

limited number of families, some of which by the 11th C. had begun to form an inchoate ARISTOCRACY.

The 10th and 11th C. witnessed increasing, at times forcible, encroachment by the *dynatoi* on peasant landownership, threatening the empire's social equilibrium and jeopardizing its chief source of taxes and soldiers. Emperors from Romanos I to Basil II enacted legislation to arrest this phenomenon as well as to curb the particularistic influence exercised by the *dynatoi* over provincial society at the expense of centralized imperial authority. The earliest novel directed against the *dynatoi*, that of Romanos I, used to be dated 922 (*Reg* 1, no.595), but this date is questionable; the first dated edict (*Reg* 1, no.628) is that of Sept. 934, which bars *dynatoi* from obtaining peasant lands. Basil II subsequently voided all such acquisitions made after this date and abolished the 40-year statute of limitations that had hitherto protected these transactions (*Reg* 1, no.783). Special restrictions were placed upon landholdings of powerful monasteries and upon the alienation of STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA to *dynatoi*, and *dynatoi* were forbidden to retain thematic soldiers in their personal service or to interfere with local commercial fairs; they became liable—through the ALLELENGYON—for the tax arrears of poorer neighbors.

The term *dynatoi* was used in charters as well as in law codes: a judge's decision of 952 deals with an allotment encircled by the lands of *dynatoi*, so that no weak neighbor could exercise the right of PROTIMESIS over it (*Lavra* 1, no.4.22–23); an act of 1037 excludes any *dynaton prosopon* from inheriting certain land (*Esphig.*, no.2.24). Thereafter the term fell into disuse.

LIT. R. Morris, "The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 73 (1976) 3–27. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 85–131. Litavrin, *VizObschestvo* 7–28.

—A.J.C.

DYRRACHION (Δυρράχιον, Slav. Drač, Albanian Durrës, Ital. Durazzo, anc. Epidamnos), city on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, the western terminus of the Via EGNATIA, capital of the province of Nova Epirus. Despite earthquakes in 341 and 522 and an Ostrogothic sack in the 480s, Dyrrachion remained a major port and for-

trass in the area; Anastasios I, a native of Dyrrachion, provided the city with a triple wall and citadel, rebuilt by Justinian I. The question of Slavic settlement in the region is disputed. In the first half of the 9th C. the fortress was in Byz. hands, and a theme of Dyrrachion was established: the *strategos* of Dyrrachion is mentioned in both the 9th-C. *Taktikon of Uspenskij* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 49.17) and seals of the first half of the 9th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 2521, 2655); Ja. Ferluga, on the basis of a letter of Theodore of Stoudios, hypothesized that the theme was founded under Nikephoros I (12 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Ohrid 1961] 83–92).

The city, although a metropolitan see (*Notitiae CP* 3.20), was a stronghold rather than an economic center as it had been in late antiquity; according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 1:142.3–13), Dyrrachion occupied only a part of ancient Epidamnos whose ramparts were ruined. The old city played an important role during Basil II's war against Bulgaria and during the revolt of DELJAN. Nikephoros BRYENNIOΣ and Nikephoros BASILAKES, successively *doukes* of Dyrrachion, revolted in the 1070s. The Normans attacked it several times: ROBERT GUISCARD took the city in 1081, Bohemund besieged it in 1107–08; in 1185 WILLIAM II of Sicily pillaged it. From the 12th C. onward, Venetians (and later merchants from Dubrovnik) used Dyrrachion as a port for the export of local products (salt, wood, hides) and tried to establish their political power over the city, but were opposed by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros, MANFRED of Sicily, Serbs, and Byz. In 1392 Venice occupied Dyrrachion and held it until 1501 when it fell to the Ottomans.

The role of Dyrrachion in the Byz. ecclesiastical hierarchy gradually diminished: the metropolitan had eight suffragans in the 9th C. but none by the end of the 12th C.—its territory was taken over first by Ohrid and then by the Latin archbishopric of Bar (Antivari). By the 14th C. Albanians became the dominant inhabitants.

LIT. A. Ducellier, *LMA* 3:1497–1500. Idem, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge* (Thessalonike 1981). Ferluga, *Byzantium* 225–44.

—T.E.G.

DŽVARI. See MC'XET'A.

E

EAGLES (sing. ἀετός). The most majestic of BIRDS was employed as both a sacred and a secular emblem. In myth the eagle appears as an instrument of God's will, announcing the selection of the capital or promotion to the imperial throne: Skylitzes relates the prophecy regarding the future Basil I, overshadowed in his cradle by an eagle's wing, as depicted in the illustrated Madrid MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.202). The motif of an eagle battling a SNAKE occurs in floor mosaics, as a sculptural group in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, and probably as a military emblem (L. Maculevič, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 185–202), symbolizing the victory of Good over Evil. As an aspect of imperial symbolism, the consuls carried an eagle-topped scepter, which is depicted on their diptychs. This form of scepter disappeared from coins in the reign of Emp. Philippikos. The eagle may have symbolized the emperor in the early 6th C.: J. Engemann (in *Festschrift Wessel* 103–15) has interpreted the Anastasios Plate in the SUTTON HOO TREASURE in this light. Eagles with rings in their mouths and jeweled collars are found on imperial silks of the late 10th or early 11th C.

The date of the introduction of the double-headed eagle in Byz. has been much discussed. It was certainly employed by members of the Palaiologan dynasty (Belting, *Illum. Buch* 64, figs. 35–36), perhaps to suggest that the empire looked both to the East and West. It was appropriated by John VI Kantakouzenos for his footstool (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, vol. 2, fig.477) and by the Venetians for the state barge that welcomed John VIII. Perhaps the latest occurrence is on the pavement in the Metropolis at Mistra, where Constantine XI was crowned. The single-headed eagle continued in imperial portraits, such as that of Alexios V in the Choniates MS in Vienna (Belting, *ibid.*, fig.15).

In patristic exegesis the image of the eagle represented a supernatural envoy, an angel, or Christ himself. As an EVANGELIST SYMBOL it normally indicated John, although on occasion it was used

for Mark. In the PHYSIOLOGOS the eagle is a symbol of regeneration. (See also COATS OF ARMS.)

LIT. G. Gerola, "L'aquila bizantina e l'aquila imperiale a due teste," *FelRav* 43 (1934) 7–36. A. Fourlas, "Adler und Doppeladler," in *Philoxenia* (Münster 1980) 97–120, and in *Thiasos ton Mouson: Festschrift für J. Fink* (Cologne 1984) 179–90.

—A.C.

EARRINGS (ἐνώτια) have been found, often singly, throughout the Byz. world, mostly in funerary contexts but also in TREASURES. They may be made of gold, silver, bronze, gilded bronze, and/or enamel, with or without added precious and semiprecious stones or glass paste. Most are designed to pierce the earlobe as a simple hoop that fastens into a knob or ball. In the late antique period the fashion was hoops of wire, with or without additional decorations of granulation, braid, or beads. By the 6th–7th C. the popular style was a hoop or a flat lunette shape, with pendant chains ending in one or more GEMS, pearls, or beads. Examples of this type are worn by Empress Theodora and her ladies in the mosaic in S. Vitale, RAVENNA. Gradually the lunette shape changed from a solid form to filigree; by the 10th C. it was three-dimensional and basket-shaped, with extensive granulation. This type is often hard to distinguish from Islamic jewelry. Simple bronze earrings with traces of gilding have been found in many excavations and demonstrate a popular market for "costume" jewelry, imitating pieces produced in more costly materials.

LIT. H. Schlunk, "Eine Gruppe datierbarer byzantinischer Ohringe," *Berliner Museen* 61 (1940) 42–47. S. Ercegović-Pavlović, "Grozdolike vizantijske naušnice u Srbiji," *Starinar* 18 (1967) 83–90.

—S.D.C.

EARTHQUAKES (sing. σεισμός). Since most of the Byz. world lay within a region esp. vulnerable to earthquakes, a quake is recorded for almost every year of Byz. history, the best documented being those at Constantinople. As in pagan times, the Byz. interpreted quakes, like other NATURAL PHENOMENA, as heavenly portents, signifying either

forthcoming catastrophe or divine displeasure at the sins of man. To atone for the divine anger manifested through quakes, the Byz. developed various liturgies, held processions, and frequently sought the intercession of a local holy man. Sometimes relics were employed as a talisman to ward off quakes. As a perpetual reminder of the power of God's wrath, an annual commemoration of many devastating quakes took place on the anniversary of their occurrence; some became part of the liturgical calendar, at least at Constantinople and Alexandria. The Byz. were little interested in the natural causes of quakes, but there were always a few advocates of the Aristotelian explanation that quakes were caused by the movement of winds in subterranean caverns. An 11th-C. historian (Attal. 88.22–89.2) found it necessary to refute this theory. Photios, in his sermons and in the *Bibliotheca*, presented the traditional view that quakes are caused by our sins; pseudo-Symeon Magistros (*TheophCont* 673.10–12), however, accused him of teaching that quakes were caused not by mankind's sins but "by abundance of water." The most significant quakes at Constantinople occurred in 365, 438, 447, 525, 557, 740, 886, 869, 989, 1064, 1296, and 1346. A full list is in Grumel, *Chronologie* 476–81, but a modern catalog is needed.

LIT. F. Vercléyen, "Tremblements de terre à Constantinople: L'impact sur la population," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 155–73. G. Dagron, "Quand la terre tremble . . .," *TM* 8 (1981) 87–103. B. Croke, "Two Early Byzantine Earthquakes and their Liturgical Commemoration," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 122–47. *Tremblements de terre*, ed. B. Helly, A. Pollino (Valbonne 1984) 87–94, 183–219. G. Downey, "Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, A.D. 342–1454," *Speculum* 30 (1955) 596–600. B. Willis, *Earthquakes in the Holy Land* (Stanford 1928). —B.C.

EASTER (Πάσχα), the feast of the RESURRECTION (Anastasis), the Jewish Passover christianized, with Jesus being the new paschal sacrifice and lamb (see AMNOS). By the beginning of the 3rd C., the focus of the feast, which originally commemorated the entire victorious passover of Jesus from death to life, narrowed to the resurrection. BAPTISM at the VIGIL preceding the feast makes the Christian as well as Christ protagonist of the rising. The First Council of NICAIA canonized the celebration of Easter on the Sunday after the first full moon after the spring equinox. The Eastern use of astronomically inaccurate paschal tables

and calendar led to differences in calculating Eastern and Western Easter. From the 4th C. onward, Easter was prepared for by LENT and with its FASTING and CATECHUMENATE, and more immediately by HOLY WEEK. Its celebration extended through the following week, called "bright week" or "renewal," and throughout PENTECOST until its closure (*apodosis*) the day before the ASCENSION.

Easter liturgy in Constantinople is detailed in the *TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:82–97) and in books of ceremonial (*De cer.*, bk.1., ch.35; pseudo-Kod. 231.17–238.4). Later Byz. Easter services, of Palestinian origin, are found at the end of the TRIODION and the beginning of the PENTEKOSTARION.

In Constantinople the Easter vigil began HOLY SATURDAY evening in Hagia Sophia with festive VESPERS, during which the customary three LECTURES were expanded to a series of fifteen Old Testament readings, eight of which were always read, with the others added only if necessary to occupy the people until the BAPTISMS and anointings were finished and the procession was ready to enter. After the first lection, the patriarch went to the Great BAPTISTERY, where he blessed the waters and the oil of the catechumens and incensed around the baptismal font thrice, then anointed and baptized the *photizomenoi*. After the conferral of baptism, the patriarch led the neophytes, now vested in robes of white, to the Church of St. Peter just east of Hagia Sophia, where he administered to them the SACRAMENT of christening (confirmation). After all had been christened with *myron*, the patriarch, accompanied by twelve bishops, led the neophytes in solemn procession, to the chant of Psalm 31[32], into Hagia Sophia to join the waiting congregation for the LITURGY, which began not with the usual TRISAGION but with the baptismal TROPARION from Galatians 3:26. At this liturgy the neophytes completed their initiation by receiving COMMUNION for the first time.

LIT. G. Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil* (Rome 1972). Arranz, "Les sacrements," *OrChrP* 51 (1985) 60–86; 52 (1986) 145–78; 53 (1987) 59–106; 55 (1989) 33–62. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 1–77. —R.F.T.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS, conventional name for a group of historians whose works were dedicated to the history of the Christian church. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA was the founder

of the genre, followed by GELASIOS OF CAESAREA, PHILOSTORGIOS, SOKRATES, SOZOMENOS, and some other writers of the 5th and 6th C. The objective of Eusebios was to show the heroic progress of Christianity from the apostolic age to the victory of the new religion; this victory was achieved primarily due to the charismatic emperor Constantine I. History acquired a providential and teleological character, the line between miracle and reality was blurred, and political history merged with the biography of the holy man. The successors of Eusebios, both orthodox and heretical, stressed the local element, the piety of saints and bishops, and native traditions. In the 6th C. THEODORE LECTOR, in his compilation, tried to gather from his predecessors all substantial evidence concerning the development of Christianity after Constantine. Many of the works of ecclesiastical historians (e.g., Basil the Cilician, John Diakrinomenos) are lost and known only from fragments or from the *Bibliotheca* of Photios. After Theodore Lector, the genre practically disappears, and church history tended to be combined with general political history. In the 14th C. Nikephoros Kallistos XANTHOPOULOS returned to the genre when he composed his antiquarian *Ecclesiastical History*, based on the works of earlier church historians and some hagiographical texts.

LIT. *La storiografia ecclesiastica nella tarda antichità* (Messina 1980). F. Winkelman, "Rolle und Problematik der Behandlung der Kirchengeschichte in der byzantinischen Historiographie," *Klio* 66 (1984) 257–69. L.C. Ruggini, "The Ecclesiastical Histories and the Pagan Historiography," *Athenaeum* 55 (1977) 107–18. R.A. Markus, "Church History and the Early Church Historians," in *The Materials, Sources and Methods of Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford 1975) 1–17. A. Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century AD," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford 1963) 79–99. —A.K.

ECCLESIOLOGY (ἐκκλησιολογία), a modern term to designate the study of the nature of the church. In Greek patristic literature and Byz. apologetic and dogmatic surveys, the church was never an object of systematic theological speculation. This lack of ecclesiological development, however, was not deliberate for the church was ultimately the context of all theology, the presupposition of all theological speculation. Besides, the church as a sociological phenomenon, as a visible institution with its own administrative structure

and unity within the framework of the empire, was frequently the object of conciliar and imperial legislation. Texts such as the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES, the EPANAGOGUE with its theory of the two powers, and the canonical corpus of the Council in TRULLO are in fact a rich source of information on church structure, discipline, and ecclesiological ideas. Equally, practical problems generated by canon law, such as the relationship between ecclesiastical and imperial legislation, were often the object of debate by canonists (cf. BALSAMON, PG 104:981B–C).

In addition, from the 11th C. various authors dealt extensively with such issues as the prerogatives of a METROPOLITAN and his relationship to the patriarch, right of appeal, CELIBACY, the functions of the patriarch as president of the synod, canonical questions raised by the ARSENITE schism, and episcopal or clerical elections, depositions, ordinations, and resignations. Another essentially ecclesiological problem was of course the debate over PRIMACY (cf. PENTARCHY). The church's understanding of itself as an institution did not, however, emphasize structure or juridical categories exclusively, for these, it was realized, could never adequately exhaust or define the ultimate reality of the church as a divine and earthly community.

LIT. Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York 1974) 79f. —A.P.

ECLIPSES (sing. ἔκλειψις). The computation of a lunar or, even more, a solar eclipse was a difficult problem for Byz. astronomers, but one that was often tackled, it seems, just to display the astronomer's superior knowledge. Early surviving examples of eclipse computations are those by PAPPUS and THEON in the 4th C. and by STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA in the early 7th. Thereafter, until the Palaiologan period, there survives only one eclipse computation, for 1072, in a text based on an Arabic source (A. Jones, *An Eleventh-century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy* [Amsterdam 1987]). Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:92f), however, records how Alexios I Komnenos used a prediction of a total solar eclipse to his advantage in negotiations with the Pechenegs (K. Ferrari d'Occhieppo, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 179–84). In the late Byz. period interest in eclipse prediction revived: we have computations in the translations from

Persian and Arabic in the 1290s, in the treatises by Nikephoros GREGORAS and BARLAAM OF CALABRIA in the 1330s, a number of such computations for the years 1374–1408 executed by John ABRAMIOS and his successors, and one by Michael Chrysokokkes in 1435.

Eclipses were, of course, one of those NATURAL PHENOMENA regarded as ominous in Byz. The texts that instructed Byz. on how to interpret these omens include PTOLEMY (*Astrological Effects* 2, 5–10), HEPHAISTION OF THEBES (*Astrological Effects* 1, 20–22), JOHN LYDOS (*On Omens* 9), RHETORIOS OF EGYPT, and THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA (*Astrological Effects* 6–7 [=CCAG 8.1:266–70]) as well as chapters of astrological texts translated from Arabic such as those of Abū Ma'shar and of Aḥmad the Persian (possibly ACHMET BEN SIRIN). The eclipse that marked the CRUCIFIXION was often indicated in art by the averted heads of the SUN AND MOON.

Observations of Eclipses and Their Use for Dating Events. Reports of eclipses in Byz. documents are to be used with caution. Although astronomically verifiable, the observational locations of most recorded Byz. solar and lunar eclipses are difficult to determine because of lack of precision in the historical records that is frequently compounded by textual corruption. Following the Aristotelian tradition Byz. scholars ascribed eclipses to natural astronomical causes, but the majority of the Byz. population interpreted them as divine signs or omens. Some eclipses were therefore invented or redated to suit a particular predictive purpose such as that of Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:59.4–6) foretelling the death of THEODORE II LASKARIS in 1258. As in the case of COMETS, EARTHQUAKES, and FIRES, the annual commemoration of an eclipse (such as that of 8 Aug. 891) was occasionally incorporated into the liturgical calendar (*Synax.CP* 878.9–16). The most reliably attested Byz. solar eclipses occurred on 6 June 346; 28 Aug. 360; 19 July 418; 14 Jan. 484; 29 June 512; 4 Oct. 590; 5 Nov. 644; 5 Oct. 695; 15 Aug. 760; 16 Sept. 787; 14 May 812; 8 Aug. 891; 22 Dec. 968.

SOURCE. J. Mogenet, A. Tihon, et al., *Nicéphore Grégoras, Calcul de l'éclipse de soleil du 16 juillet 1330* (Amsterdam 1983).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 458–69. D.J. Schove, A. Fletcher, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets AD 1–1000* (Dover, N.H., 1984). Pingree, "Chionides & Astronomy" 136f, 156f. Idem, "The Byzantine Version of the Toledan Tables: The

Work of George Lapithes?" *DOP* 30 (1976) 103f. H. Usener, *Ad historiam astronomiae symbola* (Bonn 1876) 25f. R.R. Newton, *Medieval Chronicles and the Rotation of the Earth* (Baltimore 1972) 515–59. —D.P., B.C., A.C.

ECLOGA (Ἐκλογὴ τῶν νόμων, lit. "selection of the laws"), a law book issued in Mar. 741 (rather than 726) by Leo III and Constantine V. The *Ecloga* presents in 18 titles the most important legal standards for everyday life, representing the first official attempt at a revival of the administration of justice after over 100 years. Among the few substantive innovations are the restrictive DIVORCE law (*Ecloga* 2.9), a regulation concerning division of war BOOTY (18), and the penal law (17). The section on penal law introduces, in addition to a great number of punishable sexual offenses, a new system of punishment by MUTILATION that echoes the offense; it is surely to this that the announced "improvement in the sense of greater clemency" in the title of the law refers, because of the extensive restriction of capital punishment.

The originality of the *Ecloga* lies above all in its form. Its concise compilation of legal material and the fact that its selection and arrangement was oriented more to the circumstances of life than to legal systems made the *Ecloga* a prototype of the Byz. legal handbook. The *Ecloga* appears to have been quickly supplemented by the *Appendix Eclogae* (ed. L. Burgmann, S. Troianos, *FM* 3 [1979] 24–125), a heterogeneous collection of mainly penal law regulations. Along with the Appendix, which included the NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS, the FARMER'S LAW, and the RHODIAN SEA LAW, the *Ecloga* constituted a corpus of secular law unrivaled until the end of the 9th C.

Under the Macedonian dynasty, the *Ecloga* was replaced, in a move to reappropriate Justinianic law, by the EPANAGOGÉ; the latter, however, remained strongly indebted in content and form to the *Ecloga*, as did the PROCHIRON, issued somewhat later, whose polemic, as Schminck has shown (*Rechtsbüchern* 64f), was directed not against the *Ecloga* but against the *Epanagoge*. The continuing popularity of the *Ecloga* is attested by the existence of numerous copies and compilations (some of southern Italian origin), the ZAKON SUDNYJ LJUDEM and other Slavonic translations (see LAW IN SLAVIC COUNTRIES, BYZANTINE), an Arabic adaptation (ed. S. Leder, *Die arabische Ecloga* [Frankfurt

am Main 1985]), and an Armenian translation (see LAW IN THE EAST, BYZANTINE).

ED. L. Burgmann, *Ecloga* (Frankfurt am Main 1983). Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield, *A Manual of Roman Law: The Ecloga* (Cambridge 1926). Russ. tr. E. Lipšic (Moscow 1965).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 16f. Sinogowitz, *Strafrecht*. E. Lipšic, *Pravo i sud v Vizantii v IV–VIII vv.* (Leningrad 1976) 195–201. —L.B.

ECLOGA AUCTA, an adaptation of the ECLOGA. Designated in one MS as the "second *Eklogadion*," it probably antedates the Macedonian period. As far as can be determined from the indirect (ECLOGA PRIVATA AUCTA) or fragmentary transmission, the author borrowed the structure and style of the *Ecloga* and copied some of its chapters verbatim, but revised, replaced, or expanded the rest. The changes are characterized by a renewed rapprochement with Justinianic law; the MUTILATION punishments of the *Ecloga* are eliminated, with the exception of castration for sodomy (17.12b).

ED. D. Simon, S. Troianos, "Eklogadion und Ecloga privata aucta," *FM* 2 (1976) 45–86.

LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios*.

—L.B.

ECLOGA BASILICORUM, a legal commentary composed in 1142 by an unknown lawyer on a selection from the BASILIKA, which existed at the time but has not been transmitted independently. The commentary was intended to cover all 60 books of the *Basilika* but actually comprises only the first ten. Its sources are chiefly the complete text of the *Basilika* with scholia, the paraphrase of the *Institutes* by the 6th-C. jurist THEOPHILOS, and the legal writings of the 11th C. The commentary is characterized by explanatory paraphrases, examples (*thematismoi*), short introductory explanations (*protheoriai*), and quotations of legal principles (*kanones*). Recent imperial legislation is incorporated, and concrete examples are provided, esp. for the area of court procedure. The beginning of the work, as handed down, is not original.

LIT. L. Burgmann, *Ecloga Basilicorum* (Frankfurt am Main 1988).

—L.B.

ECLOGA PRIVATA AUCTA, a compilation of the ECLOGA and ECLOGA AUCTA. It is itself poorly transmitted, but nonetheless provides crucial evidence for the text of the *Ecloga aucta*. The pro-

oimion, preserved in only one MS, shows minor, yet important, variations from the *Ecloga*.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 6:1–47. Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield, *A Revised Manual of Roman Law* (Cambridge 1927).

LIT. D. Simon, S. Troianos, "EPA Sinaitica," *FM* 3 (1979) 168–77. F. Gorla, *Tradizione romana e innovazioni bizantine nel diritto privato dell'Ecloga privata aucta: diritto matrimoniale* (Frankfurt am Main 1980). E.E. Lipšic, *Zakonodatel'stvo i jurisprudencija v Vizantii v IX–XI vv.* (Leningrad 1981) 7–42. —L.B.

ECONOMIC THEORIES. The church fathers dealt primarily with the problem of reconciling the primeval ("natural") right of all men to the riches of the earth (air, water, land, etc.), which were created by God for the whole of mankind, with the reality of an unequal distribution of riches, the existence of wealth and poverty (see POOR). The solution of the problem was both historical and moral: historically approached, the reason for inequality was ORIGINAL SIN, the moral fall of mankind; the moral solution consisted in the distinction between evil and good wealth, the latter being of honest origin and devoted to good purposes, that is, philanthropy and charity; thus ecclesiastical and monastic PROPERTY was justified. In addition, the concept of "excessive" wealth (luxury) was developed that was contrasted with a self-sufficient, modest standard of living, albeit above the level of "blessed" poverty. This accounts for the elaboration of a hierarchy of properties and PROFITS that considered landed property more noble than mercantile property, treated profits from USURY as indecent, proclaimed church property sacrosanct, provided different legal protection (e.g., PROTIMESIS) for peasant property than the property of the DYNATOI, etc.

There were no other consistent economic theories in Byz. although some attempts to understand the history and mechanism of economic forces were made. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE suggested a history of mankind not in categories of fall and salvation but as a slow material progress from savagery to civilization (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 178f). Psellos, in the vita of St. AUXENTIOS, deliberated on the laws determining the function of the market (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 550), and TZETZES formulated the idea that labor sets the price of the product (eps. 81.16–82.2). PLETHON praised protectionist policy as a powerful means to stimulate a Byz. economy suffering from the competition of Italian industry and trade.

LIT. I. Seipel, *Die wirtschaftlichen Lehren der Kirchenväter*² (Graz 1972). S. Giet, *Les idées et l'action sociale de S. Basile* (Paris 1941). E.F. Bruck, *Kirchenväter und soziales Erbrecht* (Berlin 1956). —A.K.

ECONOMY. The Byz. economy was based primarily on AGRICULTURE; the intensive cultivation of land was typical of the littoral areas in both the Balkans and Asia Minor, whereas in the mountainous regions a pastoral economy predominated. Urban life was also concentrated mostly along the coastline. The means of production were limited as is typical of the Middle Ages—the ERGASTERION, operated by a family (with the help of one or two laborers) and located in the same building as the living quarters, was the main site of industrial activity, larger factorylike units being reserved for state needs (mints, armories, production of luxury goods); but even the “factories” were assemblages of individual producers rather than cohesive entities. In the countryside, production was organized on small parcels of land with the help of traditional AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS requiring manual labor with only a limited use of animal power. The use of natural power resources was restricted mainly to water MILLS for grinding grain and to the AUTOMATA at imperial palaces; the mechanical “pre-revolution” of the 12th and 13th C. touched Byz. only insignificantly, and the wind mill (in evidence by 1300) appeared here later than in the West. Nevertheless, until the end of the 12th C. Byz. was considered the wealthiest country of Europe, rich in grain, wine, dairy products, clothing, and jewelry.

Transportation (see TRAVEL), like production, was limited. Poor ROADS rendered impossible overland trade of any significance, and the Byz. were mediocre sailors. The Roman domination over Mediterranean COMMERCE was weakened by the Arabs in the 7th C., and Byz. maritime activity was sharply curtailed by the growth of the Italian maritime republics from the 12th C. onward. The Byz. did not organize trading expeditions on a large scale, preferring to attract their neighbors to Constantinople, Thessalonike, or Trebizond rather than to sail ships or organize caravans to foreign centers, although some Greeks traveled to the Crimea, Egypt, and Montpellier.

A monetary economy was always a characteristic of Byz., although some fluctuations in its history can be observed: unquestionably dominant in the

4th–mid-7th C., it declined thereafter; it was then revived first in Constantinople and the littoral areas (after 800) and then inland; it was extremely active from the 11th to mid-13th C., but subsequently Byz. coins were replaced by Italian currency, as the Levantine trade was transferred to Venice and Genoa and their colonies on Byz. soil. A BARTER ECONOMY, including rents and salaries in kind, existed not only in the countryside but also in Constantinople where officials and physicians were paid for their services, in part, with grain, fodder, and clothing.

Surviving figures on the Byz. BUDGET and private wealth are not reliable; it can, however, be safely stated that Byz. aristocrats derived their incomes more from their salaries (and related revenues) than from their estates (G. Litavrin in *VizOč* [Moscow 1971] 152–68). Assets were expressed in terms of money rather than land. An example is the dowry of Theodora (Manuel I's niece), which consisted of 100,000 hyperpers, plus 10,000 hyperpers for wedding expenses as well as jewelry, clothing, carpets, etc., estimated at 40,000 hyperpers, whereas her husband, Baldwin III of Jerusalem, gave her as a gift the city of Acre (William of Tyre, PL 201:734AB). Contrasting with this reality is the concept of Byz. moralists (e.g., Kekaumenos) that land is the most honorable source of income. The nonmonetary wealth of Byz. aristocrats consisted of livestock as well as land. Income from trade was held in low esteem, sometimes even despised.

The state played a major role in the Byz. economy: it levied taxes on land and trade, retained the privilege of minting, possessed certain MONOPOLIES, exercised control over guilds, and owned vast lands and workshops. All these supplied the state with large revenues. At the same time, the state had enormous expenses: for the army and diplomacy; for the salaries of dignitaries; for building activity; and for various largesses for ecclesiastical institutions, officials, and the needy. The largesses either took the form of direct donations, or conferral of the right to a portion of taxes, or EXEMPTION from taxation. The concentration of resources (in money and in kind) in the state treasury and their generous distribution among officials, churches, and indigents (primarily in Constantinople) created in the capital an atmosphere conducive to the increased production of various goods (esp. objects of luxury and

religious cult) and for the marketing of grain, meat, fish, etc. Constantinopolitan MERCHANTS, unlike those of Venice and Genoa who sought distant markets and resources, were not aggressive but conservative, awaiting imports and spoiled by the constancy of state demands.

There are many blank spaces in the picture of Byz. economic development, but it can be presented tentatively as follows: the late Roman economy was evidently prosperous but based on the exploitation of the countryside by the city and of the province by the capital. By the mid-7th C. the urban economy was in decay, trade shrinking, the monetary economy contracting; on the other hand, the countryside recovered after its previous stagnation and was able to compensate for the lost provinces. In the 9th and 10th C. slow revival concentrated around Constantinople, whereas in the mid-11th–mid-13th C. it was the provincial town that benefited most and the countryside that was able to supply agricultural goods to neighboring countries. The domination of the Italian republics in the Mediterranean led to greater economic activity in Byz. territory, but Greek merchants and the Byz. state harvested only a slight portion of the growing revenues.

LIT. M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* (Cambridge 1985). A. Kazhdan, “Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni Vizantii XI–XII vv.,” *VizOč* (1971) 169–212. N. Svoronos, “Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'Empire byzantin au XIe siècle,” *TM* 6 (1976) 49–67. P. Charanis, *Social, Economic and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire* (London 1973), pt.IV (1951), 94–153; pt.IX (1953), 412–24. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.I (1976), 42–48. A. Laiou, “The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System,” *DOP* 34–35 (1980/81) 177–222. W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York 1982). —A.K.

ECSTASY (ἔκστασις, lit. “displacement,” “a state outside one's self”) designated a rapture or state beyond normal mental activity caused by deep EMOTIONS. According to the church fathers it is an “alienation” produced by the impact of fear, intoxication, sin, heretical opinions, etc. They did, however, recognize mystic ecstasy: thus METHODIOS of Olympos (*Banquet*, ch.8: PG 18:73C) speaks of Christ's ecstasy that took place after his Incarnation and Passion; Prokopios of Gaza (PG 87:173B) defines *ekstasis* as “a state beyond normal consciousness” bestowed by God in his OIKONOMIA on such favored figures as Abraham, in the course

of which they received profound revelations. Adam, David, and some apostles are said to have enjoyed mystic ecstasy, which is to be distinguished from the ecstatic frenzy of false prophets. The ecstatic vision of the divine light played a significant part in the teaching of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN and later in HESYCHASM. Ecstasy, sometimes characterized as “inebriation,” was usually contrasted with dreams, although it could be accompanied by VISIONS; its most typical feature was a complete disruption of the material senses so that a person could be “transported” to the supernatural world.

Ecstasy was not a canonical subject in art. Exceptionally, prophetic visions as depicted in the apse mosaic of the church of the Latomos monastery (now HOSIOS DAVID) in Thessalonike, may include awestruck witnesses, but normally rapture was a state attributed to the beholder of a picture rather than to a protagonist in it. Late depictions of the TRANSFIGURATION sometimes show the apostles blinded and bowled over by the vision of the metamorphosized Jesus. —A.K., A.C.

ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH (οἰκουμενικός πατριάρχης). Only in the 6th C. did the term come into regular use as a courtesy title for the archbishops of Constantinople (Mansi 8:1038A, 1042D, 1058A). Patr. MENAS, for example, used it in 536 (Mansi 8:959B). By the end of the century, under JOHN IV NESTEUTES, that title was also being used in official correspondence. Finally, by the 9th C., under PHOTIOS, it entered official protocol in addressing the patriarch. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS was the first to introduce it on his seal (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.16).

Strictly speaking, the qualifying term denoted the superior Orthodox patriarch of the ecumenical empire of Byz., whose see was also the imperial capital. It did not mean “universal” bishop, but “superior” bishop (H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 570f). The title therefore was not intended to deprive Rome of its honorary primacy within the PENTARCHY; nor did it imply universal jurisdiction over the entire church. Still, Popes Pelagius II (579–90) and GREGORY I THE GREAT were scandalized by it (Mansi 9:1213C–E).

LIT. S. Vailhé, “Le titre de patriarche oecuménique avant saint Grégoire le Grand,” *EO* 11 (1908) 65–69. V. Laurent, “Le titre de patriarche oecuménique et la signature patriar-

cale," *REB* 6 (1948) 5–26. A. Tuilier, "Le sens de l'adjectif 'oecuménique' dans la tradition patristique et dans la tradition byzantine," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 86 (1964) 260–71. —A.P.

EDESSA (Ἐδεσσα, mod. Urfa in Turkey), capital of the province of OSRHOENE until it was lost to the Arabs ca.640; it remained an important Christian and commercial center in the Islamic world until at least the 13th C. Situated in the Mesopotamian plain, Edessa is dominated on the south by a high rock and crossed by the Daisan River. Little remains of late Roman Edessa apart from sections of Justinian I's circuit walls, the *temenos* walls of the present Great Mosque (which stands beside what was probably the north-south *cardo*), traces of various structures on the acropolis, and rock-cut tombs. Local written sources, however, supply concrete details concerning the period.

Edessa was christianized in the 2nd C. when its king, Abgar IX (179–216), accepted the faith. The event was recorded in various legendary accounts that attribute the conversion of the king, identified by Eusebios as Abgar V the Black (4 B.C.–A.D. 7, then 13–50), to a correspondence with Christ, who sent him the MANDYLION. The text of the letter was inscribed as a talisman above the city gates and the Mandylion came to be displayed in the cathedral. Christianity at Edessa was eventually represented by four groups (Monophysites, Nestorians, Chalcedonians, Maronites). Church building is recorded in the CHRONICLE OF EDESSA (of ca.540): a cathedral (312/13–23); its baptistery (369/70); and at least seven other churches (345–471), including that of the Apostle Thomas, visited by EGERIA. Altogether 30 churches are known by name. Bishops and governors provided charitable and civic amenities between 458 and 505: infirmary, towers, bridges, circuit walls, aqueducts, baths, praetorium. Eulogios also provided 6,800 *xestai* of oil to light public porticoes. Following a flood Justinian rerouted the Daisan River and rebuilt the damaged southern part of the city, including the Cathedral of St. Sophia and the Antiphoros, the latter being, apparently, an open space in front of a forum. In 578–603 Bp. Severos erected porticoes and "numerous constructions" (MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, *Chronicle* 2:373).

Edessa was a literary and intellectual center of Syriac culture, whose writers included the theologians APHRAHAT, EPHREM THE SYRIAN, and RAB-

BULA of Edessa as well as JOSHUA THE STYLITE and DIONYSIOS OF TELL-MAHRĒ. The theological school, founded in 363 by immigrants from Nisibis, was closed in the 5th C. for Nestorian bias; it was subsequently refounded at Nisibis.

During the 6th-C. Persian military campaigns, Edessa remained a rich, impregnable city. When it finally fell under Persian control from 602 to 628, it supplied Chosroes II with 120,000 pounds of silver, much of it from the furniture revetments of St. Sophia and the city's wealthy inhabitants. Herakleios resided there after his victory over the Persians in 628. Conquered soon thereafter by the Arabs, Edessa was recovered in 944 by the Byz., who removed the Mandylion to Constantinople. The city fell to the Crusaders in 1098. The local CHRONICLE OF 1234 records the conquest of Zengi in 1146 as particularly devastating, as was undoubtedly that of the Mongols. (For Edessa in Macedonia, see VODENA.)

LIT. J.B. Segal, *Edessa, the Blessed City* (Oxford 1970). H. Leclaine, "Crises économiques à Edessa (494–506) d'après la chronique du pseudo-Josué le Stylite," *Pallas* 27 (1980) 89–100. V.P. Stepanenko, "Iščany Edessy i vnešnepoliticheskaja orientacija goroda v 70-ch godach XI-načale XII v.," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 87–94. —M.M.M.

EDESSA, COUNTY OF. The first Crusader state in Syria, the county included Edessa and Saruj east of the Euphrates, and Tell Bashir, Kesoun, and other towns west of it. In 1097 Baldwin of Boulogne was invited by the Armenians of Edessa to aid them; their lord Thoros adopted Baldwin. Thoros was soon murdered by his own people (A.A. Beaumont in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro* [New York 1928] 104–12), and Baldwin became count. Armenians constituted a large part of the county's inhabitants. The Byz. never yielded their claim to Edessa, but it was too remote for them to exercise authority. After ZANGI took Edessa, the area west of the Euphrates was preserved. In 1150, following the capture of Count Joscelin II, Countess Beatrice sold Tell Bashir, Aintab, Duluk, and a few other fortresses to Manuel I, who agreed to garrison them and pay Beatrice and her children a life-income. The Byz. troops, however, proved insufficient, and in 1151 NUR AL-DĪN easily seized these places.

LIT. N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn* (Damascus 1967) 2:457–62. —C.M.B.

EDICT OF MILAN, the name given by modern scholars to the first decree granting toleration to Christianity, supposedly issued by CONSTANTINE I and LICINIUS as a result of a meeting in Milan in 313. The text of the edict, given by Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 10.5.2–14) and Lactantius (*Lactant. De mort. pers.* 48.2–12), grants religious freedom to both Christians and non-Christians and orders the return of confiscated church property. The authenticity of the edict was called into question by O. Seeck (*ZKirch* 12 [1891] 381) who pointed out that, according to Lactantius (*Lactant. De mort. pers.* 34; cf. Eusebios, *HE* 8.17.3–10), Galerius had issued a similar edict of toleration in 311. Others (e.g., Christensen, *infra*) have more recently argued that the originator of the edict was Licinius and that he was following in the tradition established by Galerius. Both Constantine (in 306) and even MAXENTIUS (in 311) had declared toleration prior to 313 and the whole concept of the "Edict of Milan" should probably be discarded. Nevertheless, the question continues to be debated (see M. Anastos, *REB* 25 [1967] 13–41).

LIT. T. Christensen, "The So-Called Edict of Milan," *ClMed* 35 (1984) 129–75. —T.E.G.

EDICTUM (ἡδικτον), edict, term used for general laws following Roman tradition. *Edicta* were usually addressed to groups (all the emperor's subjects or the inhabitants of a region or the members of a profession), but some were addressed to individuals (top officials, lay or ecclesiastic); they were usually signed by the emperor and countersigned by the QUAEATOR. The *edictum* differed from the SANCTIO PRAGMATICA (*pragmatikos typos*) in that the latter was used for special laws, with general application but issued in response to a private request. With increasing frequency, laws were called *novellae* (*constitutiones*; see NOVELS), *nearai* (*nomothesai*), or *sakrai* (from *sacra lex*). From the end of the 11th C. onward legislation was promulgated more and more in the form of a CHRYSOBULL or a PROTAGMA.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 71–84. —N.O.

EDIRNE. See ADRIANOPE.

EDUCATION (παιδεία) in Byz. was based on two contradictory principles: Greco-Roman tradition

and Christian faith. Christianity, in its extreme, rejected ancient civilization as permeated by false mythology, permissive and cruel morality, and a deceptive image of the world and its history; being a "religion of the Book," however, it required of its followers an elementary aptitude for reading (see LITERACY) and the memorization of essential texts. The resolution of this contradiction was to maintain traditional educational methods and to make pagan literature acceptable by allegorical interpretation, by alleging derivation from Old Testament sources, by discerning in it a foreshadowing of Christianity, or by concentrating on the form while rejecting the content. Egyptian exercise books of the 4th–7th C. still contained mythological names and traditional maxims and anecdotes used for teaching reading and writing. Children in SCHOOLS continued to be given the "venom" of Homer and the poets to develop their knowledge of language, while their home upbringing was supposed to supply them with an "antidote" of moral precepts.

The 7th C. was a watershed in the development of education. By that time the tertiary schools (universities) had disappeared, and even secondary schools (those of grammar) became rare. In the 9th C. the young CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER was unable to find a GRAMMATIKOS in Thessalonike. The scholarly curiosity of youth had to be content with private TEACHERS, in the form of individual teacher-STUDENT connections, as was the case with LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN who found on Andros a "wise man" to teach him rhetoric, philosophy, and arithmetic. The vast majority of those who overcame illiteracy acquired only the rudimentary skills of reading and writing with the help of parents and local literate men. Thus JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER, who was born to a well-to-do family, was taught by his parents; there is no mention in his vita of a professional teacher or of Joseph's going to school. NICHOLAS OF STOUDIOS was educated by his parents and continued his studies, from the age of ten, in the Stoudios monastery. These two examples may be atypical, however, and should be used with caution, since Joseph was born in Sicily and became a refugee in the Peloponnesos, while Nicholas was destined to be a monk. Other saints' vitae on occasion mention teachers (*didaskaloi*) to whom children were sent to learn *hiera grammata*, the act of reading. The vita of THEODORE OF EDESSA, which

describes the saint's education by a sophist Sophronios whom the Edessenes had as a "common teacher" and who taught the boy grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, is exceptional for 9th-C. saints; in reality it is a later hagiographic "romance" of the 10th C., reflecting the situation of the subsequent period.

This shift occurred in mid-9th-C. Constantinople when Caesar BARDAS organized the MAGNAURA school to revive the "external [secular] wisdom" that had been neglected by previous generations "which wallowed in boorishness and illiteracy" (*TheophCont* 185.2–5). Leo the Mathematician, the head of the school, taught philosophy, while his student Theodore instructed in mathematics, Theodegios in astronomy, and Kometas in grammar. This school was revived or refounded by Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 446.1–22). Two sources provide insights into school life of the 10th C.—the vita of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, who started as a popular teacher in Constantinople, and the correspondence of the anonymous teacher (see TEACHER, ANONYMOUS). Secondary education, under control of the state, was concentrated in Constantinople and was organized on the private basis of teacher-student relations. It had as its major goal the formation of the higher echelon of functionaries. The main subject of teaching was GRAMMAR (with elements of eloquence and philosophy); students also studied the dead language of the ancient classics. The subject matter for training was Homer, Aelian, Demosthenes, etc., with the Bible added to this classical heritage. EPIMERISMS to the Psalms from the school of George CHOIROBOSKOS served as a textbook.

The 11th and 12th C. marked a new level in the development of Byz. education. An attempt was made to reintroduce the tertiary school, the UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Other educational institutions were also active in the capital, including the school at the Church of the Holy Apostles described in detail by Nicholas MESARITES, where the classes combined students of various ages, from children learning to count on their fingers to medical doctors discussing the pulse. The PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL was created, the new SCHEDOGRAPHIA was applied as a method to enhance independence of thought, and competitions of students took place. The greatest intellectuals of the time were involved in education, including John MAUROPOUS, Michael PSELLOS,

EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. Unlike Western universities, however, the Byz. school of the 11th–12th C. was not granted legal independence; it functioned under the sway of the state, its main figures (NOMOPHYLAX, MAISTOR TON RHETORON, HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON) being institutionally imperial officials. Moreover, from the end of the 11th C. onward the church was acquiring institutional impact on education.

The fall of Constantinople in 1204 was a heavy blow to education, which had been concentrated in the capital. An attempt to found a Latin university in Constantinople was stillborn. In the Greek-controlled territories of the splintered empire there seem to have been no formal academic institutions, but only individual teachers who attracted small groups of devoted followers; thus the young Nikephoros BLEMMEYDES wandered from one teacher to another, via Nicaea, Smyrna, and Skamandros. He established a school with five students at the monastery of Gregory Thaumaturgos in Ephesus. After the recapture of Constantinople in 1261 Michael VIII founded a "school of philosophy" headed by George AKROPOLITES. The school of Maximos PLANOUDIS in Constantinople ca.1300 was linked with a monastery, although it was also supported by imperial grants (*siteresia*). Nikephoros GREGORAS had his school in his room (*oikiskos*) in the Chora monastery. All these private schools concentrated on grammar, even though time and again the disciplines of the QUADRIVIUM are proudly mentioned. Much information on education in the 14th and 15th C. is contained in the letters and other writings of Theodore HYRTAKENOS, George LEKAPENOS, and John CHORTASMENOS. The last evidence on Byz. schools is the correspondence of 1453 (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 22 [1964] 122), which mentions a school in Adrianople administered by a *didaskalos* and his young assistant. It was under the patronage of the local judge and was probably attached to his house.

LIT. G. Buckler, "Byzantine Education," in *Byzantium*, ed. N. Baynes, H. Moss (Oxford 1948) 200–20. R. Guiland, "La vie scolaire à Byzance," *BullBude*³ 1 (1953) 63–83. A. Moffatt, "Schooling in the Iconoclast Centuries," in *Iconoclasm* 85–92. K. Gaik, "Die christliche Pädagogik der Kirchenväter und ihre erziehungsphilosophischen Grundlagen" (Ph.D. diss., Pädagogische Hochschule Rheinland, 1978). Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 121–33. C. Constantines, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Nicosia 1982). Lemerle, *Humanism* 281–308. —A.K., R.B.

EGERIA (4th C.), a wealthy nun from the western Mediterranean or a land on the Atlantic coast (Aquitaine? Galicia?) who left a detailed account (approximately one-third extant) of her journey to the Holy Land in 381–84. The earliest graphic account of Christian pilgrimage to survive, her *Travels* records observations and responses to a variety of LOCA SANCTA in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. Included are elements of the natural terrain (e.g., trees "planted by the patriarchs"), humble tombs and houses traditionally associated with heroes of the Old and New Testaments, churches that had been recently built by Constantine I, holy men (esp. in Egypt), and the local religious community and liturgy (particularly in Jerusalem). Indeed, her account is most valuable for what it reveals of the topography, piety, and esp. the liturgy of the Holy Land as pilgrimage was acquiring its distinctive Christian character and a rapidly increasing number of participants.

ED. *Egérie, Journal de voyage*, ed. P. Maraval (Paris 1982), with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*² (Jerusalem-Warminster 1981). —G.V.

EGNATIA, VIA, Roman military road running across the Balkan peninsula, built in the second half of the 2nd C. B.C. It had two starting points on the Adriatic: Apollonia and Dyrrhachion. Thence it passed by Lychnidos (Ohrid), Herakleia Lynkestis (near Bitola), Edessa, Pella, and reached the Aegean Sea at Thessalonike. It then cut across the base of the Chalkidike peninsula to Amphipolis and Philippi and originally terminated at Kypsela on the Hebros (Marica). Its extension to BYZANTION appears not to have borne the name of Egnatia. From the Hebros the road went to Herakleia (Perinthos, Marmara Ereğlisi), then (before Constantine I) struck inland to avoid the lagoons of Athyras (Büyük Çekmece) and Rhegion (Küçük Çekmece), passing through Kainophrourion (Kurfalı?) and Melantias (Yarım Burgaz?); it reached Byzantion at the gate of Melantias. By ca.330 the stretch from Herakleia to Byzantion was shifted to the coast and made to pass by Selymbria, Athyras, Rhegion, and what was to become the suburb of HEBDOMON before terminating at the GOLDEN GATE of Constantinople.

A number of MILESTONES have been discovered, some of them post-Constantinian in date. The last epigraphically attested evidence of upkeep is of

the reign of Valentinian and Valens (364–75), but PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA (*Buildings* 4.8.5) records that the stretch between Hebdomon and Rhegion was first paved by Justinian I. Whatever its physical condition, the Egnatia remained a major route of overland communication for much of the Middle Ages.

LIT. N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* (Oxford 1972) 1:19–58. Idem, "The Western Part of the Via Egnatia," *JRS* 64 (1974) 185–94. P. Collart, "Les milliaires de la Via Egnatia," *BCH* 100 (1976) 177–200. L. Gounaropoulou, M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* (Athens 1985). —C.M.

EGYPT. As a province of the late Roman Empire, Egypt was simultaneously the principal source of the vital grain supply and the seedbed of a flourishing and original culture. Thoroughly reorganized by the reforms of Diocletian, the region was divided into six provinces for most of the period—Aegyptus I and II, Augustamnica, Arcadia, and THEBAID I and II—and integrated into the fabric of the empire. The 4th C. was a time of radical and profound change. The old Roman metropolis with its administrative division called a nome (the *chora*) became a *civitas* plus its *territorium*; the hinterland was made up of rural administrative districts (*pagi*) presided over by *praepositi* who took the place of the old *strategoi*. The taxation system was completely reworked according to principles of abstract productive units and collective responsibility. The workability of the liturgy system, which compulsorily assigned civic and administrative functions to members of the town councils and the decurion class, was shored up by ties to the central authority. The governor of Egypt was the AUGUSTALIOS, with *duces* and *praesides* under him in the provinces. By 382 Egypt constituted a diocese of its own with its capital at ALEXANDRIA.

After the Great Persecution in 303, the Christian Church became a prime originator and carrier of culture in Egypt. The COPTIC LANGUAGE emerged alongside Greek in the Bible and church services and eventually in record-keeping and public documentation; native Egyptian thinkers and writers were in the vanguard of thought in philosophy, theology, and belles-lettres. The monastic movement, beginning with ANTONY THE GREAT and PACHOMIOS, captured the imagination and channeled much of the best talent of Egyptian society.

The 5th C., less well documented, saw a further transformation from the mobile world of post-Constantinian society to a new pattern of greater stability. The CODEX THEODOSIANUS already reflects the growth of patronage and of attachment to one's *idia* (Lat. *origo*, "place of origin"), which was to shape late antique Egypt. The fixed land-tax (*demosios*) payable in money did away with the older differentiated categories of land. The growth of the large estate (*oikos*) and the privilege of independent tax collection (*autoprageia*) are difficult to trace in the extant sources, but it may be assumed that they were substantial and their effects favored locally based productivity. The large monasteries became great landowners, encouraging both economic and literary output. The increasing centralized power of the patriarchate of ALEXANDRIA, under such bishops as CYRIL and the monastic leadership of SHENOUTE, encouraged

Egyptian ecclesiastical independence prior to the Council of Chalcedon (451). Open controversy over what constituted authentic patriarchal authority and succession produced polemical literature, liturgical experimentation, and the beginnings of a self-defining Egyptian Christian hagiography, esp. monastic biography. The first effort to compose a history of the Egyptian church in Coptic also occurred in the later 5th C. Egyptian poets traveled widely (see POETS, WANDERING), serving as court officials and envoys; NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS reshaped the late Greek epic and told the Gospel story in hexameters.

The tax reforms of Anastasios I (before 518) and the thorough reorganization of Egypt by Justinian I's Edict 13 (probably 538/9) together restructured and centralized the administration and its bureaucracy. The *doux* of each province held both civil and military power, and local tax collection was managed by pagarchs, officials of the notable class who succeeded to the functions of the old decurions. The large landowners of each area grouped together as *syntelestai* to look after their interests and maintain the rights of their tenants. The estates of these proprietors functioned in a quasi-public manner: the rent (*phoros*) payable to an estate's central office came to function as a tax revenue, while the tenants of an estate performed jobs equivalent to compulsory services (*leitourgeiai*). The *embole* or annual grain shipment to Constantinople was maintained using vessels belonging to both magnates and monasteries. Financial records were extremely thorough, as the abundant surviving papyri attest. By the 6th C. Egypt possessed a rich local culture that integrated with striking success classical pagan learning and a strong locally based Christianity. Comparative prosperity encouraged a flowering of the visual arts, esp. sculpture and textiles (see COPTIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE), and an active literary life in both Greek and Coptic, producing works ranging from encomiastic poetry to philosophy, theology, homilies, and saints' Lives. Coptic jurisprudence also came into its own.

The successors of Justinian developed varying economic and religious policies for Egypt. Under Maurice all official documents had to begin with a Christian invocation. Abundant papyrus documentation in both Greek and Coptic attests to the continuing vitality of economic and social institutions; the numerous papyrus codices of classical

and patristic literature produced in the later 6th–early 7th C. illustrate the ongoing currents of Egyptian cultural life. Coptic visual art continued to flourish. Herakleios's revolt against Phokas led to his taking control of Egypt ca.609. During his reign the Persians occupied Egypt between 618/19 and 628/9, leaving behind papyrus documents in Pahlavi. Herakleios's appointee to the Chalcedonian patriarchate, KYROS "the Caucasian," also discharged civil functions. Both BENJAMIN I, the non-Chalcedonian patriarch, and the influential Upper Egyptian bishop Pesynthios of Coptos lived to be eyewitnesses of the Arab conquest, as did the monastic founder Samuel of Qalamun and the chronicler JOHN OF NIKIU. The political takeover of Egypt by a Muslim military force proceeded piecemeal (640–42). Historians still have not satisfactorily explained the reasons for its success. Most of the late antique administrative structure remained in place for about a hundred years, but after ca.800 the old culture began to die.

LIT. J. Gasco, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine," *TM* 9 (1985) 1–90. R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen, Netherlands, 1978). R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Decatur, Ga., 1985). Idem, "Late Roman Egypt," *DMA* 10:453–56. *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. B. Pearson, J. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986). A. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (Berkeley 1986).

—L.S.B. MacC.

EIDIKON (εἰδικόν), imperial treasury and storehouse. The etymology of the word is disputed; Guiland supported the view that it originates from *idikos*, "private," whereas Bury (*Adm. System* 98) flatly rejects this derivation and E. Stein (*Studien* 149) connects the term with the word *eidos*, "ware." Accordingly, it remains uncertain whether the *eidikon* was the emperor's private treasury, that is, the successor to the department of the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM, or a special state treasury that had no connection with the emperor's *patrimonium*.

The first mention of the *eidikon* is in the 9th C., from the reign of Theophilos; Laurent's assertion (*infra* 305) that the institution was autonomous from the 7th C. is not supported by any evidence. The *eidikon* was a storehouse of precious goods, such as gold and silk as well as various materials for the needs of the army and the navy, and Arab dress for spies. The *eidikon* functioned as a state treasury; one of its responsibilities was the pay-

ment of *ROGAI* to senators. The head of the *eidikon* was called *eidikos* (variants *idikos* and *edikos*) or *epi tou eidikou*, and from the 11th C. *logothetes tou eidikou*. In addition to regular notaries, his staff included ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION and directors of the ARMAMENTON and of the warehouses in the Great Palace. The *sekreton* of the *logothetes tou eidikou* was still functioning in 1081 (*Lavra* 1, no.43.65), and *eidika* (in the plural) are mentioned in a formula of exemption in 1086 (*Lavra* 1, no.48.50). Thereafter the department seems to have been abolished; Guiland suggests that it was replaced by the *logothesion* of the OIKEIAKOI.

LIT. R. Guiland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 85–95. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:304–52. Dölger, *Beiträge* 35–38. Oikonomides, *Listes* 316–18.

—A.K.

EILITON (εἰλητόν, lit. "wound, wrapped"), a cloth spread over the top of the ALTAR for setting the eucharistic elements, the Byz. equivalent of the Latin corporal. *Eilita* were of linen (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:317B) and possibly silk. In the post-Byz. period their function was superseded by the ANTIMENSION. As with other altar cloths, such as the ENDYTE, the *eilita* were given symbolic significance in liturgical commentaries, esp. as the winding sheets of Christ (e.g., pseudo-Sophronios in PG 87:3985B). No Byz. *eiliton* has survived. Although it is generally believed that *eilita* were unadorned, they may, in fact, have had decoration: several painted representations of altar-tables show the eucharistic vessels placed over *eilita*-like covers decorated with corner GAMMATA, for example, the Melchizedek and Abel mosaic in S. Vitale, Ravenna, and the Communion of the Apostles mosaic in St. Sophia, Kiev.

LIT. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 604–10. P. Speck, "Die Endyte," *JÖB* 15 (1966) 326–30.

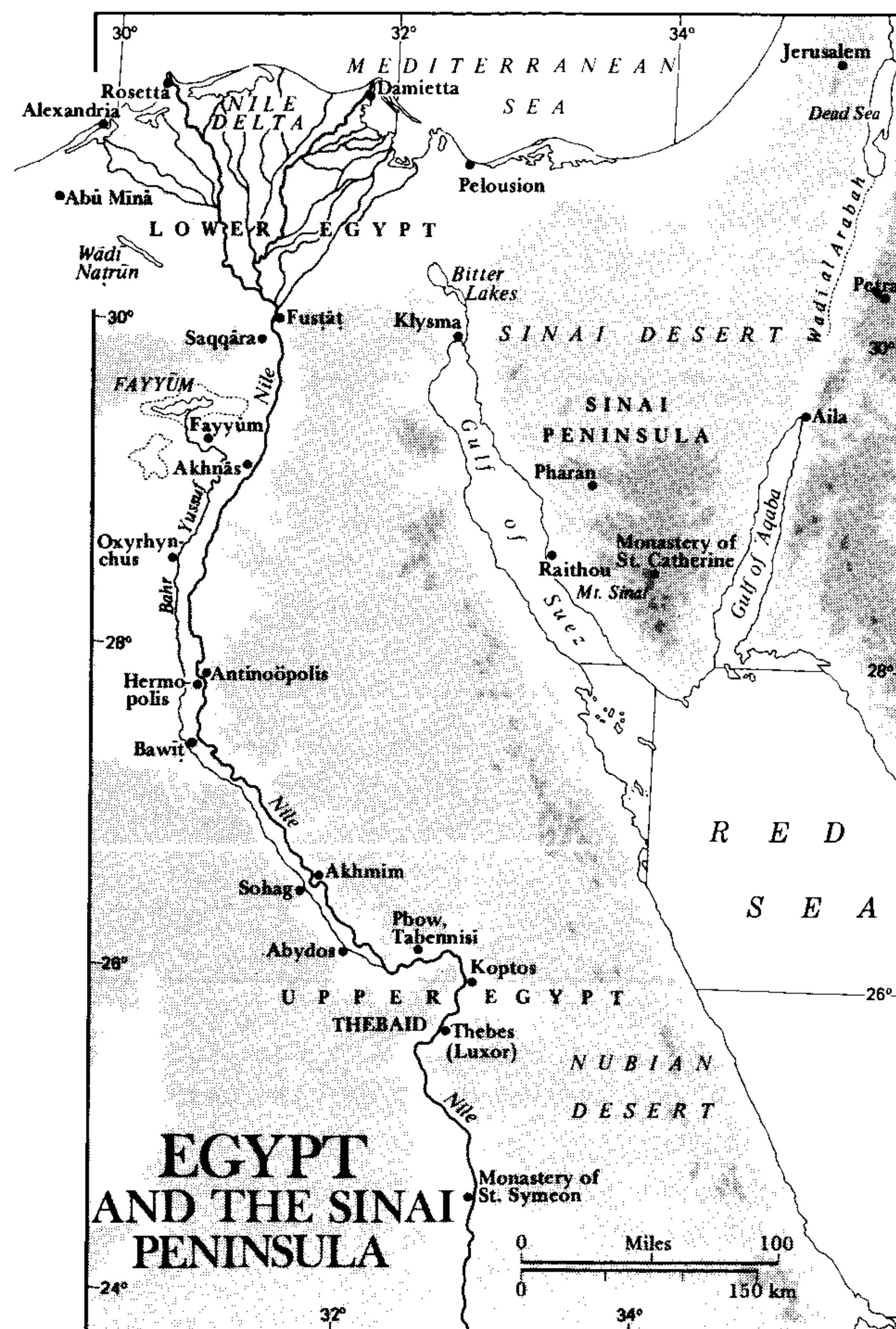
—A.G.

EISAGOGE. See EPANAGOGE.

EJMIACIN. See VALARŠAPAT.

EKDIKOS. See PROTEKDIKOS.

EKDOSIS (ἐκδοσις, "issuing, publication"), or *editio* (Lat.), recension of the text of a work of literature made available by the author or by an editor for copying. First used by Alexandrian scholars to



denote a recension of the text of Homer, in Byz. usage *ekdosis* often denotes a particular version of a text believed to have been approved by the author. Thus PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.77) owned copies of two *ekdoseis* of the *History* of EUNAPIOS and the first *ekdosis* of the Atticist lexicon of Ailios Dionysios (*Bibl.* cod.152). The *Breviarium* of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and the *History* of Niketas CHONIATES survive in two variant recensions that are possibly the work of the author. Sometimes successive *ekdoseis* of a text have become amalgamated in the MS tradition and can be reconstructed only in part by textual criticism, as is the case with the *Ecclesiastical History* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. Early versions of official texts were sometimes suppressed and replaced by later versions; thus the first version of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, issued in 528, but lost, is known only from the preface to the second *editio*, published *ex repetita praelectione* (*De emendatione Codicis Iustiniani*, par.4). The term *ekdosis* is sometimes used in the Palaiologan period for a version of a classical text—most often a play—accompanied by marginal notes and other explanatory matter and prepared by a scholar for teaching purposes. It also sometimes denotes a collection of the letters or speeches of a Byz. writer, often in chronological order, as in the case of Michael CHONIATES, and prepared by the author himself or by a friend or pupil. In antiquity and the Middle Ages there is nothing corresponding to an “edition” of a printed book. Handwritten books are never entirely uniform.

LIT. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*² (Florence 1952) 187–393. H.-G. Beck, “Überlieferungsgeschichte der byzantinischen Literatur,” in H. Hunger et al., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur* (Zurich 1961; rp. Munich 1978) 1:423–510. —R.B.

EKKLESIA (Ἐκκλησία), PERSONIFICATION of the Church. Ekklesia usually occurs in liturgical contexts and more rarely in Byz. than in the medieval West. Patristic exegesis made a protean figure of Ekklesia, recognizing her in the figures of Eve, Susanna, and other biblical heroines. She appears in these guises in wall painting and on sarcophagi of the 4th and 5th C. At BAWIT, Ekklesia is represented as a crowned and richly dressed woman. The Early Christian distinction between the *ecclesia ex circumcisione* and the *ecclesia ex gentibus*, sym-

bolized by the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, was not preserved. Nonetheless, Ekklesia is often paired with Synagogue, each portrayed as a draped woman. In monumental painting and in illustrated Gospel books and homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig.94), Ekklesia and Synagogue are present at the CRUCIFIXION, where Ekklesia is shown catching Christ's blood in a chalice. This motif survives in monumental painting of the 13th–15th C., esp. in Serbia and on Mt. Athos (Millet, *Athos*, pls. 12.3, 69.2). Another version, found at Kastoria, in which Ekklesia is led toward a church by one angel while another drives Synagogue from the scene, has been interpreted as an expression of local anti-Semitism (A.W. Epstein, *Gesta* 21 [1982] 26–28).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:30–33. M.-L. Thérél, *Les symboles de l'“Ecclesia” dans la création iconographique de l'art chrétien du IIIe au VIe siècles* (Rome 1973). Orlandos, *Patmos* 213–15. —A.C.

EKKLESIARCHES (ἐκκλησιάρχης, fem. ἐκκλησιάρχισσα), sacristan, a church official who was responsible for setting out the liturgical books, sacred vessels, eucharistic wine and bread, and for providing the appropriate number of candles and lamps for LIGHTING of the church. In monasteries, the *ekklesiarches* was one of the leading officials, appointed by the superior. At the BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY in Constantinople, the *ekklesiarchissa*, together with the OIKONOMOS, was second only to the superior; at LIPS, however, she was subordinate to the *skeuophylakissa* (see SKEUOPHYLAX). The *ekklesiarches* not only prepared the church for services, but led the monks or nuns in the singing of the offices, making sure that they knelt or stood at the proper moment, made responses correctly, and that no sections of the office were omitted or recited in wrong order. The *ekklesiarches* also maintained proper discipline among the monks or nuns. The *typikon* of Bebaias Elpidos (pp.45.19–47.31) states that the *ekklesiarchissa* should be a good singer who is very familiar with the liturgy, esp. since she is responsible for the instruction of novices in the chanting of the office. The *ekklesiarches* at the PETRITZOS monastery (*Typikon*, ed. Gautier, p.69.827–30) received an annual stipend of 20 nomismata.

LIT. Arranz, *Typicon* 396f. Meester, *De monachico statu* 24, 280. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 285–88. —A.M.T.

EKPHRASIS (ἐκφρασις), a formal description. Well known in ancient literature, description received its formal definition in the RHETORIC of the Roman Empire: the textbooks considered an *ekphrasis* as a descriptive speech (*logos*) whose goal was to make the subject visible; HERMOGENES lists as subjects of *ekphraseis* persons, places, periods of time, actions, and feasts. NICHOLAS OF MYRA adds to this list works of art. The theoreticians of rhetoric perceived the *ekphrasis* as a kind of PROGYNASMA, but in practice the *ekphrasis* was essential to many major genres (epic, historiography, romance, hagiography, etc.) or existed as a separate unit in prose (*ekphrasis* proper) or verse (EPIGRAM). While persons and actions became in practice the subject of other rhetorical genres, primarily PANEYRICS, *ekphraseis* focused on the description of works of art, mainly buildings, either secular (e.g., by PROKOPIOS OF GAZA, CHORIKIOS, Constantine MANASSES) or sacred (by GREGORY OF NYSSA, PAUL SILENTIARIOS, Nicholas MESARITES); epigrams often dealt with minor artifacts. *Ekphraseis* of cities were typical of the earlier period (e.g., LIBANIOS on Antioch), disappeared for a long time, but were revived in the 13th–15th C. by THEODORE II LASKARIS, Theodore METOCHITES, BESSARION, and John EUGENIKOS. *Ekphraseis* of religious feasts were common, often inserted in a SERMON. Rhetoricians also produced descriptions of everyday objects: GARDENS (usually embedded in a romance), hunting scenes (Constantine Manasses, Constantine PANTECHNES), and fairs (TIMARION). Even parodical and critical *ekphraseis* are known: SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN describes the silly behavior of the lazy merchant at a fair, and Gregory ANTIOCHOS the shabbiness of Serdica.

LIT. A. Hohlweg, *RBK* 2:33–75. G. Downey, *RAC* 4:921–44. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:170–88. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence* 22–52. B.D. Hebert, *Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken* (Graz 1983). D. Pallas, “Les ‘ekphraseis’ de Marc et de Jean Eugenikos,” *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 357–74. —A.K., E.M.J.

EK PROSOPOU (ἐκ προσώπου), a generic term for deputy or representative, similar to ANTIPROSON. The *Taktika* of Leo VI (ch.4.7, PG 107:701C) applies this term to the STRATEGOS as imperial legate; Basil BOIOANNES, *strategos* and *katepano* of Italy, calls himself *ek prosopou* in a document of 1023 (Guillou, *Byz. Italy*, pt.VII [1961], 28.30–31). Various functionaries, even metropolitans,

had *ek prosopou* as deputies. In the TAKTIKA of the 9th–10th C. the *ek prosopou* occupied a place lower than *strategos* and was considered a temporary representative of the *strategos*, *katepano*, or *kleisourarches*. Ahrweiler (*infra*) hypothesizes that the *ek prosopou* had primarily fiscal functions but the evidence is not clear. Kekaumenos (Kek. 196.20) forms a noun *ekprosopike* for the district under an *ek prosopou* and states that it, along with *archontia*, could be a risky source of income; the *ek prosopou* of various themes (Anatolikon, Boukellarion, etc.) and regions (Athens, Philippopolis, etc.) are named on seals. In the 11th C. the *asekretis* Michael served as *ek prosopou* of [the *logothetes*] *ton agelon* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.845). The term probably disappeared after the 12th C., but in a document of 1214 (?) an obscure tax, *ekprosopikion*, is listed after KANISKION (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.23.9; cf. no.36.13).

LIT. Ahrweiler, “Administration” 41f. Bury, *Adm. System* 46f. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 305f. M. Mitard, “Études sur le règne de Léon VI,” *BZ* 12 (1903) 592–94. —A.K.

EKTHESIS (Ἐκθεσις, “statement of faith”), the formula issued by Emp. Herakleios at the end of 638 in an attempt to reconcile Chalcedonians and MONOPHYSITES by supporting MONOTHELETISM. The text of the *Ekthesis*, which was written by Patr. SERGIOS I of Constantinople, attempted to end disputes concerning MONOENERGISM by forbidding a discussion of the energy in the person of Christ, while asserting that the two natures of Christ were joined by a single will (see FREE WILL). The formula “one will” had been proposed by Pope Honorius I (625–38) in a letter to Sergios. Although the *Ekthesis* was accepted by local councils in Constantinople in 638 and 639, Herakleios soon realized the futility of his conciliatory attempt and did not press the issue. Constans II withdrew the *Ekthesis*, replacing it with the *Typos* (see TYPOS OF CONSTANS II) in 648. The *Ekthesis* was condemned at the Third Council of Constantinople in 680 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

ED. Mansi 10:991–98.
LIT. V. Grumel, “Recherches sur l'histoire du monothélisme,” *EO* 29 (1930) 16–28. —T.E.G.

EKTHESIS NEA (lit. “new setting out”), the only known Byz. CHANCERY handbook, dated 1 Sept.

1386. Preserved in many MSS, it concerns letters (PITTAKIA), mainly those written by ecclesiastics. Though not a true FORMULARY, it lists opening (and eventually concluding) formulas used by the patriarch of Constantinople in letters addressed to other patriarchs, autocephalous archbishops and suffragan metropolitans and archbishops; opening formulas used by the patriarch and by metropolitans when writing to other ecclesiastics and to lay rulers; presentation of the patriarchal *pittakia*; opening formulas for all kinds of letters of laymen and of ecclesiastics (only in MS Sinai gr. 1609); and transfers and promotions of bishops (ceremonies, documentary formulas). The *Ekthesis Nea* is interesting for the political and social ideologies reflected in the formulas and for the unique insights it provides into the patriarchal chancery's secret methods of preventing or discovering FORGERIES: the usage or lack of a seal, the kind and placement of the seal, the format in which the letter was folded, and the formulation and placement of the address all had to be combined according to strict, complicated, and secret rules in order to guarantee the authenticity of the document.

ED. AND LIT. Darrouzès, "Ekthesis Nea." —N.O.

ELATIKON (ἐλατικόν, probable etymology, "for marching"), an accessory tax mentioned in several documents of the 11th C. (e.g., *Ivir.*, no.30.33; *Lavra* 1, no.39.7; *Pantel.*, no.3.30), always in connection with SYNETHIA. According to a treatise on TAXATION (ed. Dölger 122.21–22), *synethia* was collected for the DIOIKETAI (an act of 1047 speaks of the *synethia* of the *dioiketes* and of *elatikon* [*Ivir.*, no.29.96]), whereas *elatikon* was received by *taxotai* (probably the subalterns of the *dioiketai*), whose functions are not known. A novel of Alexios I, the so-called *Palaia logarike* (see LOGARIKE, PALAIA AND NEA), states that *elatikon* is collected by the GENIKON and transferred to officials called SEKRETIKOI (Zepos, *Jus* 1:332.20–23). An act of 1098 directs that *synethia* and *elatikon*, as well as another secondary tax, *dikeratoexaphollon*, be paid to the owner or partial owner of the village (or of its part), Maria Basilakina (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.65.13–14). *Elatikon* was calculated as a certain part of the main tax, and the total of *synethia* and *elatikon* from a single estate should not rise above 10 nomismata (Zepos, *Jus* 1:333.41–43).

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastré* 82f. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 90. —A.K.

ELECTRUM. See COINS.

ELEGMOI MONASTERY. See HELIOU BOMON MONASTERY.

ELEOUSA MONASTERY. See VELJUSA MONASTERY.

ELEPHANTS (sing. ἐλέφας). The Byz. knew both the African and Indian elephant; KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES (3:353–54) distinguished between the Indians, who domesticated the elephant, and the Africans, who hunted them. Byz. armies frequently encountered war elephants during the Persian Wars (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.1.11; Agath. 110.8–11, 119.4–8). In the early 7th C. Herakleios made a triumphal entrance into Constantinople in a chariot drawn by four elephants that were exhibited in the circus and the Hippodrome (Nikeph. 22.20). By that time, however, the elephant was not widely used for warfare. The author of the *Anonymous Treatise on Strategy* (6th C. or later) did not discuss fighting with elephants because he considered their use obsolete (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 44.20–21).

Their appearance in the empire was a rare sight. MARCELLINUS COMES reported the arrival of an elephant in Constantinople in the reign of Anastasios I (MGH *AuctAnt* XI.2.94, 33–34), while JOHN OF EPHEBUS (3.2.48, 3.6.10) described the "pious" behavior of several such beasts in the Hippodrome under Justinian I, perhaps booty from the Persian War. Constantine IX Monomachos obtained an elephant and a giraffe for his zoo in Constantinople (see ANIMALS). In the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZON (106.943) the elephant is mocked because his legs lack joints. The PHYSIOLOGOS (128–33), however, portrays the elephant as a sacred animal whose characteristics and habits symbolize man's fall and salvation. As the source of IVORY, its tusks were always prized; esp. large examples are shown among the offerings to an emperor on the BARBERINI IVORY.

Statues of elephants stood in public places in Constantinople (*Parastaseis* 80.18–19, 98.9–13). In most surviving mosaic representations the ge-

nus is indeterminate, but the peristyle mosaic at the GREAT PALACE of Constantinople clearly depicts both an African and an Indian elephant, one attendant upon DIONYSOS, the other engaged in an ANIMAL COMBAT. An African elephant is depicted with some verisimilitude in the Venice MS of the *Kynegetika* (see OPPIAN), fol.36r; others, much more fantastic, occur among the fauna that adorn the frames of CANON TABLES.

LIT. A. Cutler, "The Elephants in the Great Palace Mosaic," *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque Ancienne* 10 (1985) 125–38. —Ap.K., A.C.

ELESBOAM (Ἐλεσβόας, Ἐλλησθεαῖος), also called Kaleb Ella Asbeha; Christian king of AXUM (from ca.520); saint; born ca.500, died ca.540. In alliance with Justin I, Elesboam led an expedition to HIMYAR in 525, defeated the native king DHŪ-NUWĀS, and set in his place Sumayfa' Ashwa', who was eventually overthrown by ABRAHA; the latter nevertheless remained Elesboam's vassal. Elesboam's victory inscription was discovered in Ma'rib (A. Caquot, *Annales d'Éthiopie* 6 [1965] 223–26). Elesboam did not succeed in transforming South Arabia into a fully integrated part of Axum. Malalas (Malal. 457f) describes the luxury of his costume and of his chariot pulled by four elephants.

Elesboam was a Monophysite and the Axumite church acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria. In Christian tradition he appears as a builder of churches and destroyer of idols in South Arabia (I. Shahid, *DOP* 33 [1979] 55–66).

LIT. Yu. Kobiščanov, *Axum* (University Park, Pa.–London 1979) 95–108. V. Christides, "The Himyarite-Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius," *Annales d'Éthiopie* 9 (1972) 115–46. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najrān* (Brussels 1971) 252–60. A. Vasiliev, "Justin I (518–527) and Abyssinia," *BZ* 33 (1933) 67–77. —A.K.

ELEUTHEROS (ἐλεύθερος, lit. "free"), a fiscal category of peasants who were free from state payments; they were sometimes termed *xenoi*, lit. "alien," "unknown to the fisc," or "not inscribed in the *praktika*." The adjective *eleutheros* was first applied to things (*Ivir.*, no.15.20, 34–35, a.1008) with the notion of freedom "from any powerful and fiscal hand" (*Lavra* 1, no.55.24–25) as well as from any private ownership (*Patmou Engrapha* 2,

no.61.31–32). In the 13th–15th C. it was also used to categorize the status of persons. *Eleutheroi* are normally mentioned at the moment when imperial permission was granted to settle them on the property of (usually monastic) landlords. Their origins are obscure; we may surmise that they were *paroikoi* who had lost their property or had fled from their former lords or from the Turks. There is a common opinion that *eleutheroi* were poor; in some cases, however, they do not seem any poorer than neighboring *paroikoi*, and it is difficult to distinguish clearly between the two categories. When settled, *eleutheroi* were reintegrated into the main body of dependent peasants; their status of fiscal exemption was transitory, but the name *eleutheroi* sometimes persisted.

The similar category of *agrafus*, not inscribed in an official cadaster, is known in Latin Romania. Only on Venetian territory was state sanction required (as in Byz.) to settle them on private lands—in Frankish Morea a free settler would become a *villanus* after remaining for a year and a day.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 330–47. V.A. Smetanin, "Deklassirovannaja proslojka v pozdnevizantijskoj derevne," *ADSV* 4 (1966) 94–135. K. Chvostova, "K voprosu ob upotreblenii termina 'eleuter' v vizantijskich opisjach XIII–XIV vv.," *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 18–26. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.III (1975), 139–52. —M.B.

ELIAS (Ἠλίας), a *spatharios* and retainer of Justinian II sent in 711 with a naval expedition to CHERSON and installed there as governor. Elias soon joined the revolt of PHILIPPIKOS, whereupon Justinian murdered his children and "compelled his wife to marry her Indian cook" (Theoph. 379.16–17). After Philippikos entered Constantinople, Elias was detailed to pursue Justinian into Asia Minor. Finding the emperor's camp at Damatrys and inducing his Byz. and Bulgarian troops to desert him, Elias personally decapitated Justinian and returned the head to Constantinople.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:157–75. —P.A.H.

ELIAS I, patriarch of Jerusalem (23 July 494–Aug. 516); born ca.430, died Aila, on Red Sea, 20 July 518. An Arab by birth, he spent his early youth as an anchorite in the Nitrian desert. During the Monophysite persecution of TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS Elias took refuge in the lavra of EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT in Palestine, and in 473 was ordained priest. While serving at the Church of

the Anastasis in Jerusalem he founded two monasteries near Jericho. His episcopate was troubled by Monophysite infiltration into Palestine. In his resistance he received the help and repeated support of St. SABAS. At the council of Sidon (511) the dissident opposition failed to force him to denounce the Council of CHALCEDON. His attitude ultimately caused his deposition and banishment (Aug. 516) to Aila as Monophysitism was strengthened under Emp. Anastasios I. But his stand was also a factor in the failure of Anastasios to impose MONOPHYSITISM as the official faith of the empire. Significantly, the emperor's selection of a successor to Elias marks the beginning of Constantinople's interference in the internal affairs of the patriarchate of JERUSALEM and in the appointment of its patriarchs.

LIT. S. Vailhé, "Les premiers monastères de la Palestine," *Bessarione* 3 (1898) 340–51. F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert* (Münster 1899) 15–27. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym*. 196–204. —A.P.

ELIAS BAR SHINĀYĀ, a scholar, monk, and priest of the Nestorian community; metropolitan of Nisibis (from 1008); born Nisibis 11 Feb. 975, died after 1049. Bilingual in Syriac and Arabic, he has to his credit a long list of works in both languages, only a few of which have been published in modern editions or studied by modern scholars. His particularly important contributions to scholarship were in Syriac grammar and lexicography, religious dialogue with the Muslims, and historiography. Elias was the only Nestorian man of letters to compose a universal history in Syriac, and it is this work alone, usually called the *Chronography*, that is well known. It survives in a unique MS (London, B.L. 7197) that dates from the writer's own era. The *Chronography* is in two parts, the first of which includes the universal chronicle and a list of canons; the second part is a treatise on the calendar systems of the several communities in the Oriental patriarchates, complete with conversion tables to tabulate the references from one system to another. For Byz. history the chronicle is valuable for its notices of military engagements between the Arabs and the Byz., esp. in the 10th and early 11th C.

ED. *Opus chronologicum*, ed. E.W. Brooks, J.B. Chabot, 2 vols. (Paris 1910; rp. Louvain 1954). Fr. tr. L.J. Delaporte, *La Chronographie d'Elie bar-Sinaya* (Paris 1910).

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 287f. Graf, *Literatur* 2:177–89. Kh. Samir in R. Caspar, A. Charfi, Kh. Samir, eds., "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien," *Islamochristiana* 3 (1977) 257–84. —S.H.G.

ELIAS EKDIKOS, theologian, fl. 11th C. (Beck, *Kirche* 588) or 11th–12th C. (Disdier, *infra*). His biography is unknown, and his works are often ascribed to other authors: MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, JOHN OF KARPATOS, Nikephoros MOSCHOPOULOS (N. Tomadakes, *Athena* 78 [1980–82] 284f). His major work is a FLORILEGIUM entitled *Other Chapters*, a compact presentation of Christian piety. Elias distinguishes three elements of the human being: the body (connected with *aisthesis*, the capacity of feeling); the soul with its faculties, *dianoia* ("thought") and *logos*; and *nous* ("reason"). The human being is normally mired in passions, but while Maximos considers all the passions as directed against nature, Elias is ready to accept that corporeal passions are *kata physin* ("according to nature"). The main path to salvation is, according to Elias, through acquiring *apatheia*, liberation from passions, and the fear of God is an important means to achieve this end. Apparently SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN influenced Elias, but he differs from Symeon in the system of his imagery, preferring agricultural and military metaphors and similes (Kazhdan, "Simeon" 18).

ED. PG 90:1401–61 (under the name of Maximos) and 127:1129–76.

LIT. M.-T. Disdier, "Elie l'Ecdicos et les *hetera kephalaia*," *EO* 31 (1932) 17–43. N. Polites, "He pros ten theorian hodos Helia tou Ekdikou," *EEBS* 43 (1977–78) 345–64. V. Laurent, "Le rituel de la proscomidie et le métropolitte de Crète Elie," *REB* 16 (1958) 116–42. —A.K.

ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA, Neoplatonist commentator of Aristotle (6th C.), possibly the same person as Elias, prefect of Illyricum in 541, although the title APO EPARCHON could have a different meaning. He seems to have succeeded OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA ca.565–70 as the head of the Alexandrian philosophical school and was in turn succeeded by DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER. The MS tradition of Elias is confused and the distinction between him, David, and the so-called pseudo-Elias as well as their distinction from earlier authors is not always clear. It is assumed that the oeuvre of Elias includes commentaries on Aristotle's *Organon*, on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and

probably *Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* as well as some minor works. Although officially Christian, Elias supported the ancient idea of the eternity of the world, whereas David mentions this doctrine without discussing it. Elias also followed Olympiodoros in defending the priority of the universal in nature as well as in logic.

ED. A. Busse in CAG, 18.1. Westerink, *Prolegomena* xx–xxiii, xlvi–xlvi, l.

LIT. L.G. Westerink, *Texts and Studies in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Literature* (Amsterdam 1980) 59–72, 93–99. D.J. O'Meara, *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought* (Norfolk, Va., 1982) 83, 242 n.3. C.W. Müller, "Die neuplatonischen Aristoteleskommentatoren über die Ursachen der Pseud-epigraphie," *RhM* 112 (1969) 124f. —A.K.

ELIAS SPELEOTES, saint; born Reggio Calabria 864?, died nearby at Saline, 11 Sept. 960. His vita, which attributes to him a longer life than that of the first hermit, ANTONY, mentions very wealthy parents and an accident that maimed his hand and led to the surname Monocheir ("One-Hand"). After unsuccessful attempts at becoming a hermit in Muslim Sicily and a recluse in Rome, Elias ultimately found a spiritual master in his Calabrian homeland, the monk Arsenios. Together they fled Muslim attacks by crossing to Patras in the Peloponnesos. Upon returning to Reggio, they met ELIAS THE YOUNGER and his disciple Daniel, with whom Elias dwelt at Saline after their two masters had died. He then moved north to Melicuccà, near Seminara, where he began to direct crowds of followers, first in a LAVRA involving many small caves, and then, after a vision of himself nurturing a hive of bees, in a monastery in a large cave. Elias was also a scribe who copied many books. His Life, written at Melicuccà at least a generation later, features control over animals, exorcisms, prophecies, and ecstatic trances. He reportedly warned the *patrikios* Byzalon that he who resists the emperor resists the divine order and precisely predicted this rebel's death.

SOURCES. AASS Sept. 3:843–88. V. Saletta, "Vita di S. Elia Speleota secondo il manoscritto Cryptense B. β.XVII," *Studi meridionali* 3 (1970) 445–53; 4 (1971) 272–315; 5 (1972) 61–96.

LIT. BHG 581. E. Morini, "Eremo e cenobio nel monachesimo greco dell'Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 31 (1977) 355–58. G. Schirò, "Testimonianza innografica dell'attività scriptoria di s. Elia lo Speleota," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 313–17. G. Matino, "Stratigrafia linguistica nella 'Vita di S. Elia lo Speleota,'"

JÖB 32.3 (1982) 237–45. M. Dunn, "Evangelisation or Repentance? The Re-Christianisation of the Peloponnese in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries," *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History* (Oxford 1977) 79f. —J.M.H.

ELIAS THE YOUNGER, saint; born Enna, Sicily, 823?, died Thessalonike 17 Aug. 903. After having been twice captured by Muslim invaders of his homeland, Elias made his way to Jerusalem, where he received the monastic habit from Patr. Elias III (878–906). After returning to Sicily, Elias then crossed to the mainland where, 22 km south of Reggio, soon after 880, he founded the earliest known Calabrian Italo-Greek monastery, Saline (later called St. Elias, then Sts. Elias and Philaretos). His peregrinations did not trouble his nearly contemporary biographer, since "every place is safe for those who follow the will of God" (ed. Rossi Taibbi, 46.607–08). Elias did not hesitate to preach morality to local Byz. officials, troops, and citizens, and his vita indicates that reform always led to victory, vice to defeat. Famous as a wonder-worker and a prophet of Arab raids, he caught the attention of LEO VI. After the fall of Taormina in 902, Leo summoned Elias to Constantinople; en route, at Thessalonike, just before he died, Elias predicted the attack on that city by LEO OF TRIPOLI. Elias's corpse was returned to his monastery in Calabria.

SOURCES. *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi (Palermo 1962). E. Follieri, "Un canone inedito per S. Elia Siculo," *BollBadGr* n.s. 15 (1961) 15–23.

LIT. BHG 580. F. Cezzi, "La 'Mens' biblica nella 'Vita di S. Elia il Giovane,'" *Nicolaus* 1 (1973) 345–60. G. Caliman, "Interazioni di lingua e società nella *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*," *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Napoli* (n.s. 9) 21 (1978–79) 97–109. A. Amatulli, "Aspetti della relazione tra Chiesa e Stato nel 'Bios' di Elia di Enna," *Nicolaus* 8 (1980) 195–203. —J.M.H.

ELIJAH (Ἠλίας), Hebrew prophet who was taken up to heaven in a fiery chariot. John Chrysostom contrasted Elijah with Christ: in ascending to heaven, the former gave his cloak to Elisha (4 Kg 2:13), whereas the latter gave the gifts of grace (*charismata*) to his disciples (PG 50:450). In a second homily Chrysostom compared Elijah's cloak with the eucharistic body (*sarx*) of Christ (PG 49:46). These ideas were not taken up in the

visual arts, although Elijah's Ascent (4 Kg 2:11–13) appears as early as the Via Latina CATACOMB in Rome. More extensive narrative cycles are found in the SACRA PARALLELA, as illustrations to the Book of KINGS, and, surprisingly, in the *diakonikon* of the church at Morača (1252), where Elijah's birth and ten other scenes from his life are depicted (A. Skovran-Vukčević, *ZRVI* 5 [1958] 149–72). Elijah's most frequent appearance is in the New Testament image of the TRANSFIGURATION. Because of his association with mountains, Elijah's name was attached to monasteries and settlements in lofty locations throughout the empire. A 12th-C. icon at Sinai (Soteriou, *Eikones*, no.74) may be due to a local cult on this mountain. Basil I was esp. devoted to Elijah, founding or rebuilding many churches dedicated to him. Elijah is occasionally cited in hagiography, as in the vita of DAVID OF THESSALONIKE (ed. Rose, ch.16.31).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:90–93. E. Lucchesi-Palli, L. Hoffscholte, *LCI* 1:607–13. Janin, *Églises centres* 143–46. – J.H.L., A.C., C.B.T.

ELIS. See ANDRAVIDA.

ELISABETH THE THAUMATURGE, mid-5th-C. saint; born near Thracian Herakleia, died Constantinople; feastday 24 Apr. Elisabeth was born to a “noble and rich” couple, after a long period of sterility, on their estate on Thrakokrene (later Abydenoi). Orphaned at 15, she divided her gold, silver, and other property among the poor, emancipated her slaves, and confined herself in the nunnery of St. George on the Mikros Lophos, in Constantinople. Two years later her paternal aunt, *hegoumene* of the convent, died, and Patr. GENADIOS I appointed Elisabeth in her place. Leo I conferred on the nunnery an imperial estate of St. Babylas in Hebdomon where a dragon dwelt. Elisabeth, in imitation of St. George whose convent she headed, “sealed” the dragon with her cross, spit on him (W. Lackner, *AB* 92 [1974] 287f), and trampled him to death. She performed cures, including posthumous healing miracles. An anonymous Life of Elisabeth is preserved in a 14th-C. MS, but Halkin (*infra*) dates this vita before 591 on the basis of an *argumentum ex silentio* (no mention of the Avar devastation of Herakleia). It is plausible that Elisabeth's legend is a female version of St. GEORGE and the dragon.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, “Sainte Elisabeth d'Héraclée, abbesse à Constantinople,” *AB* 91 (1973) 251–64.

LIT. *BHG* 2121–2122a. A. Kazhdan, “Hagiographical Notes,” *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 169f. –A.K.

ELIŠE, author of an Armenian *History* describing the unsuccessful revolt led by Vardan MAMIKONEAN against Sasanian overlordship in 450/1. Of Eliše little is known, and it is debatable whether he wrote as an eyewitness (as he claims) or whether this *History* was written after that of ŁAZAR OF P'ARPI, who describes the same events somewhat differently.

Eliše's *History* is one of the most sophisticated works in early Armenian literature. Speeches, letters, and dialogue enhance Eliše's message; according to him, nation and Christian faith are one, the apostate and the traitor are identical. Eliše was familiar with a wide range of Greek and Syriac texts, but his main model was the MACCABEES. The setting is Armenia and Iran; Eliše notes that the Byz. emperor MARCIAN abandoned the Christian Armenians to their fate. Some later Armenian writers (e.g., VARDAN VARDAPET) adduce this war of 450/1 as the reason for the absence from the Council of CHALCEDON of bishops from Greater Armenia. Numerous theological works are also attributed to Eliše, but their authorship is most uncertain.

ED. *Matengrut'iwnk'* (Venice 1859). *Hayoc' Paterazmin*, ed. E. Ter-Minasean (Erevan 1957). *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, tr. R.W. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

LIT. P.N. Akinian, *Elisäus Vardapet*, 3 vols. (Vienna 1932–60). V. Nalbandjan, *Egiše* (Erevan 1972). R.W. Thomson, “Eliše's History of Vardan: New Light from Old Sources,” in *Classical Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1982) 41–51. –R.T.

ELPIDIOS (Ἐλπίδιος), a *patrikios* sent as *strategos* to Sicily by Empress Irene in Feb. 781. Within two months he was accused of supporting Caesar NIKEPHOROS and his brothers who were aspiring to the throne; Elpidios may even have proclaimed himself emperor. Irene sent the *spatharios* Theophilos to arrest Elpidios; when the Sicilians would not surrender him, she had his wife beaten, tonsured, and imprisoned with his sons in Constantinople. Perhaps it was in reaction to the revolt of Elpidios that Irene sought an alliance with CHARLEMAGNE through a marriage between his daughter Rotrud and her son Constantine VI (C. Tsirpanlis, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 347). In 782 Irene

dispatched a large expedition to Sicily, forcing Elpidios to flee to North Africa, where the Arabs reportedly invested him with imperial regalia. In 794 he accompanied Sulaymān, the son of HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD, on a raid into Byz. territory (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 15 [1900] 741).

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt. IX (1970), 329. –P.A.H.

ELPIOS THE ROMAN. See OULPIOS.

EMBASSIES, FOREIGN. Foreign ambassadors and their retinues were received at the frontier by the service responsible for the imperial post; on their way to Constantinople, they were accompanied by officials (*basilikoi*), were provided with safe-conducts (sometimes CHRYSOBULLS), used the post (DROMOS) facilities, and were offered food and hospitality by the taxpayers of the regions that they crossed (this was a secondary tax). Once in the capital, they were in contact with the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM and in later centuries the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU, who also accompanied them in official meetings. They were the responsibility of the *scrinium barbarorum* (early period) and resided in a special residence, the *apokrisiari-kion*. The emperor tried to impress them by displaying his power and wealth and by stressing his supremacy among rulers, sometimes by using mechanical gimmicks (AUTOMATA); then he might invite them for meals and eventually have direct discussions with them, such as the ones vividly described by LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA. Simplicity prevailed in the later centuries with the decline of the empire. The exchange of presents was a standard feature of all incoming and outgoing embassies, whose security was guaranteed by the receiving state, sometimes (for barbarians) by giving or exchanging hostages. (For outgoing Byz. embassies, see AMBASSADORS.)

LIT. D.E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton 1967). A.D. Lee, “Embassies as Evidence for the Movement of Military Intelligence between the Roman and Sasanian Empires,” *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, ed. P. Freeman, D. Kennedy (Oxford 1986) [= *BAR* Int.Ser. 297] 2:455–61. –N.O.

EMBOLOS (ἐμβολος), the regular late antique word for a colonnaded street, also denoted the porticoes that lined it. The frequent appearance of the term in texts and inscriptions of the 4th–

6th C. reflects the appearance of the cities, in which *emboloi* were a prominent element, common to any place of size or pretension. The streets often served as main arteries through the cities (though many were closed to wheeled vehicles). The colonnades provided access to shops which formed the major commercial centers, often replacing the ancient AGORAS. As commerce flourished, vendors' booths were often set up between the columns, and shops were extended out into the street despite official prohibition. *Emboloi* were particularly prominent in Constantinople where they connected all parts of the city. Principal *emboloi* in Constantinople were those of the shops of the ARGYROPRATAI, of Dominos, of Leontios, and of Zeuxippos as well as the Grand (*Makros*) and the New (*Neos*) *emboloi*. After the 7th C., *emboloi* in provincial cities generally lost their function and were frequently built over with houses.

LIT. C. Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979) 65f. Janin, *CP byz.* 87–94. D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1969) 60–63. –C.F., A.C.

EMBROIDERY, either of silver (ἀργυροκέντητα) or of gold (χρυσοκέντητα, also *chrysosolenokenteta*, *chrysoklaba*, and *chrysoklabarika*) was used for the COSTUME of emperors and high functionaries, liturgical cloths, etc. It was executed by skilled artisans, or *chrysoklabarioi*: Theophanes (Theoph. 469.3–4) refers to an imperial workshop of *chrysoklabarioi* in Constantinople; Philotheos speaks of imperial tailors, *chrysoklabarioi*, and goldsmiths as participating in court ceremonial (Oikonomides, *Listes* 133.9–10); and an EPITAPHIOS in Berat (ca.1376) is signed by a *chrysoklabares* George. The *De ceremoniis* frequently mentions embroidered costumes but rarely describes them in detail; once it speaks of the emperor's purple MAPHORION as covered with gold-embroidered roses (*De cer.* 529.15). The LOROS, esp. that worn by emperors, was particularly sumptuous, embroidered with gold and precious stones. The finest embroideries were done with silk, gold, or silver threads on purple, red, or blue silk backing. Silk threads were used primarily for faces and occasionally detail. Most of the design was embroidered with gold and silver threads made either as metal strips wound around a silk, often colored, yarn (these are known as *chryso-* and *argyronemata* or by the attributive *solenotos* or *klapotos*) or as finely drawn wires (known

as *symmata*); both were applied by couching. Embroideries could also include pearls and enamels (e.g., on the Great SAKKOS of Patr. Photios of Moscow, 1409–13).

Except for a few fragments from Egypt, surviving embroideries are late in date; the Halberstadt KALYMMATA of ca. 1195 are probably the earliest datable example. Other important specimens include the 13th-C. St. Lawrence textile sent to Genoa by Michael VIII Palaiologos (now in the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa) as well as the so-called DALMATIC OF CHARLEMAGNE, and the Thessalonike AER, both 14th C. The use of embroidery in the decoration of textiles appears to have increased with the decline of SILK weaving and a greater demand for specific figural compositions on liturgical cloths and costume in the Palaiologan period.

LIT. G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris 1939–47). Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:41–47. P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London 1967). M.S. Theochares, *Ekklesiastika chrysokenteta* (Athens 1986). A. Chatzemichale, “Ta chrysoklabarika—symmateina—symmakesika kentemata,” in *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier*, vol. 2 (Athens 1956) 447–98. —A.G.

EMESA (Ἐμεσα, Ἐμισ(σ)α, Ar. Ḥimṣ [Homs] in Syria), city of the province of Phoenicia Libanensis, at the crossing of routes from PALMYRA to the sea and from DAMASCUS to the north. It became an autocephalous metropolitan see under the patriarch of ANTIOCH after the head of John the Baptist was discovered there in Feb. 453 by monks of the Spelaion (Cave) Monastery; the relic was placed in the cathedral and venerated by pilgrims. Although about 300 Greek inscriptions from Emesa (dating from the 1st C. B.C. onward) have been published (*IGLSyr* 5, nos. 2202–501), there are relatively few other archaeological remnants of the antique city; those of the Byz. period include a basilica and funerary chapel (*ibid.* 2205–11). The vitae of local saints, such as Julian of Emesa, and esp. the vita of SYMEON OF EMESA by Leontios of Neapolis (C. Mango in *Byz. und der Westen* 25–41) mention other, public buildings: a hippodrome, theater, two baths. ROMANOS THE MELODE was a native of Emesa. The city was under Persian rule from 609/10 to 628.

There are several conflicting accounts of the loss of Emesa to the Arabs in 635–36. Then Abū ‘Ubayda al-Jarrah abandoned Emesa, and the Byz.

force entered the city (Donner, *Conquests* 132f), but after the defeat of Yarmuk the situation changed and Herakleios left Emesa. The Arabs seized the city without bloodshed after the population had paid a ransom (71,000 dinars) and probably turned the Church of St. John into a mosque (N. Elisséeff, *EI*² 3:397); the urban properties left vacant were divided up among the Muslims (Donner, *Conquests* 247). Emesa remained under Muslim control thereafter except for short periods in the 10th C.: the Arab geographer al-Isṭakhri (951) praised the climate, soil, and paved streets and markets of Emesa, but lamented the damage caused in the area by the Byz. (G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* [rp. Beirut 1965] 353f). Nikephoros II Phokas occupied Emesa in 969 and took away the head of John the Baptist; JOHN I TZIMISKES levied tribute there in 975; the Byz. burned the city in 983 and Basil II extended his authority over it in 995, setting fire to it yet again in 999.

LIT. P. Peeters, “La Passion de S. Julien d’Émèse,” *AB* 47 (1929) 44–76. —M.M.M.

EMIR (ἄμυρᾶς, ἐμίρης), Turkish form of Arabic title *amīr*, generally meaning “commander” and largely used by the Islamic peoples. In early Islamic times only commanders of armies used the title, but later persons exercising administrative and financial authority adopted it. Under the SELJUKS it was given to military officers and to younger princes. In the late 13th and in the 14th C. it was used by lesser rulers such as those of the Turkish states that succeeded the old sultanate of RŪM; it was finally used by the Ottoman sultan. The term appears in early Byz. sources (e.g., THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR) as a loanword from the Arabic. The names of some Byz. families (e.g., Amiro-pouloi, Amiroutzes) originate from this title. The *Song of the Ameras* (*Emir*) forms the first section of the epic DIGENES AKRITAS. It was gradually used alternatively with or replaced by the Turkish title BEG.

LIT. L. Bazin, *EI*² 1:1159. A.A. Duri, *EI*² 1:438f. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:66–68. E.A. Zachariadou, “Pachymeres on the ‘Amourioi’ of Kastamonu,” *BMGS* 3 (1977) 57–70. —E.A.Z.

EMMANUEL. See CHRIST: Types of Christ.

EMMAUS (Ἐμμαοῦς, Ar. ‘Amwās), identified by Sozomenos as Nikopolis, and, according to Eusebios of Caesarea, “a famous *polis*” in Judaea, on the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa. It was an autocephalous archbishopric under the jurisdiction of Jerusalem. It contained several goals of pilgrimage—a healing spring and churches. Ruins of a church and baptistery with mosaics of the 5th/6th C. were discovered there. The city also had a Jewish and Samaritan population. Conquered by the Arabs between 634 and 638, it was decimated by the plague of 639. Emmaus was displaced by DIOSPOLIS and then Ramla, and later pilgrims give confused testimony concerning its location. The Byz. church was rebuilt in the Crusader period.

It remains debatable (R. Janin, *DHGE* 15 [1963] 428) whether the Emmaus mentioned in the Gospels as the place where Christ had revealed himself to two of his disciples can be identified as Emmaus-Nikopolis.

LIT. H. Vincent, F.M. Abel, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire* (Paris 1932). G. Hölscher, *RE* 17 (1937) 533–35. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 156. *EAEHL* 2:362–64.

—G.V., Z.U.M.

EMOTIONS (τὰ πάθη) were defined by Nemesios as a kind of movement (*kinesis*): movement according to nature is energy, whereas movement against nature is emotion or passion (PG 40:673C). Ancient ETHICS created an ideal of freedom from emotions—*apatheia* or *ataraxia*—and church fathers inherited from the ancients a condemnation of emotions, which were identified as VICES; thus Theodore of Mopsuestia wrote, in accordance with Romans 7:5, of sinful passions working in our body (PG 66:808AB). The *hegoumenos* Dorotheos in the 6th C., however, drew a distinction between the two—*pathe* are evil desires and *hamartiai* (vices) their energies, or realizations (PG 88:1621D). Theologians emphasized consistently that God has no emotions and is *apathes* (Gregory of Nyssa, PG 45:49B).

The solemnity of Byz. ceremonial, ecclesiastical and imperial alike, rejected emotional movements; an uncontrolled gesture or unbalanced BEHAVIOR were signs of barbaric, uncivilized upbringing, whereas an ideal appearance presupposed “measure,” “balance,” and “rhythm,” or harmony and symmetry (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 235f) in contrast to emotional outbursts. Ammianus Mar-

cellinus described the “statuesque” pose of Constantius II, and the imperial portraits of the 4th C. presented motionless, “stony” figures. Patience was treated as a necessity in any situation and would be rewarded in heaven (E. Osborn, *Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought* [Cambridge 1976] 133). Hagiographers also emphasized that their heroes and heroines acted without emotion in the most distressing situations, even on the verge of death. At the same time, the Byz. distinguished between good and bad emotions: LAUGHTER was a bad emotion, whereas tears (see CONTRITION) were always welcome and indicated a sympathetic character; the gentle smile also fit the ideal of sanctity. Strong emotions such as passionate LOVE of God were also acceptable in Christians. The PASSION OF CHRIST is the focus of the theology of salvation. From the 12th C. onward Byz. writers presented emotions ever more boldly (e.g., delight in dancing and even obscure BODY LANGUAGE); they participated enthusiastically in processions and even displayed emotions that trespassed on the conventional moral code.

Representation in Art. In art, emotions were expressed less through physiognomy than through GESTURE. D. Winfield (*DOP* 22 [1968] 128) suggested that painters limited themselves to two basic facial attitudes: one for emotional disturbance, one for tranquility. Confronting innumerable impassive saints, the modern observer may doubt even the second category (L. Brubaker, *Word and Image* 5 [1989] 19–32). The reason for this lack of animation was not necessarily the sacred nature of the image: similar expressionless faces characterize scores of warriors, mimes, and dancers on bone CASKETS AND BOXES, the largest preserved class of secular art. Manuel CHRYSOLORAS (PG 156:57D–59A) echoed the 3rd-C. theoretician Philostratos (*Die Bilder*, ed. O. Schönberger [Munich 1968] 4.21–22), who had prescribed that artists convey dispositions, as these are reflected in faces. The steeply angled brows of mourners in the Vienna GENESIS convey obvious feeling, but, while many 5th- and 6th-C. images show open-mouthed horror or smiling pleasure, no extant works of art display the range of expressions that CHORIKIOS OF GAZA and Nicholas MESARITES purport to describe. Except for the sorrowful Virgin in Crucifixion scenes, emotional manifestations are rare even in the “pathetic” phase of 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING;

in the 14th C., the Massacre of the Innocents is performed by murderers treated at worst as **CARCINATURES**.

LIT. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow." —A.K., A.C.

EMPEROR (called **BASILEUS**, **AUTOKRATOR**, also **DESPOTES**), the pinnacle of Byz. **POLITICAL STRUCTURE** and society, whose extraordinary position is reflected in virtually every creation of Byz. civilization. The ideology of his power came from Rome, refashioned by Christian and Hellenistic conceptions. The divinely promoted emperor was considered to have been elected commander in chief, whether it was the army, senate, or **CITIZENS** that acted as God's agents by their **ACCLAMATION**. This lack of juridical clarity helps explain the **LEGITIMACY** of military success, the absence of hereditary succession (designated successors were made co-emperors), and the vitality of **USURPATIONS**.

From the 7th and 8th C. onward, Byz.'s new social conditions fostered the gradual appearance of a legitimacy of birth—**PORPHYROGENNETOS**—and lineage. The providential ruler chosen by God (*ek theou* on coins—**DOC** 3.1:179) was conceived as God's representative on earth, the **SUN** and serenity were his chosen metaphors, and he enjoyed unique liturgical and executive privileges within the church (A. Michel, *Die Kaisermacht in der Ostkirche (843–1204)* [Darmstadt 1959]). As the source of law, he was not bound by it (*Basil.* 2.6.1; cf. e.g., Leo VI, nov.47) and some believe he possessed a right of land ownership over the entire empire (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 229–35). Although Byz. frequently revolted against emperors and killed or toppled them, and their effective authority was somewhat ambiguous, few questioned the idea of emperor. The reality of his power lay in a professional army and a bureaucracy expert at extracting wealth through elaborate taxes and extensive private revenues, the whole enhanced by **PROPAGANDA** and the emperor's centrality to Byz. mentality and **PATRIOTISM**—a system unparalleled in European states before the 13th C.

The emperor was distinguished from his subjects (*douloi*) by his seclusion in the **PALACE** and his way of life (a living archaism in the 10th C.); by a sacral status inherited from the **IMPERIAL**



EMPEROR. The emperor and four court officials; miniature in a manuscript of the Homilies of John Chrysostom (Paris, Coislin 79, fol.2r); 11th C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Emp. Nikephoros III Botaneiates is seated before Truth and Justice.

CULT; by his use of **PURPLE** and **GOLD** (e.g., **CHRYSOBULLS**), **CEREMONY**, and **INSIGNIA**; and by a sanctity indirectly derived from the cult of Constantine I and the commemoration of his successors in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. He was united with his subjects by the exercise of his powers, his justice (cf. the story of Theophilos and the marketplace: *TheophCont* 87.9–88.3) and **PHILANTHROPY**, by ceremony and prayers that concretized their mutual relations, by their **OATHS** of allegiance, and by their payment of taxes. His relations with the aristocracy were explicitly defined by the office and dignities he granted them.

By Ostrogorsky's count, 88 emperors ruled Constantinople from 324 to 1453 for an average reign of about 13 years, or 12 without the exceptional longevity of the **Palaioi** (an average of over 19 years from 1259 to 1453). This apparent stability contrasts with high turnover in periods of crisis (e.g., 695–717, seven emperors came to

power in 22 years; 797–820, five in 23; 1055–81, seven in 26; 1180–1204, six in 24) and numerous failed usurpations. The unusual political and administrative continuity favored by this longevity must be reckoned a factor in Byz.'s survival.

Patterns of the transmission of power changed significantly, the most important trends being the decline of election—partly supplanted by successful usurpation—and the growth of family succession in later dynasties of Komnenoi and **Palaioi**. The period 324–610 saw ten designated successors take power without significant violence against the senior emperor; seven of these successors were family members, six more were elected, and four took power violently, although among them Constantine I and Julian could claim family and institutional rights. Family and usurpation loomed larger from 610 to 1204, when 32 co-emperors succeeded, 25 of whom were offspring and six more coopted into the imperial family; Michael I Rangabe might claim election, but he was the son-in-law of Nikephoros I. Twenty-one took power violently.

The family dominated late Byz. succession: eight emperors, all with close family connections by blood or marriage, took power as designated successors, although two used violence to enforce their claims; moreover, the two elected emperors were sons of emperors. Of the four usurpers, two were closely related to a predecessor.

The institutional background of emperors reflects the political structure: the early Byz. army (324–610) supplied 12 emperors, the bureaucracy only Anastasios I, while the imperial family provided nine emperors, if one includes Constantine I and **BASILISKOS**. The period of the 7th–12th C. reflects the triumph of lineage, and the bureaucracy and palace milieux gained against the army: the former supplied roughly one emperor for every two from the army. The bureaucracy disappears as a recruiting ground for late Byz. emperors.

Except for **ZENO**, the European provinces supplied all early Byz. emperors of known background born outside of Constantinople down to Tiberios II; thereafter, Asia Minor (with some exceptions, e.g., Irene and Basil I) predominated for emperors born outside Constantinople, reflecting its enhanced economic and social significance. In its final centuries, the empire's reduced

size severely limited the possibilities and their significance.

Most new emperors came from the aristocracy. Nonetheless, the rise of nonaristocrats to supreme power through imperial service (e.g., Justin I, Basil I, Michael IV) was an exceptional but persistent phenomenon down to the Komnenoi; more common, probably, was the rise of second-generation aristocrats (e.g., Valens, Justinian I). Aristocratic background and the premium Byz. placed on literacy meant a high level of culture among the overwhelming majority of emperors, many of whom, like Justinian I, Constantine VII, or Manuel II, have left significant writings. (For list of emperors, see **BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF**.)

LIT. *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild*, ed. H. Hunger (Darmstadt 1975). —M.McC.

EMPHYTEUSIS (*ἐμφύτευσις*), in the 4th C., the term referring to a set of administrative regulations whereby estates belonging to the crown were transferred to private cultivators. By the late 5th C. *emphyteusis* had developed into a specific type of written contract governing long-term, usually perpetual leases of real property applicable not only to crown lands but to holdings of private and ecclesiastical landlords. Emp. Zeno defined *emphyteusis* as a right distinct from lease or sale, although possessing certain qualities of both (*Cod. Just.* IV 66.1). An *emphyteuta* could not be evicted as long as he paid an annual fee (*solita pensio*) or presented to his master receipts (*apodochae*) for public services; his tenement was heritable and could be alienated unless the tenant had lost the contract, *emphyteuticum instrumentans* (*Cod. Just.* IV 66.2–3).

In case of sale, the owner possessed a right of preemptive purchase and was otherwise entitled to a payment equal to 2 percent of the purchase price. Persons undertaking an emphyteutical contract were required to pay an initiation fee, to keep the land in cultivation, and to return it unimpaired. Special restrictions (Justinian I, novel 120) were placed on the use of *emphyteusis* for ecclesiastical lands in order to prevent the alienation of church property. Later jurisprudence adhered closely, with some simplifications and modifications, to Justinianic regulations. After the 7th C. *emphyteusis* appears primarily to have been

applied to ecclesiastical property. Legal texts retain the traditional meaning of the term (e.g., D. Simon, S. Trojanos, *FM* 2 [1977] 67f) up to the 15th C. (e.g., *Xénoph.*, no.32.29–30), whereas in documents of the 13th–15th C. the term *emphyteuma* was applied to the urban milieu (Constantinople, Thessalonike, Serres) and denoted, like *enoikion*, “house rent,” the annual payment for a house built by the tenant (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 39 [1989] 22).

LIT. D. Simon, “Das frühbyzantinische Emphyteuse-recht,” *Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Vienna 1982) 365–422. G. Weiss, “Die Entscheidung des Kosmas Magistros über das Parökenrecht,” *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 477–500. —A.J.C.

EMPORION (ἐμπόριον, μπόριο in later sources, e.g., the *Chronicle of the Tocco*), a term of ancient origin (J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'empire romain* [Paris 1966] 108) designating a place of trade, found along frontiers, coasts, and trade routes. Primarily associated with seaports, they are also attested in inland areas, such as Thrace and Bithynia. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 75.56–57) defines the *emporion* of Corinth as “the lower polis.” In charters *emporion* (usually juxtaposed with *KASTRA*) are small settlements of urban type where ships can be docked (*Lavra* 1, no. 55.59–60, a.1102). Near the *emporion tou Kotzinou*, on the island of Lemnos, was the *kastron* of the same name (*Dionys.* no. 25.12–15, a.1430), and the *Lavra* of Athanasios was said to own a house in the *kastron Kotzinou* and two more in the *emporion* (*Lavra* 3, no. 164.4–5, a.1415), which according to another document (*Lavra* 2, no. 77.108, a.1284?) was located at the seashore. The term might designate a commercial quarter of a town, a market situated outside the urban fortifications (e.g., *emporion* of Adrianople), or a settlement which was in itself a marketplace, as in the case of Sagoudaous, donated by the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos to the Kosmosoteira monastery at BERA. In scholarly literature the term also has a number of meanings—from early medieval trading settlements in the West (R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics* [New York 1982] 47–65) to small Byz. towns (Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 122–24) to great coastal cities (M. Sjuzumov, *VizVrem* 8 [1956] 26–41).

LIT. M. Živojinović, “Settlements with Marketplace Status,” *ZRVI* 24–25 (1986) 407–12. —A.K.

EMPRESS (*augusta*, αὐγούστα, βασίλισσα; cf. E. Bensammar, *Byzantion* 46 [1976] 243–91). Legally, the empress depended on the emperor (*Digest* 1.3.31; *Basil.* 2.6.1; *Scholia Bas.* 2.6.1), but in favorable circumstances late Roman empresses, such as Pulcheria, Ariadne, Theodora (wife of Justinian I), or Sophia (wife of Justin II) might wield great power, esp. through a *REGENCY*. Their social background (e.g., the marriage of Honorius and Arkadios to generals' daughters) illuminates the empire's changing political structure; conversely, the case of the wife of Justinian I, Constantine VI, or Theophilos shows how such marriages generated power and influence for the woman's family. Newcomers on the throne tried to solidify their power by marriage to an established empress, from Marcian and Pulcheria to Nikephoros III Botaneiates and Maria of “Alania.”

In the late Roman period the status of empress was granted only grudgingly to imperial women: of the first 26 emperors' 30 known wives (324–527) only nine were *augustae*. Four others became *augustae* as mother, sister, etc. These early *augustae* issued coinage, authenticated documents with lead seals (Licinia Eudoxia—Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2759), wore imperial insignia, and possessed their own retinues. Their public life, largely separate from their spouses, involved a kind of parallel court and ceremonies with the female elite (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 203f). Like Leontia (602), some became empress at their husband's accession, some on marriage, and others afterward or not at all, whence the different coronation options in *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 39–41). The reasons are not always clear, but down to the 8th C., at least, empress status could follow the birth of a male heir (D. Missiou, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 489–98).

The solidification of Byz. aristocratic lineages and the Komnenian privatization of the state probably enhanced the power of the empresses. They kept most earlier privileges and wives became empresses more regularly—for example, Alexios I crowned Irene Doukaina one week after his accession and his dynastic successors' spouses appear to have been simultaneously crowned and married or affianced. As Irene, Theodora (wife of Theophilos), Zoe, Eudokia Makrembolitissa, Maria of Antioch, and Anna of Savoy show, successful female regency became more frequent, while Irene, Zoe, and her sister Theodora even ruled briefly in their own names. From Anna

Dalassene's administration of the empire onward, acts issued by empresses survive that compare with those of their male counterparts and that show them administering very considerable wealth (F. Barišić, *ZRVI* 13 [1971] 143–202; U.V. Bosch in *Mél.Dujčev* 83–102).

From 788 to 881 sources mention *BRIDE SHOWS* for selecting imperial spouses. Diplomacy began to bring foreign wives for emperors in the 8th C., when marriages with Khazar princesses were followed by failed negotiations for Frankish ones. Foreign brides might be coached in the Greek language and Byz. customs before arriving in Constantinople (Theoph. 455.23–25) and changed their *NAMES* when they assumed Byz. identity. Their geopolitical status peaked under the Komnenoi, with brides from the German Empire and Capetian France. Such alliances became so usual in late Byz. that a ceremony was established for the *ADVENTUS* of imperial fiancées from abroad, but Palaiologan wives came from lesser echelons of regional potentates.

LIT. K. Holm, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley 1982). S. Mashev, “Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der byzantinischen Kaiserinnen,” *BS* 27 (1966) 308–43. —M.McC.

ENAMELS. Enameling is a means of embellishment in which *GLASS*, colored with metallic oxides, is heated until it melts and fuses with metal. Although enameling techniques varied over time and place, the Byz. were best known for their cloisonné enamel, in which cells divided by thin strips of gold (*cloisons*) are filled with glass and fired. After cooling, the composite surface of glass and metal is ground and polished. The lustrous result became the norm for enamels of the 10th–12th C., which were used on icons, reliquaries, book covers, chalices, and crowns, and even sewn onto ecclesiastical vestments.

The Byz. precursor of cloisonné was a technique in which enamel, often thinly applied, was contained within loops of filigree (either wire or strips set on edge) that determined the outline of the desired motif. The earliest example is a medallion portrait of a 5th-C. empress (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no.2), probably Licinia Eudoxia, consort of Valentinian III. This filigree technique was in use at least until the 7th C.

Cloisonné enamel was the technique used from the 9th C. onward, and Buckton (*infra*) has sug-

gested that the origin of Byz. cloisonné technique is to be found in the Carolingian world. Whatever its origin, the technique was well established in Byz. for *RELIQUARIES* and *ENKOLPIA* by the time the votive crown of Leo [VI] was made (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.8). The emperor appears in a *loros* and *stemma* on one of the medallions. The busts of Leo and of saints on these medallions have backgrounds of translucent green, which is characteristic of 9th-C. enamel.

Already apparent here is the substitution of enamels for precious stones, which were still used on other votive crowns. *GEMS* are again absent on a *CHALICE* inscribed “Lord, help the Orthodox emperor Romanos” (ibid., no.10), an ancient sardonix vessel, the lip of which is enclosed in a metal band with enamel images, including those of Christ, the Virgin, and LAZAROS the icon painter. Their haloes and garments, displaying a great variety of blues, are silhouetted against the gilt metal, instead of having an enamel background. This technique became standard from the 10th C. onward and is responsible for the “typical” Byz. enamel, with the figure isolated against the gold of the plaque or medallion. A second sardonix chalice with an identical inscription was likewise brought to Venice as booty from Constantinople in or after 1204 (ibid., no.11).

Numerous enamels have been seen as products of late 9th–10th-C. *GEORGIAN ART*, but work from the Caucasus is hard to distinguish from Byz. examples; further difficulties of identity and authenticity are raised by the alterations and forgeries undertaken by 19th-C. dealers and restorers. Unquestionable, datable Byz. enamels include the *LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY* and some precious objects of the 11th C. usually interpreted as crowns of Constantine IX (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no.32) and Michael VII (the so-called Holy Crown of Hungary—*Studien zur Machtsymbolik des mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, eds. F. Füle, E. Kovács, Zs. Lovag [Budapest 1983]).

Constantinople as a source of “export enamels” is also apparent in two enameled triptychs, possibly brought to the West by WIBALD OF STAVELOT. The most celebrated example is the *PALA D'ORO*, the largest surviving complex of such materials; part of it was in Venice by the early 12th C. The original form and content of this object is much debated, not least the question of which of several empresses named Irene is depicted on it. It is

certain that the Pala was enlarged and further embellished with loot from the Fourth Crusade, including enamels of six scenes of the lives of Christ and the Virgin. According to Sylvester SYROPOULOS, these enamels were recognized in 1438 by Patr. Joseph II as coming from the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople (S. Bettini in *Treasury S. Marco* 41f).

Byz. enamels are distinguishable from Venetian work by the fineness of their *cloisons* and their saturated colors, qualities esp. evident on icons such as the full-length St. Michael in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.19), the effect of which is accentuated by gemstones. In the case of other pieces of the 12th–13th C., enameled backgrounds have reappeared, now using opaque colors, not the translucent green of the 9th C. This technique has been attributed to Thessalonike (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, nos. 60, 63). From the late 14th C. onward, enamel was increasingly used in conjunction with other media: cloisonné tondi depicting archangels, prophets, and church fathers were juxtaposed with repoussé scenes on the silver-gilt cover (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.20) of a Greek lectionary, copied by a certain Sophronios at Ferrara before 11 Nov. 1439. Among the latest Byz. enamels are the eight medallions at the extremities of the gilded filigree cross inside the BESSARION RELIQUARY.

LIT. K. Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels from the 5th to the 13th Century* (Greenwich, Conn., 1967). D. Buckton, "Byzantine Enamel and the West," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 235–44. M.E. Frazer in *Treasury S. Marco* 109–76. L.Z. Khuskivadze, *Medieval Cloisonné Enamels at the Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts* (Tbilisi 1984). E. Kovács, Zs. Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest 1980). P. Hetherington, "Enamels in the Byzantine World: Ownership and Distribution," *BZ* 81 (1988) 29–38. —M.E.F., D.B.

ENANTIOPHANES. See ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES."

ENCAUSTIC. See ICON: Painted Icons.

ENCHEIRION (ἐγχειρίριον), a rectangular piece of soft material, embroidered with gold thread, that was worn as a vestment by a bishop over his STICHARION. It was attached to his belt so as to hang down over his right thigh. Its use was apparently restricted to bishops. First attested as a vestment in the book of pseudo-Germanos I on

the liturgy (PG 98:396B) and in a letter of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I (PG 100:200C) and in representations of the late 10th C. (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, pp. 54, 74, 188, 254, 340), the *encheirion* was replaced during the 14th C. by the stiffer, lozenge-shaped EPIGONATION.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 551–55. Papas, *Messgewänder* 131–36, 150–53. —N.P.S.

ENCYCLICAL (lit. "circular"), in the narrow sense of the word, a formal pastoral letter sent by the pope to the entire church; the term was used from 1740 (E. Magenot, *DTC* 5.1 [1939] 14). However, in late Roman practice the terms *enkyklios epistole* or *enkyklion gramma* were applied to "circulars" written by church fathers of great authority: thus, Clement of Rome reportedly wrote *enkyklioi epistolai* "to be read in holy churches" (EPIPHANIOS, *Panarion* 30.15.2). Origen sent *enkyklia grammata* (Eusebios, *HE* 6.18.4); Alexander of Alexandria wrote 70 *enkyklioi epistolai* addressed to various bishops and devoted to the refutation of Arianism (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 69.4.3). The term was applied also to letters of certain patriarchs: Anatolios in 451/2, Gennadios I in 458/9, Pyrrhos in 639, Paul II in 642, etc. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 22.16) relates that the First Council of Nicaea dispatched to Alexandria, Libya, and the Pentapolis an *enkyklios epistole* concerning the Arian heresy. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS (*HE* 3.7) employs the term *antenkyklia*, saying that Emp. Basiliskos, fearing the resistance of Patr. Akakios, withdrew his previous pro-Monophysite *enkyklia* and issued *antenkyklia* confirming the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. The term *enkyklios* apparently fell into disuse after the 10th C. —A.K.

ENCYCLOPEDISM, a conventional term introduced by Lemerle to replace the less precise "Macedonian Renaissance" as a characterization of Byz. culture of the 9th C. through the beginning of the 11th C. The main feature of this period was the "organization" of an administrative and cultural structure; for this purpose various manuals were produced—on the bureaucratic hierarchy (TAKTIKA), on tax collecting (see TAXATION, TREATISES ON), on military tactics and strategy (STRATEGIKA), on agriculture (GEOPONIKA); Ro-

man law was systematized in the BASILIKA and related texts, and rules for the guilds of Constantinople (the BOOK OF THE EPARCH) were issued. It was also a period of active transliteration of TEXTS from uncial to minuscule and of attempts to gather, observe, and appreciate the ancient heritage—from Photios's BIBLIOTHECA to the SOUDA. The systematization and "organization" also covered such spheres as EDUCATION, hagiography (SYMEON METAPHRASTES), and church decoration. The activity of CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS and his court was the focal point of new tendencies, resulting in the compilation of such works as DE THEMATIBUS, DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO, and DE CEREMONIIS. The epoch produced many polymaths, like LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, PHOTIOS, and ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, but the emphasis was not on creativity, but on copying and collecting.

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 121–346. Wilson, *Scholars* 79–147. —A.K.

ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS (ἐνδημοῦσα σύνοδος), the permanent, standing synod of bishops in which the activity and business of the patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE was decided. Its administrative and judicial functions included canonical discipline and dogmatic and liturgical issues. Its membership, convoked and presided over by the patriarch, consisted of all those bishops visiting or residing (*endemountes*) in or near the capital. As a technical term its name first appears in 448 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.98), although the genesis of the institution itself probably stretches back to the 4th C. when Constantinople became the imperial residence. It was indeed natural, if not inevitable, for individual bishops to gravitate to the imperial capital for personal and official business, that is, whenever they wished to submit some petition or complaint to its court, hence the permanent nature of the synod. Indeed, its convocation was commonplace by the Council of CHALCEDON (451), when this established custom was first solemnly recognized (canons 9, 17).

Initially, because of its very nature, the composition of the *endemousa* was not fixed. By the 9th C., however, it was restricted to metropolitans, autocephalous archbishops, and the five administrative functionaries of the patriarchate. Despite these limitations, its membership again increased

with the Turkish invasions of the 11th C. and the subsequent growth of the number of fugitive bishops residing (usually permanently) in Constantinople. The larger extraordinary councils convened during the Palaiologan period (in the controversy over PALAMISM, for example) were not identical with the *endemousa*.

LIT. B. Stephanides, "Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Synoden des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel," *ZKirch* 55 (1936) 127–57. J. Hajjar, *Le synode permanent dans l'Eglise byzantine des origines au XI^e siècle* (Rome 1962). —A.P.

ENDYTE (ἐνδυτή), a cloth that covers the top and all four sides of the ALTAR. Apart from a possible instance in the museum of S. Marco in Venice, only representations of such cloths survive from the Byz. period, most from the 6th to 7th C., as in the Melchizedek mosaic at S. Vitale and the bema of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, both in Ravenna. Textual references to *endytai* continue from the mid-8th C. until the end of the empire; special attention is paid to them in the DE CEREMONIIS since, on Great Feasts, emperors either kissed or changed these altar vestments (see Speck [1966] *infra*, nos. 18–24). Although the *endytai* represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (pp. 14, 324, 358) have only geometrical ornament, those referred to in earlier literature are much more elaborate. PAUL SILENTIARIOS (Friedländer, *Kunstbeschrieb.* vv. 759–805) tells of a purple silk altar cloth at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople bearing images of Christ, Peter, Paul, and, on its hem, hospitals and churches founded by Justinian I. Bp. Victor of Ravenna had a cloth of gold and silver with his own likeness made for the Basilica Ursiana, and Archbp. Maximian's *endyte* for the same church had not only his portrait but "the whole story of our Lord" (AGNELLUS, ed. Holder-Egger, 324.28–33; 335.37–40). The Iconoclastic Council of 754 (Mansi 13:332B) declared that figure-bearing cloths might not be destroyed but could be altered with the permission of the patriarch and the emperor. Thereafter most references occur in *typika*, such as that of the PETRITZOS MONASTERY (ed. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 123.1730–33), and INVENTORIES such as that of Patmos (ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 [1981] 22), since *endytai* were a favorite offering of church benefactors.

LIT. P. Speck, "Die Endyte," *JÖB* 15 (1966) 323–75. Idem, "Nochmals: Die Endyte," *Poikila byzantina* 6 (1987) 333–37. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 604–06. —A.C.

ENERGY (ἐνέργεια). According to Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebios of Caesarea, and other church fathers, the activity of the Logos in creation and redemption derives ultimately from God the Father; it is opposed by the "activity" (*energeia*) of the DEMONS (*energoumenos* = "demon-possessed"). In the writings of the church fathers the doctrine of the divine energies reaches its zenith in the definition of the two energies, or wills, in Christ, corresponding to his two natures, as opposed to the doctrine of MONOTHELETISM. Important for the philosophical orientation predominant in late Byz. thought is the real distinction between God's essence and his energies (in the plural, but referring to the Trinity as a unity) represented by Gregory PALAMAS, set in the framework of the Orthodox doctrine of grace and knowledge in opposition to BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. According to Palamas, the three divine persons necessarily remain hidden and inaccessible to the faithful, while the uncreated energies—which are one with the divine essence and, accordingly, representations of it (as, e.g., the light of Transfiguration)—convey to him participation in divine life.

As a result of the unsystematic and polemical manner of expression characterizing his occasional writings and his somewhat arbitrary and selective use of the theology of the church fathers, Palamas attracted a long line of opponents, both in his lifetime and later (e.g., Gregory AKINDYNOS, Nikephoros GREGORAS, the KYDONES brothers, John KYPARISSIOTES), who believed that knowledge of God was connected essentially to the Creation. Both sides appealed, rightly or wrongly, to pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, or at least to various aspects of his apophatic and cataphatic theology.

LIT. J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris 1959) 279–310. D. Wendebourg, *Geist oder Energie* (Munich 1980) 11–64. Ch. Yannaras, "The Distinction between Essence and Energies and its Importance for Theology," *SVThQ* 19 (1975) 232–45. F. Carcione, "Energeia, Thélema e Theokinetos nella lettera di Sergio, patriarca di Costantinopoli, a papa Onorio Primo," *OrChrP* 51 (1985) 263–76. —G.P.

ENGASTRIMYTHOS (ἐγγαστρίμυθος, lit. "belly-talker"), a witchlike descendant of the ancient Sibyls or prophetesses. *Engastrimythoi*, often male, were ventriloquists who disguised their voices and made mantic utterances, as if a deity or demon were acting within and speaking through them.

Their activities are attested in the 4th C. by pseudo-Justin (PG 6:1324A) and in the 5th C. by Theodoret of Cyrrihus (PG 80:337C); in the 6th C. a female *engastrimythos* was admitted to the imperial court after Justin II showed symptoms of insanity, in order to "make known the facts about his illness" (vita of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER, ed. P. van den Ven 1:180, ch.209.15–16). Canon 60 of the Council in TRULLO condemned people who feigned possession; the practice must have continued, however, as Theodore Balsamon, in his gloss to this canon, denounces those "who feign being possessed as a means of profit, and proclaim certain things with the evil, satanic gaze of the prophetesses of the pagans" (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:441.13–15). (See also ORACLE; SIBYL-LINE ORACLES.)

LIT. Trombley, "Trullo" 6.

—F.R.T.

ENGLAND (Βρετανία). The Roman province of Bretania was probably abandoned by the empire after 428 or even 442 (H.S. Schultz, *JRS* 23 [1933] 36–45), but some contacts with the East seem to have been maintained. In the 6th C. Prokopios of Caesarea had copious information about remote Bretania, which he viewed as lying at the extremity of the known world; the 6th–7th-C. SUTTON HOO TREASURE also provides evidence for these links, and the 7th-C. vita of JOHN ELEEMON mentions a ship from Alexandria carrying zinc from Bretania. Two Greeks, Theodore of Tarsos (archbishop of Canterbury) and Adrian (born in Africa), played an important part in the English church of the 7th C., ushering in a brief period of Greek cultural and religious influence on the island (see BEDE). Some English pilgrims visited Byz., and Byz. influence on English political terminology is reflected in the title of King Athelstan, *basileus Anglorum* (a.931).

Official diplomatic relations resumed in the mid-11th C., attested to by several Byz. seals found in England—one of Sophronios II of Jerusalem (ca.1059–64) (V. Laurent, *NC* 72 [1964] 49f) and one of the envoy John-Raphael, after 1066 (V. Laurent, *NC* 71 [1963] 93–96). After the Norman conquest some Anglo-Saxon refugees offered their services to Alexios I and are mentioned as Inglinoi in several of his chrysobulls (C. Head, *Byzantion* 47 [1977] 186–98). Alexios I established an English colony at Kibotos or Chevetot (on the Gulf of Astakos). English VARANGIANS are mentioned

as late as 1329. Several Byz. diplomatic missions to England are recorded in the 11th and 12th C. Manuel I Komnenos sent embassies in 1170, 1176, and 1177 and conducted a lively correspondence with King Henry II (1154–89), no doubt in the hope of securing his support against the French and Normans, who threatened the empire. The Latin conquest of Constantinople (1204) contributed to a renewed but short-lived English interest in Greek learning during the 13th C., as evidenced by the collection of Greek MSS by John of Basingstoke, who actually studied in Athens, and the scholarship of the Franciscans Robert GROSSETESTE and Roger Bacon. The last major contact between Byz. and England occurred in 1400 when MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS visited England for two months in a largely unsuccessful attempt to enlist the financial and military support of Henry IV (1399–1413) against the Turks.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "Byzantium and England," *BalkSt* 15.2 (1974) 179–203. K.N. Ciggar, *Byzance et l'Angleterre* (Leiden 1976). J. Shepard, "The English and Byzantium," *Traditio* 29 (1973) 53–92. Idem, "Another New England?—Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Black Sea," *BS/EB* 1 (1974) 18–39. R.S. Lopez, "Le problème des relations Anglo-Byzantines du septième au dixième siècle," *Byzantion* 18 (1948) 139–62. —R.B.H.

ENKAINIA (ἐγκαίνια), ceremony of dedicating or consecrating a city (e.g., Constantinople, 11 May 330), a secular monument (e.g., Constantine I's mausoleum, 21 May 337), or a church (also called *kathierosis*). The term had been applied to the Temple in Jerusalem, but by the 4th C. Eusebios of Caesarea used it to describe the dedications of churches in Tyre and Palestine. The purpose of *enkainia* was to make the space holy, and early Christian writers stressed the similarity between BAPTISM and the dedication of a church; accordingly, lustration with holy water occupied an important place in the *enkainia* rite. Usually preceded by a SYNAXIS, the ceremony was concentrated around the ALTAR, which was washed, anointed, and covered; a procession with relics and EXORCISM also formed a part of the ceremony. These ritual steps are summarized by Patr. Germanos I in his commentary (Germanos, *Liturgy* 56) and commented on at length by Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:305–32). The vita of Patr. EUTHYMOS describes the *enkainia* of the Church of the Anargyroi at PSAMATHIA: monks from nearby monasteries spent the entire night in prayer and thanksgiving, and at dawn a procession of

torchbearers, with the cross and Gospel book, wended its way to the newly built church. After the dedication the *hegoumenos* of the Psamathia remained inside the building for 40 days.

According to Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 25:612B), the dedication of a church was impossible without the order (*prostaxis*) of the emperor. The rite of *enkainia* could be performed by the patriarch, e.g., Photios conducted the *enkainia* of the NEA EKKLESIA (1 May 880). The date of such a ceremony was often chosen to coincide with one of the GREAT FEASTS, as in the case of Justinian I's Hagia Sophia (25 Dec. 537). *Enkainia* was also the term used for the annual celebration of the dedication of a church (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:186), and esp. the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

LIT. P. de Puniet, *DACL* 4:374–405. M. Black, "The Festival of Encaenia Ecclesiae in the Ancient Church with special reference to Palestine and Syria," *JEH* 5 (1954) 78–85. P. de Meester, *Rituale-benedizionale bizantine* (Rome 1930) 151–218. E. Ruggieri, "Consacrazione e dedicazione di chiesa, secondo il Barberinus gr. 336," *OrChrP* 54 (1988) 79–118. Goar, *Euchologion* 653–71. —A.K., A.C., R.F.T.

EN KEREM (Ar. 'Ayn Karim), a site 7 km west of Jerusalem with remains of three churches of the 5th/6th C.: two basilicas, one of which was dedicated to the Holy Martyrs of God, and a chapel of the Visitation. Some vague evidence indicates the place's connection with the cult of JOHN THE BAPTIST: there was an 8th-C. church of St. Elizabeth "in the village of Encharim," and EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES locates "the family house" of John on "Mt. Carmel," which is interpreted by Wilkinson (*Pilgrims* 156) as En Kerem.

The site is related to the legend in the PROTO-EVANGELION OF JAMES (22:3), according to which St. Elizabeth and the infant John were saved during the Massacre of the Innocents by a mountain that opened up to conceal them. A clay EPILOGIA in Monza portrays this event (Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art*, fig.12).

LIT. Abel, *Géographie* 2:295f. Ovadia, *Corpus* 94–96. B. Bagatti, *Il santuario della Visitazione ad 'Ain Karim* (Jerusalem 1948). —G.V., A.K.

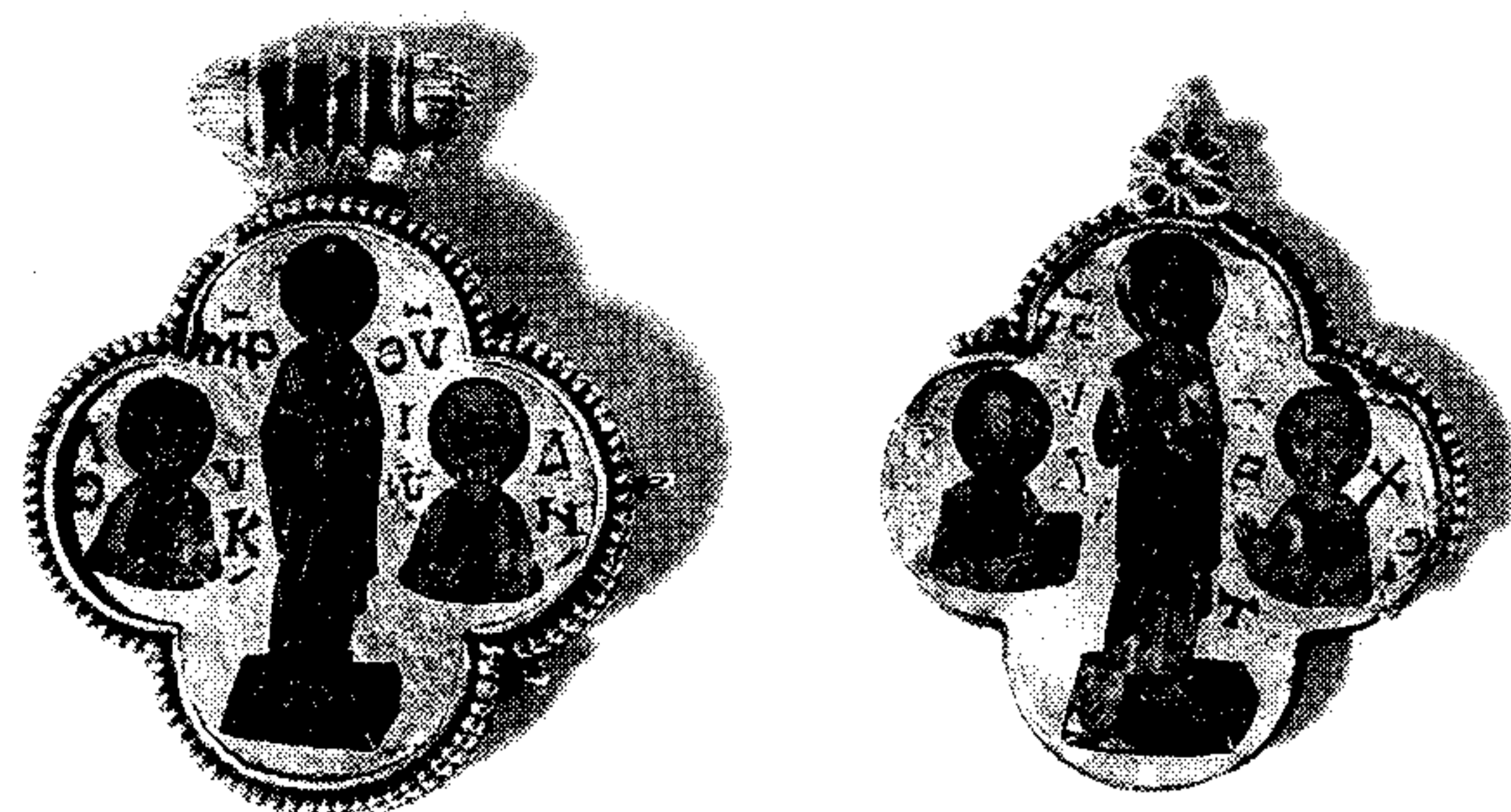
ENKLEISTOS (ἐγκλειστος, "enclosed"), term attested from the 4th C. for a monk or nun who confined himself or herself in a cell, under a vow of perpetual seclusion. An *enkleistos* might either lead the solitary life of a HERMIT, as in the case of

St. PELAGIA (who disguised herself as a monk and lived in a cell on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem), or, like St. NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS of Cyprus, be attached to a monastic community after a period of isolation. Neophytos lived in a cave, which he excavated and enlarged so that it could accommodate a tomb and a chapel for the celebration of the liturgy. He eventually became the *hegoumenos* of a *koinobion* but performed no administrative duties, leaving them to the *oikonomos* and *docheiarios* of the monastery. The *typikon* of Neophytos is the only monastic rule that prescribes that the *hegoumenos* must be an *enkleistos*; the *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople permitted the *hegoumenos* to be an *enkleistos*, but did not require it (C. Galatariotou, *REB* 45 [1987] 132f). Other *enkleistoi* who achieved sanctity were DAVID OF THESSALONIKE, who reportedly spent 70 years in an *enkleisterion* (John Moschos, PG 87:2921B); STEPHEN THE YOUNGER (PG 100:1148C); and PLATO OF SAKKOUNDION.

—A.M.T.

ENKOLPION (ἐγκόλπιον, lit. "in" [or "on] the bosom"), an object with Christian imagery, or containing a sacred relic or inscription, worn around the neck. *Enkolpia* were produced in virtually all materials used for JEWELRY. They could take the form of a simple disc, with figures, scenes, and/or inscriptions, or be a container of some sort. The *enkolpion* protected the wearer by means

ENKOLPION. *Enkolpion*; enamel and gold, 10th C. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. On one side of the *enkolpion*, the Virgin *orans* is represented with Sts. Luke and John; on the other Christ is flanked by Sts. Paul and Peter.



of its imagery or, in the case of a RELIQUARY, by its contents.

The term *enkolpion* may encompass many other objects—*phylakteria*, EULOGIAI, AMULETS. *Enkolpia* were in use from the 4th C. onward and have been found throughout the Byz. world. Literary accounts describe them given as gifts or as belonging to individuals: a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 451.85–87) records one that depicted the Virgin Mary, to which Isaac II Angelos was esp. attached and which he embraced while confessing.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:152–64. H. Gerstinger, *RAC* 5:322–32. M.C. Ross, "A Byzantine Gold Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 11 (1957) 247–61. A. Lipinsky, "Enkolpia cruciformi orientali in Italia," *BollBadGr* 37 (1983) 51–59. —S.D.C., A.C.

ENKOMION (ἐγκώμιον), or panegyric, a speech of praise. The authors of ancient rhetorical textbooks identified *enkomion* with EPIDEICTIC of the good in general (thus Theon in *RhetGr*, ed. Spengel 2:61.22), and accordingly MENANDER RHETOR (pp. 2–6) believed that *enkomia* included praise of cities, men, animals, accomplishments, and arts; he excluded only hymns to the gods. As special types of *enkomia*, Menander lists the BASILIKOS LOGOS and, reluctantly, the PROSPHONETIKOS LOGOS.

Byz. practice, however, distinguished *enkomion* from EKPHRASIS and limited it to the praise of persons: saints, emperors, patriarchs, and others. The praise of saints was the subject of HAGIOGRAPHY; the emperor and patriarch were eulogized by official rhetoricians on regular days (EPIPHANY and the LAZARUS SATURDAY, respectively), and *enkomia* in prose and verse were delivered on special occasions—weddings (EPITHALAMION), funerals (EPITAPHIOS or MONODY), victory celebrations, and so forth. Encomiastic elements occur in historical works, even though some historians, following LUCIAN, tried to distinguish between *enkomion*, a consistent praise of a person, and history, which aimed at the truth (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 139f). On the other hand, the *enkomion* of one person might prove to be an INVECTIVE against another. Panegyrics of private persons, side by side with those of emperors and patriarchs, became common from the end of the 11th C. At the same time parodical *enkomia* were composed

on frivolous subjects, for example, on a flea (by Michael PSELLOS, and later Demetrios CHRYSOLORAS).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:120–32.

—E.M.J., A.K.

ENNOMION (ἐννόμιον, from *nome*, "pasture"), a tax and/or charge on pasture land and/or on the right of pasturage. The term was used in Hellenistic and Roman papyri as well as in several inscriptions (S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 14 [1934] 293–97). In Byz. it appears first in *Peira* 37:2 and is frequent in later *praktika*. In *Peira*, *ennomion* is a charge paid by the owners of livestock grazing on a common pasture; the collected sum was divided between the owners of the pasture (including those peasants who had no livestock) according to the amount of state taxes paid by each. In a *praktikon* of 1073, *ennomion* is a part of the lord's revenue collected from certain pastures (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.123–24, 136) and measured per capita: 1 miliaresion for a horse or ass, 1 nomisma for 100 sheep (ibid., no.50.314–315). A metrological treatise (11th C. or later) calculates the *ennomion* of sheep also as 1 nomisma for 100 animals but gives a higher rate for other livestock (water buffaloes, mares, and cows)—1 nomisma for 3 animals (Schilbach, *Met. Quellen* 59.30, 60.10–14). In later documents, *ennomion* appears as an annual payment inscribed in *praktika*, and its correlation with the *telos-oikoumenon* does not seem to be fixed: thus, in a charter of 1319, "the *ennomion* of sheep and swine" together with the charge on bees makes 24 percent of the entire payment (*Lavra* 2, no.106.22–23); in a *praktikon* of 1321—together with *linobrocheion* (see BANALITY), about 5 percent (*Xénoph.*, no.15.24–27); in a *praktikon* of 1317—together with *aerikon*, 3 percent (*Lavra* 2, no.104.165–66).

It is difficult to distinguish the *ennomion* levied on livestock (the *melissennomion*, a charge on beehives, is also known) from the *dekateia* on herds (*choirodekateia* and *probatochoirodekateia*). *Ennomion* was usually collected by a private owner: thus Andronikos II Palaiologos in 1319 granted the monks of Hilandar the right to levy the emperor's relatives, *archontes*, *stratiotai*, and all laymen and clerics who let their animals graze on the pasture of the village of Georgela (*Chil.*, no.41.73–82). But it could be a state levy—thus, in 1447 a *metochion* of the Lavra on Lemnos was granted

200 sheep free from *ennomion* (*Lavra* 3, no.171.9–10).

LIT. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:162. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 262f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnosheniya* 123f. Litavrin, *Viz-Obščestvo* 220–23. —M.B.

ENOCH (Ἐνώχ), son of CAIN or Jared and father of Methuselah; one of the biblical patriarchs. The Book of Enoch stands first in pseudo-Athanasios's list of APOCRYPHA. Three major versions of it survive. Enoch I, known only in an Ethiopic translation from Hebrew or Aramaic, is a work of the Hellenistic period. Enoch II exists only in Old Slavonic. It is an enigmatic text, probably translated from Greek (ca.1000?), although N. Meščerskij (*TODRL* 19 [1963] 130–47) suggested the possibility that it was translated directly from Hebrew. Enoch II describes how the patriarch was taken up to God through seven heavens and then returned to describe his vision. Its theology is uncompromisingly monotheistic, its ethics permeated by sympathy with the needy and by sexual chastity. The date of the original composition cannot be established. Enoch III, a Hebrew apocalypse of the 5th–6th C., deals with a journey of Rabbi Ishmael into heaven, where he met Enoch, son of Jared, whom God had elevated above the angels and appointed as his viceroy.

ED. and LIT. *Apocryfos del Antiguo Testamento*, vol. 4 (Madrid 1984). *The Book of Enoch, or, I Enoch*, ed. M. Black (Leiden 1985). *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, ed. J. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y., 1983) 5–315. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford 1893). —J.I., A.K.

ENOIKION (ἐνοίκιον), RENT paid for a leased property. In classical antiquity the term *enoikion*, meaning house rent, seems to have been distinguished from *phoros*, rent for the lease of a workshop (ERGASTERION); already in late Roman Egypt, however, the two terms were confused (Fikhman, *Egipet* 44). Often used in the *Book of the Eparch*, *enoikion* designated primarily the rent for an *ergasterion*, but merchants staying in MITATA also had to pay *enoikion*. The term and its cognates continued to be used in late documents: an act of donation of 1338 mentions three *ergasteria enoikiaka* (Koutloun., no.18.44) near the *emporion* of Serres. Sometimes the word *enoikiaka* is used as a noun to designate rooms for rent (*Lavra* 2, no.71.70); in an act of donation of 1115 (*Lavra* 1,

no.60.35), however, *enoikiaka* are contrasted with houses and evidently mean workshops.

Michael Attaleiates collected the *enoikion* of 24 nomismata for a bakery, 14 nomismata for a perfumery, and 5 nomismata for "houses" used by a physician (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 43.440–45). Charters also provide some data about the amount of *enoikion*: in 1294, 200 hyperpers for a tower (*pyrgos*) containing several workshops (e.g., for shops selling woolen garments) and a kitchen (MM 4:286.4–7); in 1342, 700 hyperpers for a chain of shops—grocery stores, perfumeries, a bakery, and vegetable markets (*Lavra* 3, no.123.115–33); in 1419, 30 hyperpers for "houses" (*Xénoph.* no.32.21); in 1445, eight nomismata and a vessel of flaxseed oil for a workshop processing flaxseed (*Lavra* 3, no.168.4–7). In a *prostagma* of 1202 (MM 3:50–53) the rent for houses and *ergasteria* is called either *enoikion* or *emphyteuma*; the latter term is usually explained as the rent for a newly established shop.

The payment of rent sometimes caused discontent in Constantinople. As a result, on one occasion Emp. Romanos I paid the *enoikika* of impoverished inhabitants of the city (*TheophCont* 429.22).

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 153f.

—A.K.

ENTABLATURE, a horizontal beam carried on columns marking the juncture of load and support in trabeated construction. In ancient architecture the entablature was divided proportionately into three parts, bottom to top: architrave (or EPISTYLE), frieze, and cornice. In arcuate architecture (Roman, early Christian, and Byz.) entablatures disappeared to be replaced by a molding, sometimes elaborately carved, marking the crowns of the arches carried by the columns, the floor level of the galleries, or the springing of major arches supported by piers. Entablatures were used in Old St. Peter's (central nave only) and survive in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome; at Stoudios and Sts. Sergios and Bakchos (exedrae only), Constantinople; Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem; and in the columnar *TEMPLA* of Byz. churches built during and after the 9th C. (See also IMPOST BLOCK.)

—W.L.

ENTERTAINMENT. For amusement the Byz. enjoyed games and spectacles such as CHARIOT RACES in the hippodrome, triumphal processions,

visits of foreign dignitaries and ambassadors, religious festivities and *panegyreis* (see FAIR), BANQUETS, and CEREMONIES that provided recreation and excitement. The streets were also the setting for various kinds of shows with exotic or strange ANIMALS and wild beasts. Performances were given by acrobats, jugglers, magicians, ACTORS, and MIMES. Apart from this kind of popular entertainment people found recreation in board GAMES such as CHESS, in gambling, and in various SPORTS. HUNTING, HAWKING, and equestrian sports attracted mostly the aristocracy. The common people went to TAVERNS, where they engaged in DANCES and jesting, while BATHS and the THEATER gradually declined in importance. On certain holidays, like the feastday of Sts. Markianos and Martyrios or the January festival, there was CARNIVAL-like masquerading and processions in which even the clergy participated along with the people.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:246–69. M. Poljakovskaja, A. Čekalova, *Vizantijskaja byt i nra* (Sverdlovsk 1989) 98–114. —Ap.K.

ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM. Celebrated on PALM SUNDAY, Christ's Entry marks the beginning of his PASSION (Mt 21:1–11, Mk 11:1–10, Lk 19:29–40, Jn 12:12–19). Its imagery shifted with shifting interpretations of the Passion. On the 4th-C. Junius Bassus sarcophagus (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.42), the Entry adopted the iconography of imperial ADVENTUS that itself had already shaped the Gospel account. Showing a youthful Christ astride a donkey greeted by the personification of Jerusalem, the Entry proclaimed the Passion as Christ's victory over death and the beginning of his sovereignty in the eternal Jerusalem. A different, more narrative inflection characterizes the 6th-C. versions (ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol.1v), where Christ is a mature man seated side-saddle and welcomed by palm-waving crowds who lay their coats in his path. The Passion had by now acquired an emphasis on sacrifice, and henceforth a narrative version of the Entry focusing on Christ's humanity predominated. Post-Iconoclastic art replaced the personified city with the figure of a mother and child; other symbolic details are the Spinario, or boy removing a thorn from his foot (Berlin ivory—Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.115), and the prophet Zechariah (cf. Zech 9:9). Palaiologan art emphasizes the steepness of Christ's downward path to symbolize his descent into Hell.

LIT. E. Lucchesi Palli, *RBK* 2:22–30. D. Mouriki, "The Theme of the 'Spinario' in Byzantine Art," *DChAE* 6 (1970–72) 53–66. —A.W.C.

ENVERI, 15th-C. Turkish poet and chronicler. All that is known of his biography is that he accompanied MEHMED II on campaigns to Wallachia, Bosnia, and Lesbos in 1462–63. He was the author of the *Desturname* (Book of the Grand Vizier), a universal history commissioned by Mehmed II's grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (who functioned in an official capacity 1455–68). Written in Turkish verse, the *Desturname* was completed in 1465. Relevant to Byz. studies is book 18, which celebrates the Aydınoğulları, or emirs of AYDIN, chiefly UMUR BEG (died 1348), and books 19–22, which cover Ottoman themes to 1464. Enveri's unparalleled account of Umur Beg's campaigns rests on excellent, evidently contemporary sources. Its value in clarifying the liaison between JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS and Umur Beg during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 is demonstrated by P. Lemerle (*L'Émirat d'Aydın, Byzance et L'Occident, Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* [Paris 1957]). Enveri's treatment of the Ottoman dynasty in books 19–20 also depends primarily on an anterior source, but is much less detailed and significant. His information in books 21 and 22 about Mahmud Pasha, a scion of the Angeloi who converted to Islam after 1451, is of great importance.

ED. Book 18—*Le Destân d'Umur Pacha*, ed. I. Mélikoff-Sayar (Paris 1954), with Fr. tr. Incomplete ed.—*Düsturnamei Enveri*, ed. M. Yinanç, in *Türk tarih encümeni külliyyatı* 15 (Istanbul 1929).

LIT. H. Akın, *Aydın Oğulları Tarihi hakkında bir Araştırma* (Ankara 1968) xi–xii. —S.W.R.

ENVIRONMENT. The Byz. perceived their natural surroundings mostly in standardized, conventional terms: the DESERT was the region of "mountains and caverns and holes in the earth" (e.g., BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, ed. Woodward, *Matingly*, p.48.20–21), the mountains precipitous and unassailable, the sea seething with waves. When a civilized area was described, the accent lay on its material assets, not its pleasurable aspects: cities were said to possess temperate climate, fertile soil, and sweet water in abundance. The image of the world was usually presented as a catalog of abstract designations of individual categories. The

vocabulary of a writer (e.g., Niketas Choniates) might contain numerous names of trees, flowers, and animals, but these flora and fauna were reminiscences of ancient scholarship rather than live elements of real environment. The GARDENS in romances are as deprived of individuality as the EMOTIONS revealed in this setting.

Some exceptions, however, can be discovered. Gregory Antiochos describes a miserable winter in Bulgaria—the barrenness of the land, the ears of travelers assaulted by the bleating of sheep and the grunting of pigs; the description is sarcastic but vivid (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 219f). Gregoras is esp. rich in fresh images of nature: a tree reflected in a pool (Greg. 2:705.10–19); the kingfisher building its nest in the sand in stormy winter weather (3:130f); Mt. Athos, blessed with forests and flowery meadows, where in the morning the nightingale, singing in a grove, blends its song with the matins prayers of monks (2:714f). Also notable are the letters of MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, who frequently describes his natural surroundings, whether a storm at sea, a barren plain in Anatolia, or the pleasures of the environs of Thessalonike, with their cool springs, shady trees, fragrant flowers, and birdsongs (eps. 16, 45, 67, 68).

LIT. R. Attfield, "Christian Attitudes to Nature," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44 (1983) 369–86. P. Cesaretti, "Eustazio di Tessalonica e l'etimologia di physis: una fonte stoica?" *Studi classici e orientali* 36 (1986) 139–45. —A.K.

EPANAGOGUE (Ἐπαναγωγή, Return to the Point), correctly *Eisagoge* (Εἰσαγωγή τοῦ νόμου, Introduction to the Law), a law book of the emperors Basil I, Leo VI, and Alexander, divided into 40 titles. Patr. PHOTIOS took part in the composition of the work, which was probably promulgated in 886; he wrote the preface and the two most important titles (2 and 3), on the emperor and on the patriarch. The *Epanagoge* was to serve as an "introduction" to the comprehensive legislation known later as the BASILIKA and to replace the *Ecloga* of the Isaurian emperors. The source of the *Epanagoge*, which comprises nearly all spheres of law, is almost exclusively the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, whose regulations were to a certain extent intentionally altered or even falsified; the *Ecloga*, too, served as a model. Although the *Epanagoge* stopped being officially circulated soon after its promulgation and was replaced by the PROCHIRON

about 20 years later, many of its regulations were adopted into private law books (EPANAGOGUE AUCTA, EPANAGOGUE CUM PROCHIRO COMPOSITA, *Syntagma* of Matthew BLASTARES). The law book is transmitted in few MSS; extensive scholia to it have been preserved which sometimes comment critically on the text.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 2:229–368, 410–27.

LIT. V. Sokol'skij, "O charaktere i značienii Epanagogi," *VizVrem* 1 (1894) 17–54. J. Scharf, "Photios und die Epanagoge," *BZ* 49 (1956) 385–400. Idem, "Quellenstudien zum Proimion der Epanagoge," *BZ* 52 (1959) 68–81. Troianos, *Peges* 100–05. —A.S.

EPANAGOGUE AUCTA, a law book that consists of 54 titles and an appendix; it is based on the EPANAGOGUE and, from Title 17 onward, the PROCHIRON. The BASILIKA were also used as an important source. The unknown compiler was acquainted with the legislative works produced under Leo VI; thus he summarized approximately 30 NOVELS OF LEO VI, gave preference to the marriage property law of the *Prochiron*, and often detached the new regulations of the *Prochiron* from their context. He knew that the ECLOGA was an "Isaurian" law book (15.8). The *Epanagoge aucta*, which is transmitted in about 10 MSS, bears the rubric "Leo the emperor" and shows no traces of later laws. Thus, it is probable that it originated soon after Leo's death (912).

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 6:49–216.

LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron*, cv–cxxxii. L. Burgmann, "Neue Zeugnisse der Digestensumme des Anonymos," *FM* 7 (1986) 106–08. —A.S.

EPANAGOGUE CUM PROCHIRO COMPOSITA, a law book in 42 titles that is composed of the EPANAGOGUE and the PROCHIRON. In some of the few surviving MSS, the compilation also includes excerpts from the BASILIKA as well as numerous marginal glosses. Some scholia to the *Epanagoge* (esp. to title 19) are integrated into the work. The law book, fragments of which have been preserved in a palimpsest MS of the 10th C., is ascribed in its rubric to "the emperor Leo the Philosopher," and was presumably produced soon after the death of Leo VI (912).

LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron*, xcix–civ. D. Simon, "Inhalt und Bedeutung der neuentdeckten Bruchstücke der Epanagoge cum Prochiro composita (EPC)," *JÖB* 23 (1974) 151–78. W. Waldstein, "Zur Epanagoge cum Prochiro composita," *ZSavRom* 91 (1974) 375–83. —A.S.

EPARCH (ἐπαρχος or ὑπαρχος), the name of several officials, the most important of which was the EPARCH OF THE CITY; other officials bearing this title were the eparchs of lesser towns. Except in the case of Thessalonike, they are known only from the late Roman period, and in Thessalonike the eparch acted under the supervision of the DOUX. Guiland (*infra*) also gives a list of eparchs as chiefs of offices (eparch of the court, *nykteparchos*, and so on), but J.-C. Cheynet (*BS* 45 [1984] 50f) argues that some of them never existed while others functioned only during late antiquity. Thus the eparch of the army is known in the 6th C. but not after that date (A. Failler, *REB* 45 [1987] 199f). The title of APO EPARCHON (the former eparch) is known primarily from sources of the 6th–8th C.

LIT. R. Guiland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin—L'Eparque I. L'éparque de la ville," *BS* 42 (1981) 186–96. —A.K.

EPARCHIA (ἐπαρχία), province, the term used by narrative sources, primarily of the 11th and 12th C., as synonymous with the official THEME. In ecclesiastical vocabulary *eparchia* meant an episcopal province.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 69f. —A.K.

EPARCHIUS AVITUS, Western Roman emperor (9 July 455–18 Oct. 456); born Clermont, Gallia, ca.395–400, died 457?. A member of the Gallic aristocracy, Eparchius was descended from the *patrikios* Philagrius (*PLRE* 1:693), of whom nothing is known. Eparchius was related to many senatorial families, Gaius Apollinaris SIDONIUS being his son-in-law; he served under command of general AETIUS and enjoyed Visigothic support. Eparchius was praetorian prefect in Gaul in 439. In 455 PETRONIUS MAXIMUS appointed Eparchius *magister militum* and sent him as envoy to the Visigoths; when Petronius was murdered, first the Visigoths and then the Gallic nobles urged Eparchius to accept the diadem; he was proclaimed emperor at Arles. Eparchius sent an embassy to Emp. MARCIAN asking for recognition but did not receive it, even though he boasted that his request had been granted. After his return to Italy, unable to stop the Vandal pillaging or to revitalize the grain supply of starving Rome, Eparchius incurred the hatred of both the indig-

enous population and the Germanic mercenaries. RICIMER defeated Eparchius at Piacenza on 17 Oct. 456, deposed him, and appointed him bishop of Piacenza. R.W. Mathisen (*BSC Abstracts* 9 [1983] 37f) hypothesizes that the Gallic nobles attempted to return Eparchius to the throne and that he left for Gallia but died en route.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 2 (1896) 2395–97. *PLRE* 2:196–98. K.F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Tübingen 1948) 152–54. —A.K.

EPARCH OF THE CITY (ἐπαρχος τῆς πόλεως), successor of the late Roman URBAN PREFECT, the governor of Constantinople. The eparch of the city was considered supreme judge in Constantinople and its vicinity, second only to the emperor, and was the chief of police responsible for order, decoration, and ceremonial in the capital; as the head of the city police the eparch also had jurisdiction over prisons. Other functions were to control commercial and industrial activity in the capital, as reflected in the BOOK OF THE EPARCH. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE characterizes in detail the symbolism of the eparch's attire and of the trappings of his white horse (no.30.12–26); for example, the gilded copper bosses on the horse's harness represented the eparch's concern for the poor. In the *Kletorologion* (9th C.) PHILOTHEOS lists the following members of the eparch's staff: SYMPONOS, LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU, district judges, GEITONIARCHAI, PARATHALASSITES, exarchs and *prostatai* [of the guilds?], BOULLOTAI who appended seals to merchandise, and others; of this list, the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* mentions exarchs and *prostatai*, *boullotes*, and *symponos* (possibly in a different function), but it introduces other assistants of the eparch—the LEGATARIOS and the *mitotes*, inspector of the quality of silk textiles (Stöckle, *Zünfte* 93). After 1204 the role of the eparch declined and his office was divided up among several *kephalatikeuontes* (K.-P. Matschke, *BBulg* 3 [1969] 81–101) under the pressure of feudal forces. Seals of the eparch of the city dating from the 6th to the early 13th C. are known (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:545–79).

LIT. R. Guiland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin—L'Eparque. I. L'éparque de la ville," *BS* 41 (1980) 17–32, 145–80, with corr. by J.-C. Cheynet, *BS* 45 (1984) 50–54. D. Feissel, "Le préfet de Constantinople, les poids-étalons et l'estampillage de l'argenterie au VIe et au VIIe siècle," *RN* 6 28 (1986) 119–42. —A.K.

EPEIKTES (ἐπείκτης, on seals regularly *epiktes*), official on the staff of the *komes tou staulou*, who is mentioned in all TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. According to a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*Decer.* 480.1–3), he was responsible for providing the fodder and water for horses as well as horse-shoes, bridles, and saddles. His function was probably the management of the imperial stables—at any rate, a seal of the 8th or 9th C. belonged to the "epeiktes of the imperial stables" (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1806), and the owner of another was an "imperial epeiktes" (no.2480C). Basil, the "epeiktes of the *basileus*" (Skyl. 179.73; he is called just a plain epeiktes in *TheophCont* 362.17), participated in the conspiracy of SAMONAS. At the end of the 10th C. Christopher Doukas was called Epeiktes, an epithet viewed by Polemis (*Doukai* 27) as a nickname. It is unclear how the term penetrated into the Armenian milieu—in the 1060s an Armenian "Pecht" served as a *doux* of Antioch; an Armenian prince "Epicht" was murdered by Greeks ca.1078 (Kazhdan, *Arm.* 124–26).

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 339. —A.K.

EPEREIA (ἐπηρεία, lit. "abuse, contumely"), a term that, at least from the 10th C. onward, was used by fiscal officials to designate extraordinary state "requisitions" (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 167) or special taxes (Dölger, *Beiträge* 61). An act of 927 contrasts the state (*demoteleis*) *epereiai* with military service (*strateiai*), both due for the land (*Ivir.*, no.1.8–9); an act of 974 (?) mentions *epereia* side by side with ANGAREIA, *aplektion*, and the (illegal) MITATON (*Lavra* 1, no.6.22–23). Later documents sometimes give a list of *epereiai*: thus, an act from ca.1200 includes *angareiai*, KASTROKTISIAI, PSOMOZEMIA, and several other charges (*Xerop.*, no.8.17–18). A privilege of 1199 has an unusual list of *epereiai* connected with trade: KOMMERKION, *dekateia* (TITHE) of wine, charge for shipping (*nau-lon*), etc. (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.59.7–8). The term *demosiake* (state) *epereia* (e.g., Zepos, *Jus* 1:366.8) indicates that the central government was owed these charges, whereas Theophylaktos of Ohrid spoke of *douleiai* and *epereiai* required by local authorities (*Letters*, ed. P. Gautier, no.12.20). Accordingly an act of 1429 mentions "the *demosiake* and other *epereiai*" (*Lavra* 3, no.167.19–20), and a chrysobull of 1405 refers to "*epereia archontike* and *demosiake*" (Binon, *Xéropotamou*, no.20.24).

Thus, the term seems to have no strict, technical meaning. Having a connotation of “abuse” it could denote various types of charges and was primarily employed in the clauses of tax exemption. It is, however, questionable whether the exemption “from all *epereiai*” designated, as Solovjev and Mošin (*Grčke povelje* 437) suggest, freedom from all taxes.

LIT. N. Svoronos, *Lavra* 4:156f. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 236–38. —M.B.

EPHESUS (Ἐφεσος, near mod. Selçuk), seaport of Aegean Asia Minor. As capital of the province of Asia, Ephesus enjoyed considerable prosperity due to commerce, banking, and the patronage of the proconsul and the metropolitan bishop. Constantius II, Arkadios, and esp. Justinian I adorned the city, which is best known from its remains. They indicate that classical public works and services—theater, market, baths, the civic center, and marble-paved, colonnaded streets lined with shops—were maintained and that richly decorated private houses continued to be built until the early 7th C. The city was christianized by the 4th C. and saw the erection of churches and monumental crosses and the transformation of open public spaces as private buildings encroached on them. The numerous Late Antique buildings usually used *spolia* and were adorned with frescoes, mosaics, and marble. Prosperity ended ca. 614, when large parts of Ephesus were destroyed (by Persians or earthquakes), never to be restored.

New fortifications enclosed less than half the ancient city and created a new defensive center around the Church of St. John a mile away. Its walls were probably a response to the Arab attacks that began in 654. Ephesus became a city of the *THRAKESION* theme; in the 10th C., it was the center of a *TOURMA* of the theme of Samos. Ephesus was the site of a major regional fair in the 8th C., which generated considerable revenue. By the 9th C., neglect and the resultant silting had ruined the harbor and the city had moved to the hill around the Church of St. John to become an inland fortress. The city survived the attack of the Paulicians in 867/8 or 869/70, had Italian concessions after 1082, and was occupied by the Turks 1090–96. It was then usually known as “Theologos” (after St. JOHN) or simply the “Kastron.” In 1147 Ephesus was host to the Second Crusade and in 1206 recognized the Laskarids,

under whom it became a center of learning. Nikephoros BLEMMEDES taught here, with George Akropolites and Theodore Laskaris among his pupils. The late 13th C. brought Turkish threats, temporarily dispelled by the Catalan Grand Company, which made Ephesus its base in 1304; it fell to the Turks of Aydin the same year.

Traditions that associated Ephesus with St. Paul, the Apostle John, the Virgin, and the SEVEN SLEEPERS made it the natural site for the councils of 431 and 449 and the frequent goal of pilgrimage.

Monuments of Ephesus. Ephesus preserves numerous civic buildings and two huge churches: the Basilica of the Virgin, seat of the councils, built in the 4th C. and twice rebuilt on a smaller scale after the 6th C., and the Basilica of St. John. The latter, the largest and most important church in the city, had its beginnings in the tetrapylon MARTYRION erected over John’s purported tomb as early as ca. 300 and was mentioned by EGERIA (23.10) in the last quarter of the same century. Probably ca. 450 a cruciform church with a wooden roof was built on the site, incorporating the tetrapylon at its crossing. The western arm, with one or two narthexes, contained a nave and two aisles, while the eastern arm had four aisles and terminated in an apse. The church was rebuilt under Justinian I, with work beginning before 548 and completed prior to 565. The cruciform plan was maintained but the building was now covered with a series of six domes resting on massive piers. The western arm, longer than the others, consisted of two such bays, while the crossing, north, south, and east arms each had a single bay in a design described by Prokopios (*Buildings* 5.1.4–6) as closely resembling that of the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, Constantinople. The church was flanked by an octagonal baptistery built in the 5th C. and a domed, octagonal *skeuophylakion*, or sacristy, erected in the late 6th or early 7th C. St. John’s was the scene of an annual miracle when healing dust issued from the evangelist’s tomb at the time of his feast on 8 May.

LIT. C. Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979). J. Keil, H. Hörmann, *Die Johanneskirche [=Forschungen in Ephesos, 4.3]* (Vienna 1951). P. Verzone, “Le fasi costruttive della basilica di S. Giovanni di Efeso,” *RendPontAcc* 51–52 (1982) 213–35. M. Büyükkolancı, “Zwei neugefundene Bauten der Johannes-Kirche von Ephesos: Baptisterium und Skeuophylakion,” *IstMitt* 32 (1982) 236–57.

—C.F., M.J.

EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF. Two important councils were held in Ephesus.

COUNCIL OF 431. The third ecumenical council was summoned by THEODOSIOS II to settle the conflict between the Antiochian Christology of NESTORIOS of Constantinople and that of the Alexandrian school represented by CYRIL. Lasting from 22 June to 22 July, the council had approximately 150 participants at its opening. The lively political and ecclesiastical rivalry between the patriarchal sees of Alexandria and Constantinople complicated the long-standing opposition between the two schools. Although the council did not formulate its own Christological statement, it did accept that of the First Council of NICAIA (325) as interpreted by Cyril. In effect, it approved his theology that the humanity and divinity of the incarnate Christ were united in one hypostatic union—*henosis kath’hypostasin*. By so doing, it formally recognized the propriety of Mary’s title THEOTOKOS (God-bearer), which Nestorios had denied. Finally, the council also condemned the beliefs of Pelagius (see PELAGIANISM) as heresy. These matters were decided before the arrival of JOHN I, patriarch of Antioch, and his delegation. The latter understandably refused to accept the Cyrillian majority’s condemnation of Nestorios. A brief schism followed, ending in 433 when Cyril and John were finally reconciled. The doctrinal and ecclesiastical victory had nevertheless gone to Alexandria. Cyril’s rival, Nestorios, and his theology were crushed and humiliated. Ephesus is the first general council with extant original acts.

SOURCES. *Acta*—ACO 1:1–5. *Neue Aktenstücke zum Ephesinischen Konzil von 431*, ed. E. Schwartz (Munich 1920). *Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos*, ed. B.M. Weischer (Wiesbaden 1979). I. Rucker, *Studien zum Concilium Ephesinum zur 1500-Jahrfeier des dritten ökumenischen Konzils* (Munich 1935).

LIT. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles* 2:287–377. P.T. Camelot, *Ephèse et Chalcédoine* (Paris 1962). J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Washington, D.C.—Cleveland 1969) 3–31. A. Crabb, “The Invitation List to the Council of Ephesus and Metropolitan Hierarchy in the Fifth Century,” *JThSt* n.s. 32 (1981) 369–400. —A.P.

“ROBBER” COUNCIL (Latrocinium). The council (8–22 Aug. 449) was summoned by THEODOSIOS II to settle the case of EUTYCHES, who had been condemned by Patr. FLAVIAN (22 Nov. 448) for teaching that Christ had only one nature after the Incarnation. The council of some 140 bishops,

including two papal legates who objected to the proceedings, was pressured by the domineering Dioskoros, patriarch of Alexandria, and his violence-prone monastic followers to rehabilitate Eutyches and to depose Flavian. It likewise rejected the moderate but precarious theological compromise reached after the council of 431 by CYRIL of Alexandria and JOHN I, patriarch of Antioch. Despite the repeated requests of the Roman legates, the Tome of Pope LEO I to Flavian was never read. According to W. de Vries, these proceedings have often been exaggerated by scholars and may in fact have been no less uncanonical than the actions of other councils (*OrChrP* 41 [1975] 357–98). Eutyches’ Monophysitism continued to disturb the doctrinal unity and security of both church and empire until CHALCEDON (451).

SOURCES. *Acta*—ACO Tom.II, vol. i, pars. 1:68–86, 108–120, 136–151; II, iii, 1:42–91. *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449*, ed. J. Flemming (Berlin 1917).

LIT. P.T. Camelot, “De Nestorius à Eutych: L’opposition de deux christologies,” in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon*, 1:213–42. H. Bacht, “Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums in den kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (431–519),” *ibid.*, 2:197–231. —A.P.

EPHOROS (ἐφόρος, lit. “overseer”), term for an ancient Spartan magistrate, revived in the 11th C. It is not found in the *TAKTIKA* of the 9th and 10th C. On seals, *ephoroi* bear the high ranks of *proedros* and *vestes* and sometimes combine their duty with judicial functions, as in the case of Theodore, judge of the VELUM and *ephoros*. On the other hand, charters of 1044–88 mention the *ephoroi* of imperial KOURATOREIAI who, according to N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 138), administered all the *kouratoreiai* over the entire empire. The staff of the *ephoros* included notaries and *domestikoi*. The term is found in the letters of Theodore PRODROMOS (PG 133:1239A) and MICHAEL ITALIKOS (ep.18). At the end of the 12th C. Niketas CHONIATES held this post, but it disappeared after 1204.

Ephoros was also the term for the lay administrator of a monastery, who was responsible for its economic management; the term is first attested in the 11th C. Other terms used for this position—*epitropos*, *antileptor*, and *prostates*—are found in 10th-C. sources. The *ephoros* was granted ownership (*kyriotes*) of the monastery and its properties and was supposed to be its protector, assuring, for

example, that it received fiscal exemptions (M. Nystazopoulou, *Symmeikta* 1 [1966] 85–94). The *ephoros* might play an important role in the election of the HEGOUMENOS and would have the power to remove him. Galatariotou (*infra*) concludes that an *ephoros* was more commonly appointed by aristocratic ΚΤΕΤΟΡS or founders; nonaristocratic ΤΥΠΙΚΑ either deliberately refrain from making this sort of appointment or appoint an *ephoros* to serve primarily as a contact with the outside world and to represent the monastery's business interests and not to intervene in the internal administration of the monastery. In aristocratic *typika*, the *ephoros* is usually a relative of the *ktetor*, and the term is often a euphemism for a *charistikarios* (Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.VII [1967], 3f), who received financial benefit from the monastery, which he was granted as CHARISTIKION. Such *ephoroi* sometimes abused their privileges and brought ruin on the monastery.

In a nontechnical sense, the term *ephoros* was applied to the ecclesiastical ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ and ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΣ (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 555.1–2).

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:631–66. Dölger, *Beiträge* 45. W. Seibt, "Drei byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Ephesos," in *Litterae numismaticae Vindobonenses: Roberto Goebel dedicatae* (Vienna 1979) 151–54. Galatariotou, "Typika," 101–06, 113–16. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 182–88. J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987) 218–20, 253–58. R. Morris, "Legal Terminology in Monastic Documents of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 284–88, 290. —A.K., A.M.T.

EPHRAIM, mosaicist who worked with BASILIUS PICTOR in 1169 in the Church of the Nativity at BETHLEHEM. Ephraim's name is found in the Greek portion of a partially preserved bilingual inscription formerly situated above the Gospel scenes in the church's choir. It describes him as *historiographos kai mousiatoros*, names MANUEL I, AMALRIC I, and Raoul, bishop of Bethlehem, and gives the date for the work's completion. The inscription is fully recorded on the flyleaf of a monastic miscellany, now Jerusalem, Greek Patr. Taphou 57.

LIT. B. Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme* (Jerusalem 1952) 60f. A. Cutler, "Ephraim, Mosaicist of Bethlehem: The Evidence from Jerusalem," *Journal of Jewish Art* 12–13 (1986–87) 179–83. —A.C.

EPHRAIM (Ἐφραίμ), chronicler from Ainos in Thrace; fl. at the end of the 13th C. or early 14th C. Ephraim is known only from his chronicle in

dodecasyllables that presents the history of Old and New Rome through their rulers, from the 1st C. A.D. to 1261. It is followed by a verse catalog of the bishops of New Rome from the foundation of the church by the apostle Andrew to the accession of Patr. Isaiah in 1323. The latter is the only chronological indication for Ephraim's life. The chronicle's sources are ZONARAS, Niketas CHONIATES, and George AKROPOLITES, and is most detailed for the period 1204–61. Ephraim is true to his sources; variations and departures from them are minor and can be ascribed more to the needs of the meter than to independent knowledge.

ED. *Chronographia*, ed. O. Lampsides, 2 vols. (Athens 1984–85).

LIT. O. Lampsides, *Beiträge zum byzantinischen Chronisten Ephraem und zu seiner Chronik* (Athens 1971). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:478–80. —R.J.M.

EPHREM THE SYRIAN, theologian and hymnographer; saint; born Nisibis ca. 306, died Edessa 9 June 373; feastday 28 Jan. Born probably to Christian parents (although his Syriac Life states that his father was a pagan priest), Ephrem spent most of his life in Nisibis, serving as a deacon. After the Persian occupation of Nisibis in 363, he moved to Edessa. Hagiographical accounts (e.g., the spurious sermon ascribed to GREGORY OF NYSSA) credit him with confuting ARIANISM in Egypt and visiting BASIL THE GREAT at Caesarea. His diverse writings (exegetical, dogmatic, polemical, ascetic), mostly in verse, were composed in Syriac but translated into Armenian, Greek, Latin, and Church Slavonic. Most important is his liturgical poetry, which includes hymn cycles on church feasts, funeral hymns, and polemics against various heresies, esp. those of ARIUS, Bardesanes, and MANI. Two other favorite themes were grim descriptions of the Day of Judgment and the supreme virtues of the Virgin Mary. Ephrem was a major influence on the development of Syriac and Byz. HYMNOGRAPHY. Despite some modern scepticism (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* [Paris 1977] 22f), his impact on ROMANOS THE MELODE in terms of theme and imagery (e.g., heat, light, the "thorny nature" of man) seems certain (W.L. Petersen, *VigChr* 39 [1985] 171–87).

Representation in Art. Ephrem was depicted as a monk with a scant beard from at least the 10th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B.58). The

scene of his death, a popular post-Byz. composition, had its origin in the Byz. period: the corpse of the saint, laid out on a bier in an open landscape, was surrounded by vignettes of eremitical life, showing monks at work in their rocky cells or preparing to descend by various means of transport for the funeral. These elements, which appear already in 11th-C. MSS of the *Heavenly Ladder* of JOHN KLIMAX, were occasionally used for scenes of the death of other saints as well (e.g., ARSENIOS THE GREAT).

ED. For editions see M. Roncaglia, "Essai de bibliographie sur saint Ephrem," *Parole de l'Orient* 4 (1973) 343–70. Eng. tr. S. Brock, *The Harp of the Spirit: Eighteen Poems of Saint Ephrem*² (London 1983). *Paraenesis: Die altbulgarische Übersetzung von Werken Ephraims des Syrers*, ed. G. Bojkovsky, R. Aitzetmüller, 3 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau 1984–87), with Germ. tr.

LIT. A. Vööbus, *Literary, Critical and Historical Studies in Ephrem the Syrian* (Stockholm 1958). E. Beck, *Ephräms des Syrers Psychologie und Erkenntnislehre* (Louvain 1980). T. Bou Mansour, "La défense éphrémienne de la liberté contre les doctrines marcionite, bardesanite et manichéenne," *OrChrP* 50 (1984) 331–46. P. Yousif, "Histoire et temps dans la pensée de saint Ephrem de Nisibe," *Parole de l'Orient* 10 (1981–82) 3–35. J. Martin, "The Death of Ephraim in Byzantine and Early Italian Painting," *ArtB* 33 (1951) 217–25. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 6:151–53. —B.B., N.P.S.

EPHTHALITES (Ἐφθαλῖται), a Hunnic people whose history and nomenclature are not clear. Many scholars assume that the peoples variously referred to as (H)Ephthalites, White Huns, Ye-Ta, Hayāṭila, Chionites, and Kidarites are related and of Hunnic origin. Christensen (*infra*) believes the Kidarites and Ephthalites to have been different peoples on the basis of Prokopios, who says that the latter were white-skinned. In any case, the presence of this single group (or plurality of groups) in Sasanian Iran is demonstrable from the 4th C. through the reign of Chosroes I Anūshirwān in the 6th C. Migrants from Mongolia, they settled along the Oxus River probably in the late 4th C.; under their king Grumbatas they participated in the expedition of Shāpūr II against Byz. Mesopotamia in 359; as Kidarite Huns, they settled in Bactria and Gandara in the 5th C. They participated in the dynastic struggle on behalf of Pērōz against his brother Hurmazd III in 457 and later took Pērōz captive. This evidently inaugurated a period of strife and tension, settled finally in 557 by Chosroes Anūshirwān who, in alliance with the Turkic khan Silziboulos, crushed the Ephthalites and divided their lands with the Turks.

The ethnological discourse of Prokopios (*Wars* 1.3) on the Ephthalites indicates that they were sedentarized and yet also retained Central Asiatic shamanistic customs; for example, the *hetairai* of the chief were interred alive with their deceased master.

LIT. A.D.H. Bivar, in *EI*² 3:303f. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater, 3.1 (Cambridge 1983) 142, 146–48; 3.2:768–71. Christensen, *Sassanides* 292–94. —S.V.

EPIBOLE (ἐπιβολή, Lat. *adfectio steriliūm*) was the official transfer of abandoned land, together with its fiscal obligations, to relatives, co-contributors, or members of the same village or fiscal unit. The measure, initially meant to stabilize state revenues, enhanced the development of the fiscal communities described in 8th–10th-C. texts; it ended by indicating a complicated procedure by which, at every revision of the CADASTER, the KANON was reassessed, taking into consideration the previous assessments and all eventual increases or decreases of fiscal obligations or taxable assets of each fiscal unit (village or large landowner); the established fiscal burden was then distributed to individual contributors. The basic characteristics of the institution survived in the late 11th and early 12th C., but the way it was actually applied had by then changed considerably owing to the decline of small landed property and the increase of state lands and large privileged private properties. At this time officials began to consider the possibility of a unified rate of *epibole* for the whole empire.

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 119–29. Idem, "L'Épibolè à l'époque des Commènes," *TM* 3 (1968) 375–95. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 46f. —N.O.

EPIC. Several types of epic flourished in the late Roman period: (1) PATRIA, or histories of cities such as Tarsos, Berytus, and Nicaea; CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS wrote *patria* in epic verses on Constantinople, Thessalonike, and other cities (Al. Cameron, *Historia* 14 [1965] 489); (2) epic *enkomia* of famous persons, primarily emperors and high officials, by such authors as CLAUDIAN (who wrote both Latin and Greek epics), the empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, KYROS of Panopolis, and CORIPPUS; (3) mythological epics by NONNOS, QUINTUS OF SMYRNA, KOLLOUTHOS, MOUSAIS, etc.; and (4) biblical epics, an attempt to reproduce various Old and New Testament episodes in HEX-

AMETERS; of these the paraphrase of St. John's Gospel, probably by Nonnos, is the most remarkable. Many of these epics are lost (esp. the city histories) and known only from fragments or citations in Libanios, the *Souda*, and other sources. PROKLOS defended Homer against Plato's criticism (S. Koster, *Antike Epistheorien* [Wiesbaden 1970] 99–114), while introducing a threefold division of poetry: the sublime, full of divine virtues; the middle, having educational purposes; and the lower, which with the help of imitation and fantasy leads the soul into error.

Epic form was occasionally used for works without epic content, such as didactic poetry. DIONYSIOS PERIEGETES (2nd C.) and OPIAN (3rd C.), authors popular in Byz., wrote in hexameter, as well as Markellos of Side, a physician of the 2nd C. From the 4th C. onward, hexameter was replaced in didactic works by iambic trimeters and prose; on the other hand, CENTOS preserved Homeric meter and vocabulary but were sometimes far removed from an epic character.

After the first half of the 7th C., epic disappeared, although even much later (12th C.) poets praised imperial military achievements in hexameter. The last 7th-C. epic *enkomion*, by GEORGE OF PISIDIA, was already iambic. The later epic DIGENES AKRITAS differs in meter, content, and language from earlier examples and is closer to the tradition of soldiers' songs than to Homer.

LIT. Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:959–74. M. Roberts, *Biblical Epos and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity* (Liverpool 1985). B. Abel-Wilmanns, *Der Erzählaufbau der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Frankfurt am Main 1977) 88–90. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 48–97. G.W. Elderkin, *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Greek Epic* (Baltimore 1906). —A.K.

EPICLESIS (ἐπίκλησις), invocation for the coming of the Holy Spirit (or, rarely, the Logos) to sanctify; esp. the epiclesis in the ANAPHORA, which asks the Father to send his Spirit or invokes the Spirit to come upon the bread and wine to change them into the body and blood of Christ for the spiritual benefit of the communicants. Such a consecratory epiclesis, first seen in CYRIL of Jerusalem (ed. Piédagnel, p. 124.2–3), is a later explication of the more primitive general invocation upon the church and its offering for the fruits of COMMUNION and reflects the greater emphasis on the role of the Spirit in the aftermath of the First Council of Constantinople. Whether it was the

epiclesis itself that constituted the formula of consecration, as the Second Council of Nicaea stated (Mansi 13:265D), or the words of Jesus over the bread and cup ("This is my body . . .") became a source of dispute with the Latins from the 14th C.

LIT. J.H. McKenna, *Eucharist and Holy Spirit* (Great Wakering, Essex, 1975) 29–82. —R.F.T.

EPIDEICTIC (ἐπιδεικτικά, lit. "fit for display"), or epideictic oratory, one of three branches of RHETORIC as defined by Aristotle. This distinction was accepted in the treatise *Division of Epideictic Speeches* ascribed to MENANDER RHETOR, who divided speeches into praise (subdivided into hymns and ENKOMIA) and INVECTIVE. The term, however, was rare in Byz. usage, and neither Aphthonios nor NICHOLAS OF MYRA use it; according to APHTHONIOS (p. 21.5), *enkomion* was not an "epideictic speech," but an expository one (*ekthetikos*). The term reappears infrequently in later commentaries on Menander, for example, John DOXOPATRES (Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 150.8), and was evidently replaced by less abstract notions such as *enkomion* and EKPHRASIS. The word early acquired the negative connotation of "showing off," and EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (PG 24:748B) accused MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA of "showing off Hellenic science and ignoring divine knowledge."

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 177–210. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 23–27. —A.K., E.M.J.

EPIFANIJ PREMUDRYJ, or Epiphanius the Wise, monk of the Trinity monastery of St. Sergej near Moscow; died ca. 1420. His reputation as the most florid hagiographer of Rus' rests primarily on his vita of St. Stefan of Perm' (died 1395). The vita's elaborately expressive and emotive verbal devices are sometimes thought to be a literary and aesthetic extension of the spirituality of HESYCHASM, although features of the style can be traced to Serbian vitae of the 13th–14th C. and indeed to Byz. rhetoric (M. Mulič, *TODRL* 23 [1968] 127–42). Epifanij parades his knowledge of patristic and Byz. hagiographic traditions and of the Greek language, and he was prominent among those who represented the hesychast culture of Constantinople and Athos in Rus' (see KIPRIAN), probably having spent time in Constantinople and Athos himself. He wrote an *enkomion* and, in 1418,

a vita of St. Sergej of Radonež (died 1392), which survives in a version reworked by PACHOMIJ LOGOFET. In a letter to the archimandrite Kirill of Tver', Epifanij describes the activities and working methods of THEOPHANES THE GREEK, from whom he requested and copied a miniature depiction of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

ED. *Žitie sv. Stefana, episkopa Permskogo*, ed. V. Družinin (St. Petersburg 1897); rp. with introd. by D. Čizevskij (The Hague 1959). *Drevnie žitija prep. Sergija Radonežskogo*, ed. N.S. Tichonravov (Moscow 1892–1916); rp. with introd. by L. Müller, *Die Legenden des Heiligen Sergij von Radonež* (Munich 1967). Eng. tr. M. Klimenko, *The "Vita" of St. Sergii of Radonezh* (Houston 1980). "Pis'mo Epifanija Premudrogo k Kirillu Tverskomu," ed. O.A. Belobrova in *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi. XIV–seredina XV veka* (Moscow 1981) 444–46.

LIT. Fedotov, *Mind* 2:195–245. F. Kitch, *The Literary Style of Epifanij Premudryj* (Munich 1976). G. Prochorov, "Epifanij Premudryj," *TODRL* 40 (1985) 77–91. —S.C.F.

EPIGONATION (ἐπιγονάτιον), a lozenge of stiff embroidered cloth worn as a vestment by a bishop over his STICHARION. It measured about 30 cm on each side and was attached to the belt so as to hang down over the right knee. Its use was restricted to bishops at least until the 14th C. First mentioned in the 12th C. by Theodore Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:478.25–66), who states that it represents the cloth with which Christ washed the feet of the apostles, the *epigonation* gradually replaced the softer ENCHEIRION. The earliest surviving examples, which date from the 14th C., are embroidered with an image of the ANASTASIS.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 550–54. Papas, *Messgewänder* 130–53. M. Soteriou, "Chrysokteneton epigonation tou Byzantinou Mouseiou Athenon meta parastaseos tes eis Haidou Kathodou," *BNJbb* 11 (1934) 284–96. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 18f, pls. 51–52. —N.P.Š.

EPIGRAM (ἐπίγραμμα), originally an INSCRIPTION, esp. a funerary inscription; in Hellenistic and Roman times a short poem, usually in elegiac couplets, often with an erotic or satiric theme. In the early centuries of Byz., though caustic cynicism and eroticism can still be seen in epigrams (e.g., of PALLADAS and later of PAUL SILENTIARIOS and AGATHIAS), such subjects were already being replaced by soberer topics that reflected a christianized society, as in the funerary epigrams of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Thus the epigrams of

GEORGE OF PISIDIA or THEODORE OF STOUDIOS frequently deal with icons, saints, or church festivals. Epigrams were also used in doctrinal polemics, as during the Iconoclast period, or to vent personal spleen (as in CONSTANTINE OF RHODES).

During the 10th C. ANTHOLOGIES of classical and Byz. epigrams were made, first by KEPHALAS and later by the anonymous compiler, or compilers, of the *Anthologia Palatina* (see GREEK ANTHOLOGY). Epigrams continued to be a fertile genre whose wide-ranging and prolific practitioners included JOHN GEOMETRES, JOHN MAUROPOUS, and CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE. From the 12th C. onward there is a tendency, as in the poems of Theodore PRODROMOS and Manuel PHILES as well as in numerous anonymous verses, for epigrams to revert to their primary use as dedicatory inscriptions attached to votive offerings (icons, church vessels, etc.) and on tombstones (cf. Lampros, "Mark. kod." 3–59, 123–92). A particular form of epigram was the metrical inscription on SEALS (sometimes one line long), giving the name, title, and office of the seal owner. Still used, nevertheless, for an enormous variety of topics normally written in 12- and 15-syllable lines, they are perhaps now best called "occasional verse."

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:165–73. A.D. Kominis, *To byzantinon hieron epigramma kai hoi epigrammatopoi* (Athens 1966). W. Hörandner, "Customs and Beliefs as Reflected in Occasional Poetry," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 235–47. Q. Cataudella, "Influssi di poesia classica anche latina negli epigrammi cristiani greci," in *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia 1982) 79–92. B. Lavagnini, "L'epigramma e il committente," *DOP* 41 (1987) 339–50. —E.M.J.

EPIGRAPHY. A discipline of Byz. epigraphy does not yet exist. While it cannot be said that it will occupy the same central position as it does in classical studies, it can nevertheless make a substantial contribution in a variety of fields (e.g., institutions, prosopography and onomastics, linguistic frontiers, etc.). Ideally, it should encompass all types of writing except in MSS, in particular the following:

1. INSCRIPTIONS on stone, including graffiti
2. Painted and mosaic inscriptions (those on mosaic pavements, which form an important group, cease with very few exceptions in the 7th C.)
3. Objects of household and religious use, including jewelry and amulets
4. Coins, seals, and weights

5. Brick stamps (limited primarily to the 4th–6th/7th C.)
6. Ivories and steatites

For some of the above categories (ivories, steatites, coins, and seals) we do have more or less complete corpora, but most of the other material remains extremely scattered in works such as publications of individual monuments, excavation reports, regional surveys, and museum catalogs, where Byz. inscriptions are interspersed with antique ones.

Strictly speaking, Byz. epigraphy ought to include all inscriptions originating within the empire, whatever their language (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, etc.). In practice, however, those in indigenous languages have been left to their respective specialists and attention has been concentrated on those in Greek and Latin. The boundary between the latter two up to the 6th C. runs across the Balkan peninsula, roughly along a line from DYRRACHION to Odessos (VARNA) and in Africa between the Roman provinces of Libya and Tripolitana. The use of the two “prestige” languages, however, particularly of Greek in the eastern provinces, does not necessarily reflect the most commonly spoken language in an area; for example, in Syria up to the Arab conquest the vast majority of inscriptions are in Greek. A case may also be made for including in the sphere of Byz. epigraphy regions outside the empire where Greek inscriptions of Byz. character have been found (e.g., Nubia, 8th–12th C.). Greek was also used in PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS, and the ALANS wrote their inscriptions in Greek characters (10th–12th C.).

The first aim of the epigraphist is correct reading, which involves the resolution of ABBREVIATIONS, MONOGRAMS, and CRYPTOGRAMS, and familiarity with formulas and titulature. A concurrent preoccupation concerns the evolution of script, since it permits the dating of inscriptions within broad limits when an absolute date is not given, which is in the majority of cases. By and large, Byz. inscriptions before the year 1000 are in capital letters, written without division between words and hardly ever accented. LIGATURES between vertical letters (like M, N) are frequent; that of *o* plus *v* (Ϸ) comes into widespread use from the end of the 5th C. onward. Abbreviations are limited to titles, professions, dates, *nomina sacra*, and the conjunction *kai*. An important change in script

occurs in the early 11th C.: abandoning its earlier sobriety, it strives after an ornamental effect. It borrows an increasing number of ligatures and abbreviations current in MSS and places one letter above or within another with a consequent loss of legibility. One can almost say that the content becomes secondary to calligraphy.

The thematic classification of inscriptions, as it has been elaborated for classical antiquity, is only partly applicable to the Byz. period. The following breakdown is tentative:

1. Sacred texts
2. Decrees (practically none after the 6th/7th C.) and grants of privileges. The latter are extremely rare, but note the painted chrysobulls in the Brontochion church, MISTRA (ed. G. Millet, *BCH* 23 [1899] 100–118), and at STAGOI.
3. Tokens of official control or regulation (COINS, SILVER STAMPS, WEIGHTS, BRICK STAMPS)
4. Marks of ownership (e.g., boundary stones) and authentication (SEALS)
5. Records of building and/or decoration
6. Honorific inscriptions accompanying statues or portraits (almost none after the 6th/7th C.)
7. Records of death (EPITAPHIA and commemorative graffiti)
8. Acclamations
9. Invocations, pious and magical formulas
10. Dedications, often introduced by the formula *Deesis tou doulou*
11. Epigrams, often on small objects (e.g., ivories, icon frames, crosses, etc.)
12. Painters’ “signatures” (none before the 11th C. and rare thereafter)

It should be noted that many inscriptions, esp. those in verse, are preserved by way of MS tradition—the GREEK ANTHOLOGY, among the works of poets such as Theodore Prodromos and Manuel Philes—although it is often difficult to determine whether their compositions were in fact inscribed. As an example of a real inscription preserved in this manner we may quote the epigram on the Sangarios bridge (attributed to Agathias), which is found in the *Palatine Anthology* (*AnthGr* 9:641) and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 5, ed. Pertusi 70.21–26).

LIT. J.S. Allen, I. Ševčenko, *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies*, 2.1. *Epigraphy* (Washington, D.C., 1981). F. Bérard, D. Feissel et al., *Guide de l'épigraphiste* (Paris 1986). C.M.

Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg 1917). L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, H. Leclercq, *DACL* 7.1 (1926) 623–1089. M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 4 (Rome 1978) 299–556. —C.M.

EPILEPSY. See INSANITY.

EPIMANIKIA (ἐπιμανίκια, ἐπιμάνικα), a pair of detachable gold-embroidered cuffs worn as a vestment over the sleeves of a bishop’s STICHARION. Contrary to Lampe, who says that *epimanika* are first mentioned in the Liturgy ascribed to John Chrysostom, the first reference is that by the mid-11th-C. Patr. PETER III of Antioch, who spoke of *enceiria*, *epimanikia*, and EPITRACHELIA ornamented with gold as details of the patriarchal costume (PG 120:800C). They occur in representations of bishops as early as the mid-10th C. (e.g., Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, fol.3), or even the late 9th C. (tympanum mosaics in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople); it is not entirely certain, however, that these early images show detachable cuffs. The use of *epimanikia* was still restricted to bishops in the late 12th C. according to Theodore Balsamon, who says they represent the bonds that encircled Christ’s wrists during the Passion (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:478.16–24). All the *epimanikia* that have survived date from the post-Byz. period.

LIT. Bernadakis, “Ornements liturgiques” 131. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 98–101. Papas, *Messgewänder* 81–105. —N.P.Š.

EPIMERISMS (sing. ἐπιμερισμός, “distribution, parsing”), elementary word-by-word commentaries on literary texts intended for school use and comprising parsing, MORPHOLOGY, ORTHOGRAPHY, prosody, semantics, and ETYMOLOGY. Epimerisms on Homer existed from late antiquity. George CHOIROBOSKOS composed epimerisms on the Psalms, which were in use as a schoolbook in the 10th C. The classicism of the Palaiologan period led to the composition of epimerisms on select works of AELIANUS, the Philostrati, and AGAPETOS by such scholars as MAXIMOS PLANOUEDES (S. Lindstam, *Erano* 19 [1919–20] 57–92) and Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS. George LAKAPENOS even composed epimerisms on a collection of his own letters. Anonymous epimerisms on prayers and other short religious texts are numerous and impossible

to date. The epimerisms on Homer and the Psalms were originally separate books, while the later epimerisms seem from the first to have been written in the margins or between the lines of the text that they were designed to explain. Used for grammatical instruction as well as for textual exegesis, epimerisms were therefore sometimes detached from their texts and rearranged alphabetically. Akin to the epimerisms on literary texts were the word-by-word grammatical explanations of *schede*, short pieces of text, often of ambiguous meaning, which were widely used in schools from the 11th C. onward for instruction in grammar (see SCHEDOGRAPHIA).

ED. *Epimerismi Homeric, Pars prior, epimerismos continens qui ad Iliadis librum A pertinent*, ed. A.R. Dyck (Berlin–New York 1983). *Anecdota graeca Oxoniensia*, ed. J.A. Cramer (Oxford 1835) 1:1–472, 2:331–426.

LIT. L. Cohn, *RE* 6 (1909) 179–81. H. Erbse, *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien* (Munich 1960) 230–50. —R.B.

EPIPHANEIA (Ἐπιφάνεια, biblical and Syr. Hamath, Ar. Hamāh or Hamāt in mod. Syria), city on the Orontes River and bishopric of SYRIA II. A Roman temple was transformed (by 400?) into a church, which was later rebuilt (in 595?) and dedicated to the Theotokos and Sts. Kosmas and Damianos. There are epigraphic references (5th–6th C.) to this building and to another church and a winter bath at Epiphaneia (*IGLSyr* 5, nos. 1999–2004). That part of the KAPER KORAON TREASURE of 6th–7th-C. liturgical silverware that is known as the Hamāh Treasure was reportedly found at Epiphaneia. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS was born in Epiphaneia. After the Arab conquest of the city in 636–37 (Donner, *Conquests* 112, 148–51) the Church of the Theotokos was transformed into the Umayyad mosque, which still survives, although Nikephoros II Phokas is said to have burned the mosque of Epiphaneia during a raid in 968.

LIT. D. Sourdel, *EI*² 3:119–21. P.J. Riis, *Temple, Church and Mosque* (Copenhagen 1965). —M.M.M.

EPIPHANIES. Appearances of a god or beneficent manifestations of the divine in a human context, epiphanies were a staple of late antique paganism in both religious and state imperial cults. Mystery cults organized their rituals around epi-

phanies, shrines of healing gods recorded miraculous cures as epiphanies, and the imperial cult celebrated as an epiphany the emperor's birthday, arrival in a new place, accession to office, outstanding deeds, and ceremonial appearances at court. Christ's life, too, came to be understood in terms of theophanic events, or epiphanies. The 6th of Jan. (EPIPHANY) was the earliest feast celebrating Christ's manifestation as divine and united the Baptism, ADORATION OF THE MAGI, and miracle at CANA. Christ's early life was dotted with epiphanies marked by angelic appearances (ANNUNCIATION, admonitions to Joseph, heavenly hosts at the NATIVITY); apocryphal Gospels added others. The single such appearance during his ministry is the TRANSFIGURATION, but his miracles, being beneficent manifestations of the divine, were also regarded as epiphanies, and they early acquired the appropriate iconography with a disciple to serve as a witness. Epiphanies recur in the PASSION and its aftermath: the ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, patterned after an imperial epiphany, the ANASTASIS, ASCENSION, and PENTECOST. (See also VISIONS.)

LIT. Grabar, *Martyrium* 2:131–92.

—A.W.C.

EPIPHANIOS, bishop of Salamis (Constantia) in Cyprus (from 367); saint; born Eleutheropolis in Judaea ca.315, died at sea en route to Salamis from Constantinople 12 May 403. First prominent as founder of a monastery near his birthplace (ca.335), Epiphanius served as metropolitan in Cyprus for 36 years. A rigorous Nicene, he combatted all heresies, esp. Origenism; his struggle against the latter involved him respectively with JEROME and THEOPHILOS of Alexandria in serious conflict against JOHN II of Jerusalem (394) and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM at Constantinople in 402. He was equally hostile to classical education, perhaps deliberately affecting a poor Attic style, which, according to Jerome, enabled him to reach the masses through his writings.

His most important works include the *Ankyrotos* (lit. "holding fast like an anchor"), the *Panarion* (or Refutation of All the Heresies), and a volume misleadingly entitled *On Weights and Measures*, which is actually a biblical dictionary. His criticisms of religious art (now generally thought to be genuine) prefigure the Byz. controversy over ICONOCLASM. Epiphanius recommended to Emp.

Theodosios I that curtains adorned with sacred images be removed and used for burial shrouds and that frescoes be whitewashed (Ostrogorsky, *Bilderstr.* 67–75; Mango, *Art* 41–43). His works were translated into a number of medieval languages, including Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Syriac, and Church Slavonic.

ED. PG 41–43. *Epiphanius*, ed. K. Holl, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1915–33; vols. 2–3, rp. Berlin 1980–85). Eng. tr. F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Book I* (Leiden-New York 1987). "To 'Peri metron kai stathmon' ergon Epiphaniou tou Salaminos," ed. E.D. Moutsoulas, *Theologia* 41 (1970) 618–37; 42 (1971) 473–505; 43 (1972) 631–70; 44 (1973) 157–210. For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 2, nos. 3744–807.

LIT. C. Riggi, "La figura di Epifanio nel IV secolo," *StP* 8 (Berlin 1966) 86–107. P. Nautin, *DHGE* 15 (1963) 617–31. D. Fernández, *De mariologia sancti Epiphani* (Rome 1968). H.G. Thümmel, "Die bilderfeindlichen Schriften des Epiphanius von Salamis," *BS* 47 (1986) 169–88.

—B.B., A.M.T.

EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES, the author of the first Byz. description of the Holy Land; fl. end of the 8th C. (J. Darrouzès in *DHGE* 15 [1963] 615) or in the 9th C. (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:517). Nothing is known of him. His short PROSKYNETARION begins with his journey via Cyprus and Tyre to Jerusalem, from which he took trips to Alexandria, "the great Babylon of the Pharaoh," Raithou, and Mt. Sinai, and to Gethsemane, the Jordan River, and Galilee. The LOCA SANCTA described are connected with the Old Testament (Joseph's warehouses, Moses' miracles); with Christ, the Virgin, and people related to them (e.g., the tomb of Lazarus); and with some saints (the tomb of Kyros and John in Edessa). Certain monasteries are named, as are the places where the patriarch of Jerusalem officiated. Some sentences of Epiphanius duplicate a section of a legend about Constantine I the Great, but it remains unclear which of the texts has priority. Neither the Arab presence nor Charlemagne's protectorate are mentioned. Epiphanius used to be confused with his namesake from Constantinople, the hagiographer who compiled vitae of the apostle ANDREW and of the Virgin.

ED. H. Donner, "Palästina-Beschreibung des Epiphanius Hagiopolita," *ZDPV* 87 (1971) 42–91, with Germ. tr.; with Russ. tr. V. Vasil'evskij, "Povest' Epifanija o Ierusalime," *PPSb* 4.2 (11) (1886).

LIT. A.M. Schneider, "Das Itinerarium des Epiphanius Hagiopolita," *ZDPV* 63 (1940) 143–54.

—A.K.

EPIPHANY (τὰ Ἐπιφάνια), the feast of lights (*ta phota*), also called *ta theophania*, celebrating the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan River. Epiphany originally commemorated not a single event, but a mystery, the appearance of salvation in Jesus revealed in a cluster of New Testament events, principally Jesus' birth and his baptism. Historicizing tendencies in the 4th C. led to a separation of the cluster: the NATIVITY was moved to 25 Dec. and the Baptism was then celebrated by itself on 6 Jan. The feast gained importance during the controversies over the divine origins of Christ and with the subsequent definitions of the First Council of NICAËA.

Epiphany is celebrated with a solemnity matched, among the fixed GREAT FEASTS, only by that accompanying the Nativity. There is a preparatory Sunday, a four-day forefeast, a *paramone* vigil (as before the Nativity) that includes a blessing of the waters, a SYNAXIS honoring JOHN THE BAPTIST on the day following the feast (7 Jan.), and eight days of afterfeast (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:174–91). The blessing of the waters, an important part of the ritual, is attested already in 387 at Antioch by John Chrysostom (PG 49:365f). According to a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 3, 25–26), the patriarch and the emperor celebrated the vigil at the Church of St. Stephen the Protomartyr at the Daphne Palace and the Epiphany rite itself in the Church of Hagia Sophia; on the day of Epiphany the emperor, honored at a number of receptions by the FACTIONS, confirmed new MAGISTROI to office.

Representation in Art. The feast of the Baptism of Christ was represented by the 3rd C. and had acquired its standard composition by the 6th (Cathedra of MAXIMIAN): Christ frontal or in profile in the water, John the Baptist to one side, angels to the other, the dove descending in a light-burst from above, the personified JORDAN below. Post-Iconoclastic versions added a cross in the water, referring to the cross at the pilgrimage site in Palestine (HOSIOS LOUKAS); two disciples and the axe at the root of a tree (cf. Lk 3:9; MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.299); swimmers, linking this with John's other baptisms; and a dragon in the depths, associating Christ's descent into the water with his descent into Hades (see ANASTASIS). The Baptistery at HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople (by 1200) embedded the Baptism in a cycle of scenes of John's ministry. In Palaiologan art the

Baptism was incorporated in such a five- to seven-scene cycle, and Christ's precipitous descent into the water was emphasized to permit analogies with his descent into the cave at birth and into Hades at death. Only in miniatures in the 12th-C. MS, Chicago, Univ. Lib. 965 (fols.37r, 61v) is the Baptism separated from the descent of the Spirit in accordance with Scripture (Lk 3:21–22).

LIT. Talley, *Liturgical Year*, esp. 112–34. M. Dubarle et al., *Noël, Épiphanie, retour du Christ* (Paris 1967). Millet, *Recherches* 170–209. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:252–76. D. Mouriki, "Revival Themes with Elements of Daily Life in Two Palaeologan Frescoes Depicting the Baptism," in *Okeanos* 458–88.

—R.F.T., A.W.C.

EPIROS (Ἠπειρος), northwestern Greece, a mountainous area between the PINDOS and the Ionian Sea, with a rich coastal area, important for its connections with the West. Perhaps under Diocletian the province of Epiros was separated from ACHAIA, and by the time of the VERONA LIST (produced between 328 and 337) it was divided into the provinces of Old Epiros (in the south) and New Epiros (in the north), both administratively part of the diocese of Moesia, later transferred to that of Macedonia. According to Hierokles (Hierokl. 651.3–654.1), Old Epiros (capital NIKOPOLIS) had 12 cities and New Epiros (capital DYRRACHION) had nine. The area was plundered by the Vandals in the 5th C. and many of its cities were fortified or refortified by Justinian I (F. Wozniak in *Nikopolis*, ed. E. Chrysos [Preveza 1987] 263–67). Epiros was overrun by the Slavs in the late 6th–7th C. and most of the cities disappeared.

Restoration of Byz. control came largely from the sea beginning in the 8th C. The themes of Dyrrachion and Nikopolis were created in the 9th C. By the end of the 12th C. many smaller territorial units were organized: a chrysobull of 1198 lists the provinces of Dyrrachion, "Jericho et Canion," IOANNINA, Drynoupolis, and Nikopolis; some of them included private units—*episkepseis*, called *pertinentia* in the PARTITIO ROMANIAE (in Arta, Acheloos, Lesiana, etc.); the *Partitio* also lists "*chartolarata*" of Glavinica and of Bagenetia. In the 13th C. an independent principality (see EPIROS, DESPOTATE OF) emerged, engulfing all these areas.

Epiros was inhabited by Greeks, Slavs, Albanians, and VLACHS; Italians also penetrated the area. The ecclesiastical center of Epiros until ca.800 was Nikopolis; it was later succeeded by Naupak-

tos, whose suffragans in the 10th C. were Bouditza (probably not BOUDONITZA?), Aetos, Ache-loos, Rogoi (or ARTA), Ioannina, Photike or Bella, Adrianoupolis (Drynoupolis), and BOUTHROTON (*Notitiae CP* 7:575–83). Many early Christian churches have been found, esp. at Nikopolis and along the coast, while later monuments are more common in the interior, esp. around Arta.

LIT. *TIB* 3:37–97. E. Chrysos, “Symbole sten historia tes Epeirou kata ten protobyzantine epoche (d’-st’ aiona),” *EpChron* 23 (1981) 9–104. D. Pallas, *RBK* 2:207–334. –T.E.G.

EPIROS, DESPOTATE OF, one of the independent Greek states established after the fall of Constantinople in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade, along with the empires of NICAEA and TREBIZOND. The term *despotaton* can be properly applied only for the 14th–15th C.; it is first used in a chrysobull of 1342. Although related to the ANGELOS dynasty in Constantinople, the early rulers of Epiros used the family names Komnenos and Doukas. The state was founded by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, who gained control of the entire northwestern coast of Greece and much of Thessaly. His ambitious brother THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS captured OHRID in 1216. Theodore, who dreamed of recovering Constantinople, took Thessalonike from the Latins in 1224 and was crowned as emperor, thus briefly setting himself up as a rival to the emperor of Nicaea. In 1242, however, Theodore’s son John was forced by JOHN III VATATZES to substitute the title *despotes* for “emperor,” and in 1246 Thessalonike was annexed by Nicaea. During the reign of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, Nicene forces temporarily conquered much of Epiros after the battle of PELAGONIA (1259). But Epiros recovered its independence by 1264 and continued to be ruled by Greek *despotai* until 1318, when it came under the control of the Italian Orsini family (1318–37).

After a brief period of restoration of Greek rule, Epiros was occupied by the Serbs in 1348. The CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA describes the unpopular rule of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ over Ioannina from 1366/7 to 1384, while Arta was governed by the Albanian clan of Spata. In the late 14th C. Ioannina returned to Italian control, first under the Florentine Esau Buondelmonti (1385–1411) and then under the house of TOCCO, which also acquired Arta from the Albanians. Epiros

was conquered by the Ottomans in the 15th C.; Ioannina fell in 1430, Arta in 1449. The geographical isolation of Epiros, esp. the barrier of the PINDOS mountain range, enabled it to remain separate from the Byz. Empire until the Turkish conquest, but the Byz. emperors always regarded rulers of Epiros as rebels and maintained the right to confer the title DESPOTES.

In the 13th C. Epiros was populated primarily by Greeks alongside whom lived Slavs (for whom the names of Macedonians, Bulgarians, and DROUGOBITES were used), ALBANIANS, VLACHS, Jews, Turks, Armenians, and Latins. The surviving documents reflect a society composed primarily of free peasants who formed communities and enjoyed the right of PROTIMESIS. Towns had a strong landowner class, mostly free peasants; dependent peasants were rare (D. Angelov, *Izvestija na Kamarata na narodnata kultura, serija: Humanitarni nauki* 4.3 [Sofia 1947] 3–46). The region consisted of several themes (e.g., Bagenetia, Ache-loos, SKORJE, and Drama) which normally included a single town and its environs; the governor of a theme was usually called *doux*, but also *kephale*, *energon*, etc. (D. Angelov, *BS* 12 [1951]

Greek *Despotai* of Epiros and Emperors at Thessalonike (1205–1318)

Ruler	Reign Dates
MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, ruler of Epiros	1205–1215
THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS ruler of Epiros emperor at Thessalonike	1215–1230 1224/5? or 1227–1230
Manuel Angelos, emperor at Thessalonike	1230–1237
John emperor at Thessalonike <i>despotes</i> at Thessalonike	1237–1242 1242–1244
DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS, <i>despotes</i> at Thessalonike	1244–1246
MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, ruler of Epiros (<i>despotes</i> of Epiros from ca. 1249)	ca. 1230–1266/8
NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, <i>despotes</i> of Epiros	1266/8–1296/8
Thomas, <i>despotes</i> of Epiros	1296–1318

Source: Based on Nicol, *Epiros II* 252, with modifications.

59–62). (See table for a list of the rulers of Epiros from 1205 to 1318.)

LIT. D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford 1957), rev. L. Stiernon, *REB* 17 (1959) 90–126. D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479* (Cambridge 1984). –A.M.T., A.K.

EPISCOPALIS AUDIENTIA, identified in the *Codex Justinianus* as the juridical powers and privileges conferred upon bishops. Actually, Christian leaders had heard and decided disputes involving members of their local congregations since Christian antiquity. Only under Constantine I did such arbitration receive official recognition. Constantine introduced the episcopal tribunal into Roman civil legal procedure by ordering that either party in a suit might have the case heard by a bishop. By the early 5th C., however, the government modified this, restricting the bishop’s juridical powers to mediation and stipulating that both parties to the dispute had to consent (cf. *Cod. Just.* I. 4.7, 8). In sum, episcopal judicial activity in civil matters had ceased to exist, except in the form of arbitration *inter volentes* (“between willing [parties]”). Under Justinian I, however, a layman involved in a dispute with a cleric was once again able to bring his case to the bishop’s court (nov.86). Moreover, a law of Herakleios (*Reg* 1, no.199) stipulated that all civil suits brought against clerics in Constantinople were to be heard by the patriarch (cf. the later decree of Alexios I, *Reg* 1, no.1071).

In trials involving clergy the bishop continued to act as judge. Episcopal tribunals, in fact, had jurisdiction over all civil and disciplinary cases in which the litigants were clergy. Conciliar legislation insisted that such trials were the exclusive concern of ecclesiastical courts and that clerics could settle their differences only in such courts (Council of CHALCEDON, canon 9).

LIT. G. Vismara, *Episcopalis Audientia* (Milan 1937). A.P. Christophilopoulos, “He dikaiodosia ton ekklesiastikon dikasterion epi idiotikon diaphoron kata ten byzantin en periodon,” *EEBS* 18 (1948) 192–201. J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Episcopalis Audientia* (Amsterdam 1956). W. Selb, “Episcopalis audientia von der Zeit Konstantins bis zur Nov.XXXV Valentinians III,” *ZSavRom* 84 (1967) 162–217. A. Michel, “Ein Bischofsprozess bei Michael Kerullarios,” *BZ* 41 (1941) 447–52. –A.P.

EPISKEPSIS (ἐπίσκεψις, lit. “care, inspection”), a fiscal term with three different meanings. (1)

Most commonly, it refers to a particular property belonging to the imperial domain (*basilike episkepsis*—Dölger, *Beiträge* 120.19), a fiscal unit composed of a collection of properties held by the emperor or a member of the imperial family and sometimes by other individuals (in 10th–13th-C. documents). The monastery of Patmos was granted annually 700 *modioi* of grain from the emperor’s *episkepsis* on Crete but, at the end of the 12th C., it was impossible to provide the monastery with grain, since the government had given these *episkepsis* over to some local nobles for a cash payment (MM 6:131.6–10). (2) *Episkepsis* could refer to a fiscal division of a THEME (in documents up to the 12th C.). (3) The term was also used to describe the actual daily “administration of property,” particularly of imperial property.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 151f. D. Zakythenos, “Meletai perites dioiketikes diaireseos kai eparchikes dioikeseos en to Byzantino krateri,” *EEBS* 17 (1942) 34–36. N. Oikonomides, “He dianome ton basilikon ‘episkepseon’ tes Kretes,” *Pepragmena tou B’ diethnous Kretologikou synedriou* 3 (Athens 1968) 195–201. Jacoby, *Société*, pt.VI (1967), 423. –M.B.

EPISKEPTITES (ἐπισκεπτήτης), a subaltern official mentioned in the 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS; there were *episkeptitai* in the departments of the DROMOS, the EPARCH OF THE CITY, the *agelai* (see LOGOTHETES TON AGELON), and the KOURATORES. The majority of them were administrators of imperial domains (the so-called EPI-SKEPSIS), such as the *protospatharios* Stephen, *episkeptites* of the imperial *ktemata* in 996 (*Ivir.* 1, no.10.6). *Episkeptitai* of several locations, small and large (including Peloponnesos and Armeniakon), are mentioned on seals. Ecclesiastical *episkeptitai* were accountants dispatched by the OIKONOMOS (MM 5:355.31).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 132f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 312. –A.K.

EPISTOLAE AUSTRASICAЕ, collection of letters assembled at Metz late in the 6th C. that documents Byz. DIPLOMACY and military relations with the Merovingian FRANKS. This activity was prompted chiefly by Constantinople’s efforts to buy effective military support for Byz. operations in Italy. King Theudebert I sent two letters to Justinian I (eps. 19–20, between 536 and 538 and 546/7, respectively) and one letter to King Theu-

debalde (ep.18, ca.548/9). Epistle 48 went to a Lombard leader in connection with Byz. efforts to defend reconquered Italy under Justin II (W. Goffart, *Traditio* 13 [1957] 77–82) or Tiberios I, while the largest group reveals relations of Childeric II and Brunichildis with Emp. Maurice, who expressed dissatisfaction with Frankish cooperation in a letter of 1 Sept. 584 (*Reg* 1, no.83). Epistles 43–45 were probably carried to Constantinople in 586 in an attempt to liberate Brunichildis's nephew, held hostage there. Fourteen letters introduced the Frankish ambassadors dispatched to Byz. in connection with the attack on Italy in 588. Their addressees include members of the imperial family, the patriarch, and leading court officials and show how the Franks understood the structure of power in Constantinople. Other letters concern Frankish cooperation with the EXARCHS of Italy Smaragdus (ep.46) and Romanus (eps. 40–41).

ED. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epist.* 3:111–53. Cf. D. Norberg, *Erano* 35 (1937) 105–15.

LIT. E. Ewig, *Die Merowinger und das Imperium* (Opladen 1983). —M.McC.

EPISTOLAE VISIGOTICAE, 7th-C. collection of letters that preserves the courteous correspondence of Sisebut, king of the VISIGOTHS, and Caesarius, *patrikios* and governor of Byz. Spain. Their contents concern negotiations with Constantinople ca.615 (F. Görres, *BZ* 16 [1907] 530–32) for a peace treaty to end Gothic military successes against the Byz. during the disastrous early period of the reign of Herakleios.

ED. *Miscellanea Visigotica*, ed. J. Gil (Seville 1972) 3–14. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epist.* 3:661–90.

LIT. T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades* (407–1090) (Athens 1980) 106f, 422f. —M.McC.

EPISTOLOGRAPHY, or the art of writing letters, a genre of Byz. literature akin to RHETORIC, popular with the intellectual elite. Copious examples survive from all periods, in more than 150 published collections containing approximately 15,000 letters (Mullett, *infra* 75). Antecedents for the form exist from the classical period (e.g., the letters of Aristotle or Plato, whether genuine or spurious, or those of Herodes Atticus), and also in the Pauline Epistles of the New Testament, which themselves show awareness of Hellenistic

epistolary practice (as described by, e.g., pseudo-Demetrios, *On Style*, chs. 223–35). Byz. letters preserved substantial elements of the ancient genre—in form, composition, and the system of imagery; direct quotations and borrowings were very common.

The first flowering of the Byz. letter, combining influences from both the Christian tradition and the classical Greek, appeared in the 4th C. with the collections of Emp. JULIAN, LIBANIOS, SYNESIOS, and the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS (who became a model and quarry for later writers). To this period also belongs the fictitious correspondence of the apostle Paul with the philosopher Seneca that survives only in a Latin version. After the 4th C., letter writing became less fashionable, although some voluminous collections are preserved (esp. that of ISIDORE OF PELOUSION); after Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES the genre virtually disappears until its revival by THEODORE OF STODIOS and PHOTIOS. Thereafter it plays a leading role as a literary genre, becoming esp. popular in the Palaiologan period. The peak of epistolographic activity falls in the 11th–12th C., when such masters as PSELLOS, EUSTATHIOS OF THESALONIKE, Gregory ANTIOCHOS, and Michael CHONIATES worked, and John TZETZES created an original, albeit unwieldy, genre of letters accompanied by verse commentaries.

The theoreticians of late Roman rhetoric, HERMOGENES and APHTHONIOS, ignored epistolography, but it is discussed by other theoreticians of the SECOND SOPHISTIC and later, esp. in the pseudonymous *Epistolary Characters* (between the 4th and 6th C.) wrongly attributed to either Libanios (J. Sykutris, *BNJbb* 7 [1930] 108–18) or Proklos. Theon of Alexandria (1st–2nd C.) classed epistolography as a PROGYMNASMA under the heading of ETHOPOIA, or character drawing, for the opportunities it gave to depict character. Pseudo-Proklos suggested a definition of the letter as a written conversation (*homilia*) between people who are separated and produced a sophisticated categorization of 41 types of letter. He emphasized the ideals of clarity (*sapheneia*) and reasonable length. The clearest indication of the Byz. concept of the ideal letter can be found in letters that themselves discuss the form, as in the letter of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS to his nephew (ep.51, ed. Gallay). There he recommends that letters should be brief, clear, and phrased like a conversation

with an absent friend and should treat serious topics with elegant expression. Epistolography received no attention in the general handbooks until the 14th C., when JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES devoted a chapter to it in his encyclopedia. The technique of letter writing was presumably taught by example from model collections, such as MS Patmos 706.

Byz. letters survive mainly in copies, with the exception of numerous papyri and late letters that were preserved in the fabric of bookbindings (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 22 [1964] 72f and n.3). They were nearly always intended for publication, either in the sense of public reading or through circulation as a collection. Some collections of letters were made from copies kept by the authors, others were gathered from the recipients by a later editor. Evidently many an author (e.g., John Tzetzes) rearranged and edited his letters before issuing the collection. Letters were frequently, if not normally, meant to be read aloud, not just to the intended recipient but also to an appreciative audience. Evidence for such occasions is intermittent but persistent from the 4th C. to the Palaiologan period. In this way epistolography filled the gap created by the disappearance of the THEATER; like rhetoric in general, letter writing uses theatrical terminology.

Byz. lacked regular mail service. Imperial letters were sent with special couriers; private individuals used friends, casual acquaintances, or servants as letter bearers (*grammatophoroi*). Letter writers sometimes complain of the difficulties of finding a suitable emissary. For example, the governor Theodore Branas dispatched a letter announcing the invasion of the Cumans with a monk who was walking to an annual panegyris in the town of Kouperion; the monk, however, “stuffed the letter in his bosom and consigned it to the darkness of his black robes,” and failed to deliver it (Nik.Chon. 500.78–92). The *grammatophoros* was supposed to be a “living letter” (*empsychos epistole*) and convey factual information, while the letter served as a literary ornament added to the message. Often the letter was accompanied with a gift that could range from a book to fish and fruit.

Letters can usefully be divided according to their purpose, into official, private, and literary examples. The letters dispatched by emperors, patriarchs (NICHOLAS I, ATHANASIOS I), and officials, as well as petitions addressed to them, func-

tioned as documents and were eventually quoted and referred to as such; some official letters are preserved in the minutes of meetings where they had been read aloud. Private letters were limited to the exchange of opinions between two correspondents, whereas literary letters were addressed (at least by implication) to a broader audience and often dealt with invented persons and situations. According to their content, letters can be divided into diplomatic, theological, and scholarly examples; letters of recommendation, indoctrination, and censure; and letters of consolation. Many letters express only banal politeness and standard friendship with conventional complaints about the correspondent's silence. The erotic letter died out after ARISTAINETOS.

The letter was not clearly distinct from related genres. The connection between conversation, homily, and letter was close, and a number of sermons exist in letter form. A letter could grow into a theological tract, as did Photios's lengthy letter to Ašot I (ed. B. Laourdas, L. Westerink, 3 [1985] 4–97), or into a historical work, such as the epistle of the monk THEODOSIOS to Deacon Leo on the capture of Syracuse in 880 (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:359f). The preamble to a major work could take the form of a letter; Photios's letter to his brother Tarasios introduces his BIBLIOTHECA. On the other hand, larger literary works could include letters; thus Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:94.2–99.9) quoted in his *History* the vernacular letter of the sultan of Egypt.

Though the Byz. letter may have aimed at originality combined with ornamentation and elegance in phrasing, variation in theme was not so important. A standard structure evolved, including—as expected—a greeting, inquiries after the correspondent's health, statements of the subject matter, and closing expressions of good will. Under Christian influence, however, certain formerly standard phrases changed. Thus in the exordium the old formula “A greets B” was usually replaced by “B is greeted by A,” since according to the Christian tradition of *tapeinotes* (see MODESTY, TOPOS OF) it was improper for the author to place himself first. Alongside the old formulaic conclusion “Be healthy” appears an elaborate prayer for divine blessing on the addressee and his family. The letter was considered a rhetorical piece, and the correspondent sometimes asked to be forgiven for his inadequacies.

Special attention was paid to *prooimia* that showed the correspondent's extensive knowledge of biblical and classical literature. Formulaic content was accompanied by vivid observations, witty jokes, and expression of true feelings. Certain topics recur, giving scope for the writer's ingenuity in phraseology: the letter was a sign of friendship, it was a gift, it revealed the sender's soul, it united separated friends while lamenting the distance that divided them and the loneliness this entailed. It must be remembered that the real subject matter of a letter was often delivered orally by the courier; hence, though obscurity for its own sake was not recommended, letters frequently contain generalities rather than specific details, thus increasing the already existing trends toward "deconcretization" and abstraction. At times, and esp. when a writer can be detected borrowing phrases and even complete letters from other authors, one feels that Byz. letters rarely include any "real" information.

Nevertheless, the genre is an important source for studying Byz. history and culture. Many describe or allude to crucial events and are esp. useful for establishing the relations between various members of the intelligentsia and the intellectual atmosphere of the empire. Because letters are part of a conversation rather than a source of direct information, the chronology and identification of the persons or events mentioned may be difficult; the problem is sometimes alleviated by the presence of *LEMMATA*, or headings, with some factual indications, or by the existence of chronologically ordered collections of letters, frequently prepared by the author himself (Tzetzes, Michael Choniates, etc.). Sometimes, however, the *lemmata* were added by a later editor and provide erroneous information on the names and offices of the addressees. Another problem is that fictitious letters can be intermixed with real ones or form a special collection. In MS tradition the body of the correspondence is usually divided, with the letters of each correspondent forming a separate unit; the establishment of interconnected pairs remains, as a rule, problematic.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:199–239. J. Sykutris, *RE* supp. 5 (1931) 218–20. N. Tomadakes, *Byzantine epistolographia*³ (Athens 1969). M. Mullett, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter," in *Classical Tradition* 75–93. J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris 1960). Idem, "Un recueil épistolaire du XIIe siècle," *REB* 30 (1972) 199–229. V.A. Smetanin, "Teoretičeskaja čast' epistolologii i

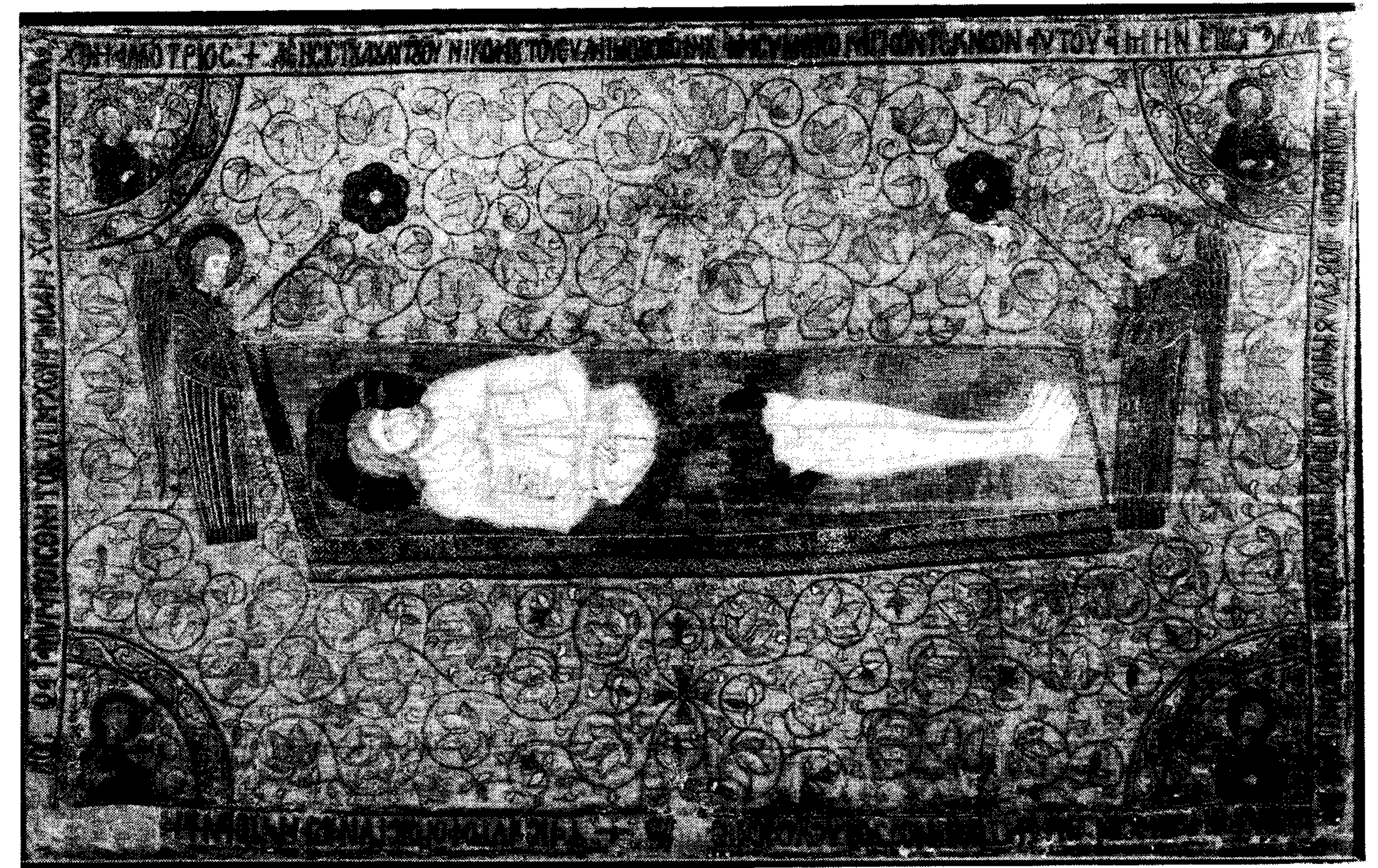
konkretno-istoričeskij efarmosis pozdnej Vizantii," *ADSV* 16 (1979) 58–93. Idem, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo XIII–XV vekov po dannym epistolografii* (Sverdlovsk 1987). G.T. Dennis, "The Byzantines as Revealed in their Letters," in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to L.G. Westerink at 75* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1988) 155–65. —E.M.J., A.K.

EPISTYLE (ἐπιστύλιον, δοκός), or architrave, lower part of the Roman ENTABLATURE, the beam of the Byz. TEMPLON. Already from the 6th C. epistyles are decorated with figures of Christ and saints (S. Xydis, *ArtB* 29 [1947] 8). The DEESIS appears on the most important epistyles of the 10th–11th C., most of them found in Asia Minor (J.-P. Sodini, *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie Antique* [Paris 1980] 130–33). These are carved in marble and inlaid with glass paste and mastic, evoking more elaborate epistyles of the period known to have been decorated with enamels (*TheophCont* 331.1) and perhaps ivory plaques (K. Weitzmann in *Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener* [Marburg 1967] 11–20). Ordinary examples of the 10th–11th C. display geometric patterns, interconnected roundels, or arcaded patterns filled with palmettes, with a cross at the center, bosses, and, often, animals at either end. A richer vocabulary and an awakened interest in plasticity are evident from the 12th C., esp. in Greece (L. Bouras, *DChAE*⁴ 9 [1977–79] 71). From the late 11th C. the epistyle is often surmounted by an elongated panel with the Deesis, the GREAT FEASTS, scenes from the life of a patron saint, or portraits of the apostles (K. Weitzmann in *Byz. und der Westen* 163).

LIT. M. Chatzidakis, *RBK* 3:329–38. Grabar, *Sculptures II* 44f, 47–49, 111f. —L.Ph.B.

EPIGRAPHIOS (ἐπιτάφιος), technical term with two meanings.

Liturgical Cloth. The large piece of silk used in the Burial of Christ procession at the Holy Saturday *orthros*, symbolically interpreted as the bier of Christ, was called an *epitaphios*. *Epitaphioi* are usually embroidered either with the image of the Dead Christ (AMNOS) or with the Lamentation (*threnos*) and inscriptions. They evolved from Late Byz. AERES, which they resemble in their overall shape and figural decoration, but the texts on the *epitaphioi* derive from Paschal hymns, esp. the *troparion* beginning *Noble Joseph*. The appearance



EPIGRAPHIOS. *Epitaphios* of Nicholas Eudaimonoianes. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

of *epitaphioi* as distinct liturgical cloths coincided with the formalization of the Holy Saturday ritual in the early 14th C. Surviving Byz. *epitaphioi*, all fine gold and silk EMBROIDERIES, include those of John of Skopje (1349) and Syropoulos (late 14th C.), both at Hilandar; of Nicholas Eudaimonoianes (ca.1407, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London); and that of Euphemia and Eupraxia (ca.1405, Putna).

LIT. Millet, *Broderies* 86–109, pls. 176–216. Idem, "L'epitaphios: l'image," *CRAI* (1942) 408–19. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 25f, 36–40, pls. 93–120. Taft, *Great Entrance* 216–19. —A.G.

Funeral Speech (ἐπιτάφιος λόγος). MENANDER RHETOR distinguished several types of *epitaphios*: a pure ENKOMION (usually delivered some time after the death of the person commemorated), MONODY, consolatory speech (PARAMYTHETIKOS), and *epitaphios* proper; in the three last types the elements of praise, lamentation, and consolation are to be mixed in different proportions.

Byz. practice did not retain this categorization, and rhetoricians employed the terms indiffer-

ently. Encomiastic *epitaphioi* were composed to commemorate biblical personages or saints, usually in connection with the translation of relics; they formed a kind of SERMON. Secular *epitaphioi* were pronounced or written, in prose or verse, relatively soon after the death of their subject. The subjects of *epitaphioi* were emperors, patriarchs or other ecclesiastics, relatives or friends of the rhetorician, and—esp. from the late 11th C.—members of the high aristocracy. Apart from the insights they can offer into the structure of family life (e.g., George TORNİKIOS on Anna Komnene's upbringing), *epitaphioi* frequently provide valuable prosopographical information and other historical details.

In late Roman *epitaphioi* praise and lamentation prevail: in HIMERIOS and LIBANIOS the mention of blessed future life (*makarismos*) is minor. Even later, in the lamentation included in DIGENES AKRITAS, the theme of the irrevocability of the loss predominates. Under Christian influence, however, the theme of consolation was added, and the rhetor began to downplay the feeling of loss

and to emphasize the forthcoming heavenly reward. Normally conventional and objectified, *epitaphioi* sometimes became a means to express personal emotions, as in the monody on Stephen Skylitzes by Theodore PRODROMOS. On the other hand, some writers exercised their skill in mock-heroic laments for dead birds (Constantine MANASSES, MICHAEL ITALIKOS).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:132–45. J. Soffel, *Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede* (Meisenheim an Glan 1974). D. Hadzis, "Was bedeutet 'Monodie' in der byzantinischen Literatur?," *Byzantinistische Beiträge* (Berlin 1964) 177–85. A.C. Danelli, "Sul genere letterario delle orazioni funebri di Gregorio di Nissa," *Aevum* 53 (1979) 140–61. J. Alissandratos, "The Structure of the Funeral Oration in John Chrysostom's *Eulogy of Meletius*," *BS/EB* 7 (1980) 182–98. A. Sideras, "Byzantinische Leichenreden," *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaft*, vol. 3 (Marburg 1988) 17–49. —A.K., E.M.J.

EPILELEIA (ἐπιτέλεια, from *epiteleo*, "to pay in full"), a fiscal term designating various cash payments of taxes or other charges that ordinarily were due the fisc. The term appears in documents (predominantly *praktika* and acts of sale) from 1209 (MM 4:121.17–19) through the end of the empire. Ahrweiler has discerned three basic situations among the numerous fiscal procedures in which the term and its derivatives were employed. (1) When real property was transferred between private parties, the recipient agreed to pay the seller (or donor) an annual *epiteleia* designed to cover the fiscal charges burdening the property until the revision of the *praktika*. (2) If the transfer involved property for which the seller had *EXKOUSSEIA*, the buyer agreed to continue paying the seller an annual *epiteleia* to cover the amount of the *exkousseia*. (3) In a common form of *pronoia* grant, the fiscal charges burdening one party, which were alienated by the fisc for the benefit of another party, were called an *epiteleia*, which the recipient of the grant received for life or several generations. There appears to be no correlation between the size and price of property and its *epiteleia* (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnosheniia* 158f), though documented rates for *epiteleiai*, while varying greatly, tended to approximate or slightly exceed rates of fiscal assessment.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.V (1954), 71–93; pt.VI (1957), 369–72. Docheiar. 141f. C. Zuckerman, "The Dishonest Soldier Constantine Planites and His Neighbours," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 314–31. —M.B.

EPI TES KATASTASEOS (ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως, lit. "chief of presentations"). Since *katastasis* also means "order," Bury (*Adm. System* 118f) rendered the title as master of ceremonies and connected the *epi tes katastaseos* with the late Roman *comes dispositionum*; G. Ostrogorsky and E. Stein (*Byzantion* 7 [1932] 206–10) noted that the *scrinium dispositionum* is unknown after 534 and connected this official with the *comes admissionum*. The 10th-C. *De ceremoniis* links the *epi tes katastaseos* with *SILENTIARIOI* and even considered him as one of the *silentiarioi* (*De cer.* 238.4) and as a member of the *kouboukleion* (503.5–6), the service of the imperial bedchamber. The 9th-C. *TAKTIKON* of Uspenskij refers to him twice (Oikonomides, *Listes* 57.25, 59.17), situating him first between the *prototonotarios* of the *dromos* and the *archon* of the *armamenton*, that is, among the civil officials, and secondly, at the bottom of the list of courtiers, concurring with the information of the *De ceremoniis*. Another problem is raised by the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, which defines the post as a special *axia* (ibid., 109.7) and states that its staff consisted of *hypatoi*, *vestitores*, *silentiarioi*, and *synkletikoi* (125.8–12), who at least in part were dignitaries rather than court officials.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 309.

—A.K.

EPI TES TRAPEZES (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης), aulic courtier in charge of imperial banquets; he introduced guests, together with the *PINKERNES* waited upon the emperor, and delivered dishes from the emperor's table to the guests. The *epi tes trapezes* was a eunuch; seals from the 8th C. onward indicate that he sometimes combined his duties with those of the *KOUBIKOULARIOS* or *PARAKOIMOMENOS*. The vita of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR mentions an *epi tes trapezes* as existing in the mid-7th C., but this evidence must be used with caution since the text is of later date. Some *epi tes trapezes* commanded troops and fulfilled special state assignments. Seibt distinguished the *epi tes trapezes* from the *domestikos tes trapezes* (known from 680 onward) who was not a eunuch. The *epi tes trapezes* possessed a varied staff, called *hypourgias*, and was assisted by a *domestikos tes hypourgias*. Along with the emperor's *epi tes trapezes* there was a banquet chief for the empress, known both from the *TAKTIKA* and from seals (Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, nos. 48–49). Seibt hypothesizes that in the 7th C. the *epi tes*

trapezes assumed the major functions of the *KASTRESIOS*; ca.800 certain of these functions were in the hands of the *KENARIOS*. From the 13th C. both *epi tes trapezes* and *domestikos tes trapezes* were high ranks conferred on nobles; among the holders of this dignity were members of such families as Tarchaneiotes, Nestongos, and Notaras. Both terms appear in later romances (P. Pieler, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 194, 213, 218). Nikephoros GREGORAS relates a legend that the dignity of *epi tes trapezes*, from the time of Constantine I the Great, was hereditary for the princes of Russia.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 125f. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:237–41. W. Seibt, "Über das Verhältnis von kenarios bzw. domestikos tes trapezes zu den anderen Funktionären der basilike trapeza in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit," *BZ* 72 (1979) 34–38. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 152–57. —A.K.

EPITHALAMION (ἐπιθαλάμιος λόγος), a speech in either prose or verse to celebrate a marriage, whether of a private individual or a member of the imperial family. Examples survive from the 4th C. (e.g., HIMERIOS, or.9, with a *protheoria*, "introduction," on the principles governing the composition of *epithalamia*); the 6th C. (e.g., CHORIKIOS OF GAZA, or.5, on a triple wedding, and the *epithalamion* of DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO); and esp. from the 12th C., when many imperial couples were hymned in this way (e.g., Theodore PRODROMOS, on the wedding of the sons of Anna Komnene and Nikephoros Bryennios). The genre, considered a form of *ENKOMION*, early attracted a rich collection of erotic allusions drawn from Greek mythology (cf. MENANDER RHETOR, *On Epideictic Speeches*, ch.6), which in the 12th C. combined with imperial imagery to produce a new and bewildering exuberance of plant, animal, and cosmic symbolism.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:150. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 68f, 147f. M. Regali, "Forme e motivi dell'epitalamio nella poesia di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno," *Muséon* 96 (1983) 87–96. —E.M.J.

EPITHET (ἐπίθετον) can be considered as a rhetorical *TROPE* (Martin, *Rhetorik* 264). Greek authors rarely used the term (e.g., the 2nd-C. grammarian Apollonios Dyskolos, in *Grammatici graeci*, ed. R. Schneider, G. Uhling, vol. 2.2 [Leipzig 1910; rp. Hildesheim 1965] 56f); Latin theoreticians stressed that epithets were to be used sparingly. Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his commen-

tary on the *Odyssey* (*Eust.Comm.Od.*, p.1459.32–35), noticed the deliberate use (or avoidance) of epithets that would demonstrate the author's attitude toward heroes. In late Roman and Byz. practical aesthetics, epithets acquired an exaggerated importance. First, many writers (pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, GERMANOS I) strove to create very long epithets, mostly composites, to stimulate the imagination and to reveal the enigmatic nature of the cosmos. Second, the growing role of ceremonial in society enhanced the creation of rigidly formalized epithets (the emperor was always *eusebes*, "pious," the serpent, "wicked" or "creeping"), so that the epithet was becoming an *antonomasia*, that is, an appellation substituted for a proper name, as the "Queen of Cities" was a designation for Constantinople. The individual writer had to reconcile two contradictory principles—the trend toward pompous epithets and the patristic prescription of plain and "truthful" exposition (the latter quality was consistently praised in Photios's *BIBLIOTHECA*). Byz. literature presents a broad range of stylistic approaches, from the matter-of-factness of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS to the agglomeration of epithets in EPIDEICTIC oratory.

LIT. Averincev, *Poetika* 109–28.

—A.K.

EPITIMION (ἐπιτίμιον), a penalty imposed on a penitent by the priest following sacramental confession. The term was already in use by the 4th C. (Basil the Great, PG 32:721A). As a rule these penitential exercises, mentioned in Byz. canonical and ascetical literature, presupposed repentance and consisted of prayer, fasting, Scripture reading, prostrations, almsgiving, and, on occasion, temporary exclusion from the Eucharist. They were distinguished by their largely positive character and relative mildness from such formal punishments (*timoriai*) as EXCOMMUNICATION, suspension, or deposition, which were inflicted by the church for more serious transgressions such as heresy or apostasy. Since sin was understood as a disease rather than a legally punishable crime, *epitimia* in Byz. penitential practice and theology were viewed as corrective remedies, that is, as a form of spiritual healing. At any rate, they were never reduced to a payment of a fine due to God. In sum, the Western juridical notion of sin as a violation of the law, in which PENANCE constitutes

punishment or satisfaction payable to God, is for the most part not a feature of Byz. PENITENTIAL literature.

LIT. K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* (Leipzig 1898). H. Koch, "Zur Geschichte der Bussdisziplin und Bussgewalt in der orientalischen Kirche," *HistJb* 21 (1900) 58–78. G. Wagner, "Bussdisziplin in der Tradition des Ostens," *Liturgie et remission des péchés* (Rome 1975) 273–93. J. Grotz, *Die Entstehung des Bussstufenwesens in der vorincanischen Kirche* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1955).

—A.P.

EPITOME LEGUM (Extract from the Laws), the conventional term for a law book that has been transmitted in various versions. The oldest version must have been closely related to the *Epitome Laurentiana*, which contains 50 titles, follows the title sequence of the *Prochiron* and dates to "the first year of Constantine, the son of Leo" (913–914?). "In the first year of Romanos" (921) an extensive revision of the text was made that altered also the sequence of titles. The author of both these versions must have been the Symbatios named in the preface. The aim of the law book was presumably an improvement and expansion of the *Prochiron*; the additions, most of them dealing with private and penal law, were based almost exclusively on the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. The MS tradition of the *Epitome Legum* is limited. The published edition (of Zachariä von Lingenthal) is based on the MS Oxford Bodl., Barocc. 173, for titles 1–23, and on Vat. gr. 2075 (which represents another version) for titles 24–45.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 4:261–585, 596–619.

LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron* 287–310. Ch.M. Moulakis, *Studien zur Epitome Legum* (Munich 1963). J. Maruhn, "Der Titel 50 der Epitome," *FM* 3 (1979) 194–210. Troianos, *Peges* 114–17.

—A.S.

EPI TON ANAMNESEON (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναμνήσεων), an official who, according to a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 185f), used to record warriors and other people distinguished by their exploits; in the 14th C. he had no clear-cut function. Guiland (*infra*) views the *epi ton anamneseon* as the successor of the *magister memoriae*, a late Roman official in the bureau of the *magister scriniorum* and asserts that the office of *epi ton anamneseon* existed long before Constantine IX. He includes George Spanopoulos, a contemporary of Alexios I, in the list of "memorialists" even though the text explicitly calls Spanopoulos "the former *genikos*" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:334.3–5). Very few *epi ton anamneseon* are known. Under Andronikos

III, the *epi ton anamneseon* Spanopoulos acted as MESAZON, according to a vague expression of Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:99.1–2); another *epi ton anamneseon*, Logaras, addressed a letter to Andronikos III (S. Lampakes, *EEBS* 42 [1975–76] 405). There were also *epi ton anamneseon* in the patriarchal chancery—one of them, Petriotes, composed a preamble to a patriarchal letter of 1365 (MM 1:472.28–29) and several other documents (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 357, n.3).

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.XXIV, 147f.

—A.K.

EPI TON DEESEON (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων), official whose duty was to receive petitions addressed to the emperor and to answer them. He is usually considered the successor of the late Roman *magister memoriae* (or a *memoria*) who, according to the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, dictated *adnotationes* and *preces*; it should, however, be noted that the office of a certain Benivulus, *memoriae scrinius praesidens* (RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA, *Church History* 11.16), is rendered in Greek by Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 7.13.5) not as *epi ton deeseon*, but as *ho epi tois grammateusi ton thesmon*; his function was to formulate laws (O. Seeck, *RE* 2.R. 2 [1923] 898). The earliest known *epi ton deeseon* is Theodore, owner of a seal of the 7th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.230). The *epi ton deeseon* has no title higher than *protospatharios* on seals through the first half of the 11th C. The importance of this official rose in the second half of the 11th and the 12th C., when he was not only honored as *protoproedros* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 253–54), but the office was held by members of the noblest families, such as the KOMNENOI, SKLEROI, KAMATEROI, and KASTAMONITAI. George Chatzikes was still active as *epi ton deeseon* in 1321 (*Reg* 4, no.2450), and the office is mentioned by pseudo-KODINOS. The *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS omits any mention of the staff of the *epi ton deeseon* but at least one seal of a notary of petitions is known (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.255). There were also provincial *epi ton deeseon*—in Sicily, Peloponnesos, and so on—known by their seals, as well as *epi ton deeseon* of the patriarch (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 378f); one patriarchal *epi ton deeseon* was EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE.

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.XXII (1965), 97–118. Bury, *Adm. System* 77f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 322. M. Fluss, *RE* 15 (1932) 655–57.

—A.K.

EPI TON KRISEON (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν κρίσεων), judicial office created between 1043 and 1047, before the

foundation of the law school under a NOMOPHYLAX. A *scholion* to Basil. 7.1 (ed. H.J. Scheltema, ser. B, 1:36) lists the *epi ton kriseon* as one of four effective judges holding tribunals, alongside the *droungarios* [*tes viglas*], quaestor, and eparch. According to Attaleiates, the court of an *epi ton kriseon* had to resolve the legal problems presented to it by thematic judges—as Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 134) suggests, due to the low level of legal knowledge of provincial judges—but it was not a court of appeal. Seals of several *epi ton kriseon* survive, including one of [Alexios?] ARISTENOS. The *epi ton kriseon* is not mentioned as the head of one of the four courts in Manuel I's novel of 1166, but is mentioned in the 12th-C. *ECLOGA BASILICORUM* (e.g., at B.9.1. 64 = C.7.44.1 [p. 372 of Burgmann's edition]). The office existed at least until 1204; Niketas CHONIATES was one of the last *epi ton kriseon*.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 374f. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 70f. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:473–75.

—A.K., R.J.M.

EPI TOU KANIKLEIOU. See KANIKLEIOS.

EPITRACHELION (ἐπιτραχήλιον), a liturgical stole, generally of silk, which was worn over the STICHARION only by priests and bishops. The narrow strip of cloth, about 2 m in length, hung down in front in two overlapping panels that were sometimes fastened together. Though representations of *epitrachelia* are not found before the 10th C., the term is attested as early as the 8th C. (Germanos, *Liturgy*, ch.18, ed. Borgia 17.16–20); according to pseudo-Germanos, the *epitrachelion* or *phakiolion* represents the cloth on Christ's neck by which he was dragged to his Passion. In the artistic representations, all that can be seen of the *epitrachelion* is its fringe and its lowest band of ornament (since it is generally covered by the PHELONION), but actual *epitrachelia* that have survived from the 14th or 15th C. have an elaborate embroidered decoration: images of saints standing under arcades, or busts within roundels. The figures are outlined in pearls.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 601–08. Papas, *Messgewänder* 153–212. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 16–18, pls. 31–34. M. Čorović-Ljubinković, "Arhijerejsko odejanje nepoznatog raškog mitropolita," *Zbornik narodnog muzeja u Beogradu* 4 (1964) 289–306.

—N.P.S.

EPOIKOS (ἐποικος, "inhabitant"), term designating free peasant-taxpayers in the *Treatise on Taxation* (Dölger, *Beiträge* 119.24) and in certain, mostly

13th-C., documents. In the latter, the word is at times applied to *paroikoi* (MM 4:255.20–30), inhabitants of towns (e.g., Ioannina—MM 5:82.12), as well as "clerics, soldiers and all the common people" (Sathas, *MB* 6:641.20–21), and appears to mean simply "resident."

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnosheniya* 77–80. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 438f. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 41.

—M.B.

EPOPTES (ἐπόπτης, lit. "overseer"), the designation of two officials.

1. The 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS mentions *epoptai* as subaltern officials under the EPARCH OF THE CITY; the BOOK OF THE EPARCH ignores them and Stöckle (*Zünfte* 93) identified them with *mitotai*, supervisors of silk weavers.

2. *Epoptai* were also fiscal functionaries in the GENIKON whose duty was to check the amount of individual tax payments, allowing reductions (SYMPATHEIAI) or increasing the required sum. Their activity is described in a treatise on TAXATION (ed. Dölger), and they are often mentioned in the 11th-C. privileges given to monasteries, along with EXISOTAI. The functions of *epoptai* and *exisotai* are barely distinguishable. *Epoptai* were stationed in themes. Several charters of 941–56 (*Lavra* 1, nos. 2–3; *Xerop.*, no.1) mention a certain *protospatharios* Thomas, *asekretis*, *epoptes*, and *anagrapheus* of Thessalonike, who directed the sale of KLASMATA; a later document (*Ivir.* 1, no.30) refers to *sympatheiai* granted by the *epoptes* Thomas as well as his "addition" (tax-increase) in the same area. The last mention of *epoptai* is in Manuel I's edict of 1153. Dölger argued that *epoptai*, together with *exisotai*, are mentioned in a law of 496; this law is preserved only in the BASILIKA (56.8.13), and its attribution to Anastasios I is, according to the editors, H. Scheltema and N. van der Wal (ser. A, 7 [1974] 2570), spurious. Furthermore it is not known when the Greek translation was produced.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 79–81.

—A.K.

EP'REM MCIRE ("the Less"), translator; died end of 11th C. One of the most important Georgian scholars of the 11th C., Ep'rem was educated in Constantinople. His father was Vače K'arič'isdze of TAYK'/TAO, who moved to Constantinople with other Georgian nobles in 1027. By midcentury Ep'rem was on the Black Mountain, where other Georgians including GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI were

also active in translating Greek texts. Ep'rem was superior of Kastana from ca.1091 until his death. His renderings of Greek are notable for their clarity and exactness; his output was immense. His translations include patristic works (John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistles*; Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*; Theodoret of Cyrillus, *History*); dogmatic theology (John of Damascus, *Fountain of Knowledge*); mystical theology (pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite); and ascetic works (Basil the Great of Caesarea, *Asketikon*; Ephrem the Syrian, *Asketikon*; John Cassian, *De Institutis*, which EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN had begun on Mt. Athos; and Palladios, *Historia Lausiaca*).

LIT. Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Lit.* 182–98.

–R.T.

ERAS. See ALEXANDRIAN ERA; ANTIOCHENE ERA; BYZANTINE ERA; DIOCLETIANIC ERA.

ERCHEMPERT, 9th-C. Lombard monk of Montecassino and envoy to Pope Stephen V (885–91). He composed verses for a martyrology (ed. in U. Westerbergh, *Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry* [Stockholm 1957] 77–81) and, at Capua after 885, wrote a *Hystoriola Langobardorum Beneventi degen-cium* that traces the history of the duchy of BE-NEVENTO from 774 and breaks off in 889. Although Erchempert was hostile to foreigners, particularly the Byz. (“equal to beasts and . . . worse than Agarenes,” ch.81), by whom he was captured in 886 (ch.61), he provides unique information on Byz. Italy and Byz.’s role in the conflicts among the southern Italian principalities and Arabs.

ED. G. Waitz, *MGH SRL* 234–64.

LIT. P. Meyvaert, *DHGE* 15 (1963) 685–87. F. Avagliano, *LMA* 3:2124f.

–M.McC.

ERGASTERIA BASILIKA. See FACTORIES, IMPERIAL.

ERGASTERION (ἐργαστήριον), a workshop or small retail store, or combination of the two. Justinian I distinguished tradesmen who operated “an *ergasterium* or other legitimate business” (*Cod. Just.* IV 32.26, par.2) from the ILLUSTRES. Cognate terms, such as *ergasteriakos* (working man)

or *ergasteriarches* (foreman of a workshop), were also used in the late Roman period. It is impossible to calculate the number of workshops in a city, but Justinian’s novels 43 and 59 give a rough idea by indicating that the owners of 1,100 *ergasteria* in Constantinople that belonged to the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) were exempted from making contributions for funeral expenses. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* lists *ergasteria* in Constantinople of ARGYROPRATAI, VESTIOPRATAI, LINEN merchants, SOAPMAKERS, GROCERS, BAKERS, and owners of TAVERNS.

Documents also name various kinds of *ergasteria*, some of which are the same as those mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch*: *sardamarikon ergasterion*, a grocery store (*Lavra* 3, no.123.120–21) or *mankipikon ergasterion*, a bakery (*Lavra* 3, no.148.10–11); some are different, such as the workshop of a *myrepsos* or perfume and unguent maker (*Lavra* 3, no.123.110), a workshop for the production of flaxseed oil (*Lavra* 3, no.168.4–5), or a potter’s workshop (*Lavra* 1, no.4.4); sometimes mills are described as *ergasteria*. Several documents stress that *ergasteria* were located in the marketplace or forum. The *Book of the Eparch* explicitly prohibited *argyropратаi* from working at home, stating that they must ply their trade in their shops on the Mese; linen weavers, on the other hand, were forbidden to sell their goods in their *ergasteria* but had to peddle them on their backs on market days.

Several workshops (potteries, glass factories, smithies) have been excavated in Corinth, Sardis, and elsewhere. A well-excavated glass factory in Corinth occupied one room in a house and contained only a single furnace; the empty space in front of the furnace was an 11 sq m area that could accommodate only a master and one apprentice. An act of 1419 (*Xénoph.*, no.32.8–10) mentions five grocers’ *ergasteria* “in the great stoa” in Thessalonike that were eventually joined and transformed into a wineshop; they also must have been small.

Ergasteria could be the property of landowners (including churches and monasteries) who leased them out. Oikonomides (*infra*) calculates that the income from an *ergasterion* equaled about 6 percent of the investment; the tax on the *ergasteria* that he investigated ranged from about 3 percent to 11–13 percent of the income.

Church fathers used the term broadly in a metaphorical sense: Gregory of Nazianzos calls Alexandria the *ergasterion* of education (PG 35:761A); EPHREM THE SYRIAN considers marriage “an *ergasterion* of life” (ed. J.S. Assemani 3:210F); the womb is frequently characterized as “the *ergasterion* of nature.” Accordingly, a gabled building labeled *ta ergasteria tou martyriou* in a mosaic at Yakto (D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* [Princeton 1947] pl.LXXIXa) probably designates the site of a martyrdom.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 71–73. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 309–15. N. Oikonomides, “Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au Xe s.,” *DOP* 26 (1972) 345–56. G.R. Davidson, “A Medieval Glass-factory at Corinth,” *AJA* 44 (1940) 297–324. J.S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

–A.K.

EROS, god of love in Greek mythology; frequently a plural form, Eroses, was introduced in Greek poetry. Christian poets continued to use the image of Eros as an allegory of love: PAUL SILENTIARIOS complained of the persecutions of Eros, who is stronger than law and wounds with his arrows. Much later, Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, in his romance *Hysmine and Hysminias* (bk.2, chs. 7–9), described the triumph of Eros mounted on a chariot; he is attended by people of all ages and walks of life, by birds and animals, and even by Night and Day in the shape of huge women. The image of the luxurious garden of Eros was frequent in Byz. literature.

Theology had difficulties with the concept of Eros. On the one hand, there was a tendency to identify Eros with Christian *agape* (see LOVE). ORIGEN contributed much to this idea, and it was retained in the exegesis of the SONG OF SONGS; in pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, Eros is Divine Nature itself, and it was possible to speak of man’s love for Christ as “wounding *eros*,” esp. in bridal imagery. On the other hand, the fathers tried to draw the line between *agape*, which was good, and the *erotes* who were diabolical.

In a MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479), Eros is depicted as a winged naked youth flying through the air and shooting his arrows at a group of Olympian gods (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.143).

LIT. O. Schneider, *RAC* 6:310–12. Poljakova, *Roman.* 100f. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 470f. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 122–25, 183f.

–A.K., A.M.T.

EROTAPOKRISEIS (ἐρωταποκρίσεις), a distinctive genre of Byz. literature, a combination of DIALOGUE and GNOMAI. *Erotapokriseis* are series of questions and answers related to dogma, exegesis, canon law, riddles, etc. They are either anonymous, or the participants in the “conversation” are shadowy figures deprived of any characterization, one of them playing the role of teacher, another the pupil. There is no strict sequence in the development of questions, although some unity of subject matter is preserved. Answers are formulated in gnomic form as an unquestionable truth, leaving no room for uncertainty. *Erotapokriseis* are known from ca.400; they gained popularity in the 7th–9th C. when the greatest theologians (Maximos the Confessor, John of Damascus, Photios) worked in this genre; one example is ascribed to Anastasios of Sinai. After the *Amphilochia* of Photios, the most developed example of *erotapokriseis*, they became infrequent; Nicholas of Methone and Niketas of Herakleia were among the rare practitioners of the genre. They were revived in the 15th C. by writers such as Symeon of Thessalonike and Mark Eugenikos. The genre (mostly in the form of translations) was popular in medieval Slavic literature (cf. the IZBORNİK of 1073).

LIT. C. Heinrich, *Griechisch-byzantinische Gesprächsbücher* (Leipzig 1911).

–A.K.

EROTOPAIGNIA (Ἐρωτοπαίγνια, “Games of Love”), a collection of vernacular love poems in POLITICAL VERSE found in a unique late 15th-C. MS, though the poems themselves are older. The *Erotopaignia* include three alphabetic ACROSTICS (“Alphabets of Love”), all incomplete and with stanzas of varying lengths; an *Hekatologa* (“Hundred Words”), a counting song in which a young girl lightheartedly challenges her lover to list the ways in which he has suffered for her; and an assortment of letters, laments, and songs not unlike the songs and letters found in LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE. Once thought to have come from Rhodes (and thus sometimes called “Rhodian Love Songs”), their place of origin is unknown; some of the amatory vocabulary, however, with references to enslavement to Eros, suggest that the *Erotopaignia* come from the mixed Frankish-Greek milieu that produced the vernacular verse ROMANCES. Anonymous, probably not the work of a single author,

and with some of their motifs foreshadowing modern Greek folksong, the *Erotopaignia*—with scenes of secluded maidens, distraught youths, and censorious neighbors—offer a vivid glimpse into Byz. attitudes to love and courtship.

ED. *Erotopaignia* (*Chansons d'amour*), eds. D.C. Hesselring, H. Pernot (Paris 1913), with Fr. tr.; rp. in G.T. Zoras, *Byzantine Poiesis* (Athens 1956) 254–70.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 183f.

—E.M.J.

ERZURUM. See THEODOSIOUPOLIS.

ESCHATOCOL. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

ESCHATOLOGY (lit. “study of the last things”) encompassed three aspects in Byz.: (1) the cosmological expectation of the end of the world; (2) individual expectations of DEATH and concepts of the afterlife (in HELL or PARADISE); and (3) political considerations concerning the fate of the empire. Irenaeus of Lyons (2nd C.), in his polemics against Gnosticism, formulated the principles of cosmological eschatology by developing the thesis of the “renewal” (*anakephalaiosis*, lit. “summing up”) of the cosmos through the Second Coming of Christ (PAROUSIA), that is to be preceded by the battle against the ANTICHRIST and the purification of the world by fire. This idea was connected with ORIGEN’s thesis of *apokatastasis panton*, the restoration of all [spiritual beings] that was to be accomplished through a long process and manifold stages; although condemned in 553 at the Second Council of Constantinople, the idea did not lose its attraction.

Individual eschatology, as developed by the members of the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL and the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, dealt primarily with the image of the protecting ANGEL and accusing DEMON and their struggle over the soul of the deceased person (PSYCHOMACHIA) that strives to ascend to heaven but is stopped at the *teloneia* (“tollhouses”) to account for his/her actions. The problem of the abode of souls before the Parousia and esp. the problem of PURGATORY remained unsettled.

Political (or imperial) eschatology was developed by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA on the basis of the list of historical periods in Daniel 2 and 7; the

Christian empire was proclaimed the final stage of the development of mankind. This left no place for chiliastic expectations of a peaceful reign of the future (with the exception of the critical and literal exegetes of non-Roman peoples, as, for instance, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS in Syria). Byz. exegetic and apocalyptic literature was couched within the framework of the expectation of “Roman” domination until the reign of the Antichrist.

LIT. G. Müller, *Apokatastasis panton: A Bibliography* (Basel 1969). G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie* (Munich 1972). A. Recheis, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise* (Rome 1958). B.E. Daley, “Apokatastasis and ‘Honorable Silence’ in the Eschatology of Maximus the Confessor,” in *Maximus Confessor* (Fribourg 1982) 309–39. M. Jugie, “La doctrine des fins dernières dans l’Église gréco-russe,” *EO* 17 (1914–15) 1–22, 209–28, 402–21.

—G.P.

ESKI GÜMÜŞ, a ROCK-CUT monastic complex 7 km northeast of Niğde, Turkey, excavated around an open courtyard, consists of numerous living spaces, including a second-story chamber decorated with scenes from the fables of AESOP. The large, well-carved church follows a CROSS-IN-SQUARE plan; enormous columnar piers “support” the central dome. The nave is preceded by an exo- and esonarthex and is terminated in the east by a three-apsed sanctuary. Discrete parts of the interior are decorated. In the conch of the bema is a combined Deesis-Majestas Domini; busts of the apostles and full-length, frontal bishops occupy the two registers on the apse wall. The style of this work is very closely related to that found in the Chapel of St. Michael in the Peristrema Valley (see HASAN DAĞ), ascribed to the early 11th C. on the basis of an inscription; it also has formal analogies with the early 11th-C. frescoes of HO-SIOS LOUKAS (N. Thierry, *JSav* [1968] 45–61). Gough suggests that the master of the apse decoration also executed the standing Virgin flanked by archangels in the narthex. Another artist painted the Virgin and Child in the prothesis apse and John the Baptist in the diakonikon (see PASTOPHORIA). Framing an arcosolium on the north wall, directly opposite the only source of natural light in the structure, are high-quality, well-preserved images of the infancy of Christ, dated by Gough to the mid-11th C.

LIT. M. Gough, “The Monastery of Eski Gümüş: A Preliminary Report,” *AnatSt* 14 (1964) 147–61. Idem, “Second Preliminary Report,” *AnatSt* 15 (1965) 157–64.

—A.J.W.