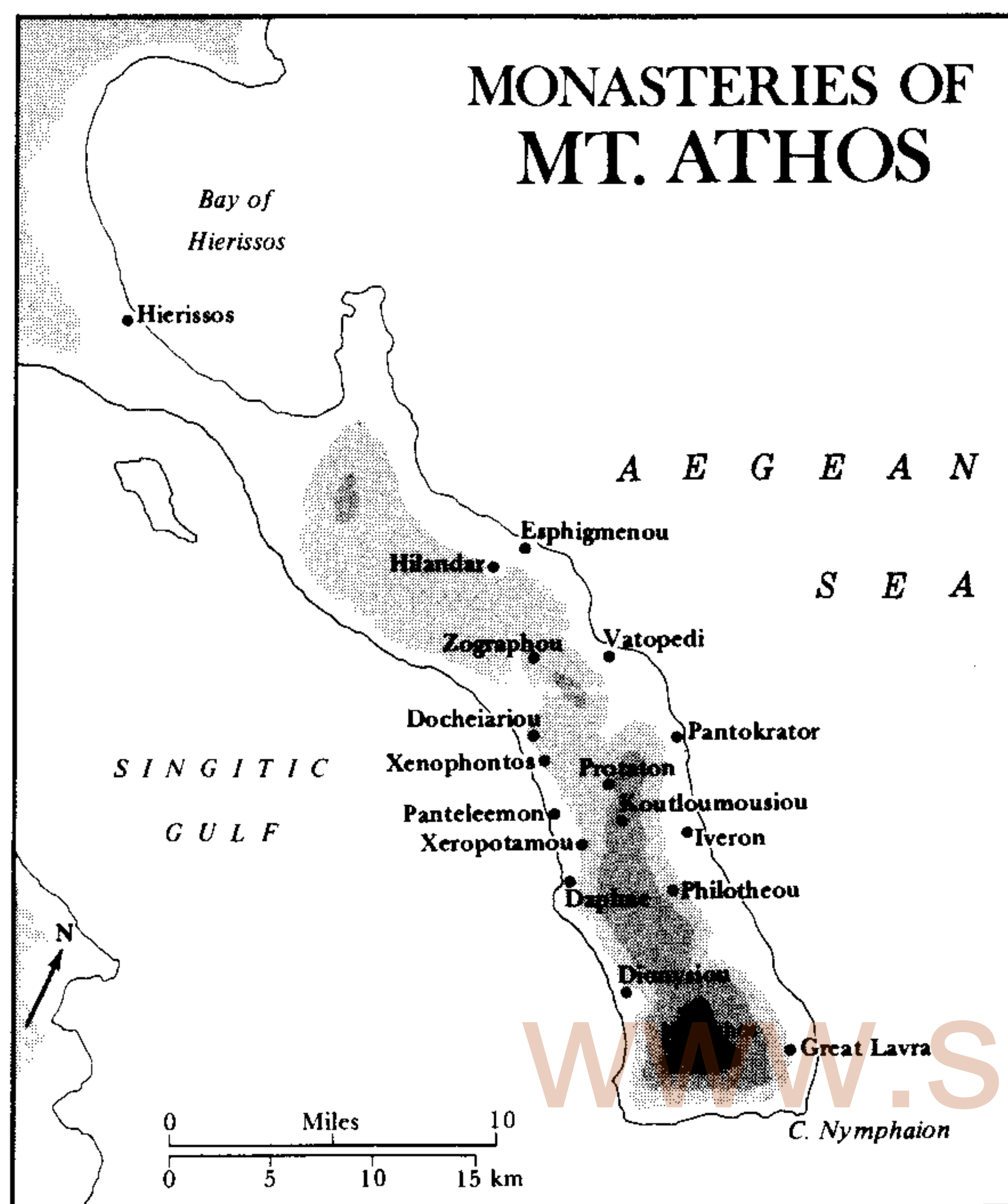
Athos was virtually deserted when monks first began to settle there, probably in the late 8th or early 9th C.; according to the 10th-C. historian GENESIOS (58.22), in 843 Athos was already a major monastic community, but his evidence must be treated with caution. The theories that the earliest monks of Athos were refugees from the Arab conquests of the eastern provinces of Byz., or Iconodules fleeing the persecutions of the Iconoclast emperors, have now lost favor. The first arrivals seem to have come from nearby regions, and to have been attracted by the unsullied solitude of the peninsula. Monasticism developed slowly on the Holy Mountain, however, because of its isolation, its rugged terrain, and the danger from Arab pirates. The early monks lived as solitary hermits or in small groups; the pioneers on Athos included Peter the Athonite (D. Papachryssanthou, *AB* 92 [1974] 19-61)—a semilegendary figure—and EUTHYMIOS THE YOUNGER, who arrived in 859. The first cenobitic monastery in the vicinity of Athos was KOLOBOU, founded near HIERISSOS sometime before 883. A fragmentary *sigillion* of Basil I (*Prot.*, no. 1, a.883) is the earliest preserved imperial act concerning the Holy Mountain; it protected the Athonite monks from the intrusion of local shepherds.

The date of the first appearance of cenobitic monasticism on Athos proper is impossible to ascertain, but by the mid-10th C. some *koinobia* (e.g., XEROPOTAMOU) are attested. In 963 ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, with the support of Nikephoros

II Phokas, founded the Great LAVRA, which would soon hold first place in the Athonite hierarchy, a position it would maintain in perpetuity. By the end of the 10th C. many of the most important Athonite monasteries (e.g., IVERON, HILANDAR, ESPHIGMENOU, PANTELEEMON, VATOPEDI, XENOPHONTOS, and possibly ZOGRAPHOU) had been founded; by 1001 46 monasteries were in existence (Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 86-93).

Monks from non-Greek lands began to come to the Holy Mountain in the 10th C.: the Georgian monastery of Iveron was established in 979/80, soon followed by the Italian monastery of the Amalfitans (see AMALFI). Orthodox Armenians (Chalcedonians) were numerous at Esphigmenou. In the 12th C. the peninsula began to attract more Slavic monks: Panteleemon was taken over by monks from Rus', and Hilandar was restored as a Serbian monastery. In the 13th C. Zographou came to be inhabited primarily by Bulgarian monks.

The organization of Athos in the 10th C. was relatively simple: the monks attended three annual assemblies at the PROTATON in KARYES and elected a PROTOS who represented the community in its relations with ecclesiastical and secular authorities. By the end of the 10th C. (?) this assem-



bly was replaced by an irregular "council" that attracted on the average 15 participants, but occasionally as many as 40. The larger monasteries became independent of the Protaton, with the *hegoumenos* of the Great Lavra acquiring a more prestigious position in the local hierarchy than the *protos*.

In the 10th and 11th C. Athos attracted considerable imperial attention. Romanos I Lekapenos initiated an annual stipend (*roga*) for the Athonite monks and ordered the demarcation of a frontier boundary, probably in 941/2 (D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 55). The rapid growth of the Lavra under the patronage of Nikephoros Phokas prompted the resentment of many Athonite monks, esp. the anchorites who feared for their way of life. John I Tzimiskes' issuance of a *typikon* for Athos, the TRAGOS, between 970 and 972, attempted a compromise, recognizing the rights of *hegoumenoi*, *kelliotai* (the spiritual leaders of anchoritic groups), and solitary hermits to attend the assemblies at Karyes. Both Nikephoros II and John I envisaged Athos as a stronghold of "poor monasticism," but under Basil II some monasteries began to acquire lands beyond the boundaries of the Holy Mountain and were gradually transformed into great landowners. Cenobitism became predominant, to the detriment of hermitages. In the 11th-12th C. new monasteries continued to be founded (KASTAMONITOU, DO-CHEIARIOU, KOUTLOUMOUSIOU), and the older ones expanded their possessions. Economic activities on Athos increased, such as the sale of wood from Athonite forests and surplus agricultural products (fruits, vegetables, wine) cultivated on monastic estates. Many monasteries owned boats for the transport of these goods and the importation of necessary provisions; these boats often were granted exemptions from customs duties. Despite John I's prohibition of the presence of eunuchs, beardless youths, women, and even female animals on the peninsula, in the 11th C. substantial groups of VLACH shepherds settled with their families on Athos and supplied the monks with dairy products. The "Vlach question" caused such a scandal that ca. 1100 Alexios I was forced to expel the herdsmen from Athos.

Constantine IX Monomachos's chrysobull of 1045 sheds light on the administrative development of Athos. The independence of individual

*koinobia* increased; Lavra, Vatopedi, and Iveron were the top-ranking monasteries, taking precedence over the central administration of the *protos*. The growth of landownership incited conflicts among monasteries over estates as well as clashes with local landowners, esp. in Hierissos; with the Cumans who had settled in southern Macedonia; and with imperial functionaries. On the other hand, the patriarchate tried to establish its jurisdiction (at least partial) over Athos, which had been considered as subordinate only to the emperor.

The fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the establishment of the Latin Empire led to a period of difficulty for Athos, as Macedonia was troubled by the Latin occupation, the rising power of the Bulgarians, and rivalry between the empire of Nicaea and Epiros. Athos came under the rule of the Frankish Kingdom of Thessalonike from 1204 to 1224, and the monasteries lost some of their properties outside the peninsula, which they sought to recover after the Greek reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. The reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos was, however, extremely unpopular on Athos, because of the persecution of monks who refused to accept the Union of Lyons of 1274 (G. Rouillard, *REB* 1 [1943] 73-84; J. Koder, *JÖB* 18 [1969] 79-88).

In the early 14th C. Athos suffered from the raids of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, but then enjoyed a period of prosperity during which several new monasteries were founded (Gregoriou, DIONYSIOU, PANTOKRATOR, Simopetra). Documents recording various privileges conferred by the emperors on Athonite monasteries (a practice which goes back to the 9th C.) are esp. copious from the first half of the 14th C. Whereas the privileges granted by the government in the 10th C. were primarily SOLEMNIA (stipends from the state treasury) and the chrysobulls of the 11th C. mostly established monastic *exkousseia* (immunity from taxes), the documents of the 14th C. were first of all donations of lands and *paroikoi*.

The properties of Athos took the form of fields, vineyards, pastures, mills, fishponds, entire villages, urban rental properties, and workshops. These possessions were concentrated in Macedonia (including Thessalonike), esp. on the Chalkidike peninsula and in the Strymon valley, but extended to Thrace, Thasos, Lemnos, Serbia, and



Wallachia. The bulk of the acts of Athos (see ATHOS, ACTS OF) concern these estates, and include *praktika*, charters of sale, exchange, and donation, in addition to imperial chrysobulls confirming the monasteries' titles to their property and guaranteeing fiscal immunity. All ranks of people, from humble peasant to emperor, were anxious to make pious donations to Athonite monasteries; in addition to the emperors at Constantinople, the benefactors of Athos included the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, the rulers of Serbia and Bulgaria, and *voivodes* of Wallachia.

In the 14th C. IDIORRHYTHMIC MONASTICISM developed on Athos, and the *koinobion* declined. By mid-century Turkish pirates were attacking the peninsula, forcing some of the monks to flee to PARORIA or to METEORA. The Ottoman threat led to government restriction on the growth of monastic properties and the confiscation of some Athonite estates in the second half of the 14th C.; thus, after the Turkish victory at Marica in 1371 half of the *metochia* belonging to Athos were transformed into *pronoiai* and transferred to soldiers. This policy was continued in the 15th C. (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 161–76). After briefly occupying Athos in 1387 and from 1393 to 1403, the Ottomans established permanent control over the Holy Mountain in 1430. The Turks recognized the autonomy of Athos in return for the payment of annual tribute, but the monasteries lost their immunities and their estates in Thrace and Macedonia.

Attitudes toward the intellectual life were varied. *Kelliotai* and hermits, who placed an emphasis on spirituality and asceticism, had little use for books. As N. Oikonomides (*DOP* 42 [1988] 167–78) has shown, many of the Athonite monks came from a rustic background and were illiterate. Nonetheless in the *koinobia*, founded on the Stoudite model, there was more emphasis on intellectual pursuits, esp. from the 13th C. onward. The monasteries amassed important collections of MSS (B. Fončić, *PSb* 17 [80] [1967] 167–75), some produced in their own scriptoria (e.g., at Philotheou, Hilandar, and Iveron). Among Athonite monks could be found composers (John KOUKOUZELES), hagiographers (Joseph KALOTHEOS), theologians (Gregory PALAMAS), and ecclesiastical writers (THEOLEPTOS of Philadelphia). With its international assemblage of monks, cultural interchange was inevitable: Hilandar, Zographou, Pan-

teleemon, and Iveron became centers for the transmission of Byz. religious literature to Serbia, Bulgaria, Russia, and Georgia, respectively.

As the Holy Mountain par excellence from the 10th C. onward, Athos attracted Byz. monks for six centuries. Many holy men, whose custom it was to wander from one monastery or HOLY MOUNTAIN to another, spent time on Athos before moving on, thus reducing the cultural isolation of the Athonite monasteries. Because of its geographical proximity, Thessalonike, rather than Constantinople, had the closest links with the Holy Mountain. For some monks, like Palamas, a hegoumenate on Athos was the springboard to a bishopric; for others it might lead to the patriarchate of Constantinople as it did for NIPHON, KALLISTOS, and PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (R. Guiland, *EEBS* 32 [1963] 50–59).

It was one of the wandering holy men, GREGORY SINAITES, who introduced to Athos in the 14th C. the “Jesus prayer,” which was adopted by a small number of monks. From this new method of prayer developed a form of mystical spirituality, a renewed emphasis on HESYCHASM that was championed by Palamas (J. Meyendorff, *DOP* 42 [1988] 157–65). After many vicissitudes PALAMISM spread all over the Byz. world and was eventually declared Orthodox by the local council of Constantinople of 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

LIT. *Prot.* 3–164. *Le millénaire du Mont Athos 963–1963*, 2 vols. (Chevetogne 1963–64). C. Cavarnos, *The Holy Mountain* (Belmont, Mass. 1973). I.P. Mamalakes, *To hagion Oros (Athos) dia mesou ton aionon* (Thessalonike 1971) 1–222. S. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1895–1900). —A.M.T., A.K.

**Art and Architecture of Athos.** Little survives of the 10th–12th-C. architecture of the Holy Mountain except for the principal churches of a few monasteries and portions of the perimeter walls. The earliest Athonite churches generally had an inscribed-cross plan with a central dome, triconch apse, a double narthex, and lateral chapels to the west (P.M. Mylonas, *Thesaurismata* 2 [1963] supp., 18–48). Instituted at the Lavra, this scheme was adopted at Iveron and Vatopedi and remained essentially unchanged until the double narthex was replaced by a unified rectangular space (sometimes called a *lite*) for singers at Hilandar. This scheme, in turn, was widely adopted, for example, at Koutloumousiou ca.1400. The

14th C. saw an expansion of the older monasteries, the addition of towers (PYRGOI) and other fortifications, and the creation of new institutions that tended to follow the established “Athonite type.” Most of the chapels and living and service quarters now to be seen on Athos date from the 15th C. or later.

In the churches mosaic decoration survives only at Vatopedi and Xenophontos (now detached and kept in the “new *katholikon*”). The oldest preserved frescoes are at the *kellion* of Rhabdouchou (P. Mylonas in 14 *CEB*, vol. 2B [Bucharest 1971] 552–54); frescoes of 1312 survive at Vatopedi but are much overpainted. The well-preserved program at the Protaton is of similar date. Thereafter, however, with the exception of fragments in the monastery of St. Paul, almost no wall painting survives from the period between the mid-14th and the early 16th C.

From the 10th C. onward, Athonite monasteries received gifts of liturgical silver, crosses, textiles, sometimes richly covered books, and esp. icons (of which the Lavra has 3,000, mostly post-Byz.), which form the nuclei of their treasures today. A few objects are the donations of generous rulers and other patrons from the period before 1453 but, like the physical fabric of the monasteries, the vast majority of the treasures date well after the foundation of the institutions that now house them. Despite the arguments of V.N. Lazarev (*DChAE* 4 [1964] 117–43), there is little evidence for resident ateliers of mural painters on Athos in the Byz. period; A. Xyngopoulos (*CorsiRav* 11 [1964] 419–30) suggested that at least in the 14th C. fresco painters came from Thessalonike and possibly Constantinople. The name or epithet *zographos* of a 10th-C. monk (see ZOGRAPHOU) suggests, however, that some artists took up residence; a 14th-C. workshop that made ICON FRAMES has also been hypothesized. Certainly masons were called in from the outside world in the 10th C. (*Prot.*, no.7.141–42). Many of the illuminated MSS in the monasteries' libraries reached Athos long after their creation elsewhere, just as many books with Athonite provenances are today to be found in libraries and museums outside the Holy Mountain.

LIT. M. Restle, *RBK* 1:389–421. G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos. 1. Les peintures* (Paris 1927). S.N. Pelekanides et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, 3 vols. (Athens 1973–79). K. Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken des*

*Athos* (Hamburg 1963). E. Voordeckers, “L'art au Mont-Athos,” in *Splendeur de Byz.* 262–74. —A.C.

**ATRAMYTTION** (Ἀτραμύτ(τ)ιον, l'Andremite of the Crusaders, now Edremit), city on the northwest coast of Asia Minor. Although obscure in late antiquity, Atramyttion was an important naval base when the Opsikian fleet stopped there during its revolt in 714, seized Theodosios (III), a native tax collector of Atramyttion, and made him emperor. Atramyttion was the northernmost city of the THRAKESION theme; in the 10th C., it was a *tourma* of SAMOS. The Turkish pirate TZACHAS completely destroyed Atramyttion ca.1090; Eumathios PHILOKALES rebuilt and repopulated it in 1109. It became a base for defense against Italian and Turkish attacks. Manuel I made it a center of NEOKASTRA; by 1185 it was the headquarters of a separate theme (D. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 8). Plundered by the Genoese in 1197, it was briefly seized by the Latins in 1205 and ruled by them in 1213–24. In 1268, the Venetians had a concession in Atramyttion, but dangers from the Turks made the Genoese of Phokaia take control of it in 1304. It fell to the Turks of KARASI before 1334. Atramyttion was a suffragan bishopric of Ephesos; its site contains no significant remains.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 223f, 289f, 349.

—C.F.

**ATRIKLINES** (ἀτρικλίνης), courtier in charge of imperial banquets. The term is of Latin origin, from *triclinium*, dining hall, but it has often been distorted as *artoklines*, from Greek *artos*, bread. In his *Kletorologion*, PHILOTHEOS, who was himself *atriklines*, describes his function as maintaining order at banquets by positioning dignitaries according to their titles and offices (Oikonomides, *Listes* 83.15–24). This presupposed a clear knowledge of titulature. Although Philotheos was titled *protospatharios*, the *atriklines* held a relatively modest place in the hierarchy. The *atriklines* was mentioned in the mid-9th-C. ΤΑΚΤΙΚΟΝ of Uspenskij; the seal of the imperial *atriklines* Smaragdos (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1606B) is dated in the 8th C. Some seals of *atriklinai* belong to the 11th C.; thereafter the fate of this functionary is unknown.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 27–29. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 145–47, 183. —A.K.



**ATRIUM** (ἀὐλή, αἶθριον) an open court directly preceding a church, usually enclosed by four colonnaded porticoes (a *quadriporticus*) or, in churches possessing a narthex, by the narthex and three porticoes. Occasionally, as in Constantine I's church at MAMRE, simple wall enclosures replaced the porticoes. The form of the atrium was probably derived from that of the peristyle courtyards that often preceded Roman buildings. The conventional term *atrium* was apparently derived from the Greek *aithrion*, meaning an area under the open sky, rather than from the Latin *atrium*, the main room of an Italic house. The open court is also called a *louter*, a term derived from the ritual ablutions of hands and feet at the *kantharos*, or fountain, located therein. The atrium was not a requisite feature of church architecture in any period, though it was common in many regions in the 4th–6th C. When present, atriums served not only as places for washing but also for the separation of catechumens and for starting entrance ceremonies, as local customs dictated. Churches with atriums are extremely rare after the 6th C., perhaps because of changes in the entrance rite. The atrium reappears in the 9th C. in two notable examples in Constantinople, the Pharos (?) in the GREAT PALACE and the NEA EKKLESIA as well as in the 11th-C. Church of St. George of MANGANA.

LIT. C. Delvoe, "Études d'architecture paléochrétienne et byzantine," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 261–91. Idem, *RBK* 1:421–40. D. Pallas, "Archaiologika-leitourgika," *EEBS* 20 (1950) 279–89. C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1973). —M.J.

**ATROA** (Ἀτρώα), a plain at the foot of the Anatolian Mt. OLYMPOS, 7 km southwest of Prousa, where several monastic communities existed in the 9th and 10th C. Its most famous monastery was St. Zacharias, founded ca.800 by the hermit Paul and his disciple, Peter of Atroa. It served as the mother house for several smaller nearby monasteries. Paul was the first *hegoumenos* of St. Zacharias; upon his death in 805 he was succeeded by Peter. During the Iconoclastic persecution of Leo V and Theophilos the monks temporarily disbanded, to live in scattered hermitages on Mt. Olympos. In 821, when Peter was criticized by a group of bishops and superiors, he was defended

by THEODORE OF STODIOS, then in exile from Constantinople. After Peter's death on 1 Jan. 837, he was succeeded by his brother Paul and then his nephew James. Paul transferred Peter's remains from a chapel of St. Nicholas to a cave near St. Zacharias; many miracles reportedly occurred at this tomb. The monastery survived until at least the 10th C. when the future St. LOUKAS THE STYLITE spent three years there.

SOURCES. V. Laurent, *La vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa (d. 837)* (Brussels 1956). Idem, *La Vita Retractata et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* (Brussels 1958).

LIT. B. Menthon, *Une terre de légendes: L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris 1935) 49f, 88–121. Janin, *Églises centres* 135f, 140, 151, 184. —A.M.T.

**ATTALEIA** (Ἀττάλεια, mod. Antalya), city and bishopric of Pamphylia. Although inscriptions and remains indicate some prosperity in late antiquity, Attaleia became most important in the 9th–11th C. as a naval and military center. A special force of MARDAITES under a *katepano* attested in the 10th C. may have been installed in Attaleia as early as 689. Attaleia was apparently capital of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme; it was certainly a main base of the Byz. navy and a major entrepôt for trade with Cyprus and the Levant. According to IBN HAWQAL (10th C.), Attaleia was the center for collecting taxes on goods brought by trade or piracy from Muslim lands; the revenue from this amounted to 300 pounds of gold. He also states that the city was directly subject to the emperor and paid no taxes. Attaleia was a base of the imperial post that connected it with Constantinople in eight days by land and 15 by sea (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:414–19). Powerful Roman walls, rebuilt and extended by Leo VI, kept Attaleia from capture by the Arabs; it maintained its ancient size throughout the Byz. period. By the 11th C., Attaleia had a substantial Jewish community. Attaleia survived the turmoil after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, remaining a center of imperial and Venetian trade, but by 1148 it was a Byz. island in territory overrun by the Turks. It was taken by the Italian Aldobrandini family ca.1204 and by the Seljuks in 1207. Attaleia, a suffragan bishopric of Perge, was elevated to a metropolis by Alexios I. Attaleia preserves the circuit of its walls, much of them Byz., and a large Justinianic cruciform church with a central tower, later transformed into a basilica.

LIT. K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1890) 7–32. M. Ballance, "Cumanin Cam'i at Antalya," *BSR* 23 (1955) 99–114. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 82f, 108, 187. —C.F.

**ATTALEIATES, MICHAEL**, historian; born Constantinople or Attaleia between ca.1020 and 1030, died after 1085 (according to Gautier, after 1079). A man of modest origins, Attaleiates (Ἀτταλειάτης) had a brilliant career: a senator and judge, he had the title of *proedros*; he also acquired properties both in Constantinople and Rhaidestos which he described in his *Diataxis* of 1077. Lemerle (*infra* 111) estimates Attaleiates' properties at approximately 150 LITRAE. In the *Diataxis* Attaleiates incorporated the history of his acquisitions into his autobiography, established rules for the monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople and the XENODOCHEION (in Rhaidestos), which he founded, and listed icons and liturgical objects belonging to the monastery. In 1073/4 Attaleiates issued a legal textbook, introduced by a survey of the development of Roman law from the Republic to the BASILIKA.

His major work is the *History*, encompassing the period 1034–79/80. Written primarily on the basis of firsthand observations, the book is less personal than the contemporary *Chronography* of PSELLOS, although in some cases Attaleiates describes his own role in events. The *History* is a rhetorical panegyric of NIKEPHOROS III: Attaleiates not only ascribed to him conventional imperial virtues, but emphasized his noble origin and military prowess—qualities absent from earlier MIRRORS OF PRINCES. At the same time Attaleiates demonstrated an unusual interest in the fate of cities and in urban movements and stressed the links between his hero and urban populations. According to E.Th. Tsolakis (*Byzantina* 2 [1970] 258), the final version of the *History* was completed after Nikephoros's deposition in 1081, and thus is not the work of a sycophant, but a sincere expression of political views. Less talented than Psellos in exposing the clash of human passions, Attaleiates sought the causes of events. Also an acute observer of nature, he described the ELEPHANT and giraffe with naturalistic details.

ED. *Historia*, eds. W. Brunet de Presle, I. Bekker (Bonn 1853). Fr. tr. of chs. 1–34 by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 325–62. P. Gautier, "La Diataxis de Michel Atta-

liate," *REB* 39 (1981) 5–143, with Fr. tr. Zepos, *Jus* 7:409–97.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:382–89, 2:465. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 23–86. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 65–112. E.Th. Tsolakis, "Aus dem Leben des Michael Attaleiates (seine Heimatstadt, sein Geburts- und Todesjahr)," *BZ* 58 (1965) 3–10. —A.K.

**ATTICA** (Ἀττική), the territory of ATHENS. In late antiquity there is evidence of considerable prosperity, and settlements existed at many places: early Christian basilicas have been discovered at Brauron, Glyphada, Anabysos, Koubaras, and Kalamos, among other sites. The silver mines at Laurion and Thorikos were apparently worked again and caves, such as that at Bari, were inhabited. G. Fowden (*JHS* 108 [1988] 48–59) suggests that increased production of silver was only partly responsible for this phenomenon, since pagans may have fled to more remote areas, and mountain passes were utilized in response to the barbarian danger. Along with the rest of the empire, Attica suffered from barbarian invasions in the late 6th through the 8th C.; although Attica certainly remained in Byz. hands, most of the settlements seem to have been abandoned: none of the Early Christian basilicas survived into later times.

Prosperity returned beginning in the 9th C., and many churches date to the 11th through 13th C.; most of these are simple cross-in-square structures, such as the *katholikon* at KAISARIANE. Several fresco programs of the 13th C. survive (e.g., N. Coumbaraki-Pansélinou, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara et la chapelle de la Vierge à Mérenta* [Thessalonike 1976]); the former has a portrait of Michael CHONIATES. Porto Raphti on the east coast seems to have developed as a major port. After the Fourth Crusade a series of towers was constructed, linking Athens with the hinterland of Attica and the east coast. The soil of Attica is rather poor and, as in antiquity, the area specialized in the production of honey, olives, and wine.

LIT. Ch. Bouras, A. Kaloyeropoulou, R. Andreadi, *Churches of Attica*<sup>2</sup> (Athens 1970). D. Pallas, "He Palaiochristianike Notioanatolike Attike," in *Praktika B' Epistemonikes Synanteseis ND Attikes* (Kalyvia 1986) 43–80. —T.E.G.

**ATTICISM**, the use in literature of an archaizing and artificial form of Greek, based on imitation of the language of Athenian writers of the 5th–



4th C. B.C. Perpetuated by teachers of rhetoric and codified in LEXIKA and textbooks, Atticism dominated the literature of the Roman Empire. Addressing an educated pagan public, Christian apologists such as CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA naturally used the Atticizing literary Greek their readers knew and accepted. As Christianity spread among the urban upper classes, Atticizing Greek, rather than New Testament KOINE, became the normal ecclesiastical language esp. of the 4th- and 5th-C. church fathers. For the Byz., the works of these church fathers became models of language and style no less worthy of imitation than those of the writers of classical Athens. Every Byz. revival of education and culture was accompanied by a reassertion of Atticism, often marked more by the avoidance of features of the spoken language than by imitation of ancient models; Homer, Gregory of Nazianzos, and George of Pisidia were as "Attic" as Demosthenes. Throughout the Byz. period EDUCATION perpetuated and institutionalized a distinction between spoken and literary Greek, which later widened and hindered the development of an expressive VERNACULAR literature. Thus PHOTIOS praised the simplicity of New Testament language but did not practice it himself. SYMEON METAPHRASTES rewrote in inflated language and style some early saints' Lives composed in a relatively popular language. Nikephoros CHOUMNOS declared that literary excellence required the imitation of classical and patristic models. While rhetoric, history, and theology were the domain of Atticism, technical writing, ascetic writing, and chronicles such as those of John MALALAS and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR were often couched in simpler language.

LIT. W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart 1887–89). E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (Leipzig-Berlin 1915; rp. Stuttgart 1958) 251–99, 392–407, 512–72. Browning, "Language." G. Böhlig, "Das Verhältnis von Volkssprache und Reinsprache im griechischen Mittelalter," in *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin 1957) 1:1–13. Eadem, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner* (Berlin 1956). C.A. Trypanis, *Ho Attikismos kai to glossiko mas zetema* (Athens 1984). —R.B.

**ATTIKOS**, bishop of Constantinople (Mar. 406–10 Oct. 425); born Sebasteia in Armenia, died Constantinople. After taking the monastic habit at an early age, Attikos joined the PNEUMATOMA-

CHOI; he recanted their teaching when he moved to Constantinople and became priest there. Poorly educated, he was not popular as a preacher (Sozom. *HE* 8.27.5–6). This was probably one of the reasons for his hatred of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM: Attikos was Chrysostom's major accuser at the Synod of the Oak (403), and even after Chrysostom's death Attikos was slow and reluctant to restore his name to the diptychs. More politician than theologian, Attikos left little in writing (Bardenhewer, *Literatur* 3:361f), but he did much to strengthen the position of the bishop of the capital: Attikos was on good terms with the court, dedicated to Empress PULCHERIA and her sisters a now-lost tract entitled *On Faith and Virginity*, and received from Theodosios II a personal privilege prohibiting the election of a bishop in the neighboring area without notifying the bishop of Constantinople (Sokr. *HE* 7:28). Attikos was active in fighting heresies (e.g., MESSALIANISM and PELAGIANISM) and gained the support of Pope Celestine and approval of Pope LEO I. Cyril of Aléxandria was more cautious but found in Attikos an ally in his anti-Nestorianism (PG 77:97B). The traditional assertion, however, that Cyril quoted Attikos as using the term *theotokos* in a homily (PG 76:1213BC) is wrong; the term appears in the next quotation, from a certain bishop Antiochos.

ED. M. Brière, "Une homélie inédite d'Atticus, patriarche de Constantinople (406–425)," *ROC* 29 (1933–34) 160–86. M. Geerard, A. Van Roey, "Les fragments grecs et syriaques de la lettre 'Ad Euppsychium' d'Atticus de Constantinople (406–425)," in *Corona gratiarum. Miscellanea Eligio Dekkers*, vol. 1 (Bruges–The Hague 1975) 69–81.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 35–48. C. Verschaffel, *DTC* 1.2 (1937) 222of. A. Bigelmair, *LThK* 1:1016f. —A.K.

**ATTILA** (Ἀτίλας), ruler (*dominus* in Jordanes) of the Huns (434–53). He was the son of Mundiuch and successor of his uncle Rua (Rugila). At first he ruled with his older brother Bleda, but assassinated him in 445. The center of his realm was in the basin of the Tissa and Timoš rivers, tributaries of the Danube; various peoples such as the Gepids, Goths, and Alans were under his power. Attila led several attacks against the northern Balkans, urging the emperors in Constantinople to sign peace treaties. In 434/5 (B. Croke, *GRBS* 18 [1977] 355–58) or after Feb. 438, he concluded a favorable treaty at Horreum Margi calling for an annual tribute of 350 (or 700?) pounds of gold. In 442 he reached Thrace; the

embassy of Nomos achieved a peace that lasted to 447 (B. Croke, *BS* 42 [1981] 159–70). In 447 the Huns advanced as far as the Chersonese and Thermopylae; when peace was arranged the tribute was increased to 6,000 pounds of gold. When Attila seized the territory from Pannonia to Novae, an embassy led by Anatolios and Nomos demanded and achieved the withdrawal of the Huns from this area. In 450 Marcian refused to pay tribute; surprisingly, however, Attila turned his attention westward, demanding marriage with Justa Grata Honoria (Valentinian III's sister) and a substantial portion of the Western Empire. His invasion of Gaul ended in defeat at the CATALAUNIAN FIELDS in 451. The following year Attila attacked Italy, capturing Aquileia, Milan, and other cities. He retreated after negotiations with Pope LEO I, probably fearing an attack of the Eastern army. He died of a hemorrhage in his camp on the night of his wedding with a Gothic woman named Ildico.

Jordanes describes Attila as a short man, broad-chested, with a large head, small eyes, and sparse beard. It has been debated whether Attila was only a cruel plunderer (O. Maenchen-Helfen, *BZ* 61 [1968] 270–76) or the founder of a new barbarian imperium, a forerunner of medieval steppe-states (G. Wirth, *BZ* 60 [1967] 41–69).

LIT. O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley 1973). E.A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford 1948). Idem, "The Foreign Policies of Theodosius II and Marcian," *Hermathena* 76 (1950) 58–75. —T.E.G.

**ATUMANO, SIMON**, Greek humanist and Catholic prelate; born Constantinople early 14th C., died between 1383 and 1387. Born to an Orthodox Greek mother and Turkish father, his name, Atumano (Ἀτουμάνος), is probably derived from "Ottoman." He became a monk at the Stoudios monastery and in 1348 was named as successor to BARLAAM in the see of Gerace (Calabria). He converted to Catholicism and was Latin archbishop of Thebes from 1366 until his death. He made periodic trips to the West and taught Greek at the papal court in Avignon. After the conquest of Thebes by the NAVARRESE COMPANY in 1379, Atumano retired to Rome, where he taught Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

His knowledge of Hebrew, unusual at the time, enabled him to prepare a trilingual version of the Old Testament dedicated to Pope Urban VI (1378–

89). He also translated into Latin Plutarch's *On the Control of Anger*, composed a poem on JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, and wrote scholia on Euripides.

LIT. G. Fedalto, *Simone Atumano monaco di Studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe, secolo XIV* (Brescia 1968). G. Mercati, *Se la versione dall'ebraico del Codice veneto greco VII sia di Simone Atumano, arcivescovo di Tebe* (Rome 1916). K.M. Setton, "The Archbishop Simon Atumano and the Fall of Thebes to the Navarrese in 1379," *BNJbb* 18 (1945–9/60) 105–22. *PLP*, no.1648. —A.M.T.

**AUDIENCE** (δοχή, προέλευσις, δέξιμον), a ceremonial encounter between the EMPEROR and others. Its staging and locale varied over time and according to participants, but always used splendid setting and ceremony to maximize the impact of the emperor's self-manifestation. *De ceremoniis* suggests three main kinds of public audiences: relatively low-key daily or Sunday audiences (*De cer.*, bk.2, chs. 1–2, ed. Reiske 518–25); an audience of the factions (*De cer.*, bk.1., chs. 62–64, 66, ed. Vogt 2:88–101, 105–09); and, the most grandiose, audiences of foreign ambassadors (e.g., *De cer.*, bk.1, ch.89; bk.2, ch.15, ed. Reiske 404.1–408.4, 566–98). Typically, the emperor sat on a raised throne that was surmounted by a baldachin (*kiborion*, *kamelaukion*) and separated from the rest of the room by a curtain (*velum*, *velon*, *kortinai*); porphyry disks (*omphaloi*) in the floor might guide participants' movements. Silence reigned during the audience and an official often spoke for the emperor. Participants were admitted in series, called *vela*, according to precedence, and performed PROSKYNESIS as they approached the emperor through the midst of AUTOMATA and ranks of guards and officials chanting acclamations; their hands were covered to prevent profanation of the emperor.

Despite rigid etiquette, the audience ceremonial was sometimes disturbed (e.g., *Vita Euthym.* 107.22–26), sometimes modified as an imperial favor (e.g., *XII panegyrici* 3 (11) 28.1–4, ed. R.A.B. Mynors [Oxford 1964] 141.9–22). Suppliants sought private audiences, esp. with the EMPRESS. The audience served as a framework for other ceremonies, such as promotions (e.g., *De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 43–59, ed. Vogt 2:26–83) or reconciliation with defectors (*De cer.*, bk.2, ch.37, ed. Reiske, 634f). Audiences granted by Byz. officials and elite followed a similar but less splendid pattern; they presumably explain the numerous audience rooms



identified by archaeologists in elite residences of the 4th–6th C.

LIT. D.F. Beljaev, "Ežednevnye i voskresnye priemy vizantijskich carej i prazdničnye vychody ich v chram sv. Sofii v IX–X v.," *Byzantina* 2 (St. Petersburg 1893) 1–308. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 52–101. —M.McC.

**AUGOUSTALIOS** (αὐγουστάλιος, Lat. *augustalis*), from the 2nd half of the 4th C. the title of the prefect of Egypt (K.J. Neumann, *RE* 2 [1896] 2361). The term reappears at the end of the 10th C. but its meaning is unclear; in the ΤΑΚΤΙΚΟΝ of Escurial (of 971–75) the title is placed between the *epi ton deeseon* and *thesmophylax*. A letter of Nikephoros OURANOS is addressed "To the *protospatharios* Pothos, the former *augoustalios*" (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 222, no.11). A late 12th-C. (?) text is directed to a certain Katasampas as "*diktator* and *archistrategos* of our school of fish and of other sea animals, the *doux* and *augoustalios*" (S. Lampros, *NE* 7 [1910] 356.25–27), although the use of the term here may be ironic. Oikonomides suggests that the Latin *augustalis*-*augoustalios* could be translated into Greek as SEBASTOPHOROS.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 309. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 52, n.6. —A.K.

**AUGUSTA.** See EMPRESS.

**AUGUSTAION**, enclosed open space in Constantinople, situated south of HAGIA SOPHIA. Probably carved out of a preexisting agora called the ΤΕΤΡΑΣΤΟΟΝ, the Augustaion is ascribed to Constantine I, who is said to have placed in it a statue of his mother Helena on a column (Hesychius in Preger, *Scriptores* 17). Remodeled in 459 (*Chron. Pasch.* 593.4) and again by Justinian I, the Augustaion served not as a public forum but as a courtyard of restricted access. It survived as an open space until the end of the empire.

**Monuments.** Several sculptural and architectural monuments were prominent features of the Augustaion.

1. *Justinian's column* was surmounted by his equestrian statue. The shaft of the column was of brick, reveted with brass plaques. The bronze statue appears to have been remodeled from one of Theodosios I or II. It represented the emperor wearing a ΤΟΥΦΑ, raising his right arm and holding an orb in his left hand (Prokopios, *Buildings*

1:2.11–12). The statue, delineated in a 15th-C. drawing emanating from the circle of CYRIACUS OF ANCONA and now at the University Library, Budapest, was removed by Mehmed II. P. Gyllius (1544–50) saw and measured parts of it in the grounds of the Seraglio before they were melted down (*De topographia Constantinopoleos* [Lyons 1561; rp. Athens 1967] bk.2, ch.17). The column itself was toppled ca.1515.

2. *Statues of three barbarian kings offering tribute* stood in front of Justinian's column and probably formed part of the same triumphal ensemble. These are known only from the accounts of Russian pilgrims (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 134–37, 184f, 240).

3. *The Senate House* was situated on the east side of the Augustaion. Built by either Constantine I or Julian, damaged by fire in 404, and burnt down in 532, it was rebuilt by Justinian I with a porch of six huge marble columns (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1:10.6–9). (See SENATE HOUSE.)

LIT. Guiland, *Topographie* 2:40–54. Mango, *Brazen House* 42–47, 56–60, 174–79. P.W. Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian?" *ArtB* 41 (1959) 39–57, rev. C. Mango, *ibid.*, 351–58. —C.M.

**AUGUSTINE**, more fully Aurelius Augustinus, Latin theologian, bishop of Hippo Regius in Africa (from ca.396), and saint; born Tagaste, Numidia, 13 Nov. 354, died Hippo 28 Aug. 430. The son of a Christian mother and a pagan father, Augustine experienced a remarkable spiritual odyssey before converting to Christianity in 387. His major works were the *Confessions*, a sort of autobiography, and the *City of God* (*De civitate Dei*), contemplations on human conditions and goals, written after the sack of Rome by ALARIC in 410. The desire for SALVATION is at the center of Augustine's theology. Even though he wrote on subjects important in Byz. theology (MANICHAEANISM, ARIANISM), his major concerns were in other directions: for him the ideas of SIN, FREE WILL (in his polemics against PELAGIANISM), and REDEMPTION stood in the forefront, while the Eastern church was involved in the Trinitarian and Christological controversies. Augustine's command of Greek was shaky, but he probably knew some works of contemporary Greek theologians, for example, Theodore of Mopsuestia (J. McWilliam Dewart, *Augustinian Studies* 10 [1979] 113–32). His anti-Pelagian stand was known in the East,

but in 415 Palestinian bishops (at the synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis) disapproved of his views.

Certain of Augustine's statements were included in Byz. FLORILEGIA, and it is possible that Maximos the Confessor used him, without, however, mentioning his name (G.C. Berthold, *StP* 17.1 [1982] 14–17). Photios refers to Augustine, but the patriarch's knowledge of him was vague. Only in the 13th–14th C. did interest in Augustine arise, when Maximos PLANOUEDES, the KYDONES brothers, and Manuel KALEKAS translated and studied his authentic and spurious works.

ED. H. Hunger, *Prochoros Kydones, Übersetzung von acht Briefen des Hl. Augustinus* (Vienna 1984).

LIT. P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley 1967). M. Rackl, "Die griechische Augustinus-Übersetzungen," in *Miscellanea F. Ehrle*, vol. 1 (Rome 1924) 1–38. B. Altaner, "Augustinus in der griechischen Kirche bis auf Photius," *HistJb* 71 (1952) 37–76. D.Z. Niketas, "He parousia tou Augoustinou sten Anatolike Ekklesia," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 7–26. E. Pagels, "The Politics of Paradise: Augustine's Exegesis of Genesis 1–3 versus that of John Chrysostom," *HThR* 78 (1985) 67–99. V. Laurent, "Une effigie inédite de Saint Augustin sur le sceau du duc byzantin de Numidie Pierre," *Cahiers de Byrsa* 2 (1952) 87–93. —A.K., T.E.G.

**AURELIUS VICTOR, SEXTUS**, Latin historian; born Africa ca.320, died after 389. By his own account Aurelius was a man of poor rural stock who advanced by his literary skill. He was sufficiently in the public eye (perhaps a lawyer or civil servant) to catch the attention of JULIAN when that emperor captured Sirmium in 361, and Julian appointed him governor of Pannonia Secunda. Perhaps briefly in eclipse after Julian's death, he came back as *iudex sacrarum cognitionum* under Theodosios I, who made him urban prefect of Rome in 389. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, perhaps a friend, commends (21.10.6) his sobriety (more political than alcoholic).

Aurelius wrote a *Breviary* of Roman history from Augustus to the year 360, generally known as the *Caesares* or *Liber de Caesaribus*. Biographical in approach, it is conventional in opinions, moralizing in tone, and stylistically an uneasy amalgam of Sallustian brevity and the bureaucratism of his own age. Apparently a pagan, he was sensibly reticent on contemporary religious issues. His book may have enjoyed some currency into the 6th C., being mentioned by JOHN LYDOS (*De magistratibus* 3.7), albeit the latter's reference to it as a history of the civil wars suggests no deep knowledge.

Aurelius's work is to be distinguished from the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, which ends in 395.

ED. *Liber de Caesaribus*, ed. F. Pichlmayr, R. Gruendel (Leipzig 1966). *Livre des Césars*, ed. P. Dufraigne (Paris 1975), with Fr. tr.

LIT. H.W. Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor: A Historiographical Study* (Liverpool 1984). Den Boer, *Historians* 19–113. R.J. Penella, "A Lowly Born Historian of the Late Roman Empire: Some Observations on Aurelius Victor and his *De Caesaribus*," *Thought* 55 (1980) 122–31. C.G. Starr, "Aurelius Victor: Historian of Empire," *AHR* 61 (1955–56) 574–86. —B.B.

**AUSTRIA**, from 976 an eastern borderland, or *Ostmark*, of the German kingdom. In 1148, as part of an effort to maintain alliance with CONRAD III, Manuel I married his niece Theodora to Henry II of Babenberg (1141–77), Conrad's half-brother and the first duke of Austria. Walter von der Vogelweide praised her wedding. Theodora died in Vienna on 3 Jan. 1183. Two more Austrian dukes took Byz. princesses as their wives: Leopold VI (1198–1230) married Theodora, granddaughter of Alexios III Angelos, and the last Babenberg, Frederick II (1230–46), married Sophia, daughter of Theodore I Laskaris.

Rudolf IV of Habsburg was the first Austrian duke to be crowned Roman emperor (as Rudolf I, in 1273), but it was only later, with Frederick V Habsburg (as Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III, 1443–93), that imperial ideology was clearly linked with Austria (*Austriae est imperare orbi universo*), a claim enhanced by the fall of Constantinople in 1453, making Frederick the sole emperor. The Austrian Habsburgs' claim to the Byz. imperial legacy was manifest in Frederick's wife, Eleanor, who offered to change her name to Helen and tried unsuccessfully to have her son Maximilian I named Constantine. The search for imperial legitimacy continued into the 15th C. with the emergence of legends linking the Habsburgs with the family of Julius Caesar and later with the Merovingians and ancient Trojans. The latter theory of descent contributed to an interest in Greek antiquity and ultimately to the cultural and political inheritance of Byz.

LIT. K.J. Heilig, "Byzantinische Einflüsse auf Österreich im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert," *Reichspost* (Vienna), no.311, 11 Nov. 1935, 17f. Idem, "Ostmark und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in T. Meyer, *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrich I.* (Leipzig 1944; new ed. 1973) 1–272. P. Enepekides, "Byzantinische Prinzessinnen im Hause der Babenberger und die byzantinischen



Einflüsse in den österreichischen Ländern des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," 9 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Thessalonike 1956) 368-74. A. Wandruszka, *The House of Hapsburg* (London 1964) 14-23. -R.B.H.

**AUTHOR.** The self-perception of the Byz. author ranged from cloaking himself in complete anonymity to devoting profound attention to his own personality, the difference being determined by both genre and epoch. The author does not appear at all in such genres as rhetorical exercises, romance, and epic, whereas historiography, epistolography, poetry, epideictic oratory, and even sermons permitted more opportunity for overt self-expression. In hagiography, the author sometimes presents himself through the topos of *MODESTY*; at other times he appears as the hero's relative or disciple. The author-disciple assumes an esp. elaborate role in the vita of *BASIL THE YOUNGER*; in some saints' lives, however, like that of *ANDREW THE FOOL*, the author-disciple is a fictitious figure introduced to give the impression of a truthful and authoritative account.

In the late Roman period the author often revealed himself, at least in the *PROOIMION*, or in autobiographical pieces (cf. *GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS*), but in the 7th-9th C. the trend toward anonymity prevailed. In the 11th-15th C. the individuality of the author became more apparent: epistolography flourished, and certain historical works (*Psellos*, *Niketas Choniates*, *John Kantakouzenos*) came close to the genre of *AUTOBIOGRAPHY*; in poetry, personal references are evident in *Prodromos* and *Tzetzes*, and some centuries later in *Sachlikes*. In poetry, as in hagiography, real personality is often mixed with *CLICHÉS*: thus the topos of the author's imprisonment (e.g., *Glykas*, *Della Porta*) or poverty is frequent. The "ego" of the verses of *Ptochoprodromos* (a young monk, a henpecked husband) is obviously different from that of the actual author. The author's self-expression takes various forms, from direct defense of his views (as in *Gregoras*) to a clever apology disguised as objectivity and sincerity (*Kantakouzenos*).

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literatur," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 11-13. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt. II (1961), 169-86. I. Čičurov, "K probleme avtorskogo samosoznaniia vizantijskich istorikov IV-IX vv.," *Antičnost' i Vizantijska* (Moscow 1975) 203-17. -A.K.

**AUTOBIOGRAPHY** as a genre reached its peak in the 4th and 5th C. Its representatives both secular (*LIBANIOS*, *SYNESIOS*) and ecclesiastical (*GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS*) combined conventional rhetoric and playful exercises with a trend toward revelation of the psyche of the *AUTHOR*, his sufferings, and his search for the righteous path; the latter tendency toward sincere confession found an extreme expression in *AUGUSTINE*. Autobiography could be used (e.g., by *NESTORIOS*) for the purpose of self-defense. After this early peak, autobiography disappeared for a long period. It was revived in the 11th C. in the guise of historiography or even of extraliterary writing: *Christodoulos of Patmos* and *Attaleiates* prefaced their *typika* with autobiographical introductions. *Attaleiates* also dedicated some passages of his *History* to his own role; *Psellos* was even more self-oriented and made himself play a leading role in the history of his time as described in his memoirs. As a separate genre autobiography was produced by *Nikephoros Basilakes* and further developed in the 13th and 14th C. by *Nikephoros Blemmydes*, *Gregory II of Cyprus*, *Theodore Metochites*, *Demetrios Kydones*, etc. (I. Ševčenko in *La civiltà bizantina del XII al XV secolo* [Rome 1982] 116). *Michael VIII Palaiologos* prefaced a *typikon* with his autobiography. The most sophisticated Byz. memoirs, verging on autobiography, were those of *John VI Kantakouzenos*: written in the third person, they are an apology for his political failure, cloaked in the disguise of objectivity and sincerity. Even though autobiographies may include some hagiographical elements (e.g., in *Blemmydes*), they have a different function, emphasizing not the modesty of the author-hero, but his talent, knowledge, and political significance at the court.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:165-70. G. Misch, *Geschichte der Biographie*, vol. 1.2 (Bern 1950) 551-704; 3.2 (Frankfurt am Main 1962) 749-903. J. Irmscher, "Autobiographien in der byzantinischen Literatur," *Studia byzantina* 2 (Berlin 1973) 3-11. N. Austin, "Autobiography and History: Some Later Roman Historians and their Veracity," in *Croke-Emmett, Historians* 54-65. -A.K.

**AUTOCEPHALOUS** (αὐτοκέφαλος), the term used in Byz. canon law and in the *NOTITIAE EPISCOPATUUM* to designate each diocese possessing the right to elect its own primate or *kephale*,

"head." These dioceses were completely self-governing, that is, independent of the five ancient *Patriarchates*. The practice and the term itself were already established by the 6th C. (cf. *Theodore Lector* 121.21). As *Balsamon* emphasizes, before the patriarchal centralization of the 4th C. all provincial primates or *Metropolitans* were, in fact, autocephalous and were ordained by their own synods (PG 137:317D). Autocephaly was determined either by an ecumenical council (431, Cyprus), imperial decision (10th C., Bulgaria) or, as in the case of Georgia, by a disposition of the mother-church in the 8th C. (*Balsamon*, PG 137:320A). The autocephalic churches of Cyprus and Bulgaria followed the five patriarchates in order of rank (cf. *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatumum. Accedunt Nili Doxapatrii Notitia Patriarchatumum et Locorum Nomina Immutata*, ed. G. Parthey [Berlin 1866] 284-86). The primate usually carried the title of metropolitan, *Archbishop*, or, occasionally, patriarch.

Apart from its primary meaning, the term was also used to define a distinct group of bishops without suffragans ("autocephalous archbishops") whose immediate superior was the patriarch (*Laurent, Corpus* 5.1, nos. 817-70). These bishops were not subject to any metropolitan, although in terms of precedence they followed the metropolitans.

LIT. A.D. Kyriakos, "Das System der autokephalen, selbständigen orthodoxen Kirchen," *Revue internationale de théologie* 10 (1902) 99-115, 273-86. F. Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche* (Munich 1937) 153-78. *Laurent, Corpus* 5.2, nos. 1478-1510. -A.P.

**AUTOKRATOR** (αὐτοκράτωρ), official Greek translation of *imperator*, or emperor, until 629; used alongside *Basileus* and other titles thereafter. The Greek term *autokrator* lacked the Latin's military connotations, emphasizing rather autonomous power and monarchy. Christians had used the Roman monarchy to argue monotheism's superiority over polytheism, but after *Constantine I's* conversion monotheism buttressed the legitimacy of monarchy, which was already advocated by Hellenistic political philosophy and justified by analogies with the animal kingdom, for example, the "king" bee (F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, vol. 2 [Washington 1966] 611-723). The title *autokrator* appears on coins from 912, in *Chrysobulls* from the 11th

C., and in contemporary legends to miniature paintings depicting emperors. Outside of *intitulaciones* and *acclamations*, the term developed a specialized meaning no later than the early 9th C. that, like *meGas basileus* (cf. P. Schreiner, *Byzantina* 3 [1971] 173-92), distinguished the main emperor from co-emperors. Thus, *autokratoria* referred to the anniversary ceremonies of an emperor's assumption of actual power as opposed to his *coronation* (e.g., *Oikonomides, Listes* 225.10-11; *De cer.*, bk.2, ch.33, ed. Reiske 632.4-11). The *Palaiologoi* extended the use of the title to mark one of several co-emperors as designated heir (cf. *pseudo-Kod.* 252.24-253.3).

LIT. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 102-51.

-M.McC.

**AUTOMATA**, devices powered by compressed air from bellows or by water, were displayed in the *Magnauro* and testified to in the 10th C. by *Constantine VII* and *Liutprand of Cremona*. Their existence in the 9th C. is surrounded with legends: they are said to have been constructed during the reign of *Theophilos* (*Glykas* names *Leo the Mathematician* as their engineer) and then destroyed by *Michael III*, who was in need of money (presumably they were melted down to extract their precious metals). The *Magnauro* automata included the throne of *Solomon*, which could be lifted high in the air; mechanical singing birds, perched in a gold tree, that fluttered their wings; and roaring golden lions. Writers in *China* report on a gold human figure that marked the hours by striking *Bells*. Mechanical singing birds are also mentioned in romances (e.g., the *Achilleis*). The origin of the automata is unclear: *Grabar* (*Fin Ant.* 1:286) argued that the machines at *Theophilos's* court were imported from *Baghdad*, but related contrivances, such as *Organs* and *Greek Fire*, suggest that automata may have been native inventions based ultimately on the work of *Heron of Alexandria*.

LIT. R. Hammerstein, *Macht und Klang* (Bern 1986) 43-58. G. Brett, "The Automata in the Byzantine Throne of Solomon," *Speculum* 29 (1954) 477-87. -A.C., A.K.

**AUTOREIANOS** (Ἀυτωρειανός, fem. Ἀυτωρειανή), a family of state and church officials. The etymology of the name is unclear; it may be of Western origin. *Autoreiano*i are known from



the 1080s onward as judges (Michael in 1094 and perhaps 1082—see Gautier, "Blachernes" 258; John in 1196—see *Lavra* 1, nos. 67.2, 68.2) and notaries (Theodosios in 1088—*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no. 48A.205). One family member became patriarch as MICHAEL IV, another as ARSENIOS. Circa 1302–07 Phokas Autoreianos, *grammatikos*, served as *doux* of Thrakesion (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 151–54). They were apparently a family of intellectuals: Theodosios Autoreianos (mid-12th C.) corresponded with John TZETZES; the future patriarch Michael was a friend of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and Michael CHONIATES; and some Autoreianoi were among the correspondents of Nikephoros CHOUMNOS and Maximos PLANOUEDES.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 1691–96.

—A.K.

**AUTOURGION** (*αὐτούργιον*, lit. "operated without assistance"), a property producing maximum revenue, *euprosodon* (Zonaras in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:593.19–20). Balsamon (ibid. 595.4–7) includes in this category salt pans, olive groves, vineyards, meadowland, water mills, brickyards, etc. The term is infrequent in later acts, in which it also refers to vineyards, *vivaria*, *aulakia* (canals? cf. *Lavra* 2, no.104.177–79), and water mills (no.112.24). *Autourgia* are usually contrasted with peasants' allotments and juxtaposed with such items of income as fairs, taxes, tolls, etc. (Zepos, *Jus* 1:382.22–25). Such capital-intensive assets could be exploited as DEMESNE property and thus did not need to be rented out to peasants; they were conceived as the most valuable part of the estate. The term *autourgion* was also applied to any property that earned a profit.

LIT. N. Svoronos, "Les privilèges de l'église à l'époque des Comnènes," *TM* 1 (1965) 329, n.22. Dölger, *Beiträge* 151. F.I. Uspenskij, "Mnenija i postanovlenija konstantinopol'skich pomestnych soborov," *IRAİK* 5 (1900) 42–45. N.B. Tomadakes, "Byzantine engeios horologia," *Athena* 75 (1974–75) 69–72.

—M.B.

**AUXENTIOS** (*Ἀυξέντιος*), saint; born Syria ca.420, died Bithynia 14 Feb. ca.470. He came to Constantinople during the reign of Theodosios II and served as a soldier of the fourth *schola*. Circa 442 he resigned and left for Mt. Oxeia to live in solitude. His Life states that Emp. Marcian invited Auxentios to the Council of Chalcedon in 451, but the council acts do not mention him. During his second stay in Constantinople, Auxentios was

closely connected with the ROUPHINIANAI monastery. Suspected of disagreeing with the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, he cleared himself before Marcian. He left Constantinople again, for a cave on Mt. Skopa in Bithynia, where he lived as a hermit. A monastery that took the Saint's name was later founded on this mountain (see AUXENTIOS, MOUNT). A noble lady Eleuthera (Stephanis in Psellos), the chambermaid of Empress PULCHERIA, urged Auxentios to support the foundation of a nunnery in a nearby *proasteion*, Gyreta; Auxentios was buried in its chapel. Auxentios is said to have compiled "pleasant and useful troparia of two or three stanzas with plain and artless melody" (PG 114:1416A). His Life is known from the collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES; this late version was reworked by PSELLOS, who emphasized Auxentios's role as imperial councilor and courageous market reformer and noted that he suffered from depression; Psellos also ascribed to Auxentios some features of his own biography (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 546–56).

**Representation in Art.** In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.399), Auxentios appears as an orant monk; in the THEODORE PSALTER (fols. 38v, 96v) he appears once as a bishop bearing witness before Christ to the defeat of two armed men by an angel and once as a monk bearing witness to the defeat of two demons.

SOURCES. PG 114:1377–1436. P.-P. Joannou, *Démonologie populaire—démonologie critique au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Wiesbaden 1971) 64–132. *Vie de st. Auxence*, ed. L. Clugnet [= *BHO* 6] (Paris 1904) 3–14.

LIT. *BHG* 199–203c.

—A.K.—, N.P.Š.

**AUXENTIOS, MOUNT**, a HOLY MOUNTAIN dotted with hermitages and monasteries, present-day Kayışdağ, located near Constantinople, 12 km southeast of Chalcedon. Called Skopa or Skopos in antiquity, the mountain took its name from the 5th-C. Syrian St. AUXENTIOS, who spent the last 20 years of his life in a cave near the summit. Both men and women flocked to the mountain to live as solitaries under Auxentios's spiritual leadership. Circa 460 a certain Eleuthera built the convent of Trichinarea (sometimes called Trichinaraia) at the base of the mountain for 70 of these pious women. It survived until at least the end of the 12th C.

No male monastery was built until the 8th C., when STEPHEN THE YOUNGER constructed a com-

plex for about 20 monks. Shortly thereafter he and his companions were exiled and the monastery destroyed during the Iconoclastic persecution of Constantine V. Sources of the 11th–13th C. report a number of monasteries under different names, including St. Stephen, Holy Apostles, the Archangel Michael, and the Holy Five (five Armenian martyrs of the early 4th C.), where Maximos PLANOUEDES was *hegoumenos*. Some of these names may refer to the same institution, restored with a new dedication. The monastery of the Archangel Michael was renovated by Michael VIII, who composed a *typikon* limiting the number of monks to 40.

SOURCE. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:769–94.

LIT. L. Clugnet, J. Pargoire, *Vie de saint Auxence: Mont Saint-Auxence* (Paris 1904). Janin, *Églises centres* 43–50. Beck, *Kirche* 208, 687, 692, 696.

—A.M.T.

**AUXILIARY DISCIPLINES** (from Lat. *auxilium*, "help, assistance"), designation of certain branches of knowledge that apply general and concrete approaches (methodology and technique) to the analysis (primarily the external analysis) of historical sources. Traditionally, auxiliary disciplines include PALAEOGRAPHY, EPIGRAPHY, Papyrology, DIPLOMATICS, NUMISMATICS, SIGILLOGRAPHY, METROLOGY, PROSOPOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY, genealogy, historical geography, TOPONYMICS, and heraldry. Source analysis (Germ. *Quellenkunde*) can also be described as an auxiliary discipline. The analysis of archaeological objects, elaborated in recent decades, requires the application of various scientific disciplines, such as geology, palaeobotany and palaeozoology, archaeometry, aerial photography, dendrochronology, physics, etc. Statistics employed for analysis of mass data has emerged as an auxiliary discipline as well. All of these disciplines have methods of their own, but their common goal is to provide the scholar with means of control and categorization of source material, of discarding false "information," of placing historical events within the framework of space and time. From the use of auxiliary disciplines we must distinguish the application of interdisciplinary methodology, for example, the utilization of literary and archaeological evidence to resolve common problems.

LIT. L.F. Genicot, *Introduction aux sciences auxiliaires traditionnelles de l'histoire de l'art* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1984).

—T.E.G., A.K.

**AVARS** (*Ἄβαροι*), a nomadic people that appeared in the mid-6th C. in the steppe north of the Black Sea. Their previous history can be established only hypothetically, on the basis of identifications in Chinese and Byz. sources. Their language is thought to be Altaic.

The first Avar embassy appeared in Constantinople in 558. Justinian I concluded an alliance with the Avars and used them to alleviate the pressure of Pontic barbarians on the Byz. frontier. The Avars were able to control both COTRIGURS and ANTAE, but they then invaded SCYTHIA MINOR and occupied PANNONIA after having destroyed the GEPIDS. The growth of Avar power created frictions in their relations with Byz.; under the command of BAIAN, the Avars, acting in alliance with the Slavs, conquered a part of the northern Balkans, including SIRMUM (582). The emperor Maurice's attempts to stop the Avars were unsuccessful; in 626 their offensive reached its peak when, together with the Persians, they besieged Constantinople. Thereafter, the first signs of disintegration of the Avar confederation (khanate) became visible: the Croats and Serbs joined Emp. Herakleios in his struggle against the Avars and ca.635 KUVRAT acquired independence from the Avars. We know nothing about the Avars from 680 to 780. At the end of the 8th C., they reappeared in the West but were defeated by Charlemagne. In 805 Krum subjugated a group of Avars; survivors of the group were mentioned for the last time ca.950.

The Avars were mounted warriors and used the iron STIRRUP, saber, long lance, and reflex-bow that gave them tactical advantages in battle. Excavated Avar hoards contain luxurious objects of Byz. origin as well as Avar arms and complex belt sets that must have indicated the social status of their owners. Familiarity of the Avars with the forms of Byz. metalwork and jewelry is suggested by the objects in the MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA and other treasures. By the end of the 7th C. wealthy tombs disappear; luxurious booty is replaced by ordinary bronze and bone objects. The Avars became more sedentary, but they remained pagan.

LIT. S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Avarica* (Szeged 1986). A. Kollautz, H. Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes*, vols. 1–2 (Klagenfurt 1970). A. Avenarius, *Die Awaren in Europa* (Bratislava 1974). Idem, "Die Konsolidierung des Awarerkhanates und



Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985-86) 1019-32. F. Daim, "The Avars," *Archaeology* 37.2 (1984) 33-39. W. Pohl, *Die Awaren* (Munich 1988). -A.K., A.C.

**AVLON** (Ἀβλῶν, lit. "a hollow between hills," Ital. Valona), a harbor in Epiros mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the Cosmographer of Ravenna. It was known during the late Roman period as a "polis on the Ionian gulf" (Prokopios, *Wars* 5.4.21) connected with Italy and as a bishopric (first mentioned in 458). It played an important role during the wars against the Normans in the 1080s, and at the end of the 11th C. the Venetians obtained trading privileges there, probably as a reward for their assistance in the anti-Norman war. It was assigned to the Venetians after 1204 but recovered by Michael I Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. In 1259 Michael II of Epiros surrendered Avlon to Manfred of Sicily who appointed Philip Chinardo to administer the area; in 1273 the Angevins established their power in Valona, but after 1284 the Byz. managed to occupy it. Valona, called *civitas imperatoris Graecorum* in Latin documents, served as a center of trade with Dubrovnik and Venice. The Angevins claimed Avlon until ca. 1332, when the Albanians attacked it; in 1345/6 it fell to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. After his death it formed a part of the dominions of the Serbian family of Balša; by 21 July 1418 it was in Turkish hands. Avlon should be distinguished from other centers of the same name, such as a suffragan bishopric of Athens (*TIB* 1:130f) or a valley in Palestine.

LIT. W. Miller, "Valona," *JHS* 37 (1917) 184-94. W. Tomaschek, *RE* 2 (1896) 2414f. -A.K.

**AVRAAMIJ OF SMOLENSK**, saint; fl. early 13th C.; feastday 21 Aug. Avraamij was a popular and controversial preacher and painter of icons on eschatological themes. The vita by his pupil Efrem presents Avraamij as a learned and ascetic monk—physically "a likeness of St. Basil"—who attracted a large lay following and aroused the hostility of the SMOLENSK clergy. Accused of heresy, of using secret or forbidden books (*g(o)lubinnyja knigy*), of prophesy, and of taking others' (spiritual?) children, he was acquitted by the secular authorities and eventually made peace with his bishop. Avraamij's rhetoric and images, as reported by Efrem, as well as an extant sermon titled *On the Celestial Powers* sometimes attributed to Avraamij,

concentrate on two topics: the fate of the soul after death, esp. its passage through the "customs houses" (*mytarstva, teloniai*) as described in the Life of BASIL THE YOUNGER, and the Last Judgment, for whose depiction Avraamij was inspired by EPHREM THE SYRIAN. Historians have tried, with little success, to specify Avraamij's alleged "heretical" interests, linking his enigmatic and perhaps imaginary *g(o)lubinnyja knigy* with both the BOGOMILS (G. Fedotov, *Pravoslavnaja mysl'* 2 [1930] 127-47) and the 14th-C. *strigol'niki* (B. Rybakov, *SovArch* [1964] no. 2, 179-87).

ED. "Slovo o nebesnyh silach," ed. S.P. Ševyrev, *Izvestija Imperatorskoj AN po otdeleniju russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* 9.3 (1860) 182-92.

SOURCE. *Žitija prepodobnago Avraamija Smolenskago*, ed. S.P. Rozanov (St. Petersburg 1912; rp. Munich 1970).

LIT. Fedotov, *Mind* 1:158-75. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 101-03, 139-42, 238-40. -S.C.F.

**‘AWĀSIM AND THUGHŪR**, the Muslim regions and their defenses and fortifications along the Syrian-Anatolian border of Byz. from the time of ‘UMAR to the late 10th C. The ‘Awāsim were the inner regions of the frontier zone; the outer ones were the Thughūr. They included towns located at entrances to the Taurus Mountains or intersections of roads. The ‘Awāsim became a distinct entity after caliph Hārūn al-Rashid separated the area in 786 from the *jund* ("military district") of Qinnasrīn (Chalkis) as the *jund al-‘Awāsim*. Hieropolis and Antioch were the major centers of the ‘Awāsim. The Thughūr were divided into Syrian and Mesopotamian sections. The former included passes between Syria and Cilicia and such towns as Adana, Tarsos, Mopsuestia, and Germanikeia (Maraş). East of it lay the Mesopotamian portion, of which Melitene was the most important town.

These districts witnessed heavy fighting since they were bases for Muslim raids into Byz. As the ‘ABBĀSID CALIPHATE weakened, the ‘Awāsim and Thughūr had to rely more on themselves and nearby Muslim leaders in their unsuccessful struggle against Byz.

LIT. M. Canard, *EP* 1:761f. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 42, 72. -W.E.K.

**AXIOMATIKOS** (ἀξιωματικός), a term that in the late Roman Empire had a vague meaning of military officer, as opposed to a recruit (Makarios of Egypt, PG 34:832B). According to the *Chroni-*

*con Paschale* (*Chron.Pasch.* 579.1), Empress Atheneis-Eudokia promoted her brothers to the rank of *axiomatikos*. Malalas (Malal. 382.17) employs the word in a more specific sense when he speaks of an *axiomatikos* of Caesarea. In the 9th C. the word reappears in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS where it designates some subaltern officers of the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON. The *De ceremoniis* employs this term in its general sense—a person having an *axioma*, a post or title.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:161.

-A.K.

**AXIOPOLIS** (Ἀξίου πόλις; in Prokopios, Axiopa; mod. Cernavodă in Rumania), a Roman port on the Danube and a fortress. A stone wall approximately 50 km long connected Axiopolis with TOMIS on the Black Sea. The fortress and wall were reconstructed under Constantine I. In addition to fortifications, Christian inscriptions of the late 3rd-6th C. in Greek and Latin, naming some officials (e.g., *dux* and *comes*), as well as ceramics through the late 6th C. have been found in excavations at Axiopolis. The city then disappears. In the 10th C. a new fort was built, south of the Roman stronghold; among the remains are ordinary ceramics of the 10th-11th C. and an inscription (ca. 9th-10th C.) with the Slavic name Vojislav, possibly of Kriusa. The last mention of the fort seems to be in al-Idrīsī.

LIT. I. Barnea, "Date noi despre Axiopolis," *SCIV* 11 (1960) 69-80. G. Tocilescu, "Fouilles d'Axiopolis," in *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Berlin 1903) 354-59. Popescu, *InscrGrec* 203-10. -A.K.

**AXOUCH** (Ἀξούχ, Ἀξούχος), a Byz. noble family of "Persian" (Turkish?) origin. The founder of the family, John Axouch, a captive of the Crusaders in 1097, became a servant at the court of Alexios I Komnenos and a playmate of John (II), the heir apparent. John II gave Axouch the title of *sebastos* and appointed him *megas domestikos* (or *domestikos* of the West and East); he died ca. 1150 and was eulogized by Nikephoros BASILAKES. Axouch's daughter Eudokia married Stephen Komnenos; his son Alexios took as his wife Maria, daughter of Alexios Komnenos, the oldest son of John II. Alexios Axouch, a *protostrator*, commanded several military expeditions—to Italy in 1158, Cilicia in 1165, and perhaps Hungary in 1166. One of the wealthiest magnates, he lost the favor of Manuel I ca. 1167 and was confined in a

monastery. Alexios was criticized by contemporaries (Kinn. 267.13-16) for decorating one of his suburban houses with pictures of the campaigns of Kilic Arslan II, sultan of Konya, rather than those of the emperor as was customary (see HISTORY PAINTING). Alexios left two sons, one of whom, John KOMNENOS or John the Fat, fomented a riot against Alexios III on 31 July 1200 but was murdered in the struggle. The Axouch family is not attested in the Palaiologan period.

LIT. K.M. Mekios, *Ho megas domestikos tou Byzantiou Ioannes Axouchos kai protostrator hyios autou Alexios* (Athens 1932).

-A.K., A.C.

**AXUM** or Aksum (Ἀξωμῖς), the kingdom that takes its name from its capital city located in the northern highlands of modern ETHIOPIA. Although Byz. considered Axum part of its sphere of influence, the Axumite rulers viewed themselves the equals of the Byz. emperors and maintained their independence. Its chief port, ADULIS on the Red Sea, served as both a way station on the trade route to India and a conduit for goods from the east African interior. The kingdom officially converted to Christianity in the mid-4th C. and was a suffragan of the archbishop of Alexandria. Aramaic-speaking monks were instrumental in the spread of a distinctively Semitic Christianity. Axum's ties with Byz. were closest during the Himyarite Wars in South Arabia (517-37), esp. in 525 when Emp. Kālēb 'Ella 'Ašbehā (ELESBOAM) conquered South Arabia at the behest of Justin I, who supplied ships but not troops. Justin's desire to block Persian designs on South Arabia was ultimately thwarted when the Persians occupied the region in 599. Following the Arab conquests, Axum was cut off from Byz. and eventually lost its ports on the Red Sea to the Arabs. By the 8th C., Axum was in decline.

LIT. Y.M. Kobishchanov, *Axum* (University Park, Pa., 1979). F. Aufray, "The Civilization of Aksum from the first to the seventh Century," and T. Mekouria, "Christian Aksum," in *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. 2 (Berkeley 1981), 362-80, 401-22. -D.W.J.

**AYDIN** (Ἀϊδίνης), a Turkish emirate in Anatolia that emerged in the late 13th C. from the breakup of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM. It was most probably named after its founder, Aydin, about whom very little is known. It occupied the territories around the river Kaystros; its main ports were EPHEBUS (Theologos) and SMYRNA, its capital



being Pyrgion. The emirate became powerful during the time of UMUR BEG (died 1348). His fleet repeatedly raided the Aegean islands, the Morea, Negroponte, and the littoral from Thessaly up to Constantinople, finally reducing the lords of these territories to the status of tribute-paying vassals. Umur provoked two Crusades organized against Aydin in 1334 and in 1344, the latter known as the Crusade of Smyrna. He was a devoted ally of John VI Kantakouzenos during the Byz. CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Western merchants frequented the territories of Aydin and purchased large quantities of agricultural produce (mainly cereals), livestock and related items from the nomads (cattle, horses, skins, cheese, etc.), and slaves. Consuls from Venice, Genoa, Rhodes, and Cyprus were established in Theologos. Aydin was annexed to the Ottoman state temporarily from 1390 to 1402 and permanently after Murad II defeated the rebel lord of Smyrna, Junayd (1424).

LIT. H. Akın, *Aydin oğulları tarihi hakkında bir araştırma*<sup>2</sup> (Ankara 1968). P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident* (Paris 1957). Idem, "Philadelphie et l'émirat d'Aydin," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 55–67. Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydin*. K.A. Žukov, *Egejskie emiraty v XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow 1988). —E.A.Z.

**AYYÜBIDS**, a Muslim dynasty that dominated Egypt, Syria and Palestine, Upper Mesopotamia, and the Yemen from the late 12th to the mid-13th C. They originated from a Kurdish tribe that lived near Duin in Armenia. Two brothers, Ayyüb and Shīrkūh, served ZANGĪ and NŪR AL-DĪN as governors and generals. After Shīrkūh conquered Egypt, he was proclaimed the vizier in 1169 but died almost immediately. He was succeeded by Ayyüb's son SALADIN, the actual founder of the dynasty, who defeated the Crusaders in 1187 and recovered Jerusalem for the Muslims. He engaged in diplomatic negotiations with the Byz. rulers Andronikos I Komnenos and Isaac II Angelos.

After Saladin's death in 1193, his vast domain was divided between his three sons, brothers, and other relations; nonetheless his immediate successors al-ʿĀdil (died 1218) and the latter's eldest son al-Kāmil (died 1238) were able to maintain the family unity that was required to withstand constant warfare with the Crusader states: in 1218–19 the Franks besieged Damietta and in 1227

FREDERICK II disembarked at Acre leading a new Crusade. During the week of 11–18 Feb. 1229 al-Kāmil was forced to sign a treaty with Frederick yielding to the Franks the control of Jerusalem, on condition that its fortifications would not be rebuilt and freedom of religion would be preserved in the city. Ayyübid relations with the SELJUK rulers of Asia Minor were hostile: the expedition of united Ayyübid forces against them in 1233 turned into a disaster, and in 1241 the Seljuks took Amida from the successors of al-Kāmil. The subsequent decentralization of power, the Turkish and Mongol pressure on the north-east border, and the new Crusade of Louis IX (his flotilla captured Damietta in 1249) weakened Ayyübid Egypt, and in 1250 MAMLŪK rule was established there. The northern Ayyübids remained in power longer, but in 1258 the Mamlūks took Baghdad and in 1260 they conquered Aleppo (Berroia) and Damascus.

The Ayyübids supported commercial relations with the cities of Italy, southern France, and Catalonia; Egypt sold to Europe products imported from India but prevented the Westerners from entering the Red Sea. Regular trade connections with the Franks contributed to the penetration of Christian motifs in Ayyübid minor arts.

LIT. C. Cahen, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 1:796–807. R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany 1977). H.L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Ägypten und seine Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1958). E. Baer, *Ayyubid Metalwork with Christian Images* (Leiden 1988). —A.K.

**AZDĪ, AL-**, more fully, Abū Ismāʿīl Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, al-Azdī, Arab historian; fl. ca.800–10. On al-Azdī's life, our only source is his history, *The Conquest of Syria*. Clearly he was a narrator of Azdite and other Yemenite tribal accounts, gathering his information primarily from northern Syria, esp. Ḥims. His *floruit* can be ascertained from the archaism of his narratives and the death dates of the later authorities transmitting his work.

*The Conquest of Syria* is the earliest extant account of the Arab conquest. Proceeding from the summons to the tribes by Abū Bakr until the siege of Caesarea Maritima, it views these events as divinely ordained to reward Arab faith and punish Greek polytheism and misrule. Beneath this overarching doctrinal theme, the work is extraordinarily informative. Azdī reveals a sophisticated knowledge of developments on the Byz. side and

esp. of the activities and attitudes of the Christian and pagan populations in Syria. He deals with townsmen, peasants, and Bedouins as distinct groups; his account is unique for its detail on the shifting loyalties and complex maneuvering that characterized the conquest period.

ED. *The Fotooh al-Shām, Being an Account of the Muslim Conquests in Syria*, ed. W.N. Lees (Calcutta 1854), with Eng. summary.

LIT. Caetani, *Islam* 2:1209–11; 3:54f, 67–70, 205–10, 312, 404f, 439f, 578–83, 599f. A.D. al-ʿUmarī, *Dirāsāt taʾrīkhiyya* (Medina 1983) 67–79. L.I. Conrad, "Al-Azdī's History of the Arab Conquests in Bilād al-Shām," *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, ed. M.ʿA. Bakhit, vol. 1 (Amman 1987) 28–62. —L.I.C.

**AZOV SEA** (Μαζώρις), an extension of the north-eastern part of the BLACK SEA, reached via the straits of the Cimmerian BOSPOROS. Trade routes went from the Sea of Azov north to Rus' via the Don (Tanais) River and eastward to China. The Azov Sea was located in an area important for its salt and naphtha, and associated in Byz. convention with Cimmerians, SARMATIANS, and Tauroscythians (see, e.g., TZETZES, *Hist.* 12:835–36). PROKOPIOS (*Wars* 8:4.7–7.12) asserts that the peoples of the Azov region were a continual threat to the borders of the empire. The northern Azov region was controlled in the 7th C. by Great Bulgaria (Theoph. 356.20–357.11) and in the 8th–10th C. by the KHAZARS (who built there the fortress of SARKEL). The peoples of the area (including ZICHIA) in the 10th C. are described by Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 42, 53). The possession of TMUTOROKAN by the Rus' lasted at least until the end of the 11th C., though both a Rus' and a Byz. administrative presence in the Azov region (e.g., in RHOSIA) is postulated even for the late 12th C. From the mid-13th C. the MONGOLS dominated the area, while the trade routes between the Azov Sea and Constantinople came under the control of the Genoese from their settlement at TANA. IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK describes

the route in detail, while Nikephoros Gregoras (Greg. 3:199.11–12) confirms its use for travel to and from Moscow. —S.C.F.

**AZYMES** (ἄζυμα "without yeast, leaven"), unleavened BREAD used by the Armenian and Latin churches in the eucharistic sacrifice based on the tradition that such bread was used at the Last Supper, at which Jesus instituted the EUCHARIST. The Byz. used leavened bread. Controversy on the issue occurred first between Greeks and Monophysite Armenians. Invited in 591 by Emp. Maurice to participate in a council of union, the Armenian *katholikos* Moses II uttered a famous rebuttal: "I shall not cross the Azat River to eat the baked bread of the Greeks" (*Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, ed. G. Garitte [Louvain 1952] 226f). Between Greeks and Latins, controversy began on this subject only in the 11th C. Responding to Greek criticism of the Latin practice, in 1054 Cardinal HUMBERT excommunicated Patr. Michael I Keroularios and his followers as "prozymite heretics." The Greek theologian Niketas STETHATOS responded.

Arguments used in the abundant Byz. polemical literature on the subject refer to the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper, which all describe the bread used by Jesus as *artos*—the standard Greek term for leavened bread—and not *azymon*. This historical argument, however, was less popular among the Greeks than references to the symbolic meaning of "leaven" ("The Kingdom of God is like unto leaven," Mt 13:33), and also to a Christological argument: leaven gives "life" to bread, just as the soul gives life to the body. Consequently, Armenians and Latins were seen as denying the existence in Christ of a human soul, and therefore, shared the heresy of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia.

LIT. J.H. Erickson, "Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054," *SVThQ* 14 (1970) 155–76. M.H. Smith III, *And Taking Bread . . . Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054* (Paris 1978).

—J.M.