# H

**HADES,** ancient ruler of the underworld and brother to ZEUS and Poseidon. In Byz. literature Hades connotes both (1) the underworld, as an equivalent to Christian Hell, as well as more generally, in secular texts, the place where all the dead are, at least initially, congregated; and (2) the personification of Death as a symbol for the tyranny of human mortality. In hymns and homilies from the 4th–6th C. onward Hades (alongside Thanatos, or Death) is portrayed with ravenous jaws and an insatiable belly (cf. Andrew of Crete, PG 97:1048A), swallowing old and young alike, an elaboration of an idea found in the Old Testament (Is 5:14, Pr 27:20). In the Resurrection hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE (*Hymnes*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons [Paris 1967] 4:444, 462, 466, 476–80), Christ's redemption of Adam involves a physical combat with Hades, followed by humorous squabbling, as in EPHREM THE SYRIAN. References in 12th-C. secular literature are frequent, but mainly unspecific, suggesting the gradual replacement of Hades as personification/agent by Hades as place. The ferryman CHARON becomes a more concrete personification of death.

In art Hades is usually depicted in the guise of a venerable pagan god; though often dark-skinned, he is not caricatured. In scenes of the LAST JUDGMENT he sits in Hell, with a condemned soul on his knee as the antithesis of Abraham in paradise. He lies pierced in the stomach by the cross (on an ivory of the Crucifixion surely influenced by the hymns of Romanos the Melode, see M. Frazer, *MMJ* 9 [1974] 153–61), or fettered like a defeated barbarian king in the dark pit of Hell, or trampled by the triumphant Christ in scenes of the ANASTASIS.

LIT. M.B. Alexiou, "Modern Greek Folklore and its Relation to the Past: The Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition," in Vryonis, *Past* 221–36. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 206. E.G. Schwartz, "A New Source for the Byzantine Anastasis," *Marsyas* 16 (1972–3) 29–34. —M.B.A., N.P.Š.

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**HADRIAN I,** pope (1 Feb. 772–25 Dec. 795). Upon his election to the papacy Hadrian immediately solidified his position by delivering potential opponents into imperial custody in Constantinople. The threat of the Lombard king Desiderius coincided with Constantine V's campaign against the Bulgarians and obliged Hadrian to appeal to CHARLEMAGNE for help. In 774 Desiderius capitulated to the Frankish army besieging Pavia, his son and co-ruler Adelgis fled to Constantinople, and the Franks took control of northern and central Italy. After long negotiations, Hadrian received considerable territory from Charlemagne. At first, Byz. countered the new Frankish regime by fostering the resistance of the Lombard duchies of Spoleto and BENEVENTO and the Lombard aristocracy in the north. Charlemagne reacted by crushing the revolt of the latter, while Hadrian destroyed Greek ships at Civitavecchia. In 778 Hadrian organized the papacy's first military offensive against the duchies of NAPLES and Benevento and the *patrikios* of Sicily. However, Hadrian's efforts to incite a Frankish assault on the southern Italian patrimonies confiscated by Emp. Leo III failed.

In 781, perhaps in connection with the revolt of Sicily, Constantinople came to terms with Charlemagne, and Constantine VI became engaged to his daughter. The ensuing peace allowed Hadrian to cooperate with Byz. by encouraging and sending legates to the Second Council of NICAEA in 787 to end ICONOCLASM. That same year, however, the marriage arrangement and the peace collapsed; in 788 Byz., wrongly expecting support from Benevento, attempted an invasion of Italy to restore Adelgis but was defeated. A few years later, however, Constantinople reestablished influence in Benevento by offering the duke the dignity of *patrikios* and marriage into the imperial family; the Franks then attacked him without success. In the context of this pattern of alliances, the Frankish court at first reacted violently against the Council of Nicaea, but Hadrian managed to temper the reaction. At some point in his reign, Hadrian ceased to recognize Byz. sovereignty over Rome.

LIT. P. Classen, "Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz," in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. H. Beumann, vol. 1 (Düsseldorf 1965) 537–608. J. Deér, "Die Vorrechte des Kaisers in Rom (772–800)," *Zum Kaisertum Karls des Grossen*, ed. G. Wolf (Darmstadt 1972) 30–115. —A.K., M.McC.

**HADRIAN II,** pope (from 14 Dec. 867); born Rome 792, died Rome Nov. or Dec. 872. Born to a noble family, Hadrian married before ordination. His election was a compromise between supporters and opponents of the policy of NICHOLAS I. Since Rome was under the protection of the Frankish ruler LOUIS II, Hadrian's pontificate experienced no serious internal crisis, and his disagreement with ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS was temporary. Although Hadrian had inherited from Nicholas a conflict with Byz., the Arab threat in southern Italy required an alliance involving Louis II, the pope, and the new Byz. emperor Basil I. Patr. PHOTIOS became the first victim of their concord, and at the council at Constantinople in 869/70 the papacy's position toward Photios was upheld. Hadrian supported new Slavic churches in Bulgaria and Moravia, however, against Byz., thus creating grounds for a new confrontation. In 870 Bulgaria recognized papal jurisdiction and was rewarded with the creation of an archbishopric. After the death of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER in Rome, Hadrian ordained METHODIOS archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia, hoping to include this territory in the Roman sphere of influence. Byz. reacted only after Hadrian's demise: in the 870s Basil I pursued an active policy in the northern Balkans, and the council at Constantinople (879–80), although in an obscure form, retained Byz. claims to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Bulgaria.

LIT. H. Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen. Hadrian II (867–872) und seine Zeit* (Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1970). F. Dvorník, "Photius, Nicholas I and Hadrian II," *BS* 34 (1973) 33–50. —A.K.

**HADRIAN IV** (Nicholas Breakspear), pope (from 4 Dec. 1154); born Abbot's Langley, England, between 1110 and 1120, died Anagni 1 Sept. 1159. Hadrian was confronted with the plans of FREDERICK I to subdue Italy and the growth of Norman power in the south. In the spring of 1155 the barons of Apulia revolted against WILLIAM I of Sicily, and Frederick unexpectedly withdrew his support; Emp. Manuel I Komnenos dispatched an army to aid the rebels. It is still not known whether Hadrian concluded a formal alliance with Byz. William of Tyre presents the pope as the soul of the rebellion, while Kinnamos asserts that Hadrian offered cooperation. The rebellion was a failure, and in 1153 Hadrian signed a treaty with William I in Benevento, followed in 1157 by a Byz.-Norman agreement. The growing tensions with Frederick, however, pushed Hadrian toward Constantinople; the pope's correspondence with BASIL OF OHRID reveals that both parties viewed rapprochement as possible.

LIT. W. Ullmann, "The Pontificate of Adrian IV," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 (1953–55) 233–52. J.G. Rowe, "Hadrian IV, the Byzantine Empire, and the Latin Orient," in *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. Sandquist, M. Powicke (Toronto 1969) 3–16. Lamma, *Comneni* 1:149–236. —A.K.

**HAGIA SOPHIA** (Ἁγία Σοφία, lit. "Holy Wisdom"), name of numerous churches in the Byz. Empire and neighboring countries. Two of the most important were the cathedral church of Constantinople and that of Thessalonike. Others were to be found, for example, in MONEMVASIA and OHRID as well as at KIEV.

**HAGIA SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE.** The first church on the site, of basilical form, was built near the Milion (see MESE), that is, in the neighborhood of the Great Palace and Hippodrome, by Constantius II (not Constantine as often stated) and inaugurated in 360. It was known as the GREAT CHURCH (Megale Ekklesia)—the name *Hagia Sophia* is first attested ca.430—and had the episcopal palace attached to its south side. Burned down by the supporters of John Chrysostom in 404, it was rebuilt, once again as a basilica, by Theodosios II and completed in 415. The only extant part of the Theodosian basilica is a colonnaded porch, probably the façade of the atrium rather than of the church itself (A.M. Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul* [Berlin 1941]).

The second Hagia Sophia was destroyed by fire during the NIKA REVOLT against Justinian I (Jan. 532). Rebuilding was started immediately, under the direction of the architects ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES and ISIDORE OF MILETOS, and the new cathedral was inaugurated on 27 Dec. 537. An

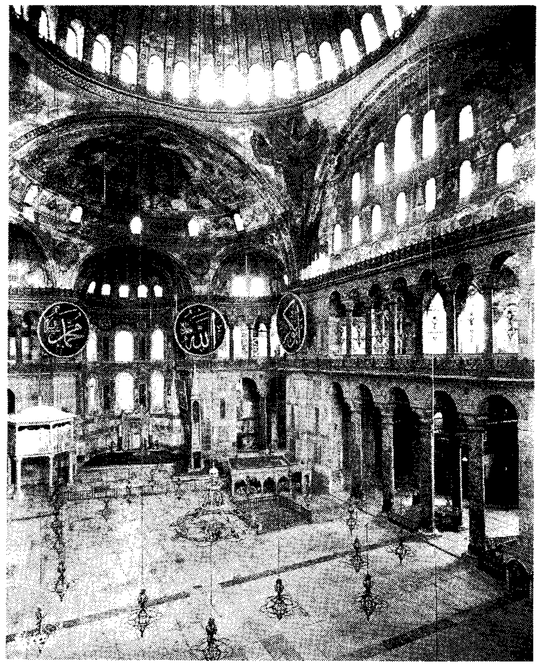


account of the construction and the technical difficulties that had to be overcome is given by Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.1.21–78). In large part, Justinian's church is still standing. It is a domed basilica, that is, a combination of longitudinal and centralized planning, nearly square (78 × 72 m excluding the two narthexes), its nave covered by a dome 100 Byz. feet (31 m) in diameter and two semidomes, but at the same time clearly separated by rows of columns into three aisles, with galleries over the lateral aisles and narthex. The original dome collapsed in 558 and was rebuilt by ISIDORE THE YOUNGER some 7 m higher than the first one. The church, rededicated on 24 Dec. 562, was the subject of a descriptive poem by PAUL SILENTIARIOS.

The architectural conception of Anthemios and Isidore differed in some respects from the present form of the building. The dome, which may have continued the curvature of the pendentives, produced a more overwhelming impression from inside than the current steeper dome. The north and south tympanums appear to have been pierced by large windows, thus affording a more brilliant illumination. The exterior was unencumbered by buttresses. The liturgical fixtures are known in their post-562 form. They included a gold altar table surmounted by a ciborium; a projecting chancel screen of 12 columns; and, joined to the latter by an enclosed passage (*solea*), a lofty ambo. Most of these features as well as the top row of seats of the *synthronon* in the apse were sheathed in silver revetments.

The church was surrounded by subsidiary structures. To the west lay a colonnaded atrium with a fountain at its center; to the north the larger of two baptisteries (the smaller, still extant, being at the southwest) and, at the northeast corner, a circular sacristy (*skeuophylakion*); the south side was flanked by the patriarchal palace (built 565–77), a multistory building whose main apartments communicated with the south gallery of the church. The rooms situated at the south end of the west gallery, which preserve remnants of mosaic decoration, served as offices (*sekreta*) attached to the patriarchal complex (R. Cormack, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 31 [1977] 175–251). At the southeast corner of the church a raised passage connected Hagia Sophia to the GREAT PALACE.

Hagia Sophia was naturally the liturgical center of the capital. Administratively it was joined to



HAGIA SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE. Interior of the naos, looking southeast.

three other nearby churches, namely St. IRENE, the Theotokos of the CHALKOPRATEIA, and St. Theodore of Sphorakios; all four churches were served by the same clergy, whose establishment was limited by Justinian to 425, but which increased to 525 in the next century. Hagia Sophia also played an essential part in imperial ceremonial and had two rooms (METATORIA) reserved for the emperor's use. The itinerary of imperial processions in and out of Hagia Sophia is minutely described in the DE CEREMONIIS.

The most important structural alterations of the church during the Byz. period were the following. Repairs after the earthquake of 869 may have included the rebuilding of the tympanums in their present form (R.J. Mainstone, *DOP* 23–24 [1969–70] 353–68). In 989 the main west arch collapsed together with the west semidome and a portion of the dome; they were rebuilt by the Armenian architect Trdat. In 1317 massive exterior buttresses were added on the north and east sides of the building. In 1346 the east arch collapsed, bringing down the east semidome and one-third of the dome and destroying the ambo under-

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HAGIA SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE. Exterior view from the northwest. In the background, the Bosporos.

neath; the damage was repaired by 1353 with the restricted means that were then available.

The marble and *opus sectile* decoration of the vertical surface of the walls is relatively well preserved. The mosaic decoration of Justinian's church appears to have been largely nonfigural and much of it still survives in the vaulting of the narthex, side aisles, etc. The summit of the dome was occupied by a huge cross in a medallion. After Iconoclasm a program of figural mosaics was undertaken and part of it is preserved: an enthroned Virgin in the apse (C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 19 [1965] 113–52), two archangels in the bema arch, prophets and church fathers in the tympana (Eidem, *DOP* 26 [1972] 1–41). Narrative scenes are known to have existed in the gallery vaults (Baptism, Pentecost, Isaiah's vision). Other preserved mosaics may be regarded as individual insets. They include a 10th-C. panel of the Virgin and Child flanked by Constantine I and Justinian I in the southwest vestibule; the enthroned Christ with a prostrate emperor (Basil I or Leo VI) at his feet in the lunette above the "Imperial Door"; the imperial portraits (ALEXANDER—P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 189–217, Constantine IX with Zoe, JOHN II KOMNENOS with Irene) and the DEESIS (late 13th C.) in the gallery. The Pantokrator in the main dome (which was restored in 1355) has disappeared. In 1989 the mosaics on the eastern arch, comprising the figures of John V Palaiologos, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist, as well as a Hetoimasia (cf. Mango, *infra* 66–67) came to light.

In 1453 Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque (Ayasofya Camii). Apart from the addition of four minarets, it underwent several repairs, the most important in 1573 and the following years, then in 1847–49, the latter carried out by the Swiss architects Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati.

LIT. R.L. Van Nice, *St. Sophia in Istanbul: An Architectural Survey* (Washington, D.C., 1965–86). Janin, *Églises CP* 455–70. R. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (London 1988). A.M. Schneider, "Die vorjustinianische Sophienkirche," *BZ* 36 (1936) 77–85. T. Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, vols. 1–4 (Oxford 1933–52). C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962). R. Cormack, "Interpreting the Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul," *Art History* 4 (1981) 131–49.

–C.M.

**HAGIA SOPHIA IN THESSALONIKE.** The present building, located in the southeastern part of the city, was constructed over the remains of a large five-aisled basilica, incorporating, however, only the central portion of the latter. It is a cross-domed building with thick walls, narthex, well-defined aisles, heavy central piers, and galleries. The building does not fit easily into the history of Byz. architecture and has been variously assigned to the 6th through the 8th C.

Mosaic decoration of the interior can be assigned to several phases. Monograms of Constantine VI and Irene provide a date of 780–97 for the original mosaic decoration of the sanctuary, which included a huge cross in the apse (behind later figural decoration). In the dome is a mosaic of the ASCENSION, the oldest representation from any dome; the apostles stand on a multicolored rolling groundline, set off from each other by trees. An inscription in the dome states that the work was done under Archbp. Paul in November of the 4th indiction, but the precise year is not given; if Paul is to be identified with a correspondent of Photios, the composition should be assigned to the 880s. In the half-dome of the apse is the Virgin and Child, either contemporary with the mosaic in the dome, or perhaps as late as the 11th C. (Cormack, *infra* 134). In the narthex are frescoes of the 11th C. (D. Mouriki, *DOP* 34 [1982] 93 and fig.26).

The church was the city's cathedral from 1205 (under Latin occupation), but it may have held this honor at an earlier date. Gregory PALAMAS was buried in the church in 1359.

LIT. K. Theoharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki* (Oxford 1988). R. Cormack, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Thessaloniki," *DChAE*[4] 10 (1981) 111–35. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 292–95, 495, n.5.

–T.E.G.

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**HAGIOCHRISTOPHORITES, STEPHEN,** politician of lowly origin; died Constantinople 11 Sept. 1185. The son of a tax collector, Hagiochristophorites (Ἁγιοχριστοφορίτης, "bearer of the holy Christ") lost his nose as punishment for his attempt to marry a noblewoman. The staunchest supporter of Andronikos I, he acquired great influence during Andronikos's purges; he was labeled Antichristophorites by his adversaries. Andronikos rewarded him with the title of *sebastos* and the office of a *logothetes*. Hagiochristophorites helped organize the murder of Alexios II and many trials of aristocrats. He was killed by Isaac (II) Angelos, the future emperor, when he went to Isaac's house to arrest him.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 60f, 69f.

–A.K.

**HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION.** The primary focus of Byz. hagiographical (see HAGIOGRAPHY) illustration was portraiture: the particular deeds of individual saints played a comparatively minor role in all but the very earliest period.

The first works of this genre are scenes relating to the death of certain MARTYRS, located at their MARTYRION. Though for most of these monuments only written descriptions survive (see ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA on paintings at the *martyrion* of EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON), it is clear that the scenes of martyrdom were often expanded into small "Passion" cycles comprising a routine sequence of episodes: arrest, trial, torture, and execution. These sets of images were more closely attached to a particular place than to a specific text.

Funerary PORTRAITS, usually ORANS figures, were set up at the tomb of the saint. These might be copied on liturgical objects (cf. the ivory MENAS pyxis), on PILGRIM TOKENS and AMPULLAE, or even on votive panels erected elsewhere in the same sanctuary (e.g., those in St. DEMETRIOS at Thessalonike). A few portable panels painted with portraits of saints have survived from the late 6th to 7th C., primarily at Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B5, 9, 11); their widespread use is attested in written sources, however, as is the assumption that such ICONS were capable of acting with many of the miraculous powers available to the saint during his lifetime (Kitzinger, *Art of Byz.* 91–156; R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* [New York 1985] 17–94).

Venerated first at tombs in far-flung quarters of the empire, the RELICS of a great number of these saints were eventually translated to Constantinople and the cults absorbed by the capital. With the establishment of the calendar for the church of Constantinople (see SYNAXARION OF CONSTANTINOPLE), each saint found his particular place in the celebrations of the liturgical year and, at the same time, began to assume a specific physiognomy. A few saints (such as PETER and PAUL) had already acquired fixed features before Iconoclasm, but the arguments raised during that period concerning the identity of an image with its prototype led over the course of the 9th through 11th C. to a growing emphasis on consistency and on the clear definition of the physical features of dozens of other saints as well.

A Byz. hagiographical portrait presents each saint in one of the three ages of man: the beardless youth, the dark-bearded mature man, or the white-haired elder. His features are then further defined by his particular hairline and the shape of his beard. Of equal importance is the saint's COSTUME, which indicates his profession, his rank in the secular or ecclesiastical hierarchy, and even his ethnic origin. Whether the saint is depicted on a large wall mosaic or inside a painted initial, his features and dress, esp. in the 11th C., are so precisely rendered as to be immediately recognizable. Only women are not so clearly distinguished one from another, partly because they usually appear veiled, so that there is no way of indicating the important differences in hairstyle (exceptions are princesses such as HELENA and CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA and the hermit MARY OF EGYPT). St. Peter carries his keys, the ANARGYROI their medical implements, but attributes referring to specific events in a saint's life were never a common feature of Byz. hagiographical portraiture.

The portrait type, often confirmed by literary tradition (e.g., OULPIOS the Roman), generally claimed to reproduce an image of the saint painted while he was still alive. Once visual types were fixed they could be easily transmitted, even by means of written descriptions as succinct as those found in the later painter's manuals (*Dionysius of Fourna, Hermeneia tes zographikes technes*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus [St. Petersburg 1909] 150–70).

The innumerable saintly figures adorning Byz. churches are arranged in groups according to their professional category, following a generally accepted hierarchy in CHURCH PROGRAMS or, more rarely, according to the date of their liturgical celebration. The precise situation and composition of each group was, however, constantly adjusted to suit the specific architectural design and purpose of the church it adorned.

Narrative, such as there was, reemerged very slowly. The portraits of certain saints are regularly accompanied by specific narrative elements (the Miracle at CHONAI, EUSTATHIOS and the stag, the two SYMEON THE STYLITES on their columns, and the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA in the freezing lake). These images, found already in the 9th and 10th C., probably go back to lost Constantinopolitan originals, but they are essentially "expanded" portraits, rather than distilled narrative. CALENDAR CYCLES, best represented by the so-called MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, consist primarily of scenes of torture and execution, with each saint receiving exactly the same amount of space, regardless of his general importance or the complexity of his career.

Narrative cycles devoted to a single saint rarely, in fact, appear in MS form, with the exception of a few brief sequences in early MSS of the Homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and the marginal PSALTERS. Even the most important Byz. hagiographical collection of all, the ten-volume *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES, was rarely accompanied by any illustration other than portraits.

True biographical cycles are found primarily in icon and monumental painting. A few scenes from the lives of saints BASIL THE GREAT, GEORGE, and Symeon Stylites the Elder appear in the 9th- and 10th-C. churches of CAPPADOCIA. But comprehensive narrative sequences beginning with the birth and ending with the death of the saint occur first in fresco in the 12th C. and on the so-called vita icons of the early 13th C. Scarcely more than a dozen of these icons survive, most from Sinai and Cyprus; they present the bust or full-length figure of a saint surrounded, usually on all four sides, by a series of 6, 12, or even 16 compartments containing narrative episodes from his life. The form of these vita icons may derive from the practice, esp. popular in the 12th C., of surrounding painted icons with costly metal frames (N. Ševčenko, *14 BSC Abstracts* [1988] 32f). The fresco cycles have no fixed place in the church but are most commonly found in secondary areas such as the NARTHEX or the PASTOPHORIA, often in connection with donor tombs. The number of different saints whose vitae were illustrated in either medium was rather limited: before the 14th C., cycles of saints NICHOLAS OF MYRA and George vastly outnumber all others. MIRACLE cycles are rare, with the exception of that of Eustratios on Sinai (see FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA).

The formal connection of these narrative cycles with the structure of VITA texts suggests that, though their iconography cannot have derived from illustrated MS models (which apparently never existed in large numbers), they may nonetheless have been a response to the prescribed reading of the Metaphrastian Lives at the ORTHROS service in monastic communities, a practice that can be documented from at least the 12th C. (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 2:314–18). Though neither the monumental nor the icon cycles strictly follow the Metaphrastian or any other specific text, either with regard to the general choice of scenes or the details of any episode, they do have their own visual conventions comparable to the *topoi* of the hagiographers (H. Maguire, *ArtB* 70 [1988] 98–99), such as the conscious borrowing of a familiar biblical composition to illustrate an event in the life of the saint.

No new genres of hagiographical illustration were introduced after the 12th C., though the number of cycles and variety of saints involved increased. In portraiture, there was a gradual loss of physiognomic precision but a gain in psychological range. The vita cycles, esp. the frescoes, absorbed contemporary Palaiologan innovations in biblical iconography, showing an increased reliance on drama and multifigured compositions. The growing programmatic thrust—whether political, eremitical, episcopal, etc.—of church decoration in this period also frequently affected the content of the hagiographical cycles (e.g., Th. Gouma-Peterson, *ArtB* 58 [1976] 168–82; S. Tomeković in *Mileševa u istoriji srpsko naroda* [Belgrade 1987] 51–65). Resonances established between biblical and hagiographical cycles grew ever more sophisticated as church decoration became more and more elaborate and various otherwise unrelated cycles had to be unrolled on a single wall (Maguire, *supra* 94–98).

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LIT. C. Belting-Ihm, *RAC* 14:66–96. A. Chatzinikolaou, *RBK* 2:1034–93. P. Mijović, *Menolog* (Belgrade 1973). Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 155–73. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th centuries at Sinai," *DChAE*[4] 12 (1984) 63–116. Th. Gouma-Peterson, "Narrative Cycles of Saints' Lives in Byzantine Churches from the Tenth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century," *GOrThR* 30 (1985) 31–44. —N.P.Š.



**HAGIOGRAPHY,** modern term for a genre of Byz. LITERATURE whose aims were the veneration of the SAINT and the creation of an ideal of Christian behavior as well as documentation and entertainment. As a portrayal of historical personages, hagiography overlaps with historiography, conveying historical information, using chronicles as sources, and, in turn, serving as a source for chronicles; as an edifying genre, hagiography may bear resemblance to the SERMON. Three major types of hagiography already existed in the early centuries of the empire: MARTYRION, the account of a martyr's trial and execution; VITA, a saint's biography; and APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM, a collection of wise sayings of hermits. Probably by the 7th C. the description of posthumous MIRACLES was established as a separate type.

Hagiography provides a variety of information to the Byzantinist (F. Halkin, 13 *CEB*, *Main Papers* XI [Oxford 1966] 1–10). First of all, saints' lives convey data concerning their heroes and the monasteries and/or cities where they lived. Second, since a number of saints played important political roles, their biographies contain data, sometimes unique, about momentous events, although the reliability of the evidence may vary from one vita to the next. Some vitae are biased, others indifferent to reality and so concerned with their edifying or propagandizing purpose that chronology is distorted, events invented, suppressed, or transferred from other vitae. More dependable are hagiographic data on EVERYDAY LIFE. The style of hagiographical works ranged from highly elevated to simple, inclining toward the vernacular. Sometimes they are full of vivid details, and adventures of heroes are woven into a romance with such elements as travel, shipwreck, concealment, and pursuit. The account of miracles, including posthumous ones, is a typical element of hagiography.

Early hagiography (4th–7th C.) tried to reject the ancient values of urban civilization: the holy man was liberated from his obligations toward society and authority and submitted exclusively to God, for whose sake he was ready to endure poverty, suffering, and tortures; accordingly, the

DESERT was chosen as the most typical setting for the saint's exploits (ANTONY THE GREAT). When the saint entered the city gates, it was to reject the traditional norms of behavior (SYMEON OF EMESA). Family ties were renounced (ALEXIOS HOMO DEI), and the saint was closer to wild beasts than to his relatives. A shameful past, such as prostitution, was not an obstacle to holiness; neither were illiteracy, ugliness, or poverty. Early hagiography emphasized the collective nature of the body of saints: many martyrs met execution in groups, and the wise "fathers" of the *apophthegmata* were a faceless throng, who can hardly be distinguished as individuals. On the other hand, the individuality of the hagiographer was maintained, and the most famous hagiographers of the period (ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, JOHN MOSCHOS, LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS, SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem) are well-known personalities. The main centers of hagiographic production were the cities and monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria.

With the general decline of literary activity from the late 7th and through almost the entire 8th C., hagiography diminished; it regenerated slightly before 800, first in the eastern provinces, and flourished from the 9th to 11th C. The passionate denial of ancient ideals that was typical of earlier saints' lives lessened: the daring hermit gave way to the efficient builder of the monastic community (ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS), the wild holy FOOL made his way into the establishment (BASIL THE YOUNGER), prostitutes and women in disguise were replaced by the ideal matron (MARY THE YOUNGER). The sanctity of family ties was assumed as a virtue, although not consistently (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 188–92). The saint's political role was highly esteemed, his connections with Constantinopolitan functionaries carefully stressed: some vitae (EUTHYMIOS, patriarch of Constantinople) avoid the miraculous elements, except for the saint's foresight, and emphasize the saint's role in political and ecclesiastical struggles; the Life of IGNATIOS, patriarch of Constantinople, is a purely political pamphlet against Photios. The collectivity of martyrs begins to disappear; it is significant that the story of the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION was produced in several versions, some of which acquired individual heroes. We know little about individual hagiographers of this period, although some of them (Niketas, author of the Life of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, and esp. Gregory, hagiographer of Basil the Younger) provide some personal information. IGNATIOS THE DEACON was probably the only professional hagiographer of the period. On the other hand, the collection and editing of old vitae attracted distinguished writers, such as NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON and esp. SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

The Life of Lazaros of Galesios is the last great piece of 11th-C. hagiography. In the 12th C. intellectuals became critical of the image of the holy man: hagiographical production was scanty (P. Magdalino in *Byz. Saint* 52–54), and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE composed a spectacular "anti-vita" of PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION. At the same time some evidence of popular hagiography is preserved: the Life of Paraskeve was reportedly burned by order of the patriarch because of its vernacular character, and the miracles of St. GEORGE, some of which should be dated in the 12th C., conjure up an image of the saint as a clever fellow, ready to bargain and conscious of his profit. The authors of "popular" vitae plunged into anonymity, whereas we have the names of some professional writers, such as PRODROMOS and TZETZES, who tried their skill at saints' lives, although their hagiographical essays are not their best work. The interest in AUTOBIOGRAPHY as a redeveloping genre, as well as the propagation of the military ideal, contributed to the decline of hagiography: PSELLOS attempted to rewrite the Life of AUXENTIOS, permeating his work with autobiographical elements; BLEMMYDES wrote his own biography—he did not expect his disciples to eulogize his virtues.

Some hagiographers of the Palaiologan period (GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, Constantine AKROPOLITES, Theodora RAOULAINA) preferred the laudation of saints from earlier periods, while others concentrated on the lives of contemporaries. Some vitae took the form of biographies of politicians (Emp. JOHN III VATATZES, patriarchs ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS, JOSEPH I, ATHANASIOS I, ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS) and theologians, such as PALAMAS. Their anti-Palaiologan resistance or principles of church independence are the predominant reasons for the recognition of their sainthood (R. Macrides in *Byz. Saint* 68). Other writers emphasized the ascetic life of the hermit (NIPHON, ROMYLOS, MAXIMOS KAUSOKALYBITES).

The Bollandists laid the foundations of the study of hagiography (H. Delehaye, *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes à travers trois siècles (1615–1915)* [Brussels 1959]). In the 19th C. a critical approach toward hagiography developed: H. Usener (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. 3 [Leipzig-Berlin 1914] 74–104) attacked Christian legend from two points—as historical fraud and for the alleged construing of the image of the saint in terms of ancient mythology. Delehaye limited Usener's hypercriticism and tried to distinguish trustworthy and legendary texts. The Munich school (Ehrhard) and later Bollandists (Halkin) concentrated on collection and classification of hagiographical works, and vitae were broadly used as sources for historical information (Rudakov, Magoulias), but only recently has the tendency developed to use saints' lives as documents for ideology and social psychology (Brown, Patlagean, Magdalino). In this case the old problem of reliability loses its significance: regardless of its legendary nature, hagiography is an important means of understanding how the Byz. perceived their world.

LIT. *BHG, BHG Auct., BHG Nov.Auct.* F. Halkin, *Recherches et documents d'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels 1971). R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie* (Paris 1953). H. Delehaye, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels 1934). A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1937–52), with W. Abschlag, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 91 (1966) 797–800. A.P. Rudakov, *Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym grečeskoj agiografii* (Moscow 1917; rp. London 1970). E. Patlagean, P. Richi, *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés (IVe–XIIe siècles)* (Paris 1981). J.W. Nesbitt, "A Geographical and Chronological Guide to Greek Saint [*sic*] Lives," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 443–89. Ch. Loparev, *Grečeskije žitija svjatych VIII i IX vekov* (Petrograd 1914). A. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in *Charanis Studies* 84–114. –A.K., A.M.T.

**HAGIOTHEODORITES** (Ἁγιοθεοδωρίτης), a family of Byz. civil and ecclesiastical functionaries attested from the first half of the 12th C. The first known were Constantine, lawyer, philosopher, and rhetorician at JOHN II's court, and Nicholas, *protos* of a monastery (named on a seal). They became esp. influential under Manuel I: John was his favorite but fell from imperial favor; later three brothers played important roles—the *logothetes tou dromou* Michael (from 1158?), the eparch of Constantinople John (ca.1160); and Nicholas, metropolitan of Athens in the 1160s and 70s. Konstas Hagiotheodorites served as *logothetes* ca.1258 and then as Theodore II's private secretary.



LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Brat'ja Ajofeodority pri dvore Manuila Komnina," *ZRVI* 9 (1966) 85–94. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 225–440. *PLP*, nos. 240–41. –A.K.

**HAIMORRHOISSA, HEALING OF.** See MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

**HAIMOS, MOUNT.** See BALKANS.

**HAIR** (κόμη). The Byz. church inherited from primitive Christianity a negative attitude toward hairstyling: "Flowing locks," says St. Paul (1 Cor 11:14), "disgrace a man," and the image of the unkempt John the Baptist was an embodiment of the rejection of haircuts. This attitude prevailed more or less unchanged to the last centuries of Byz. Despite this clear-cut ecclesiastical position, the tendency to care about hairstyles emerged time and again.

In the late Roman period, men were clean-shaven and generally wore their hair short; those who wore long hair in plaits or curled were regarded as effeminate. In the 6th C. the youth of the circus factions styled their hair in the "Hunnic" fashion: long at the nape and shaved at the front of the head. By the 10th C. men wore their hair longer, and even monks adopted longer hairstyles, to the dismay of the church. In the 12th C. moralists inveighed against excessive attention to hairstyling. On the other hand, both hair and BEARD were indicative of social status and deprivation of either was considered a punishment. Hair color was also significant; the term *xantha ethne* ("blond tribes") designated the peoples of central and eastern Europe, in contrast to the dark-haired peoples of the Mediterranean.

The predominant hair fashion for women throughout the centuries was parted in the center and held in place with a comb or band. Combs made of bone are often found in archaeological excavations. Outside the house women were expected to cover their head with veils. Both men and women were admonished not to wear wigs or to dye their hair. (See also BARBER.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:342–72. H.G. Beck, "Orthodoxie und Alltag," in *Festschrift Stratos* 2:334f. –Ap.K., A.K.

**HAIR ORNAMENT.** Justinian's *Digest* (34.2.25.10) classes as jewelry HEADGEAR such as "headdresses,

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turbans and half-turbans, a head covering, a pearl hairpin that women are accustomed to possess, saffron-colored [hair] nets." Only traces of such hair ornaments survive, but three main types are depicted in Byz. art.

**1.** A ***jeweled band*** that is worn on the forehead at the hairline. Only the part from ear to ear can be seen; this part presumably continued around the back of the head, under the hair, as a band of fabric.

**2.** A ***circlet,*** often jeweled, worn around a chignon on the top of the head. A jeweled diadem, now in Baltimore (*Jewelery: Ancient to Modern*, ed. A. Garside [New York 1980], no.420), has been interpreted as this second type, or as part of a jeweled collar. It could also be part of a jeweled band.

**3.** An ***ornamented mesh or net,*** worn over the entire head, reaching to the forehead.

All three types seem to be contemporary and appear in the Theodora panel at S. Vitale, RAVENNA.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:367f. –S.D.C.

**ḤALABĪYAH.** See ZENOBIA.

**HALMYROS** (Ἁλμυρός, name derived from the salt-flats in the area), commonly known as the "Two Halmyroi" because of its double fortified citadels, city in central Greece on the Pagasitic Gulf south of modern Volos. It is identified with modern Tsingeli and Kephalosis near ancient Halos. In late antiquity an agricultural settlement is attested at nearby Aidonion, with oil and wine presses (N. Nikonanos, *ArchDelt* 26 [1971] Chronikon 312f). In the 12th C. Halmyros played an important role as an entrepôt for Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, succeeding NEA ANCHIALOS and DEMETRIAS as the primary port of Thessaly. The Venetians attacked Halmyros in 1171 as retaliation for the massacre in Constantinople, and in 1198 its ports were again opened to them. In 1204 it was first given to the deposed Alexios III as a place of retirement but soon fell into the hands of the Latins; by 1246 it was under the control of Michael II of Epiros and in 1249 it is attested as the center of a theme of the empire of Nicaea. Halmyros was attacked and occupied by the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY between 1307 and 1310. The city had a significant Jewish community. The bishop of Halmyros was suffragan of Larissa.

Little remains of the two fortified acropolises or the Byz. town between them, although several churches, many of them belonging to the Italian communities, are attested in documents from the 12th C. onward. Some Byz. sculpture (N. Giannopoulos, *BZ* 25 [1925] 339–46), seals (Idem, *BZ* 17 [1908] 131–40; 18 [1909] 502–10), and inscriptions (Idem, *BCH* 14 [1890] 240–44; 15 [1891] 562–71; 23 [1899] 396–400) have been found. The so-called Alonissos ship, whose wreckage was discovered on the seabed just off the island of Pelagos, was perhaps involved in trade with Halmyros. It contained a large cargo of pottery of the 12th C. (Ch. Kritzas, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 4 [1971] 176–82).

LIT. *TIB* 1:170f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 65f, 166–73. N. Giannopoulou, *Ta Phthiotika* (Athens 1891). –T.E.G.

**HALO.** See NIMBUS.

**ḤAMĀH.** See EPIPHANEIA.

**ḤAMĀH TREASURES.** See KAPER KORAON TREASURE; MAʿARAT AL-NUʿMĀN TREASURE.

**ḤAMDĀNIDS,** Muslim dynasty in Mosul and esp. at Aleppo, of Taghlibite Arab origin (ca.868–1015/16). The independent emirate was established at Mosul between 930 and 934, and under Nāṣir al-Dawla extended power over most of upper Mesopotamia. Nāṣir was succeeded by his son Abū Taghlib, who resisted Byz. attack in 972 but infuriated John Tzimiskes by capturing the *domestikos* Melias, who died in captivity. In 976 Abū Taghlib supported the rebellion of Bardas SKLEROS. The Ḥamdānid dynasty at Aleppo began in 944 under SAYF AL-DAWLA. Many Ḥamdānids left Aleppo because of the Byz. threat. The Ḥamdānids were forced to maneuver between FĀṬIMIDS, Buwayhids, and Byz. Saʿd al-Dawla, the son of Sayf al-Dawla, massacred many monks at Dayr Semʿān, in response to the Byz. invasion of 985. The Byz. governor of Antioch, Michael BOURTZES, helped the Ḥamdānids against the Fāṭimids, but Ḥamdānid power declined after the Byz. treaty with the Fāṭimids in 1001. A son of Sayf al-Dawla, Abu'l Hayjāʿ, fled to Basil II and later probably converted to Christianity. Saʿd's minister Lu'lu and Saʿd himself prostrated themselves before Basil II in 995. Lu'lu's son Manṣūr fled to Byz. in 1015/16 and received a castle for aiding Romanos III in northern Syria in 1030.

LIT. M. Canard, *EI*² 3:126–31. Idem, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazîra et de Syrie* (Algiers-Paris 1951). R.J. Bikhazi, "The Hamdanid Dynasty of Mesopotamia and North Syria 254–404/868–1014" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Mich., 1981). –W.E.K.



**HAMILTON PSALTER.** See PSALTER.

**HAND OF GOD.** The image of a hand emanating from clouds or an arc of Heaven appears in both Christian and imperial art in the 4th C. Its Christian use surely derives from earlier Jewish art, where it is an image of God's voice or word, amplifying scriptural metaphors of God's hand as his power or protection. In imperial art, the hand displaces fully embodied deities and functions differently and more actively. In medallions of Constantine I the Great, for example, a hand reaches out to crown the emperor or draw him upward at his APOTHEOSIS. The gesturing hand of Jewish tradition continues in later Christian art to signify the voice or approbation of God, appearing in such New Testament compositions as the Baptism and Ascension as well as in numerous Old Testament scenes. Other 4th- through 6th-C. images, however, based on the imperial version, show the hand actually drawing Christ upward at his Ascension, or holding a crown over Christ, the Cross, the Virgin Mary, or a saint. This version vanishes in later Byz. art, where Christ himself confers crowns on rulers and performs concrete acts. Probably a distinct, later development is the huge hand holding souls in the LAST JUDGMENT (cf. *Wisdom of Solomon* 3:1), seen in late Byz. monuments (CHORA).

The theme of "the king's heart in the hand of God" (Pr 21:1) that, for fathers of the church, had imposed limits on imperial authority, was reinterpreted in the Justinianic period to mean the all-embracing authority of the *basileus* (H. Hattenhauer, *ZSavKan* 67 [1981] 1–21).

LIT. Grabar, *Fin Ant.* 2:791–94. M. Kirigin, *La mano divina nell'iconografia cristiana* (Vatican 1976). –A.W.C., A.C.

**HAPLOUCHEIR, MICHAEL,** member of the senate who eagerly supported ANDRONIKOS I in 1183; EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE acrimoniously censured Haploucheir (Ἁπλουχείρ) for his dishonest behavior (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 44.19–20). He probably belonged to the same family of civilian nobility as Thomas Haploucheir, judge of the *velum* under Manuel I. Haploucheir has been identified, on good grounds, with the poet of the same name, who wrote a short iambic *dramation* presenting a debate between a rustic who praises Fortune and a wise man (*sophos*) who laments his miserable fate and is ready to renounce his fame and become a craftsman. The theme of a poor intellectual's envy of a well-to-do artisan is typical of 12th-C. writers such as John TZETZES and Theodore PRODROMOS.

ED. P.L.M. Leone, "Michaelis Hapluchiris versus cum excerptis," *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 268–79.

LIT. Q. Cataudella, "Michele Apluchiro e il 'Pluto' di Aristofane," *Dioniso* 8 (1940–41) 88–93. –A.K.

**HARAWĪ, AL-,** more fully Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Harawī, Arab author, ascetic, and traveler; born Mosul, died Aleppo 1215. He had a varied career as preacher in Baghdad and Aleppo and as envoy and confidant of the Ayyūbid sultans, including Saladin. In the course of his missions he traveled widely, to Palestine and Egypt, and in 1175 to Norman Sicily. He also visited Constantinople, where he met Emp. Manuel I Komnenos. His vivid descriptions of the Hippodrome and the statues of Constantinople are partly reproduced by YĀQŪT, al-QAZWĪNĪ, and other encyclopedists. His three principal works are the *Guide to the Places of Pilgrimage*, *Memoir on the Ruses of War*, and *Last Counsels of al-Harawī*.

ED. *Kitab al-Ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-ziyarat (Guide)—Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 2 vols. (Damascus 1953–57), with Fr. tr. *Al-Tadhkira al-Harawiyya fi'l-ḥiyal al ḥarbiyya (Memoir)*—ed. eadem, "Les conseils du Šayḫ al-Harawī à un prince ayyubide," *BEO* 17 (1961–62) 205–66, with Fr. tr. *Al-Waṣiyya al-Harawiyya (Counsels)*—ed. eadem, "Le testament politique du shaikh ʿAlī al-Harawī," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb* (Cambridge, Mass.–Leiden 1965) 609–18, with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI*² 3:178. –A.Sh., A.M.T.

**HARBAVILLE TRIPTYCH.** See TRIPTYCH.

**ḤĀRITH, AL-.** See ARETHAS.

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**HARMENOPOULOS, CONSTANTINE,** 14th-C. jurist. Harmenopoulos (Ἁρμενόπουλος) signed a document of 1345 (*Chil.* 134) as *sebastos* and judge of Thessalonike; by 1349 he was also a *nomophylax*, after 1359 *krites katholikos*. He compiled a "corpus" of secular and canon law. Secular law is represented by the *Hexabiblos* (Six Books), also called the *Procheiron nomon* (Handbook of the Laws), of 1345. This compilation grew out of the PROCHEIRON but adds excerpts from the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM, the law book of Michael ATTALEIATES, the SYNOPSIS MINOR, the PEIRA, and the work of JULIAN OF ASKALON. Harmenopoulos organized the legal material into a new system, which made it easier to use and thus enormously popular; it is transmitted in almost 70 MSS. In practice it served as a law code (in Greece into the 20th C.) and was adopted in several Slavic countries. Attached to the *Hexabiblos* as a regular component is the FARMER'S LAW, presumably reorganized by Harmenopoulos (I. Medvedev in *VizOč* [Moscow 1982] 216–33).

Canon law is represented by the *Epitome canonum* of Harmenopoulos, which contains a selection of canons with commentaries (PG 150:45–168), a confession of faith (PG 150:29–32), and a treatise on heresies (19–29). Some shorter works of Harmenopoulos are also transmitted (*lexika*, an *enkomion* on St. Demetrios).

ED. G.E. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli: Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos* (Leipzig 1851; rp. Aalen 1969). Eng. tr. of book 6 by E.H. Freshfield (Cambridge 1930).

LIT. K.G. Pitsakes, *Konstantinou Armenopoulou Procheiron Nomon e Hexabiblos* (Athens 1971) *ζ'-ρια'*. Idem, "Gregoriou Akindynou: Anekdote Pragmateia peri (Konstantinou?) Harmenopoulou," *Epeteris Kentrou Historias Hellenikou Dikaiou* 19 (1972) 111–216. Idem, "Gyro apo tis peges tes 'Epitomes Kanonon' tou Konstantinou Armenopoulou," ibid. 23 (1976) 85–122. M.Th. Fögen, "Die Scholien zur Hexabiblos im Codex Vetustissimus Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 440," *FM* 4 (1981) 256–345. Eadem, "Hexabiblos aucta," *FM* 7 (1986) 259–333. –M.Th.F.

**HARNESSMAKER.** See LOROTOMOS.

**HAROLD HARDRADA** (or more properly Hardradi, "Hard-Ruler"), king of Norway as Harold III (1046–66); born 1015, died Stamford Bridge, England, 25 Sept. 1066. In 1030 or 1031 Harold (Ἀράλτης) fled from Norway to JAROSLAV of Kiev and reached Byz. probably in 1034 (J. Shepard, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 150). Harold and his Varangians participated in several Byz. military campaigns: in Sicily with MANIAKES, in Bulgaria against DELJAN, and probably against Muslims in the Aegean. The report in Norwegian SAGAS of his fight against Pechenegs—in 1036 according to K. Ciggaar (*BalkSt* 21 [1980] 385–401)—and of his journey to Jerusalem is questionable. He was granted the title of *spatharokandidatos*. A supporter of Michael IV, Harold probably took part in the deposition and blinding of Michael V. Because CONSTANTINE IX changed the Byz. attitude toward the Rus' and Varangians (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 27 [1967] 83f) or because he suspected that Harold would join the rebellious Maniakes (A. Poppe, *BS* 32 [1971] 28), the emperor imprisoned Harold. He escaped and reached Kiev probably in winter 1042/3. In spring 1045 he married Jaroslav's daughter Elizabeth and possibly incited Jaroslav to attack Constantinople. Byz. coins brought to Scandinavia by Harold in 1045 may have served as models for Danish mints (P. Grierson, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 124–38; M. Hendy, *NChron* 10 [1970] 187–97).

LIT. S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, rev. and tr. B.S. Benedikz (Cambridge 1978) 54–102, 209–14. –A.K., C.M.B.

**HARROWING OF HELL.** See ANASTASIS.

**HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD** (Ἀαρών), caliph of the ʿABBĀSIDS (789–809); born al-Rayy (near Tehran) Feb. 766, died Ṭūs (Khurāsān) 24 Mar. 809. He was the son of Caliph Muḥammad al-Mahdi (775–85). In 780 the young Hārūn invaded the Armeniakon and took Semaluous, and in 782 he was enabled by the defection of the Byz. general TATZATES to advance to Chrysoupolis and force Empress Irene to make peace. During the negotiations he captured and held the eunuch STAURAKIOS until Irene signed a three-year treaty requiring the Byz. to release all prisoners, pay an annual tribute of 70,000 dinars, and make commercial concessions. As caliph, Hārūn strengthened his border with Byz. by building frontier fortresses linking up with Tarsos. He paid special attention to the fleet, which several times attacked Cyprus and Rhodes. In 790 Hārūn's navy defeated a Byz. force off Attaleia; Theophilos the *strategos* of Kibyrrhaiotai was captured and executed after refusing Hārūn's order to turn traitor. In 796 Hārūn made Raqqa on the Euphrates his chief residence, probably anticipating sustained campaigns against Byz. and eastern Iran. In 798 ʿAbbāsid forces invaded Byz. territory to Ephesus. Hārūn initially refused Irene's request for peace, but, after Khazar attacks on his northern flank, he signed a four-year treaty again requiring the Byz. to pay annual tribute to the Arabs. He personally campaigned against Byz. in 803 and in 806, when he captured Herakleia and Tyana and exacted a humiliating treaty stipulating that Emp. Nikephoros I annually pay 30,000 solidi and a head tax of 3 solidi for himself and his son Staurakios. Hārūn destroyed churches in frontier areas to punish what he thought were pro-Byz. sympathies. He died campaigning in Khurāsān.

LIT. M. Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée et les relations entre Hārūn ar-Rashīd et l'empereur Nicéphore Ier," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 345–79. H. Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate* (London 1981) 115–34. F. Omar, *EI*² 3:232–34. –P.A.H.

**HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ,** 9th–10th-C. Arab author. Captured as a civilian (a fact usually ignored by scholars), Hārūn was carried off from Askalon via Attaleia to Constantinople, where he lived for years, perhaps as a slave. His account, a valuable report on Byz. and other Christian nations, includes a detailed description of Constantinople, its walls, gates, statues, relics, water supplies; the Palace, its decoration and furnishings; Hagia Sophia; Christmas festivities; banquets; imperial processions; chariot races in the Hippodrome; the conditions of Muslim prisoners; the route to Rome via Serbia; a description of Rome's marvels; and a reference to Britain. This account survives in the *Book of Precious Things* by ibn Rusta (born Isfahan, fl. late 9th–early 10th C.), an Arab anthologist of Persian origin.

Modern scholars have dated Hārūn's report variously between 880 and 912, due to differences regarding internal clues, the possible date of his capture or release, whether ibn Rusta quotes him directly, and whether all the details are based on Hārūn's own observations. G. Ostrogorsky (*SemKond* 5 [1932] 251–57) has argued for 912–13, Alexander's reign, as the date since no empress or co-emperor is mentioned. Actually, Hārūn describes a typical procession, not necessarily a specific one, and the emperor is depicted as a co-emperor (wearing black and red boots). It is reasonable to date the account to ca.900.

ED. *Precious Things—Kitāb al-Aʿlāq al-Nafīsa*, ed. M. de Goeje [= *BGA* 7 (1892) 1–229]. *Les atours précieux*, tr. G. Wiet (Cairo 1955).

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "Harun Ibn Yahya and His Description of Constantinople," *SemKond* 5 (1932) 149–63. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:379–94. M. Izeddin, P. Therriat, "Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance au IXᵉ siècle: Hāroūn-ibn-Yahya," *REI* 15 (1947) 41–62. –A.Sh.

**HASAN DAĞ,** site in CAPPADOCIA. On the north slope of this volcanic cone are a number of churches, including Sarıgöl and basilicas II and III near Viranşehir of the first half of the 6th C. (?) and Kemer Kilise (Viranşehir I) and Anatepe of the 7th C. (?). These solid, ashlar-faced monuments are most commonly cruciform in plan, although basilicas with both single and double naves also occur. To the north of Hasan Dağ is the Peristrema Valley with a number of ROCK-CUT CHURCHES still adorned with painted decoration. Several also retain datable dedicatory inscriptions. Direkli Kilise, a large cross-in-square church, bears an inscription mentioning the emperors Basil (II) and Constantine (VIII) and is thus datable to 976–1025. The single-naved chapel of St. Michael was decorated by the monk Arsenios and his son Theophylaktos, *protospatharios* and *axiarchos* (N. Thierry, *JSav* [1968] 46, reads *taxiarchos*) during the reign of a *porphyrogennetos*, most likely Constantine VIII (1025–28). A dedicatory inscription in Kırk Dam Altı Kilise dates its paintings to 1283–95. The fresco decorations of several churches, including Yılanlı Kilise, Ağaç Altı Kilise, Eğri Taş Kilisesi, and Kokar Kilise, are rendered with a vital primitivism that makes for difficult ascription on the basis of style and suggests the relative isolation of this valley from continuous metropolitan influence.

LIT. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*. M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (Vienna 1979). –A.J.W.

**HATS.** See HEADGEAR.

**HAWKING.** The sport of hawking or falconry involved the use of hawks to hunt various BIRDS, such as cranes, wild geese, partridges, and pheasants. For this purpose the falconer (*hierakarios*)



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trained young hawks; those imported from Georgia were esp. prized. Other species besides the hawk were also used. The *Orneosophion* (ed. R. Hercher, *Claudii Aeliani Varia Historia, Epistolae, Fragmenta* [Leipzig 1866] 577–79) mentions seven hawk-names, mostly obscure. There is evidence, however, that the falcon was known and used in this kind of HUNTING.

Some evidence for the early practice of hawking is found in the *Oneirokritikon* of ACHMET BEN SIRIN (232.16–17). From the 11th C. onward a growing number of references described hawking as a sport enjoyed by the ruling class and the emperor. Manuel I Komnenos's passion for this type of hunting is reflected in an *ekphrasis* by Constantine MANASSES. Another contemporary description was composed by Constantine PANTECHNES. The growth of interest in hawking is evinced by the practical manuals that circulated at that time. Such a *Hierakosophion* is attributed to Demetrios PEPAGOMENOS and deals with the breeding and training of the hawk and treatment of its diseases (Hercher, *supra*, 335–516). (See also PROTOIERAKARIOS.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:395–98. –Ap.K.

**HEADGEAR** (*καλύπτρα*). Until the 11th C. a headcovering was not a usual part of either official or ecclesiastical costume, with the exception of the monastic hood, or *koukoullion*, and the traditional veils of women.

Only the patriarch of Alexandria was entitled to cover his head for the celebration of the Eucharist; thus the Alexandrian patriarchs Athanasios and Cyril are depicted wearing a small black or white cap. In the 14th C. the patriarch of Constantinople wore a white MITRA, not a mitre but a gold-embroidered veil. St. Spyridon is shown wearing a small straw bonnet (perhaps a pun on his name, which derives from the word for a small basket), Patr. Methodios a headdress knotted under the chin, an allusion to the story that his jaws were dislocated by Theophilos.

Two of the *protoproedroi* depicted in Paris, B.N. Coisl. gr. 79 wear low red boxlike hats with a tip that flops down over one ear, while two others wear higher white beehive-shaped ones; the latter may be an early form of the SKIADION. Another form of lay headgear is the turban, the *phakeolis* or *phakiolion*, which by the 12th C. was no mere orientalism typical of Arabs, Ethiopians, and Palestinians but common garb, esp. for women. The women depicted with Miriam in a circular dance in a Psalter in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 752, fol.449v; Spatharakis, *Corpus*, fig.123) wear huge headdresses that must reflect court fashions of the 11th C. Shepherds wear broad-brimmed straw hats, sailors a Western-inspired tight black cap tied under the chin. Israelites wear hoods identical to the MAPHORION.

In the Palaiologan period, hats proliferated; the emperor and other officials wore the *skiadion* and another squarish hat rather like a mitre, whose name is unknown (the SKARANIKON, which is sometimes presumed to be a kind of hat, was most likely a garment). Women wore the *maphorion*, though the empress apparently went unveiled. Young relatives of the emperor wore either nothing on their heads at all, at least while inside the palace and until adolescence (pseudo-Kod. 145.15–18), or a purple headband called a *tainia* (*DOC* 2.1:81, n.158).

LIT. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 134f. C. Mango, "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium," in *Classical Tradition* 51f. –N.P.Š.

**HEADPIECE,** the decorated frame or panel at the beginning of a text. Pre-Iconoclastic illuminators generally devoted little attention to the embellishment of a book's title and framed it with only a series of dashes and corner flourishes. But in the PARIS GREGORY broad borders with classical patterns surround the titles, as do gold CIBORIA and *pi*-shaped brackets in 10th-C. MSS. Occasionally, medallion portraits were added to the *pi* or rectangle, and, in the 11th C., the headpiece displayed increasingly complex figural programs, inspired in part by the decorated TEMPLON. Many 12th-C. headpieces incorporate the subject matter of frontispieces (e.g., author PORTRAITS, EVANGELIST SYMBOLS, narrative scenes), or contain only ornament. As a result, the title, the original pretext for the headpiece, was relegated to a subsidiary status above or below the panel. Complex ornament fills the headpieces of MSS of the DECORATIVE STYLE. Palaiologan versions rarely include figural elements, but revive Komnenian designs or create more elaborate patterns based on the Islamic arabesque.

LIT. S. Tsuji, "The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74," *DOP* 29 (1975) 170–87. R.S.

HEADPIECE. Headpiece for the Gospel of St. Luke (Patmos, 81, fol.153r); manuscript dated 1334/5. Monastery of St. John, Patmos.

Nelson, "Palaeologan Illuminated Ornament and the Arabesque," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 41 (1988) 1–21. –R.S.N.

**HEALING.** Byz. turned to two different sources when seeking cures from illness: to the PHYSICIAN trained in the Greco-Roman tradition and to faith healing; miraculous cures might be provided by a holy man (in imitation of the healing MIRACLES OF CHRIST), by the RELICS of a saint, or by a shrine at a LOCUS SANCTUS. A standard topos of hagiographical descriptions of healing miracles is the failure of the physician to effect a cure (even though he received a substantial fee), contrasted with the "free" healing available at the tombs of saints, esp. the ANARGYROI, those who took no payment for their services. Among the methods of faith healing were INCUBATION, kissing the tomb, anointing oneself with oil from the lamp suspended above a saint's tomb, drinking oil or water that had come into contact with the relics, or, in the case of the shrine of St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger, rubbing oneself with holy dust or a Symeon token (see PILGRIM TOKENS) made from the earth of the Wondrous Mountain where the stylite's pillar stood. AMULETS were commonly used as prophylactic devices. Supplicants whose prayers for healing were answered left VOTIVE offerings at the shrines in thanksgiving.

**Representation in Art.** Three categories of depictions of healing may be identified: Christological healing scenes (e.g., in the FRIEZE GOSPELS such as Florence, Laur. Plut. VI 23); illustrated *miracula* of "doctor saints" such as KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS (e.g., in the Lectionary, Athos, Pantel. 2—*Treasures* 2, fig.278); and deluxe illustrated compendia of pre-Byz. medical treatises such as the 10th-C. edition of Apollonios of Kition, *On the Setting of Dislocated Bones*, and Soranos of Ephesus, *On Bandaging*. Unfortunately, the latter generally reveal less about contemporary Byz. MEDICINE than about ancient prototypes (Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illum.* 18–23). Again, the saint's *miracula* are iconographically much less explicit concerning both symptoms and treatments than are the texts upon which they draw, being based, for the most part, on even more "generic" healing scenes developed for illustrated Gospels.

LIT. A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983) 16–20. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, & Magic" 65f. –A.M.T., G.V.

**HEART** (*καρδία*). The starting point for Christian theology and mystical belief with regard to the heart is the Old Testament command to love God with one's heart, soul, and body (Dt 6:5). In his commentary on John 13:23–25, Origen explains the heart of Christ as the inner meaning of his teaching, as the divine sense that one can discern more deeply with one's heart (PG 13:87AB; see also PG 11:129BC–130A). In passages such as these, "heart" is a metaphor for *nous* (see INTELLECT). However, in view of many different opinions among Greek philosophers, Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:156C-164D) expressed his doubt concerning this definition of *kardia*. While EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS alternated between biblical and philosophical usages, later monastic mystics of experience, such as Diadochos of Photike, pseudo-MAKARIOS/SYMEON, and Hesychios Sinaites (6th–7th C.), show a great preference for the term heart in the sense of psyche, conscience, the seat

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of passion and feeling, but also the remembrance of God. For DIADOCHOS (*Cap. gnost.* 56), for example, the heart is the organ for sensing God. Hesychios (PG 93:1481CD, 1509D) emphasized the need to guard the heart in order to maintain HESYCHIA and to call upon Jesus Christ alone. Pseudo-Makarios (PG 34:573C) saw the spirit as the (vigilant) "eyes of the heart." Nikephoros Athonites (or Sinaites) in the 14th C. defined the Jesus prayer for HESYCHASM (PG 147:963B–964A) in conjunction with the heart: "Settle yourself, collect your mind, breathe in through the nose whence the breath enters the heart. Let the mind with the inhaling breath enter into the heart."

LIT. A. Guillaumont, "Les sens des noms du coeur dans l'Antiquité," *Études Carmélitaines* 29 (1950) 41–81. F. Neyt, "Précisions sur le vocabulaire de Barsanuphe et de Jean de Gaza," *StP* 12 (1975) 247–53. –G.P.

**HEARTH TAX,** conventional name for any tax levied by household or "hearth" (*kapnos*), such as the KANONIKON. It appears first as a supplementary levy: Malalas (Malal. 246.16–19) relates that the guilds in Antioch, allegedly in the 1st C., had to fulfill a *leitourgia* from each hearth for the repair of city porticoes. According to Ibn Khurdādhbeh, a tax based on hearths was collected in Byz. for military purposes. The KAPNIKON was probably a tax on households. Even though the *kapnikon* is not mentioned explicitly after the 12th C., some scholars maintain that it had simply become a component of the TELOS. On the basis of a mathematical analysis of the *telos* of 14th-C. *paroikoi*, Lefort ("Fiscalité" 342f) concludes that only *paroikoi* without taxable property paid a hearth tax, usually amounting to 1/6 hyperpyron. K. Chvostova (*VizVrem* 39 [1978] 63–71) rejects Lefort's method of calculation and assumes that the *telos* of every 14th-C. *paroikos* contained, in a latent form, the hearth tax, but it was esp. significant in poorer households. The verb *kapnologeo* (lit. "to count hearths") was used in a vague sense to describe the activity of tax collectors (Zepos, *Jus* 1:384.19–20; *Mich. Akom.* 2:106.29) but not in the specific sense of "levying the *kapnikon* (or *kapnologion*)."

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 51–54. Treadgold, *Byz. State Finances* 52–58. –M.B.

**HEAVEN** (*οὐρανός*). Two traditions merged in the Byz. perception of heaven—one popular (Eastern and late Jewish) transferred via the Bible, the other inherited from Greek physics and astronomy. In the Bible, heaven is located beyond the firmament (*stereoma*), a solid vault resting firmly on foundation pillars over the earth and dividing the water into two domains, one above and another below it. When "the windows of heaven" open, the upper water falls on the earth as rain, hail, or snow. The stars are suspended from the firmament. Heaven also meant the SPACE (air) between the firmament and the earth—"the middle distance (*chora*)" in Byz. terminology. Since the Old Testament often used the word in plural form, it enhanced speculation concerning the number of heavens, the favorite number being seven. Both the imagery and the perception originating in apocalyptic literature of heaven as the place of salvation and of a heavenly Jerusalem (the earthly PARADISE in the third heaven) were developed in Byz., esp. in the exegesis of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL as well as in sermons on Lent, in the HEXAEMERON, and in commentaries on Job. Heaven is the handiwork of God, although some Gnostics and Dualists ascribed the creation of heaven to the demiurge. Although distinct from God, heaven was nevertheless perceived as the sphere of the eternal and divine; God's throne is there, and it is the abode of Christ (whence he will come for the second PAROUSIA) and of the Virgin and angels. Metaphorically, "the kingdom of heaven" was construed as the realm of God.

Byz. COSMOLOGY was divided with regard to the form of heaven—whether the ancient model of a spherical heaven was to be retained or whether heaven was a flat roof over the cubic world (as in KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES); alternatively John Philoponos conceived heaven as "the all-encompassing space beyond" the spherical firmament that divided it from the realm of the corruptible. Much discussion ensued as to whether heaven is self-limiting and surrounded by the void (PSELLOS, *De omnifaria doctrina*, par.120.1–6), or whether heaven, as the place of fixed stars and moving planets, is of a different substance from the corporeal world, which is composed of four elements; whether it is eternal in its movement; and finally, whether the assertion of the physicists (according to JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, par.11, ed. Joannou, p.13.22–23) that the "heavenly body" occupies no physical space is valid, since otherwise the concept of the corporeal world would come to a *regressus in infinitum*, the idea of an unmeasurable infinite space.

LIT. H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (Tübingen 1951). –K.-H.U.



**HEBDOMON** (*Ἕβδομον*, lit. "seventh"; Turk. Bakırköy), suburb of Constantinople situated on Sea of Marmara and astride the Via EGNATIA seven Roman miles west of the Milion (Milliarium). The site of an army camp, it possessed a Tribunal, facing a plain called Kampos (Campus), on which several emperors were proclaimed, starting with Valens (364). Valens resided at Hebdomon in a villa or palace and built a harbor there. A little later churches were erected of St. John the Evangelist (before 400); of St. John the Baptist (391), to receive the relic of his head; and of the Prophet Samuel (411), also to receive his relics. Justinian I rebuilt the palace (called Jucundianae) and the Church of the Baptist. Hebdomon was probably devastated in the 7th–8th C. Arab fleets put in there in 673 and 717. Basil I rebuilt the churches of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, which had fallen into ruin. The former, transformed into a monastery, was the burial place of Basil II and was later ceded to Nikephoritzes and, after him, to Empress Maria, wife of Michael VII. By 1260 it was in ruins.

Archaeological remains include a vast open-air cistern to the north of the suburb (Fil Damı), a gigantic granite column, an inscribed statue base of Theodosios II, a circular mausoleum, and parts of the church of St. John the Baptist, similar in plan to S. Vitale, Ravenna.

LIT. A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899) 316–41. Th.K. Makrides, "To Byzantinon Hebdomon," *Thrakika* 10 (1938) 137–98; 12 (1939) 35–80. R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris 1945). –C.M.

**HEBROS** (*Ἕβρος*), or Marica, river in Thrace, flowing into the Aegean Sea near AINOS. The Hebros is the largest of the north Aegean rivers, draining the Haimos and Rhodope massifs, through the plains of SERDICA, PHILIPPOPOLIS, and ADRIANOPLE. It was navigable as far as Adrianople, and there were no fords south of the city. In 1205 the Latins under Henry of Flanders, who were besieging DIDYMOTEICHON, were swept away by a sudden flood of the river (Nik.Chon. 624.6–10); the next year Kalojan tried to divert the Hebros at Didymoteichon in an attempt to take the city (Nik.Chon. 632.23–25). The Hebros valley was the site of the battle of MARICA in 1371.

LIT. S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* (Groningen 1968) 23. –T.E.G.

**HEGOUMENOS** (*ἡγούμενος*, fem. *ἡγουμένισσα*), the superior of a monastery; related terms were *abbas*, ARCHIMANDRITE, *proestos*, or *koinobiarches*. A *kathegoumenos* was a *hegoumenos* who had been ordained, a *prohegoumenos* was a retired or dismissed *hegoumenos*. *Hegoumenoi* were responsible for the administration, economic management, and spiritual leadership of a monastic community. They were most often selected from within the monastery, theoretically from among those monks or nuns most revered for their wisdom and piety. The office of OIKONOMOS was frequently a stepping stone to the hegoumenate. In the case of an imperial foundation, the *hegoumenos* might be appointed by the emperor, but most often he or she was designated by a predecessor or elected by the monks or nuns. The procedure of election, which varied considerably from one monastery to another, was regulated by the monastery's TYPIKON.

In theory, the *hegoumenos* possessed autocratic power over the brethren: he would admit new monks, expel dissidents, impose *epitimia*, appoint monastic officials, and supervise their activity. He also ensured the regular and proper observance of the daily offices and all special feastdays and supervised and maintained the monastic properties. He was assisted by a number of officials, such as the *oikonomos* and EKKLESIARCHES. In his spiritual role, the *hegoumenos* usually served as the PATER PNEUMATIKOS or confessor of the monks, even if he was not a priest. His tenure was not limited by any term or checked by any institution; the *hegoumenos* was said to give an accounting only in the hereafter. In fact, however, he was restricted by tradition and by a group of "select brethren"; if caught in malfeasance, he could be deposed (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 65–67).

The *hegoumenos* often had special privileges (e.g., better food and drink), had much greater contact with the outside world, and sometimes had influence at the imperial court and patriarchate. A number of patriarchs were former *hegoumenoi*. Some *hegoumenoi* abused the prerogatives of their rank and were criticized for dining on expensive delicacies and rare vintage wines, for frequent

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bathing, wearing silken garments, and being worldly businessmen. *Hegoumenoi* were, for example, the target of a satire by PTOCHOPRODROMOS (ed. Hesseling-Pernot, 48–71) and were attacked by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his treatise *On the Improvement of Monastic Life* (pp. 258.57–259.11).

LIT. R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge. Commende et typica (Xe–XIVe siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 25–28. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 193–205. Meester, *De monachico statu* 16–21, 202–63. Galatariotou, "Typika" 102–04, 110–13. –A.M.T., A.K.

**HEIR** (κληρονόμος), the one to whom the estate of a deceased person falls, be it alone or with others (*synkleronomoi*), either on the basis of a WILL or by way of INTESTATE SUCCESSION. The heir entered into the legal position of the deceased and was accordingly responsible for the obligations of the testator, just as he, conversely, could put forward the testator's claims. The heir was also considered a debtor of the legacies bequeathed (LEGATON, FIDEICOMMISSUM) by the testator. The entrance into the inheritance took place informally; the possibility of declining it evidently played no role in practice, since its purpose—keeping one's own property from being liable for the debts of the deceased—was, from the time of Justinian I, achievable by establishing an inventory (*beneficium inventarii*) that documented the size of the inheritance. The LEX FALCIDIA guaranteed a limitation on the heir's responsibility for paying out the bequests made by the testator. All natural persons (including slaves, minors, and the unborn) could inherit, as could corporate bodies, communities, the church, or pious foundations. In addition to the limitations that intestate succession brought with it through its system of preference, there was a set of punishable offenses (e.g., lèse-majesté, heresy) and other factors (e.g., second marriage, status as a concubine [*pallake*] or illegitimate child [*nothos*]) that precluded or lessened the right to inherit. (See also SUCCESSION.) –D.S.

**HEIRMOLOGION** (εἱρμολόγιον), a liturgical MS with or without musical notation, comprised of the *heirmoi*, the model stanzas referred to at the beginning of each of the nine odes of a KANON and on which the ode's melody and rhythm are based; *heirmoi* are also listed in a similar way at the beginning of a KONTAKION. Since normally only the opening words of an *heirmos* are given, the *heirmologion* was a necessary reference tool from which the singer learned the full melody and thus was able to adapt it to any text. The *heirmoi*, like TROPARIA and STICHERA, are either sung to a unique melody (*idiomela*) or are based on another (*prosomoia*). In comparison with other liturgical books, relatively few *heirmologia* survive, perhaps because of the heavy use to which they were subjected.

There are two types of *heirmologia*, both divided into eight sections, one for each musical MODE. The first, more common type lists the *heirmoi kanon* by *kanon*, giving the *heirmoi* for each ode within a complete *kanon* before listing the next *kanon*'s *heirmoi*. The other type, mainly found in Slavonic MSS, gives the *heirmoi* by ode, that is, it lists the *heirmoi* for all the first odes for every *kanon* within that mode before moving on to the second ode. The earliest MSS date from the mid-10th C. The texts of the *heirmoi* are paraphrases of the biblical canticles originally sung during the ORTHROS, but later replaced by the *kanones*.

ED. C. Høeg, *Hirmologium Athoum (Ath. Iber. 470)* (Copenhagen 1938). Idem, *The Hymns of the Hirmologium*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen 1952). L. Tardo, *Hirmologium e codice Cryptensi E.γ.II* (Rome 1950). H.J.W. Tillyard, *Twenty Canons from the Trinity Hirmologium* (Boston 1952). A. Ayoutanti, H.J.W. Tillyard, *The Hymns of the Hirmologium* 3.2 (Copenhagen 1956). J. Raasted, *Hirmologium Sabbaiticum (Sab. 83)*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1968–70).

LIT. M. Velimirović, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London 1980) 8:447f. –E.M.J.

**HEKATE,** Greek goddess of the netherworld, associated with dead souls and evil dreams. Pseudo-Nonnos, in his commentary on Gregory of Nazianzos, states that the Greeks believed her to be a goddess identical to ARTEMIS or to Selene or a deity in her own right accompanied by big dragon-headed men. In this company, images of Hekate's cult statue appear in 11th-C. MSS of the commentary (Weitzmann, *infra*, figs. 70–72). In the late Roman period her cult was celebrated in hidden places, often connected with Dionysos or Mithra. Malalas (Malal. 307.17–18) ascribes to Diocletian the construction of a subterranean temple of Hekate that had 365 steps leading down to it from ground level.



LIT. J. Heckenbach, *RE* 7 (1912) 2769–82. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 58–60. –A.K., A.C.

**HELENA,** augusta (from ca.325) and saint; born Drepanon, Bithynia, between ca.250 and 257?, died Rome, between 330 (*PLRE* 1:410f) and 336 (O. Seeck, *RE* 7 [1912] 2822); feastday 21 May, together with Constantine I. Born of humble status, possibly of Jewish stock (J. Vogt, *Classical Folia* 31 [1977] 148), she was an innkeeper when she met CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS whose concubine (or wife?) she became and to whom she bore the future CONSTANTINE I. Separated from Constantius after his marriage to Theodora, the stepdaughter of MAXIMIAN, Helena returned to the court only after Constantius had died and Constantine had become emperor. She was no less influential than Constantine's wife Fausta. On the portrait in the palace at Trier, executed in 321, Helena, crowned, is represented together with Fausta, Constantine's half-sister Constantia, and the younger Helena, the newly wed spouse of Helena's favorite, CRISPUS. In her honor Drepanon was renamed Helenoupolis, and the province of Helenopontus was created. Circa 325 both Helena and Fausta received the title of augusta. After the execution of Crispus in 326, Helena may have played a role in the murder of Fausta.

Helena was apparently inclined to Arianism, venerating LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH, the teacher of Arius and EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. In 326 she set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where she founded and generously endowed churches of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Ascension in Jerusalem. She sponsored churches in Constantinople and other places, but spent the end of her life in Rome and not at Constantine's court. She was buried in a splendid mausoleum on the Via Labicana (F.W. Deichmann, A. Tschira, *JDAI* 72 [1957] 44–110).

Helena's memory was surrounded with legends, the most important of which was her alleged discovery of the TRUE CROSS, in the company of which she is often represented, together with Constantine I. Her cult developed by the 8th C., when the imperial pair of Irene and Constantine VI was compared to Helena and Constantine I. It was sometimes alleged that Helena was a prostitute when she conceived Constantine.

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 36. A. Amore, E. Croce, *Bibl.sanct.* 4:988–95. A. Wankenne, "Constantin et Hélène à Trèves," *Etudes classiques* 52 (1984) 313–16. –T.E.G.

**HELIODOROS** (Ἡλιόδωρος), dated by scholars from 2nd to 4th C., from Emesa; author of the *Aithiopika*, the longest and structurally most complex of the surviving Greek ROMANCES. That Heliodoros was a Christian bishop, as the church historian SOKRATES claimed, is unlikely. The *Aithiopika* opens *in medias res* on a scene depicting the debris of a drunken brawl on the seashore and continues with a series of retrospective narratives that disclose the previous history of the heroine, Charikleia, the white-skinned daughter of the rulers of ETHIOPIA, and the hero, Theagenes, a Thessalian nobleman. After enduring further hazards appropriate to this genre—attacks by robbers, attempted murder by fire, abductions, etc.—the couple are finally united in marriage and become priest and priestess of the Sun. The novel's tone is restrained, both linguistically and morally, and perhaps for this reason met with qualified approval in the Greek Middle Ages (see Photios, *Bibl.*, cod.73; Psellos, *De Chariclea et Leucippe iudicium*), esp. in comparison with the psychologically more venturesome ACHILLES TATIUS. Of the 12th-C. novelists, Theodore PRODROMOS and Niketas EUGENIANOS seem to have been particularly aware of Heliodoros's work. Byz. commentators, such as an unidentified Philip the Philosopher and John EUGENIKOS, interpreted the romance's love affair as an allegory of the soul's pursuit of a virtuous life.

ED. *Les Ethiopiques*², ed. R.M. Rattenbury, T.W. Lumb, J. Maillon (Paris 1960), with Fr. tr. *An Ethiopian Romance*, tr. M. Hadas (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957).

LIT. J.J. Winkler, "The Mendacity of Kalasiris and the Narrative Strategy of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*," *YCS* 27 (1982) 93–158. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:121–25. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

**HELIOPOLIS** (Ἡλιόπολις, now Baalbek [Baʿlabakk] in Lebanon), Syrian city located in a valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges. It was a center of paganism with grandiose temples of Zeus, Aphrodite, Hermes, and Dionysos. Constantine I closed these temples, prohibited the veneration of Aphrodite, and built a church there. Christianity continued to meet resistance, however, and RABBULA of Edessa (died 436) was beaten by heathens when he arrived at Heliopolis to demolish the idols. Emp. Julian persecuted Christians in Heliopolis, and the elite of the city remained predominantly pagan until the late 6th C. (JOHN OF EPHESUS, *HE* 3.27). In the meantime the government tried to adapt the gi-

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gantic shrines for Christian use. Theodosios I reportedly destroyed the temple of Zeus; he tore down the altar and the tower in the Great Court and replaced them with a basilica of St. Peter; ancient sculptures were consistently destroyed. A baptistery was added, and the Hexagonal Court was probably covered in wood in order to create additional interior space. Heliopolis was a bishopric of the province of Phoenician Syria subject to Emesa until 400, when it became part of the newly formed Phoenicia Libanensis under Damascus. Inscriptions (*IGLSyr* 6 [1967] nos. 2827–31, 2882, 2888) record secular construction: canals in the 4th C. and 430/1 and ramparts in ca.440 and 635/6, on the eve of the Arab conquest. KALLINIKOS, the inventor of Greek fire, originated from Heliopolis.

The Arabs took Heliopolis in 637 and transformed the sanctuary into a stronghold. In 761 in the district of Heliopolis there was a rebellion under the leadership of a Syrian named Theodore; all the rebels were slain (Theoph. 431.23–26). The city passed to the FĀṬIMIDS in 972 but was temporarily occupied by John I Tzimiskes in 974. Eventually Saladin established his control over Heliopolis. After changing hands many times it became the chief town of a district under the MAMLŪKS.

LIT. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI*² 1:970f. F. Ragette, *Baalbek* (Park Ridge, N.J., 1980) 68–76. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:384f. –M.M.M.

**HELIOS** (Ἥλιος), the solar god of Greek mythology, often identified in late antiquity with Mithra and APOLLO. In Neoplatonist cosmology, Helios played a significant role. JULIAN dedicated to him a hymn in which Helios appears as the *nous* (mind or reason) that contains within itself all the highest ideas; the *nous* reveals itself as the sun, the visible world's creator and keeper, which implants the ideas into preexisting but dead matter; man is also the creation of Helios and after his death he returns to Helios, who accepts and stores the souls. The SOL INVICTUS, or invincible sun, was the symbol of Helios as protector of the emperor in the late Roman period. It is unclear whether Constantine I the Great supported the cult of Helios: T. Preger (*Hermes* 36 [1901] 457–69) asserted that Constantine erected his own statue as Helios, but J. Karayannopoulos (*Historia* 5 [1956] 341–57) attempted to reject Preger's thesis. Christians interpreted Helios euhemeristically as the king of Egypt, the son of Hephaistos. MALALAS connected two legendary episodes with "King Helios": as the protector of morality Helios discovered the shameful liaison of Ares and Aphrodite; Romans introduced horse races in honor of Helios, who was to supervise the races between the Earth (the Greens) and the Sea (the Blues). Elements of the veneration of Helios were retained in the popular worldview (H. Grégoire, M. Letocart, *REA* 42 [1940] 161–64). On the other hand, Christianity also used solar symbolism, presenting Christ as *sol salutis* (see SOL JUSTITIAE) and accepting SUNDAY as a holy day. In the 15th C. George Gemistos PLETHON addressed Helios as "*hegemon* of heaven and of every created being" (Alexandre, *Pléthon* 136). The image of the sun remained the focal point of Byz. imperial PROPAGANDA.

LIT. Dagron, *Naissance* 37–41. E. Hörling, *Mythos und Pistis* (Lund 1980) 65f. P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism* (Oxford 1981) 113f, 150, 173f, 197f. I. Medvedev, "Solar Cult in Plethon's Philosophy?" *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 737–49. –A.K.

**HELIOU BOMON MONASTERY.** A monastery of Heliou Bomon (Ἡλίου βωμῶν, "altars of the sun") is first mentioned in the 10th C.; Janin suggests that it is the same as Elaiobomoi ("olive altars"), known in the 9th C. By the 12th C. Heliou Bomon had fallen into decline and was rebuilt by Nikephoros the Mystikos, who also recovered the monastery's confiscated estates. At this time Heliou Bomon changed its status from a patriarchal to an independent monastery (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1044). Emp. Manuel I helped support the costs of restoration. Nikephoros's *typikon* of 1162 limited to 20 the number of monks at Heliou Bomon and at its *metochion* in Constantinople, which was dedicated to St. Bassianos. The *typikon* is closely modeled on those of EUERGETIS and St. MAMAS.

It appears that Heliou Bomon was identical with or was united with the monastery of Elegmoi, since the *typikon* refers to the monastery as "Heliou Bomon or Elegmoi." The Elegmoi monastery first appears in 10th-C. sources. In 1042 Emp. Michael V was confined there after his deposition from the throne. In the late 12th C. the *hegoumenos* of Elegmoi became archimandrite of all monasteries in the Mt. OLYMPOS region. The Elegmoi monastery was located at modern Kurşunlu in Bithynia, 12 km east of Mudanya. C. Mango (*DOP* 22 [1968] 169–76) has identified the 12th-C. Church of St. Aberkios, which still stands there, as the building constructed by Nikephoros. The church has distinctive recessed brickwork, a single nave with dome (now collapsed), an apse with a triple window, and a vaulted narthex.

SOURCE. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:715–69.
LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 142–48. –A.M.T.



**HELL** was often designated with the classical terms HADES or, more rarely, Tartaros, and also with the biblical word Gehenna. The netherworld of the Byz. was located deep beneath the earth and construed as the realm of the DEVIL and DEMONS where sinners would be punished after death or after the LAST JUDGMENT. The damned underwent different kinds of punishment. The image of Hell was contrasted with that of PARADISE and originated from the concept of a reward or punishment in the afterlife for a virtuous or sinful existence on earth.

ORIGEN considered the suffering in Hell as temporary; his ESCHATOLOGY was dominated by the idea of the *apokatastasis panton*, the cyclical restoration of all spiritual beings and their final return to God. Some traces of this concept are to be found in pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, who taught the *epistrophe*, or return to God. The church fathers, however, rejected the Origenist teaching—both John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria (PG 77:1072B–1089B) defended the idea of eternal punishment in Hell. This latter doctrine was finally accepted at the council of Constantinople in 553.

The Byz. sometimes distinguished several underworlds. Hades could be cast as an intermediate state for the souls of people who lived before the Christian era and who were liberated by the descent of Christ. Hades was also an intermediate place for all souls until the Last Judgment, and, often inhabited by a personification of its ruler, the domain represented in images of the ANASTASIS. Hades and Gehenna were names for the place of punishment for sinners. In Gehenna there was no possibility for repentance and love of God. The Byz. created special genres of VISION and journeys to Hell in which perceptions of the netherworld varied drastically, from a place of torture and suffering (in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER), to a murky area full of animals symbolizing sins (the vita of Andrew the Fool, PG 111:772A–773B), to a site of rest, conversation, and litigation (*Timarion*).

LIT. M. Richard, *DTC* 5 (1924) 47–83. H. Crouzel, "L'Hadès et la Géhenne selon Origène," *Gregorianum* 59 (1978) 291–331. S. Lampsakes, *Hoi katabaseis ston kato kosmo ste byzantine kai metabyzantine logotechnia* (Athens 1982). –G.P., R.S.

**HELLAS** (Ἑλλάς), Greece, as a generic term usually applied to central Greece south of Thermopylai and the PELOPONNESOS but excluding EPIROS; its inhabitants were sometimes called Helladikoi (Charanis, *Demography*, pt.XVII [1953], 615–20). The *Synekdemos* of HIEROKLES equates Hellas with the province of ACHAIA. The theme of Hellas was created between 687 and 695 but debate continues about its original extent. Charanis (*Demography*, pt.XVIII [1955], 172–76) argues that only the eastern parts of central Greece were included, while Zakythinos (*infra* 54) thinks that THESSALY and the Peloponnesos were also part of the theme. By the end of the 8th C. Hellas was restricted to east central Greece, with THEBES as residence of the *strategos* or *krites*. In the 9th–10th C., among the western themes, the *strategos* of Hellas ranked below those of the Peloponnesos, NIKOPOLIS, and KIBYRRHAIOTAI (Oikonomides, *Listes* 105.12–15). Perhaps as early as the 10th C. the administration of Hellas was occasionally combined with that of the Peloponnesos, probably for military reasons. After 1205 most of Hellas fell under the authority of the duke of Athens. The church of Hellas was generally under the authority of the bishop of ATHENS, thus under the papacy until 732/3.

LIT. D. Zakythinos, *He Byzantine Hellas 392–1204* (Athens 1965). *TIB* 1:50–78. J. Koder, *RBK* 2:1099–1189. G. Ostrogorsky, "Postanak tema Helada i Peloponez," *ZRVI* 1 (1952) 64–77. –T.E.G.

**HELLENES** (Ἕλληνες). The expression *Hellen* and its derivatives had in the late Roman period two principal meanings: *hellenizo* meant first of all "to speak Greek" and *to Hellenikon* denoted the Greek language, whereas the noun *Hellen* with corresponding adjectives and adverbs designated "gentile, pagan" and had a pejorative meaning in the writings of the church fathers; accordingly Justinian I speaks of "the fallacy of impious and

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foul Hellenes" (*Cod.Just.* XV 18.10); on the other hand, Julian (e.g., ep.22 [ed. Wright] to Arsakios, high priest of Galatia) praises Hellenic "liturgy" and Hellenic good works. The positive self-respect of the Hellenes disappeared after the victory of Christianity, but the ambiguity (Greek language—pagan rite) persisted. Thus ARETHAS OF CAESAREA speaks of both "Hellenic language" (e.g., *Scripta minora* 1:96.25–26) and of *hellenizontes* as opposed to Christians (1:62.24–5), and in Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:34.12) the wisdom of Hellenes and Chaldaeans is contrasted with real knowledge. More complicated is the position of Niketas Choniates, for whom "Hellenic" designates not only language or adherence to paganism, but also Byz. allegiance—the *Hellen aner* is identical with the Rhomaios (Nik.Chon. 301.18), and Hellenic *poleis* are Byz. cities (496.50). From the 13th C. onward, the Byz. saw themselves not only as Romans but also as Hellenes (see HELLENISM).

LIT. K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner* (Munich 1954) 16–37. A. Garzya, "Visages de l'Hellénisme dans le monde byzantin," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 463–82. J. Irmscher, "'Griechischer Patriotismus' im 14.Jahrhundert," 14 *CEB* 2 (Bucharest 1975) 133–37. P. Gounaridis, "'Grecs,' 'Hellenes' et 'Romains' dans l'état de Nicée," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 248–57. –A.K.

**HELLENISM.** Two meanings of the term *Hellenism* are of concern to scholars of Byz. The first designates the consciousness among medieval and modern Greeks of their identity with the inhabitants of ancient Greece and an emphasis on their position as heirs to Greek classical civilization. The second meaning, modeled on the German usage of the word *Hellenismus*, refers to the period in the history of the region of the eastern Mediterranean between Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.) and the Roman conquest of the region in the late 2nd and 1st C. B.C., also called the Hellenistic period.

**1. *Devotion to Greek civilization.*** Throughout the millennium of their empire, Byz. scholars expressed their links with ancient Greek culture through the conservatism of their archaizing literary LANGUAGE, which attempted to "atticize" or imitate the Greek written in the Golden Age of Athens. The system of EDUCATION in Byz. also used a curriculum based heavily on the study of a limited selection of ancient authors; a familiarity, often superficial, with classical Greek literature was presumed among the literati, who made frequent allusions to ANTIQUITY in their writings.

A greater emphasis on Hellenism began to manifest itself in the course of the 12th C. and became more marked in the late Byz. period, in the face of continuing conflict with the Westerners and the growing threat from the Turks. Moreover, as the empire shrank, it lost its multiethnic composition and by the 13th C. was limited, for the most part, to Greek-speaking lands. The Greeks began to call themselves HELLENES as well as RHOMAIOI and to think of themselves as a *genos*, or "nation." Intense interest in ancient Greek culture was a characteristic of the Palaiologan period, culminating in George Gemistos PLETHON, who advocated a return to a somewhat philosophical version of ancient Greek paganism, utopian social reforms based on Plato's *Republic*, and the establishment of an independent Greek state in the Peloponnesos.

**2. *Historical period.*** In the Byz. era, the historians MALALAS, GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS, KEDRENOS, and ZONARAS were particularly interested in Hellenism. They emphasized, among other themes, the internal strife in which the *toparchiai* (the realms of the *diadochoi* or successors of Alexander) were involved until they were engulfed by the Romans; they were also concerned with Jewish history under Hellenistic monarchs and with the mission of Jesus. As for the Hellenistic cultural heritage, the Byz. paid special attention to scientific writings (e.g., PTOLEMY), works on grammar (DIONYSIOS THRAX), didactic poetry (Aratos, 3rd C. B.C.), and epic (Apollonios of Rhodes, 3rd C. B.C.).

LIT. **1.** A.E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970), esp. 27–45. Idem, "Byzantinism and Hellenism," *BalkSt* 9 (1968) 101–26. C. Mango, "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism," *JWarb* 28 (1965) 29–43. A. Garzya, "Visages de l'hellénisme dans le monde byzantin (IVe-XIIe siècles)," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 463–82.

LIT. **2.** J. Irmscher, "Der Hellenismus im Geschichtsverständnis der Byzantiner," *Soziale Probleme im Hellenismus und im römischen Reich* (Prague 1973) 37–62. –A.M.T., A.K.

**HELLESPONT** (Ἑλλήσποντος), a term designating both a strait and a province.

**1.** Also called "the Stenon," the Hellespont was the strait between the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmara, with the cities of ABYDOS and LAMPSAKOS on the Asian shore and KALLIPOLIS on the European shore. The Hellespont was of obvious strategic and commercial importance as a major approach to Constantinople by sea. In the 4th–5th C. it was under the command of the *archon* of the Stenon, who was stationed in Abydos and provided with a flotilla of 5 *dromones*. Justinian I, according to Prokopios, established there a state customs post (*teloneion*). Seals from the end of the 7th and the early 8th C. mention the *apotheke* (storehouse) of Hellespont and its KOMMERKIARIOI; it usually appears as a joint *apotheke* of "Hellespont and Constantinople" (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.190), or of "Hellespont and Asia, Caria, Lydia, and islands" (nos. 226, 236). Thereafter the term *Hellespont* disappears from administrative nomenclature, although the *strategos* of the Stenon is mentioned (Oikonomides, *Listes* 358, n.394)—this, however, could refer to the Bosporos. In 1204 the Venetians gained control of Hellespont and the Latin Empire held most of the land on either side. By 1235, however, John III Vatatzes recovered the area. In the 14th C. the Hellespont was occupied by the Turks.

**2.** Hellespont also designated a late Roman province in northwest Asia Minor, originally part of the province of Asia, but a distinct entity in the VERONA LIST and in an inscription quoted by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 1.32–33, ed. Pertusi 61); its capital was KYZIKOS, and Hierokles (Hierokl. 661.14–15) assigned to it 30 cities. The civil province disappeared in the 7th C., but the ecclesiastical diocese survived, with Kyzikos as metropolis (*Notitiae CP* 1:10) and suffragan bishoprics including Abydos, Germe, Ilion, Lampsakos, and Troas (*ibid.* 1:131). At the end of the 7th C. Justinian II resettled a large number of Cypriots in the region. The city of New Justinianopolis was granted the rights of the diocese of Constantia in Cyprus so that its bishop presided over all the bishops of the province of Hellespont (*De adm. imp.* 48.11–15). The measure, although confirmed by the Council in Trullo, left no trace in the notitiae.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.II (1961) 239–43. Eadem, *Mer* 313–27. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 76–80. –T.E.G.

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**HENOTIKON** (Ἑνωτικόν, edict of "unity"), theological formula issued by the emperor Zeno in 482 in an attempt to secure reconciliation between Chalcedonians and MONOPHYSITES. The text (Evagrios Scholastikos, *HE* 3.14) was apparently the work of AKAKIOS, patriarch of Constantinople, with the assistance of PETER MONGOS. The *Henotikon* sought to end theological controversy by glossing over the decisions of the Council of CHALCEDON and ignoring the critical issue of the natures of Christ. It condemned both NESTORIOS and EUTYCHES and demanded adherence only to the first three ecumenical councils. The *Henotikon* proved acceptable to neither side, however; furthermore, it was condemned by Pope FELIX III in 484 and gave rise to the AKAKIAN SCHISM. The *Henotikon* was a notable attempt by an emperor to solve a theological difficulty by imperial fiat. The *Henotikon* remained in force during the reign of Anastasios I but was abrogated by Justin I in 519.

ED. E. Schwartz, "Der Codex Vaticanus graecus 1431, eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos," *ABAW*, philos.-hist. Abt. 32 (1927), no.6, 52–54.

LIT. S. Salaville, "L'Affaire de l'Hénotique" and "L'Hénotique de Zénon," *EO* 18 (1916–19) 255–65, 389–97. W.T. Townsend, "The Henotikon Schism and the Roman Church," *Journal of Religion* 16 (1936) 78–86. –T.E.G.



**HENRI DE VALENCIENNES,** French continuator of Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN for events in the LATIN EMPIRE of Constantinople from May 1208 to July 1209. Henri is possibly identical with a cleric who authored a verse *Vie de S. Jean l'Evangéliste* ca.1200 and apparently accompanied the future Latin emperor BALDWIN OF FLANDERS on the Fourth Crusade; he may also be the Master Henry sent to the pope in 1205, who evidently became a canon of Hagia Sophia and witnessed the Concordat of 1210. His *History*, which was intended as an independent work, was probably composed in 1208 and 1209, and certainly before 1216. It treats the Latin campaigns against the Bulgarians, relations with David Komnenos and Theodore I Laskaris, and Emp. Henry's struggle against the Lombard knights of the Kingdom of Thessalonike. Although Henri lacks the balance and vision of Villehardouin and delights in speeches and fictitious dialogue, he offers abundant details on historical topography, costume, climate, and other matters.

ED. J. Longnon, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople* (Paris 1948). Fr. tr. N. de Wailly, *La conquête de Constantinople par Geoffroi de Villehardouin avec la continuation de Henri de Valenciennes*[3] (Paris 1882) 38–421.

LIT. J. Longnon, "Sur l'histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople par Henri de Valenciennes," *Romania* 69

(1946–47) 198–241. J. Dufournet, "Robert de Clari, Villehardouin et Henri de Valenciennes, juges de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople," in *Mélanges Jeanne Lods* (Paris 1978) 183–202. –M.McC.

**HENRY VI,** Western emperor (1191–97); born Nijmegen, Netherlands 1165, died Messina 28 Sept. 1197. Son of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, Henry was crowned king of Germany in 1169. In 1185 Henry married Constance, daughter of ROGER II of Sicily. The death of WILLIAM II of Sicily allowed him to claim that throne. In 1194 Henry overcame Norman resistance, led by TANCRED OF LECCE. In Palermo, he found Irene Angelina, widow of Tancred's son, whom he married to PHILIP OF SWABIA. At Easter 1195, Henry proclaimed a Crusade, partly to levy tribute on Byz. His envoys made harsh financial demands on ISAAC II early in 1195 and renewed them to ALEXIOS III at Christmas 1196. To meet these, Alexios tried to levy the ALAMANIKON, but Henry's unexpected death forestalled dispatch of the money.

LIT. K. Hampe, *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors* (Oxford 1973) 220–31. E.N. Johnson, *HC* 2:116–22. Brand, *Byzantium* 189–94. –C.M.B.

**HENRY OF BABENBERG,** called "Jasomirgott," first duke of Austria; born ca.1114, died Vienna 13 Jan. 1177. A half-brother of CONRAD III and margrave of Austria after 1141, Henry accompanied Conrad on the Second Crusade. To cement the pact between Conrad and Manuel I, he married (1148 or 1149) Theodora Komnene, daughter of Manuel's brother Andronikos and Irene KOMNENE (Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:171–89). Officially, the court poets hailed the marriage, but Theodore PRODROMOS, putting words in Irene's mouth, makes her lament Theodora's union with a "Western beast" (RHC *Grecs* 2:768.122). After disputes with FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA over possession of Bavaria, in 1156 Henry received Austria as a separate duchy. In 1166 he went to Serdica to try to make peace between Frederick and Manuel. Theodora survived her husband and died 3 Jan. 1183. Their son, Leopold V (born 1157, duke 1177–94), visited Constantinople in 1181 or early 1182 on his way to the Holy Land.

LIT. K.J. Heilig, "Ostrom und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in T. Mayer, K. Heilig, C. Erdmann, *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrichs I.* (Leipzig 1944) 1–271. F. Dölger, "Byzanz und das Westreich," *DA* 8 (1951) 238–49. –C.M.B.

**HENRY OF HAINAULT,** emperor of the LATIN EMPIRE (1206–16); younger brother of BALDWIN OF FLANDERS; born Valenciennes ca.1174, died Thessalonike 11 June 1216. Having joined the Fourth Crusade, in 1204 Henry ('Ερρῆς) defeated an ambush by Alexios V. When Baldwin was captured in 1205, Henry became regent; after Baldwin's death he was crowned (20 Aug. 1206). Following the death of KALOJAN, Henry exploited discords among BORIL of Bulgaria, Slav in Rhodope, Strez at Prosek, the Serbs, and EPIROS to his own advantage (G. Cankova-Petkova, *BHR* 4.4 [1976] 51–61). Because of the hostility of the Lombard barons of THESSALONIKE and northern Greece, in 1208–09 Henry marched to establish Demetrios, son of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, on the throne in Thessalonike. Henry received the homage of ATHENS and the MOREA. In 1211 Henry defeated Theodore I Laskaris at the RHYNDAKOS RIVER and regained the Anatolian coast from Nikomedeia to Atramyttion. He conciliated his Byz. subjects by welcoming Theodore BRANAS into his service, offering fair treatment, and preventing the imposition of Western ecclesiastical usages. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 1:28.12–19) testifies to the good reputation Henry gained.

LIT. Gerland, *Geschichte* 1:51–251. Prinzing, "Brief Heinrichs" 395–431. Longnon, *Compagnons* 140–45. –C.M.B.

**HEPHAISTION OF THEBES,** astrologer; born Thebes in Egypt 26 Nov. 380. Hephaistion compiled in ca.415 one of the most important summaries of classical ASTROLOGY available to the Byz., the *Apotelesmatika*, or *Astrological Effects*. This consists of three books: the first on definitions and celestial omens, the second on genethlialogy, and the third on catarchic astrology. Hephaistion is in no sense original but rather copies or summarizes earlier texts. Some of these we still possess in Greek (e.g., Ptolemy), some also survive in Arabic translations (most importantly Dorotheos of Sidon), but most are known only from other citations in the astrological literature (e.g., by Petosiris, Hipparchus, Critodemus, Thrasyllus, and Antigonus of Nicaea).

The importance that the Byz. accorded to Hephaistion's work is demonstrated by the existence of four epitomes, two of which were made in ca.1000 and the last in the School of John ABRAMIOS in the late 14th C.

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ED. *Apotelesmatica*, ed. D. Pingree, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1973–74). –D.P.

**HEPTAPEGON** (Ar. Ain et-Tabgha, from ἑπτάπηγον [χωρίον], Hebrew En ha-Shiv'ah, "Seven Springs"), PILGRIMAGE site on the northeastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Six springs still flow near the remains of three early Christian churches, each with New Testament associations. A small 4th-C. church directly on the shore (beneath the modern chapel of the Primacy of Peter) incorporated a stone table (altar) where, according to tradition, Christ served breakfast to the disciples after the Resurrection (Jn 21:12–13). Pilgrims chipped small pieces from this table "for their well-being" (*Egérie, Journal de Voyage*, ed. P. Maraval [Paris 1982] 95f). Nearby, a 5th-C. basilica (with a smaller 4th-C. precursor beneath it) commemorated Christ's Feeding the Five Thousand (Mk 6:32–44). Its exceptional mosaic pavements, among the earliest figural mosaics in Christian Palestine, depict the loaves and fishes as well as marsh plants, fowl, and buildings. The third church (6th C.) rose above a small grotto where Christ was thought to have uttered the Beatitudes (Mt 5:1–12). These associations were still alive during the Crusades.

LIT. A.M. Schneider, *The Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes* (London 1937). S. Loffreda, *Scavi di et-Tabgha* (Jerusalem 1970). –K.G.H.

**HERACLEOPOLIS MAGNA.** See AKHNĀS.

**HERAKLEIA** (Ἡράκλεια). Three cities with this name figured prominently in Byz. history.

**HERAKLEIA IN THRACE** (anc. Perinthos, mod. Marmara Ereğli), city on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara, at the junction of the Via EGNATIA and the main Balkan road to NAISSUS. Renamed Herakleia by Diocletian (who was Herculius in official terminology), it continued to be called Pe(i)rinthos by antiquarians up to the mid-15th C. (e.g., Kritob. 35.24). According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.9.14), it had been the most important city in the province of Europa, but was replaced by Constantinople, which was originally its suffragan. A bishopric in 325, Herakleia appeared as a metropolis in notitiae; the number of its suffragans increased, but Constantinople became independent of Herakleia in 330 or 381 (Dagron, *Naissance* 418f).

Herakleia was attacked by the Goths after the battle of Adrianople in 378, then by Attila, by the Avars, and the Bulgars. The city is mentioned by many later authors, among others NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.19.42), Skylitzes, Gregoras, and Kantakouzenos, mostly as a geographical site or an ecclesiastical center. The citizens of Herakleia supported Thomas the Slav against Michael II (*TheophCont* 71.5–6). In the PARTITIO ROMANIAE (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 249) "Yraclee" was assigned to the Venetians. The city played an important role during the civil wars of the 14th C. In 1382, together with RHAIDESTOS and some other Thracian towns, Herakleia was given over to Andronikos IV. Little is known about the internal life of the city: a seal of the 9th–10th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1974) belonged to a *spatharios* and *archon* of Herakleia, but it is not certain that the Thracian Herakleia was meant. The remains of an aqueduct and at least one church—perhaps that of St. Glykeria, damaged by the Avars in 591 and rebuilt by Maurice—have been preserved.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 19 (1938) 810–12. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:212–18. –T.E.G.

**HERAKLEIA IN CAPPADOCIA** (anc. Kybistra), a city of ANATOLIKON at the southern edge of the Anatolian plateau and the beginning of the pass to the CILICIAN GATES; now Tont Kalesi near Ereğli. Herakleia gained importance during the wars with the Arabs, who first attacked it in 708 and destroyed it in 806; it was soon restored. Herakleia was the scene of fighting into the 10th C. and consequently appears in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS. As a bishopric of CAPPADOCIA II, it was always known by its ancient name; it became autocephalous ca.1060. The site contains no significant remains.

LIT. *TIB* 2.188–90. –C.F.

**HERAKLEIA PONTIKE** (mod. Ereğli), a city, bishopric, and excellent harbor on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia; it was in PAPHLAGONIA after Diocletian and then was joined to Honorias ca.385. Theodosios II visited Herakleia Pontike and rebuilt it ca.440 after an earthquake. The Pontic Mountains protected Herakleia Pontike from Arab attack, so that Basil I could draw population from it for his new foundation, Kallipolis. Turks, however, ravaged the area after the battle of MAN-

TZIKERT in 1071. David Komnenos, brother of the ruler of TREBIZOND, took Herakleia Pontike in 1205 and made it capital of his domain, called Paphlagonia; he lost it in 1214 to Theodore I Laskaris, who made it a major frontier bulwark. Thereafter it was usually called Pontoherakleia. The Genoese had a colony there after 1261 and bought the city from the weakening empire in 1360; they held it until the Ottomans captured it after 1453.

Late antique Herakleia Pontike occupied a high hill by the sea and spread into the adjacent plain; it withdrew to the hill after the 7th C. The city's walls, rebuilt by David Komnenos, and its Laskarid citadel, are preserved as well as a basilical church perhaps built by Theodosios II.

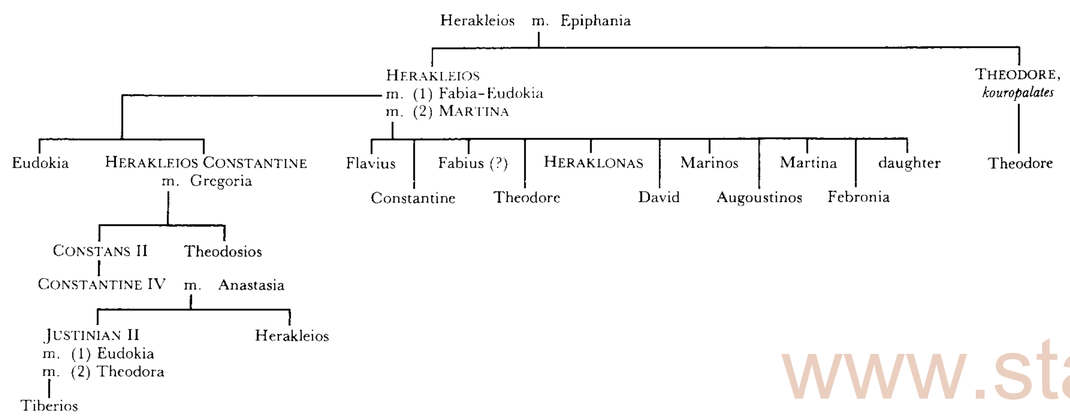
(For Herakleia Lynkestis, see PELAGONIA.)

LIT. W. Hoepfner, *Herakleia Pontike* (Vienna 1966). Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 150f. –C.F.

**HERAKLEIOS** (Ἡράκλειος), emperor (from 5 Oct. 610); son of the exarch of Carthage; born ca.575, died Constantinople Feb. 641. Herakleios seized power when he arrived with an African fleet to overthrow the "tyrannical" PHOKAS (G. Rösch, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 51–62). The Greens and Patr. SERGIOS I supported the overthrow. Herakleios found the empire in trouble: the Slavs and Avars were invading the northern Balkans; the Persians exerted severe pressure on the eastern frontier. The general KOMENTIOLOS revolted against Herakleios in Ankyra, and in Antioch the partisans of Phokas were still at the helm (Kaegi, "New Evidence" 308–30). The first years of Herakleios's reign witnessed a new Persian offensive, commanded by SHAHRBARĀZ and SHĀHĪN, which resulted in the Persian capture of Jerusalem in 614 and occupation of Egypt from ca. 619 to 629. Herakleios entertained the idea of transferring the capital to Carthage but gave up the plan at the request of Sergios and the population of Constantinople.

Unable to fight on two fronts, in 619 Herakleios concluded a truce with the Avars. After reorganizing the army (reinforcement of cavalry and light-armored archers), in 622 he mobilized his forces in Asia Minor, won several victories, and invaded Armenia. The crucial battle took place in 626, when SHAHRBARĀZ reached the Bosporos and together with the khan of the Avars besieged Constantinople. The attack on 7 Aug. failed; both the Avars and the Persians retreated. In 627 Herakleios was able to invade Persia, inducing panic: CHOSROES II was overthrown and KĀVAD-SHĪRŪYA signed a peace treaty. This victory has been seen as the occasion celebrated in the series of DAVID PLATES. As a result Herakleios was able to recover the TRUE CROSS, which had been captured by the Persians. The success was but temporary: in 634 the ARABS invaded Syria and in 636 crushed the Byz. at YARMUK. They seized Mesopotamia and attacked Armenia and Egypt.

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF HERAKLEIOS




Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 362.

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Herakleios was an able general, one of the few late Roman emperors who commanded the army in person. It is, however, questionable whether he was a great administrator. Ostrogorsky (*History* 95–100) ascribed to Herakleios a series of administrative, fiscal, and military reforms, esp. the introduction of the system of THEMES, but this theory has been rejected (R.-J. Lilie, *BS* 45 [1984] 27–39, 190–201). Herakleios proved unable to resolve religious disputes: MONOENERGISM seemed to be only a middle way between the Chalcedonians and Monophysites and only exacerbated the problem in both West and East.

Herakleios was twice married, to Fabia, who took the Greek name Eudokia, and to his niece MARTINA. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium*, vols. 1–2. W. Kaegi, "Heraclius and the Arabs," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 109–33. I. Čičurov, "O kavkazskom pochode imperatora Iraklija," *Vostočnaja Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* (Moscow 1978) 261–66. I. Shahid, "Heraclius πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεύς," ΔΟΙΠ 34–35 (1980–81) 225–37. –W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

**HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE** (also called Constantine III; Stratos, *infra*, calls him Constantine II), emperor (from 11 Jan. [?] 641); born Constantinople 3 May 612, died Constantinople 20 Apr. or 24 or 26 May 641. Son of HERAKLEIOS and Fabia/Eudokia, Herakleios Constantine was proclaimed co-emperor 22 Jan. 613, consul in 632. In 629 or 630 he married his cousin Gregoria, daughter of the general NIKETAS. After Herakleios died, Herakleios Constantine and his half-brother HERAKLONAS inherited the throne as co-rulers. From the beginning of Herakleios Constantine's rule, his stepmother MARTINA opposed him. Bad health (probably tuberculosis) and fears for the succession of his young son (the future CONSTANS II, whom Stratos prefers to call Constantine III) made Herakleios Constantine's situation even worse. He tried to gratify the army by giving 50,000 nomismata to the treasurer Philagrios to buy military support. Short of money, Herakleios Constantine had the tomb of his father opened and the crown removed. The defense of Egypt against the Arabs failed; Herakleios Constantine recalled Theodore, *doux* of Egypt, and replaced him with the *augustalios* Anastasios. Herakleios Constantine's death left the empire in a predicament. Rumor had it that Martina had poisoned him. Little is known of Herakleios Constantine's personality, but he was popular among the people of Constantinople.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 2:175–85. Kaegi, *Unrest* 154f. H. Gelzer, *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen* (Freiburg im Breisgau-Leipzig 1893) 125–27. –W.E.K., A.K.

**HERAKLES,** son of ZEUS and Alkmene, the most famous hero of Greek mythology. The Latin Hercules is connected with the emperor and the imperial cult well into late antiquity (cf. MAXIMIAN Herculius). In Byz. literature Herakles appears as a standard part of imperial imagery, the defender (Theodore Prodromos, ed. Hörandner, no.16.78) and accomplisher of wondrous deeds (An.Komn. 1:36.11–16). Traces of Prodikos's allegorical interpretation (Herakles at the crossroads) are found in Basil the Great (PG 31:573AB, ch.5.14). In the *Souda* (2:584) Herakles becomes an allegory of the philosopher, who, protected by the lionskin of wisdom, kills the Hydra of desire with the club of rationality. According to K. Weitzmann (*SemKond* 8 [1936] 88f), Herakles dragging Kerberos from Hades provided a model for Christ's raising of Adam in ANASTASIS scenes. Various anecdotal material survives as well: for example, Herakles as high priest (*mystikos*, *telestes*), who becomes king of Italy after a childhood spent in Spain (Malal. 86.12–17). Most of all, Herakles and his labors are used throughout Byz. literature as a symbol of physical power or prodigious achievement, for emperors in particular (Leo Diac. 48.17f; *TheophCont* 332.20f). As a symbol of fortitude for both pagans and Christians, he appears frequently on 6th-C. textiles, silver, and ivory (*Age of Spirit*. nos. 136, 139, 206). Some elements of this imagery survive in popular literature. The death battle of Digenes Akritas with Charos, for example, reflects the struggle of Herakles and Thanatos (D.A. Notopoulos, *Laographia* 17 [1958] 451–53). Widely and often comically, Herakles' labors are represented on ivory and bone CASKETS AND BOXES. PROKOPIOS OF GAZA describes their depiction on a clock. Herakles could symbolize lust and servitude to women (Nik.Chon. 139.39–43). Sometimes the first night of lovers is compared to a "Herculean labor" (Theodore Daphnopates, ed. Darrouzès-Westerink, 17.15).

LIT. R. Peter in W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1886–90) 2997–3002. P. Monat, "La polémique de Lactance contre Hercule," in *Hommages à L. Lerat*, vol. 2 (Paris 1984) 575–83. —P.A.A., A.C.

**HERAKLONAS** (Ἡρακλωνᾶς), or Herakleios II, emperor (Apr./May–Sept. 641 [until July 642, according to Stratos]); son of MARTINA and Herakleios; born Constantinople 626, died probably Rhodes, date unknown. Co-ruler with his half-brother HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE, Heraklonas ascended the throne at the latter's death, but Martina ruled *de facto*. Supported by the army of Thrace, she attempted to remove Herakleios Constantine's supporters and primarily the treasurer Philagrios; Patr. PYRRHOS became her main adviser and she pursued a policy of MONOTHELETISM. This internal friction coincided with Arab successes in Egypt. Martina sent Patr. KYROS back to Alexandria; he assumed the civil administration while generals fled to save their lives. The opposition of the senate and of the troops in Asia Minor compelled the emperor to surrender: Herakleios Constantine's son CONSTANS II was proclaimed co-emperor, and to balance this shortcoming Martina made her son, David-Tiberios, the third *basileus*. The compromise was temporary, and the revolt of VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI overthrew Heraklonas and his family. After his nose was slit, Heraklonas, with his mother and brothers, was exiled to Rhodes.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 2:186–205. Kaegi, *Unrest* 155–57. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 70–73. —W.E.K., A.K.

**HERALDRY.** See COATS OF ARMS.

**HERBALS.** See DIOSKORIDES; SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUSTRATION OF.

**HERESY** (αἵρεσις, lit. "sect, school"), a term used by the church fathers to designate a sectarian or dissident teaching, sometimes that of pagans or Jews (including MANICHAEANISM) but mainly within Christianity. There was a double terminological difficulty. First, each party accused the other of heresy—thus, the emperor Julian (quoted by Cyril of Alexandria, PG 76:565C) asserted that the tenets of the "Galilaeans," not those of the Hellenes or Jews, were *hairesis*, and conflicting Christian communities tended to call themselves "orthodox" and their adversaries "heretics." Second, it is necessary to distinguish heresy, a division on doctrinal grounds, from SCHISM, a split caused by disagreement on church policy and questions "capable of adjustment" (although sometimes doctrinal issues were also involved).

Basil the Great (ep.188.1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2 [Paris 1961] 121–24) makes the following distinctions between *hairesis*, *schisma*, and *parasynagoge*: heretics are those who are completely severed from the faith, while schism encompasses those unable to find a common solution to certain ecclesiastical problems, and *parasynagogai* are assemblies of rebellious bishops and priests and of disobedient laymen. As examples of heretics Basil mentions Manichaeans, Gnostics (both Valentinians and Marcionites—see GNOSTICISM), and Montanists ("Pepouzenoi"—see MONTANISM), while ancient Katharoi, Enkratitai, and Hydroparastatai were schismatics. This theoretically clear distinction was muddied in later usage: when the Latin and Byz. churches severed communion both parties employed the terms heretics and schismatics for their adversaries. Works on heresies developed into a common genre of Byz. theological literature (e.g., the *Panarion* of EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus and *Panoplia dogmatike* of Euthymios ZIGABENOS). The SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY was a regular liturgical condemnation of heresies.

With the conversion of Constantine I the state became involved in the definition of and struggle against heresy, and the legal codes contain various penalties for heretical groups, frequently in ranked order, with more pernicious heresies treated more harshly. Church COUNCILS, both local and ecumenical, were commonly called to define faith and combat heresy. The idea of doctrinal error as dissent and a crime resulted from the concept of "political orthodoxy," that is, an obligatory uniformity on major points of the creed. The proliferation of sects and philosophical schools in antiquity was singled out as a shortcoming of paganism.

The late Roman period witnessed a rich blend of heresies. In the 4th–7th C. the question of SALVATION was of preeminent importance: in the West it acquired a moral and juristic flavor, focusing on the concept of free will (PELAGIANISM), whereas in the East ontological problems (the substance of the Trinity, the natures and wills of Christ in his divinity and humanity) were the



major subject of discussion (ARIANISM, NESTORIANISM, and MONOPHYSITISM). These "heresies" became entrenched outside the empire, while within, by the end of the 7th C., the Chalcedonian view became dominant; the terms *Arian*, *Manichaean*, etc., were, however, often applied to various later heresies.

John of Damascus, in his work *On Heresies*, lists besides the principal heresies a series of proponents of false doctrines rarely mentioned in or completely unknown from other sources, such as the Eutychianistoi, who denied that Christ received his flesh from the Virgin and asserted that it came from a divine source (ch.82.1–4, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:49); the Theokatagnostoi, who dared to censure some words and actions of the Lord and holy persons (ch.92.1–3, p.57); the Thnetopsychitai, who drew no distinction between the human soul and body and believed that the soul perished with the body (ch.90.1–2, p.57); the Heliotropitai, who worshiped the heliotrope flower, seeing in it a symbol of the soul ascending to God (ch.89.1–5, p.57); the Gnosiomachoi, who rejected any Christian doctrine (*gnosis*) since God allegedly did not require anything but good deeds (ch.88.1–4, p.57); the Heiketai, ascetics who were Orthodox in their belief but gathered together with female ascetics in the nude in order to worship God with dancing and singing (ch.87.1–4, p.56f); and the Ethnophrones, who accepted pagan habits such as astrology, divination, incantations, and Hellenic feasts (ch.94.1–8, p.58).

The major religious dissent of the 8th–9th C. was connected with the theological interpretation of the ICON—was it an idol that impaired the proper worship of God (the view of adherents of ICONOCLASM) or a mysterious link between mankind and the Godhead, instrumental in the mystery of salvation? After the cult of icons was restored, dualism in the form of BOGOMILISM came to the fore, while from the 9th C. onward, the schism with the West, based on theological and liturgical differences (esp. problems of the FILIOQUE and AZYMES) developed. In later centuries indigenous Byz. heresies evolved from differing interpretations of the role of institutional and individual paths to salvation: ca.1000 SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN came under suspicion because he emphasized the significance of the vision of the divine light and the personal links between teacher and disciple to the detriment of the sacraments; in the 14th C. HESYCHASM developed Symeon's individualistic or mystical approach.

The origins and exact nature of Byz. heresy have been much debated. Some scholars have suggested that heresy was caused by social and economic factors and that the poor and powerless of the empire expressed their dissatisfaction through adherence to heresy. Others have seen heresy as a reflection of otherwise suppressed national aspirations on the part of North Africans, Syrians, Egyptians, Armenians, Slavs, and other peoples of the empire. A third approach is to suggest that heresy reflects the reemergence of earlier pagan philosophical systems or native religions. Economic, political, national, and cultural phenomena may indeed have had an impact on the development and preservation of certain heresies (rivalry between Constantinople and Alexandria, Syrian adherence to Monophysitism, Platonic traditions in Origenism, urban-oriented Arian propaganda, social protest in Bogomilism, etc.), but the essence of Byz. heresies emerged from dynamic forces within Christianity, primarily from attempts to understand the nature of the Godhead and of the world, to comprehend the concepts of evil (including social evil) and good, and to find the best way to salvation.

**Representation of Heretics in Art.** Heretics, usually shown in poses of submission to church authority, appear in MSS from the 9th C. onward. The heretic Makedonios is depicted groveling before the First Council of Constantinople in the PARIS GREGORY (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.I.), while the defeat of another heretic, probably to be identified as Arius, is represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.108). Arius and Nestorios appear in LECTIONARIES prostrate before church fathers, while Iconoclasts are shown in marginal PSALTER illustration whitewashing icons and being trampled by their adversaries. The vision of PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, as in the Metropolis at MISTRA, became an emblem of the Arian disruption of the church and is often found in the decoration of PASTOPHORIA. The representation of heretics in narthexes and monastic refectories seems to be a post-Byz. phenomenon.

LIT. J. Gouillard, "L'hérésie dans l'Empire byzantin des origines au XIIe siècle," *TM* 1 (1965) 299–324. N.G. Garsoian, "Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation," *DOP* 25 (1971) 85–113. F. Winkelmann, "Einige Aspekte der Entwicklung der Begriffe Häresie und Schisma in der Spätantike," *Koinonia* 6 (1982) 89–109. W.H.C. Frend, "Heresy

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and Schism as Social and National Movements," in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest* (Cambridge 1981) 37–56. K.L. Noetliches, *Die gesetzgeberischen Massnahmen der christlichen Kaiser des 4. Jhs. gegen Häretiker, Heiden und Juden* (Cologne 1971). C. Walter, "Heretics in Byzantine Art," *EChR* 3 (1970) 40–49. –T.E.G., A.K., A.C.

**HERMES,** ancient Greek divinity. Although the myths of Hermes were criticized and ridiculed by Christians, there were some attempts to reconcile his image with the new religion. Early apologists compared his role as the messenger of the gods with that of the Christian Logos. On the other hand, Hermes was considered to be the greatest of Hellenic philosophers, one who "prophesied" the idea of the Trinity and *oikonomia*; he was allegedly a contemporary of Moses, together with whom he studied Egyptian wisdom; some people even identified him as Moses. Kosmas the Hymnographer (PG 38:496.21–32) says that Gregory of Nazianzos rejected this identification; Kosmas, however, assumes that Hermes was the first to call God "triune."

LIT. P. Stockmeier, *RAC* 14:776–80. –A.K.

**HERMES TRISMEGISTOS** (Ἑρμῆς Τρισμέγιστος, lit. "Thrice-Greatest") is the Greek name given to the Egyptian god Thoth, who, as the divinity of wisdom, was believed to be the author of a number of religious texts. The Greeks adopted these documents, known as the *Hermetica*, between the 1st and 3rd C. and regarded them as the revelation of Hermes Trismegistos. They combine elements of magic, astrology, alchemy, philosophy, and theology. They were much read in late antiquity, esp. in the 4th C. They were excerpted by STOBAIOS for his anthology in the 5th C., but between the 6th and 11th C. they practically disappeared from sight in Byz. This must have been partly due to the fact that the occult was never a safe subject in the Christian empire. In the 11th C. PSELLOS was familiar with parts of the *Hermetica*, but the next signs of real interest do not appear until the 14th C. The four earliest surviving MSS of the collection date from that century, and there are some references to it in Nikephoros GREGORAS.

ED. *Corpus hermeticum*, eds. A.D. Nock, A.J. Festugière, 4 vols. (Paris 1945–54).

LIT. G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge 1986). A.-J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 4 vols. (Paris 1944–54). –J.D.

**HERMIT** (ἀναχωρητής, ἐρημίτης, ἡσυχαστής), a monk or nun who retired from the world to live a solitary life of prayer and ASCETICISM. The hermits like ANTONY THE GREAT who withdrew to the DESERT of Egypt in the 3rd and 4th C. were the earliest Christian monks; eremitism continued to be a prominent form of Byz. MONASTICISM until the 15th C. Later hermits were more likely to live on holy mountains such as OLYMPOS, AUXENTIOS, ATHOS, GANOS, and METEORA. There were women hermits until the 11th C.; thereafter nuns were found only in cenobitic convents (A.M. Talbot, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 16–18). Particularly rigorous asceticism was practiced by the STYLITE saints and recluses (ENKLEISTOI).

Eremitism was generally considered to be superior to cenobitic monasticism because of the greater hardships associated with the solitary life and the greater opportunities for spiritual improvement. In art (e.g., Der Nersessian, *L'illustration* II, fig.245) anchorites like St. Onouphrios illustrate the physical self-denial of those who are fed by God. Usually a monk had to spend three years in a KOINOBION before he could receive permission from the *hegoumenos* to become a hermit. A number of monks moved back and forth between the cenobitic and eremitic life, ignoring the principle of monastic STABILITY; most holy men spent at least part of their careers in solitude. Still there was tension between cenobitism and eremitism throughout the centuries. BASIL THE GREAT, who espoused cenobitism, attacked the eremitic way of life because of the impossibility of material self-sufficiency, excessive concern with the self, and the lack of opportunity to practice charity. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE criticized the self-centeredness of the hermit who hid away in a cave, likening him to Homer's Cyclops. Another problem for the hermit was his lack of access to the liturgy and sacraments, if he were not a priest (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 78 [1985] 53–55). Some hermits solved this problem by attending services on the weekend at a nearby monastery.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Hermitic, Cenobitic, and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries," *GOrThR* 30 (1985) 473–87. D. Papachryssanthou, "La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIIIe au XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 43 (1974) 158–80. K. Bosl, "Ἔρημος-Eremus," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 73–90. –A.M.T., A.C.



**HERMOGENES** (Ἑρμογένης), ancient rhetorician, author of handbooks on RHETORIC; born Tarsos ca.160, died before 230. The corpus attached to his name (probably assembled in the late 5th or early 6th C.) consists of five books, of which two (*Progymnasmata*, *On Invention*) are spurious, and a third (*On Method*) of doubtful authenticity; the two others are *On Staseis*, that is, issues presented in court, and *On "Ideas"* [or *Forms*]. Hermogenes systematically described the seven stylistic features, or literary virtues, of a successful speech: clarity, grandeur, elegance, conciseness, ethos (i.e., simplicity, pleasantness, sharpness, comeliness), truth, and force. He distinguished between rhetoric and philosophy, emphasizing the irrelevance of rhetoric to moral problems (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:76). Despite this ethical indifference, Hermogenes became a canon of Byz. (and Renaissance) school rhetoric. The orators could find in Hermogenes, as necessary, the aesthetic of grandeur and force or the aesthetic of clarity and simplicity. From the 5th C. onward, commentaries on Hermogenes were produced (P.H. Richter, *Byzantion* 3 [1926] 163–66); Syrianos, in the 5th C., did not yet know the whole corpus. Among his later commentators were John Sikeliotes and Planoudes; knowledge of Hermogenes can be traced in Germanos I, John Geometres, Psellos, Eustathios of Thessalonike, Tzetzes, Plethon, etc.

ED. *Opera*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1913; rp. Stuttgart 1985). *De statibus*, ed. G. Kowalski (Bratislava 1947).

LIT. Kustas, *Studies* 5–22. D.A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge 1983) 40–73. D. Hagedorn, *Zur Ideenlehre des Hermogenes* (Göttingen 1964). G. Lindberg, *Studies in Hermogenes and Eustathios* (Lund 1977). –E.M.J., A.K.

**HERMONIAKOS, CONSTANTINE,** early 14th-C. poet. His life is obscure. Hermoniakos (Ἑρμονιακός) wrote an account (*Metaphrasis*, i.e., transcription) of the TROJAN WAR, in 24 books of unrhymed octosyllables, covering the war's antecedents and aftermath as well as its actual course. The Italian *despotes* of Epiros, John (Orsini) II Komnenos Angelos Doukas (1323–35), and his wife Anna Palaiologina commissioned the work. Hermoniakos drew partly on the ILIAD (probably a copy with scholia), but more extensively on the *Allegories to the Iliad* by John TZETZES. His intent was to make Homer clear for his contemporaries. In some places he transcribes Homer almost word for word, elsewhere he gives little more than the bare outlines of the plot, avoiding most of the scenes involving the Olympian gods though widely using Homeric similes. He also uses the *Chronike Synopsis* of Constantine MANASSES and shows a slight acquaintance with one play each of EURIPIDES and SOPHOCLES. His own contributions are largely confined to occasional moralizing comments, passages of alliteration and anachronisms; e.g., Achilles appears as the ruler of the Bulgarians and Hungarians.

ED. *La guerre de Troie*, ed. E. Legrand (Paris 1890).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 168–69. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature*, pt.IX (1975), 81–109. T.V. Popova, "Vizantijskaja 'Iliada'," *Antičnost' i sovremennost'* (Moscow 1972) 395–409. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

**HERMOPOLIS MAGNA** (Ἑρμοῦ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, Ar. Ashmunāyn), town in Upper Egypt, metropolis of the Hermopolite nome, an episcopal see from the second half of the 3rd C. (Eusebios, *HE* 6.46.2). Hermopolis Magna is well known from Greek and Coptic papyri as a flourishing cultural and administrative center. Of the two surviving 5th-C. churches, the larger, which was probably the cathedral, is a transept-basilica, with each arm of the transept ending in a large conch. Many of its columns (*spolia* from earlier Roman buildings) are still standing. It was part of a large ecclesiastical complex, which was surrounded by porticoes and had two richly adorned propylaea.

The other church, a more ordinary basilica, is much less well preserved. Along its south side are vestiges of an underground burial and the foundations of a baptistery.

LIT. A.J.B. Wace et al., *Hermopolis Magna, Ashmunein* (Alexandria 1959). Timm, *Ägypten* 1:198–220. G. Roeder, *Hermopolis, 1929–1931* (Hildesheim 1959). M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* (Missoula, Mont., 1979). –P.G.

**HERODIAN** (Ailios Herodianos), 2nd-C. Greek grammarian who wrote on all aspects of grammar other than syntax, but concerned himself principally with prosody and MORPHOLOGY. His *Universal Prosody* (*Katholike prosodia*), now lost, gave in-

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formation on the accentuation of approximately 60,000 words. The *Philetairos*, a short Atticist *lexikon* attributed to him, is certainly a much later compilation. His only work to survive entirely is a short treatise titled *On Singular Words* (*Peri monerous lexeos*). His rich and carefully ordered collections were sources, direct or indirect, for all later grammarians, not least those of Byz. Probably Theodosios of Alexandria (4th–5th C.) wrote an epitome of the *Universal Prosody*. The treatise of THEOGNOSTOS, *On Orthography*, was based largely on Herodian, as was the unpublished *On Breathings* by Theodoretos (date uncertain). Many Byz. commentaries and grammatical writings draw on Herodian, and in this way enable fragments of his lost works to be reconstructed.

ED. *Reliquiae*, ed. A. Lentz, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1867–70; rp. Hildesheim 1965). *Le "Philétaeros" attribué à Hérodien*, ed. A. Dain (Paris 1954).

LIT. P. Egenolff, *Die orthoepischen Stücke der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Leipzig 1887). Egenolff, *Orthog.* –R.B.

**HERODOTUS,** Greek historian; born Halicarnassus ca.485 B.C., died 425. Herodotus was known in 4th-C. Egypt (*P.Oxy.* VI 857), and papyri of his work are found as far away as Dura-Europos (C.B. Welles, *TAPA* 70 [1939] 203–12). The extent of the direct familiarity of the Byz. with Herodotus is debatable. Malalas (Malal. 161.5–9) included him in a list of poets and philosophers who were contemporaries of Philip II of Macedon, and in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI (p.66.1) "the chronographer Herodotus" appears as a source for Constantine I the Great's murder of his son. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.60) characterized Herodotus in a few words as a historian of the Persian kings and the usurper Smerdis—a very Byz. perception (or misperception?) of the book.

Interest in Herodotus awakened in the 10th C. The earliest preserved MS dates from this time; the *Souda* includes Herodotus's biography, and the EXCERPTA of Constantine VII contain passages from him. Herodotus's Persians were considered to be ancestors of the Arabs. Psellos (Mayer, "Psellos' Rede" 53.208–09) praised Herodotus as the most eloquent writer. In the 12th C. chroniclers such as Zonaras and Manasses had studied his text (E. Jeffreys, *Byzantion* 49 [1979] 213f, 234), and other scholars (Gregory Pardos, John Tzetzes, Eustathios of Thessalonike) referred to him. Many authors must have been familiar with Herodotus through reference works, but it seems plausible that CHALKOKONDYLES, in describing the Turks, imitated Herodotus's legends and tales (Gy. Moravcsik in *Polychronion* 369f).

LIT. B. Hemmerdinger, *Les manuscrits d'Hérodote et la critique verbale* (Genoa 1981). –A.C.H., A.K.

**HERVÉ FRANKOPOULOS** (Ἑρβέβιος ὁ Φραγγόπωλος), mid-11th-C. commander of Norman mercenaries in Byz. service. He may have been the founder of the Byz. family of PHRANGOPOULOS. Hervé fought in Sicily under George MANIAKES (1038–40), allegedly with great success. In Byz. service by 1050, he commanded the Normans on the eastern frontier; transferred westward in that year, Hervé and KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS were defeated by the Pechenegs near the Danube. In 1056, Hervé demanded the title of *magistros* from MICHAEL VI; rejected, he withdrew to his estate at Dagarabe in the Armeniakon theme. During the winter of 1056–57, he won the support of 300 Franks and led them toward Lake Van (1057). After an initial success over Turks, Hervé and his followers were enticed into Chliat, where he was seized and many of his followers slain. Apparently Hervé gained his liberty and supported ISAAC I, for a seal indicates he received the title *magistros* as well as the office of *vestiarites* and *stratelates* of the East (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 659f). According to Matthew of Edessa, ca.1063 Turks in Amida bribed a "Frankabol" (possibly Hervé) to hold back from battle; subsequently Constantine X executed him.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *Récits de Byzance et des Croisades*, vol. 2 (Paris 1922) 71–77. R. Janin, "Les Francs au service des 'Byzantins,'" *EO* 29 (1930) 63–65. –C.M.B.

**HESIOD** (Ἡσίοδος), early Greek poet popular in Byz.; born Ascra, Boeotia ca.750 B.C. According to M. West (*CQ* 24 [1974] 161), the *Works and Days* is preserved in more than 260 MSS (more than 100 of them later than 1480), the *Theogony* in approximately 70, and the *Shield of Herakles* in about 60. The oldest MS of the *Works* (Paris, B.N. gr. 2771) dates from the second half of the 10th C. PLANOUDES and his circle prepared an edition of Hesiod, providing corrections of minor metrical faults. A subsequent edition was issued by TRIKLINIOS, who made grammatical and orthographical improvements in the text. The *Souda* attributes to Hesiod other works now lost or surviving only in fragments. Quotations from Hesiod, many of them extensive and sometimes not based on the extant MSS, are found in the ETYMOLOGIKA. Scholia to Hesiod derive from an original of ca.900; ARETHAS OF CAESAREA may have played some role in the annotation of the text.

The Neoplatonist PROKLOS wrote a commentary on the *Works* based on earlier comments by Plutarch. He read the poem not as literature but as a textbook for moral and practical guidance (C. Faraggiana di Sarzana, *Aevum* 55 [1981] 27; eadem in *Proclus, lecteur et interprète des anciens* [Paris 1987] 21–41). Tzetzes attacked Proklos's exegesis, esp. for its lack of a broad introduction characterizing the metrics and providing an allegorical interpretation of the myths; he also criticized Proklos's prolixity and obscurity. The commentary of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS is an unpretentious paraphrase. An allegorical commentary by the deacon John Galenos (12th C.) also survives (Hunger, *Lit.* 2:61, n.27). The anonymous exegesis of the *Theogony* in two Naples MSS is probably of the 13th or 14th C. (M. Capone Ciollaro, *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 30 [1981] 113–28) and not of the 11th or 12th C. as formerly thought.

Seventeen illustrated MSS of Hesiod are preserved, the earliest of the 11th C.; one example, Venice, Marc. gr. 464, was completed in two stages by Demetrios TRIKLINIOS on 20 Aug. 1316 and 16 Nov. 1319 and belonged to BESSARION (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:25–29). Copies of the *Works and Days* contain a varying number of images of PLOWS and other AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

ED. *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*, ed. A. Pertusi (Milan 1955). *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Theogoniam*, ed. L. Di Gregorio (Milan 1975). –K.S., A.K., A.C.

**HESPERINOS.** See VESPERS.

**HESYCHASM** (from ἡσυχάζειν, "to be quiet, at rest"), conventional term for the method of monastic prayer and contemplation (HESYCHIA) designed to achieve communion with God through interior quietude. The practice centered on the perpetual "prayer of the heart," the constant recitation of the short Jesus Prayer, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me" (for an early Byz. commentary on this prayer, see R.E. Sinkewicz, *MedSt* 49 [1987] 208–20). This spirituality of contemplative monasticism can be traced back to the desert fathers. The monastery of St. CATHERINE on Mt. Sinai was an important center for the diffusion of this prayer. Descriptions of such prayer are mentioned in DIADOCHOS of Photike and JOHN KLIMAX. The terms *hesychastes* and *hesychia*, however, are earlier, even common, in 4th-C. monastic and patristic literature. Typically, *hesychastes* was often used as a synonym for a HERMIT or anchorite. Late Byz. writers often attached to the prayer physical exercises designed to achieve concentration (*prosoche*). These psychosomatic methods (cf. Hausherr, *infra* 9 [1927] 164) were viewed as tools and not as an end. Finally, the entire tradition was unified in PALAMISM, the doctrinal synthesis of Gregory PALAMAS.

In addition to its original technical meaning, the term *hesychasm* is often used to describe 14th- through 15th-C. political, social, and religious movements. Clearly hesychasm became a social and political phenomenon once it was drawn into the 14th-C. social struggle and the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, but those who joined the opposing camps did not do so on the basis of any inherent relationship or opposition between Palamism and the sociopolitical conflict. Palamites and anti-Palamites could be found in both camps. In sum, any connection between hesychasm and the feudal nobility associated with Kantakouzenos's forces has never been demonstrated. The familiar "Palamas-Kantakouzenos" identification was ultimately political in essence.

A link has also been suggested between the "withered" art of the late 14th C. and the victory of hesychasm with its supposed Iconoclasm, monastic rigorism, and opposition to the Hellenistic traditions of the Palaiologan "renaissance." This impoverishment, however, was probably caused by economic factors. Besides, the argument fails to account for the unusual extension of Palaiologan art in the Slavic world, supported by Palamite monastic circles. Although the use of the term *hesychasm* to describe the different currents of the 14th C. is convenient, it is misleading if only because these currents were far more complex and sweeping than those of hesychast spirituality, which was concerned primarily with contemplative prayer (J. Meyendorff in *Okeanos*, 447–57).

LIT. I. Hausherr, "La méthode d'oraison des hésychastes," *OrChrAn* 9 (1927) 97–209. Idem, "Hésychasme et prière," *OrChrAn* 176 (1966) 1–306. G. Podskalsky, "Zur

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Gestalt und Geschichte des Hesychasmus," *OstkSt* 16 (1967) 15–32. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological, and Social Problems* (London 1974). D. Angelov, "Isihazmŭt—sŭščnost i rolja," *Palaeobulgarica* 5.4 (1981) no.4, 56–78. –A.P.

**HESYCHIA** (ἡσυχία, lit. "tranquility"), the key concept in Byz., esp. monastic, spirituality through which man ascends to God. *Hesychia* involves the stilling of the normal human senses and passions in order to perceive the transcendent God. Inner and outer *hesychia* were not normally to be found in ordinary society, and *hesychia* became the particular goal of solitary eremitic or hesychastic monks (Justinian I, nov.5.3). The "philosophy" of HESYCHASM consists of three essential points: (1) renouncing the importance of family and the world, (2) renouncing one's own will and attaining complete obedience, and (3) a life of single-minded, pure devotion to God. The prophets Elijah and John the Baptist were seen as biblical prototypes of *hesychia*, or silent absorption in God. The hesychast leads a life like the angels, he is the antitype of the angels on earth. His virtues are solitude, ascetic tears (*penthos*), FEAR of God, humility, LOVE, and the capacity to suffer. He avoids physical hearing, seeing, and speaking and dedicates himself entirely to the purification of the HEART through watchfulness (*nepsis*, *prosoche*; cf. pseudo-Makarios/Symeon, PG 34:517C). A life filled with the pursuit of uniting *hesychia* and learning permeates the autobiography of Nikephoros BLEMMYDES. In the 14th C., the concept of *hesychia* is central to the psychosomatic method of prayer of Nikephoros Sinaites and the doctrine of ENERGIES of Gregory PALAMAS.

LIT. I. Hausherr, "L'hésychasme," *OrChrP* 22 (1956) 5–40, 241–85. J. Meyendorff, "L'hésychasme: Problèmes de sémantique," in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris 1974) 543–47. Idem, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris 1959) 195–222. G. Podskalsky, "Zur Gestalt und Geschichte des Hesychasmus," *OstkSt* 16 (1967) 15–32. –G.P.

**HESYCHIOS** (Ἡσύχιος), pagan historian; born at Miletos, died after 582. Son of a lawyer, Hesychios is always described as *illoustrios*. He wrote a world history in six sections (surviving only in fragments), from the Assyrian king Bel to the death of Emp. Anastasios I in 518; PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.69), who still had access to the entire work, says Hesychios added a (now lost) supplement on the early reign of Justinian I. The PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE (Preger, *Scriptores* 1:1–18) preserves a revised fragment from his account of the history of the city of Byzantion up to the time of Constantine I, which is an imaginative blend of fact and fancy. Hesychios also assembled a collection (*Pinax* or *Onomatologos*) of biographies of pagan men of letters, exploited by Photios and acknowledged as a prime source by the *Souda*, but now lost; a work of similar title and scope surviving under his name (ed. J. Flach [Leipzig 1880]) is spurious and late.

ED. *FHG* 4:143–77. *Onomatologi quae supersunt*, ed. J. Flach (Leipzig 1882). *Biographi Graeci*, ed. J. Flach (Berlin 1883).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:250. H. Schultz, *RE* 8 (1913) 1322–27. Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 23–29. H. Flach, "Untersuchungen über Hesychius Milesius," *RhM* 35 (1880) 191–235. –B.B.

**HESYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA,** 5th- or 6th-C. Greek lexicographer who compiled a lengthy, alphabetically arranged list of rare words, mainly from poetry and local dialects, with their explanations, occasionally supported by brief quotations. Very many of these words are not attested in surviving literature. Hesychios's main source was the lost *Periergopenetes* of Diogenianos of Herakleia (2nd C.), itself an epitome of a longer *lexikon* by Pamphilos (1st C.). His *Lexikon*, which survives in a single 15th-C. MS, is both abbreviated and interpolated with biblical and other glosses from Byz. *lexika*. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA may have had access to a longer version of the text and perhaps helped transmit it. Though not much used by Byz. literati because its recondite vocabulary was of little use to the rhetorician, Hesychios's *Lexikon* was probably used by THEOGNOSTOS in his treatise on ORTHOGRAPHY (K. Alpers, *Theognostos Peri Orthographias* [Hamburg 1964] 27–60), and by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his Homeric commentaries.

ED. *Lexicon*, ed. M. Schmidt, 5 vols. (Jena 1858–68). (Partial) *Lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1953, 1966).

LIT. R. Reitzenstein, "Die Überarbeitung des Lexikons des Hesychios," *RhM* 43 (1888) 443–60. A. von Blumenthal, *Hesychstudien* (Stuttgart 1930). –R.B.

**HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM,** theologian and saint; died after 451; feastday 28 March. Hesychios lived as a monk near the Egyptian frontier; by 412, according to Theophanes (Theoph. 83.6–7), Hesychios was a well-known presbyter and preacher in Jerusalem. Circa 428/9 he was present at the consecration of the church of Euthymios's monastery with JUVENAL, patriarch of Jerusalem. The many fragments, scattered and translated into Armenian, Georgian, and Latin, tend to confirm the Byz. claim that he wrote a commentary on the entire Bible. Hesychios's exegetical method is entirely allegorical, also evincing hostility to philosophy as the source of heretical error. His Christology follows that of CYRIL of Alexandria, albeit expressed in less technical language. He attacks ARIANISM and the heresy of APOLLINARIOS and was himself accused (posthumously) of Monophysite leanings in a letter of Pope Pelagius I (555–61). In addition to biblical exegesis and his various homilies and sermons, not yet all published, he wrote a *Church History*, lost save for the Latin translation of an anti-Nestorian chapter read at the Council of Constantinople in 553 in denunciation of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA.

ED. PG 93:781–1560. *Homélies pascales*, ed. M. Aubineau (Paris 1972), with Fr. tr. Idem, *Les homélies festales*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1978–80), with Fr. tr. For list of works, see J. Kirchmeyer, *DictSpir* 7 (1969) 399–408.

LIT. K. Jüssen, *Die dogmatischen Anschauungen des Hesychius von Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Münster 1931–34). Idem, "Die Mariologie des Hesychius von Jerusalem," in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Michael Schmaus zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. J. Auer, H. Volk (Munich 1957) 651–70. –B.B.

**HETAIREIA** (ἑταιρεία), a unit of the emperor's bodyguard, whose function is uncertain. Litavrin (*VizObščestvo* 47) surmised that protection of the emperor was only occasionally the responsibility of the *hetaireia*, its major function being the administration of a special category of estates. Bury (*Adm. System* 107) identified the *hetaireia* with the FOEDERATI of the 9th C., an unlikely suggestion (Haldon, *Praetorians* 246). There were several *hetaireiai*—three or even four (Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 130); they consisted largely of foreigners—Khazars, Pharganoi, probably Rus', and Hungarians. Bury identified the Pharganoi as Turks from Central Asia, esp. Ferghana; however, a chrysobull of 1079 uses the term *Pharangoi* for Varangians (*Lavra* 1, no.38.30), and the term could have been an altered form of this ethnic designation. P. Karlin-Hayter (*JÖB* 23 [1974] 116, n.66) suggested that the *epi megales hetaireias* (commander of the grand *hetaireia*) was a subordinate of the HETAIREIARCHES.

By the end of the 11th C. the structure of the *hetaireia* changed. Bryennios (Bryen. 77.5–8) says the *hetaireia* was customarily made up of noble youths. The various *hetaireiai* were probably consolidated into a single unit; Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 1.20.8) speaks of *hetaireia* in the singular in a scene where Bryennios (269.12–13) used the plural form. Already in the 12th C. and more often in the 14th C. the term *hetaireia* was employed generically to describe the private retinue of a magnate bound together by an OATH.

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:196f. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 27. Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 138–43. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 211–18. –A.K.

**HETAIREIARCHES** (ἑταιρειάρχης), also *megas hetaireiarches*, commander of the HETAIREIA, a semi-military official (STRATARCHES) responsible for the security of the imperial palace; he also carried out delicate assignments for the emperor and could be placed at the head of an army. Unknown at the time of the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij, the *hetaireiarches* (and *megas hetaireiarches*) appears in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS at the end of the 9th C. Narrative sources first mention the *hetaireiarches* under Michael III. The post acquired particular significance at the beginning of the 10th C. when the future emperor Romanos I Lekapenos held this office; he was succeeded by his son Christopher. The militant emperors of the second half of the 10th C. pushed the *hetaireiarches* into the background, but the post regained influence in the 11th C. when some court eunuchs held it. Under the Komnenoi *hetaireiarches* was not a high position and was occupied primarily by nobles of the second echelon, even though we find among the *hetaireiarchai* some relatives of the ruling dynasty, such as George Palaiologos (O. Lampsides, *Byzantion* 40 [1970–71] 403–06). In the 14th C. pseudo-Kodinos stressed the *hetaireiarches*'s functions of control over foreigners rather than his duty as the guardian of the emperor. Under Andronikos II members of some great families (MOUZALON, NESTONGOS-DOUKAS) held this post and the *hetaireiarches* often functioned on missions far from the palace.



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LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "L'Hétériarque," *JÖB* 23 (1974) 101–43. Bury, *Adm. System* 106–08. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 59f. –A.K.

**HETOIMASIA** (*ἑτοιμασία*, lit. "preparation"), the prepared throne for Christ's Second Coming or PAROUSIA (Ps 9:7). *Hetoimasia* is the name conventionally given to images of a richly appointed THRONE bearing—in some combination—Gospel book, Cross, crown, dove, and Passion instruments. The name is not coeval with the image. Initially, in the 5th–7th C., the image signifies not the empty throne awaiting God, but—in accord with antique use of the throne to represent the presence of a god or emperor—God's mystic presence upon the throne. Similarly, in apses and cupolas from the 12th C. onward, the *hetoimasia* is flanked by officiating bishops or angels and bears the objects of their devotion: the Passion instruments, which signal the saving power of Christ's appearance and sacrifice, both in life and in the liturgy, and the dove, which indicates the role of the Trinity in the EUCHARIST. By the 11th C., however, the *hetoimasia* is also found in compositions, above all the LAST JUDGMENT, that included Christ himself enthroned. In such cases the *hetoimasia* displays the Cross and Passion instruments just as the True Cross was displayed upon a throne in court rituals; here it represents not Christ himself mystically enthroned, but the sign of his Second Coming. It carried this meaning into its many independent appearances on reliquaries, icons, MSS, and sanctuary arches. In such instances it acquired, from the 12th C. onward, the label of the "prepared throne" of the Second Coming.

LIT. T. von Bogyay, "Zur Geschichte der Hetoimasie," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1960) 58–61. A.L. Townsley, "Eucharistic Doctrine and the Liturgy in Late Byzantine Painting," *OrChr* 58 (1974) 140–47. –A.W.C.

**HET'UMIDS,** second dynasty to rule Armenian CILICIA (1226–1341). The Het'umids were originally lords of Lambron and Barbaron near the southern approaches to the CILICIAN GATES, and as such first pursued a pro-Byz. policy at odds with that of the ruling RUBENIDS. The theologian NERSĒS OF LAMBRON was a member of this family. After the death of LEO II/I, the regent Constantine of Lambron arranged the marriage of his own son, Het'um I (1226–69) to the Rubenid princess Zabel, thus placing his family on the Cilician throne.

After achieving royal power, the policies of the Het'umids then shifted toward recognition of Mongol suzerainty, and Het'um I himself journeyed to the court of the khan in 1253. Cilicia prospered under his rule, and under that of his immediate successor, Leo II/III (1269–89). The latter was helped by Het'um's brother SMBAT THE CONSTABLE. Serious difficulties arose, however, with the accession of Het'um II (1289–1301) who faced simultaneously the conversion of the Mongols to Islam and the advance of the Mamluks. In 1307 the Mongols executed the new king Leo III/IV together with his uncle, the former king Het'um II, who had abdicated in favor of Leo. Internal quarrels between pro- and anti-Latin parties weakened the realm still further. Ošin I (1308–20) was murdered by his relatives; his heir Leo IV/V (1320–41) was killed by the Latinophiles, who then offered the crown to the LUSIGNANS.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *HC* 2:651–59. Boase, *Cilician Armenia*, esp. 23–28. –N.G.G.

**HEXAEMERON** (lit. "six days"), a term denoting the account in Genesis 1 of the creation of the universe in six days, also connotes the patristic commentaries and other writings on this narrative that form a distinctive literary genre both in Byz. and in the West. Though preceded by Theophilos of Antioch (died after 181), apparently the first Christian user of the word, the nine homilies of BASIL THE GREAT on the Hexaemeron are the first patristic landmark. Rejecting pagan theories as self-contradictory, Basil presents a firm Christian view based on Moses' supposed authorship of Genesis. The universe is not eternal but has a moral purpose. Concerned to show the active role of God as creator, Basil rejects allegory for science, presenting the elements and beauty of the world in a literal way. His sensibly eclectic philosophy and science draw heavily on Aristotle, Plato, and Poseidonios.

Basil's homilies were immediately and enduringly influential. GREGORY OF NYSSA supplemented them with his *On the Making of Man*, an anthropological disputation on man's creation, and the *Apologetic Explication on the Hexaemeron*, which continues Basil's rejection of allegory. Other patristic contributors include THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (fragments concerning Gen 1–3 survive) and SEVERIANOS OF GABALA. An outstanding (albeit rare) Byz. poetic treatment is the iambic *Hexaemeron* by GEORGE OF PISIDIA (G. Bianchi, *Aevum* 40 [1966] 35–52). In the West, Basil's homilies were exploited by AMBROSE of Milan and translated into Latin ca.440 by the African Eustathios; they were also translated into Church Slavonic by JOHN THE EXARCH. The *Hexaemeron* of Robert GROSSETESTE (written ca.1232/3) was greatly influenced by the *Hexaemeron* of Basil (R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste* [Oxford 1986] 204–10).

ED. *Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron*², ed. S. Giet (Paris 1968), with Fr. tr. PG 92:1383–1424.
LIT. F.E. Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature* (Chicago 1912). –B.B.



**HEXAFOLLON.** See PARAKOLOUTHEMATA.

**HEXAGRAM** (*ἑξάγραμμα*, lit. "six-grams"), a silver coin of the 7th C. weighing 6.82 g, that is, six *grammata* or scruples, and probably reckoned 12 to the SOLIDUS. Introduced by Herakleios in 615, it was struck in huge quantities throughout his reign and that of Constans II. Specimens of Constantine IV are rare, however, and under his successors it became a ceremonial coin only occasionally struck, ceasing entirely under Anastasios II.

LIT. P. Yannopoulos, *L'hexagramme* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1978). –Ph.G.

**HEXAMETER,** the meter of Homer, enjoyed great prestige throughout the Byz. period. In the 4th–early 7th C. the hexameter was the vehicle of a widespread group of professional poets radiating from Egypt (e.g., PAMPREPIOS, CHRISTODOROS, KOLLOUTHOS, NONNOS, and TRIPHIODOROS), many of them reaching high civic positions, who concentrated on mythology, *ekphrasis*, and local history. Their use of the hexameter was extremely complex, adding many rules to those of the Alexandrian poets, which themselves were more strict than those of Homer. It is generally assumed that this complexity was a self-conscious refinement, but some features of their rules plainly relate to the final disappearance of the sense of syllable quantity in Greek, which probably took place within this period. Until the end of the 6th C., the writing of hexameter, though an archaic feature, appears to have remained a living means of artistic expression, rather than the revival of a dead form. Normally, poetry written in hexameter preserves an archaic lexical pattern.

The last poem of this tradition is credibly attributed to GEORGE OF PISIDIA and its form has suggested a possible link to the POLITICAL VERSE. Subsequent hexameters are clearly antiquarian exercises, based (with greater or less success) on ancient models, rather than following the development of a live form of expression. Some of the ceremonial verse of Theodore PRODROMOS, however, is in the hexameter, perhaps implying public recitation in the 12th C. Later, this meter was used by Nikephoros BLEMMYDES and esp. Theodore METOCHITES. Surviving treatises on hexameter include one ascribed to Plutarch, another to Herodian (Krumbacher, *GBL* 596f).

LIT. A.D.E. Cameron, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia* 14 (1965) 470–509, esp. 482f. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:91. –M.J.J., A.K.

**HEXAMILION** (*Ἑξαμίλιον*, "six-miler"), barrier-wall across the Isthmus of Corinth, from the Saronic Gulf to the Gulf of Corinth (an actual distance of about five miles), designed to defend the Peloponnesos against an attack from the north. Literary and archaeological evidence show that the isthmus was defended at various times in antiquity and plans were made to fortify it during the crisis of the 3rd C. The devastation of the Peloponnesos by ALARIC led to the realization of this plan in the early years of the 5th C., at about the same time as construction of the Land Walls of Theodosios II in Constantinople. The wall was 10 Roman feet (nearly 3 m) thick, approximately 8 m high, with towers that were primarily rectangular; a large fortress was located near the former Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. The fortifications were apparently allowed to fall into disrepair and were restored by Justinian I. The Hexamilion was defended during the time of the Slavic invasions, but it seems not to have been an effective barrier. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 610.5–7) reports that the isthmus was unsuccessfully defended against the Crusaders in 1205.

In 1415 Manuel II rebuilt the Hexamilion, and during the next half-century it served as the primary defense of the Peloponnesos. The Turks breached the walls in May of 1423 and the future

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emperor Constantine XI rebuilt it in 1443; subsequently a prophecy (perhaps inscribed on the wall itself) was circulated to the effect that the Hexamilion would protect a revived empire (E.W. Bodnar, *AJA* 64 [1960] 165–72). The Hexamilion fell again to the Turks on 10 Dec. 1446 despite a spirited defense. The Venetians restored the fortifications in 1462. Another Hexamilia, ancient Lysimachia, was a bishopric suffragan to HERAKLEIA in Thrace (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:229–31).

LIT. P.A. Clement, "The Date of the Hexamilion," in *Meletemata ste mneme Basileiou Laourda* (Thessalonike 1975) 159–64. R.L. Hohlfelder, "Trans-Isthmian Walls in the Age of Justinian," *GRBS* 18 (1977) 173–79. —T.E.G.

**HEXAPTERYGA.** See SERAPHIM.

**HEXAPTERYGOS, THEODORE,** teacher and writer; born ca.1180, died Nicaea ca.1236. Educated at the Patriarchal School of Constantinople, Hexapterygos (Ἑξαπτέρυγος) was evidently the student of George Tornikes and Constantine Stilbes. He became a teacher of poetry and rhetoric in Nicaea and taught George AKROPOLITES and four other students sent to him by Emp. John III Vatatzes in 1234 (Akrop. 1:49.24–50.3). Six tales (*diegemata*) and a funeral oration on a certain Stephanos, one of his relatives, are extant in a Vienna MS (ÖNB, philol. gr. 254). His seal, bearing a dodecasyllabic legend, is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (acquisition no.58.106.4608).

ED. W. Hörandner, "Die Progymnasmata des Theodoros Hexapterygos," in *Byzantios* 147–62.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:442. Constantinides, *Education* 9–11. —C.N.C.

**HIERAPOLIS** (Ἱεράπολις, "holy city"), name of two cities in the late Roman Empire, one in Phrygia, the other in Syria.

**HIERAPOLIS IN PHRYGIA** (now Pamukkale) rarely appears in historical sources, but excavations have revealed significant Byz. remains. Notable among them is the richly decorated octagonal Church of St. Philip, built on the site of the apostle's alleged tomb and surrounded by a large rectangular colonnade in the late 4th/early 5th C. It was never rebuilt after its destruction by fire in the mid-6th C. The site also contains four other large basilical churches of the 5th–6th C.; one of them was built into a Roman bath. The churches, large and numerous for a relatively small city, indicate that Hierapolis was considered a particularly holy site. Secular buildings are poorly known; the city walls have been assigned to the 4th/5th C. By the 10th C. Hierapolis was in decline: churches had been replaced by small chapels; squatters occupied the shrine of St. Philip; and the city came to resemble a village. By 1190 it was ruined and abandoned. Originally a suffragan bishopric of LAODIKEIA, Hierapolis became a metropolis before 553.

LIT. P. Verzone, *RBK* 2:1203–23. T. Ritti, *Hierapolis, Scavi e ricerche*, vol. 1 (Rome 1985). —C.F.

**HIERAPOLIS IN SYRIA** (Μέμπετζε in Leo Diac. 165.22, Syr. Mabbug, Ar. Manbij), city in northern Syria, northeast of BERROIA (Aleppo); probably under Constantius II it became the capital of EUPHRATENSIS. Hierapolis was a military headquarters during the wars with Persia: in 363 Julian assembled his army there. In 540 Chosroes I imposed tribute on the city, and in 590 KOMENTIOLOS welcomed Chosroes II near Hierapolis and started his expedition from there into the Persian interior. Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 14.8.7) calls Hierapolis an "ample city." Justinian I had to shorten the extent of its walls since by his time they encompassed abandoned areas and were difficult to defend (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.9.13); he also tried to improve the city's water supply.

A religious center in antiquity, Hierapolis became an ecclesiastical metropolis subject to Antioch. The 6th-C. rhetorician PROKOPIOS OF GAZA relates that Indians, Phoenicians, Scythians, Hellenes, and inhabitants of Asia Minor congregated in Hierapolis to hear panegyrics. Hierapolis developed into a Monophysite center; PHILOXENOS OF MABBUG was bishop there in the early 6th C., and Thomas of Harqel in the early 7th.

Taken by the Arabs in 637, Hierapolis became a part of the *jund* of Qinnasrīn yet retained Christian churches and relics, perhaps including the Holy Tile, or KERAMION (its original location is also assigned to EMESA). ABŪ FIRĀS, governor of Manbij, was captured by the Byz. in 962 and taken to Constantinople, where he wrote poems about his longing for his city. According to Yaḥyā of Antioch, in 966 Nikephoros II Phokas forced the people of Manbij to surrender the Holy Tile to him. Leo the Deacon, however, says that when John I Tzimiskes seized Hierapolis in 974, he found other relics: Christ's sandals and the bloody hair of John the Baptist (Leo Diac. 165.21–166.3). In 1025 Hierapolis was taken once more by the Muslims but was again recovered by the Byz. in 1068, when Romanos IV captured the city and fortified its citadel. The Byz. then retained it until 1086, when it was taken by MALIKSHĀH. The Crusaders occupied Hierapolis in 1110/11. John II Komnenos passed the city by without attacking it, and the Greeks never reestablished their rule over Hierapolis.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* supp. 4 (1924) 733–42. N. Elisséeff, *EI*² 6:377–83. G. Goossens, *Hiérapolis de Syrie* (Louvain 1943) 145–85. —M.M.M.

**HIERIA** (Turk. Fenerbahçe). The name (spelling varies, Ἱερία, Ἱερεῖα, Ἡρία) is derived from Heraia Akra. Hieria, an Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, is a promontory, terminating in a little peninsula and situated opposite CHALCEDON to the east. Here Justinian I built a palace with a harbor and a Church of St. Mary (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.3.10, 1.11.16–22). Hieria was the residence of Herakleios (611, ca.636) and the seat of the Iconoclastic council of 754 (see HIERIA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF). A chapel of the Prophet Elijah was added by Basil I, who also resided there. Further buildings were put up by Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 451f). Site of one of the emperor's summer palaces, Hieria often served as a reception point of triumphal returns from campaigns in the East. The existence of the palace is documented until 1203, but the archaeological remains (cistern, harbor breakwater, funerary inscriptions) are meager.

LIT. J. Pargoire, "Hiéria," *IRAIK* 4.2–3 (1899) 9–78. Janin, *CP byz.* 148–50, 498f. —C.M.

**HIERIA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF.** CONSTANTINE V summoned this council (10 Feb.–8 Aug. 754) at the palace of Hieria in Chalcedon to condemn the veneration and production of images as idolatrous and pagan. The council regarded itself as having ecumenical authority, a claim subsequently rejected by the church because four of the five patriarchs had refused to participate. Actually, the see of Constantinople was itself vacant at the time. The 338 bishops in attendance were guided primarily by the emperor's own theology and devotion to ICONOCLASM. Their dogmatic definition insisted that a pictorial representation of God in any form was impossible. They argued that an ICON of Christ either depicted his humanity alone, or both his humanity and divinity. That is, it either separated Christ's human nature from his divine, which was NESTORIANISM, or it confused the two, which was MONOPHYSITISM (Mansi 13:252A). Indeed, the only true image of Christ, representing him in his totality, was the EUCHARIST. This ingenious Christological argument, later condemned as heretical by NICAEA II, was clearly intended to go beyond the purely scriptural prohibition of images used previously by Iconoclasts. The council's definition survives solely in the acts of Nicaea II.

SOURCES. Mansi 13:204–364. Ostrogorsky, *Bilderstr.* 7–45.
LIT. M.V. Anastos, "The Argument for Iconoclasm as Presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754," *LCMS* 177–88. Idem, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP* 8 (1954) 151–60. S. Gero, "The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Byzantine Iconoclasts and its Sources," *BZ* 68 (1975) 4–22. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.345. —A.P.

**HIERISSOS** (Ἱερισσός, also Erisso), town (*kastron*) in the Macedonian CHALKIDIKE near the neck of the Athonite peninsula; it was founded on the site of the insignificant ancient city of Akanthos and is known from the 9th C. It formed an urban community that possessed common land (*koinotopion*), bought and rented lands collectively, was responsible as a whole for paying rent and taxes, and collectively defended its rights in court. A unique act of 982 (*Ivir.*, no.4) bears crosses indicating signatures of 74 notable inhabitants (*oiketores*) of the *kastron*, of whom at least 14 had Slavic names (one having signed in Glagolitic), 21 or more of them were clerics (priests, lectors, deacons, etc.), three or five had low secular offices (*komes*, *archon*, *koubouklеisios* as well as exarch and *domestikos* who may have been either secular or ecclesiastic), two were described as owners (*oikodespotai*), and only one was a craftman—a *chalkeus* (smith). The importance of Hierissos grew as Mt. Athos became a major monastic center—it served as a stopping place on the way to the peninsula. Around 883 John Kolobos founded the KOLOBOU

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MONASTERY near Hierissos that subsequently accommodated travelling Athonite monks; later still several Athonite monasteries acquired properties in Hierissos.

Hierissos formed a district, *enoria*, later *katepanikion*, under Thessalonike; nevertheless, documents of the 14th C. speak of the village (*chorion*) of Hierissos (e.g., *Xénoph.*, no.12.12). The fate of the bishopric of Hierissos is obscure: it seems that there was no bishop before 943 and that Theodotos, mentioned in 982, was the first incumbent (M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 14–15 [1973] 155–58); on the other hand, a notitia (*Notitiae CP* 7.305) dated by J. Darrouzès to the early 10th C. lists the bishop of Hierissos as suffragan of Thessalonike. After 1204 the bishops of Hierissos added to their title "and of the Holy Mountain." In ca.1341–65 Bishop Jacob obtained temporarily the title of metropolitan of Hierissos (D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 4 [1970] 395–410). Hierissos was occupied by the Turks probably in 1425.

LIT. *Paysages de Macédoine*, ed. J. Lefort (Paris 1986) 157f. J. Lefort et al. in *Ivir.* 1:131. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:68–78. D. Papachryssanthou, "Histoire d'un évêché byzantin: Hierissos en Chalcidique," *TM* 8 (1981) 373–96.
–T.E.G., A.K.

**HIEROKLES** (Ἱεροκλῆς), 5th-C. philosopher. A student of the Neoplatonist Plutarch of Athens (died 431 or 432), Hierokles taught at Alexandria, where his lectures on PLATO, esp. the *Gorgias*, attracted much attention and admiration. A militant pagan, he was flogged for his beliefs during a visit to Constantinople but did not recant. He may be the Neoplatonist Hierokles warmly described by AINEIAS OF GAZA (PG 85:873A). His commentary on the Golden Words of the Pythagoreans survives, as do extracts from his collected studies *On Providence and Fate*, preserved only by Photios (*Bibl.*, cods. 214, 251), who commends him for a clarity of style appropriate to philosophy. *On Providence* was dedicated to a certain Olympiodoros, perhaps the pagan poet-historian OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES.

ED. *In Aureum Pythagoreorum carmen commentarius*, ed. F.W. Koehler (Stuttgart 1974).

LIT. I. Hadot, *Le problème du néoplatonisme alexandrin. Hiéroclès et Simplicius* (Paris 1978). N. Aujoulat, "Sur la vie et les oeuvres de Hiéroclès: Problèmes de chronologie," *Pallas* 23 (1976) 19–30. –B.B.

**HIEROKLES,** presumed author of the *Synekdemos*, a geographical list of the cities of the Eastern Empire, dated before 535. Nothing else is known of the man. As preserved, the *Synekdemos* is a bare list of cities, arranged according to provinces and in rough geographical order within the provinces. The document undoubtedly owes its preservation to confusion with episcopal notitias, which it superficially resembles. The *Synekdemos*, however, seems to have been based on secular administrative documents from the mid-5th C., although additions to the list were made through the reign of Justinian I, at which time Hierokles presumably wrote. It has been suggested that the present text of the *Synekdemos* is an epitome of a fuller, geographically oriented guidebook, but the list of cities is very different from the *itineraria* and it contains information different from what one would expect in a work of merely antiquarian interest. In format the *Synekdemos* can be compared to the *Description* of GEORGE OF CYPRUS and to the Paris MS, B.N. gr. 1115A (the so-called "Iconoclast notitia"), to which it is certainly related. Although there are many errors and lacunae in the text, its reliability as a guide to the overall municipal structure of the empire seems sound.

ED. A. Burckhardt, *Hieroclis synecdemus* (Leipzig 1893). E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (Brussels 1939).

LIT. A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*[2] (Oxford 1971) 514–21. T.E. Gregory, "Roman Inscriptions from Aidepsos," *GRBS* 20 (1979) 273–76. –T.E.G.

**HIEROMONACHOS** (ἱερομόναχος), or hieromonk, a monk ordained as a priest. Justinian I (nov. 133.2) decreed that four or five priests were sufficient for each monastery; the *typikon* for the PETRITZOS monastery (ed. Gautier, 59–63) prescribed six priests for a community of 50 monks. The *hieromonachos* was charged with conducting the services in the monastic church.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 24, 95f, 279f, 389–91.
–A.M.T.

**HIERON** (Ἱερόν), name of two places in Asia Minor.

**HIERON ON THE BOSPOROS,** a fortress guarding the approach to Constantinople, now Anadolu Kavak. Justinian I replaced its *archon* with a *comes Stenon Pontikes thalasses* whose duties included surveillance of shipping and collection of customs at the local *demosion teloneion*. By the 9th C. a PARATHALASSITES took the place of this official. The customs revenues of Hieron increased from the 9th C. onward, as traffic with the north grew; they were considered a valuable source of income during the revolt of John (VI) Kantakouzenos in 1345, when both the government and the rebel attempted to increase them. Hieron was attacked in 822 by THOMAS THE SLAV and in 941 by the Rus', whose fleet was destroyed there. It was taken by the Genoese in 1350 and by MEHMED II in 1452. Hieron contains a powerful fortress (Yoros kalesi), perhaps the work of Manuel I Komnenos, with Genoese rebuilding.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, "Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance," *REB* 19 (1961) 246f. S. Toy, "The Castles of the Bosporus," *Archaeologia* 80 (1930) 215–28. A. Gabriel, *Chateaux turcs du Bosphore* (Paris 1943) 79–81.
–C.F.

**HIERON NEAR MILETOS.** Hieron was also the Byz. name for ancient Didyma whose famous temple of Apollo, fortified against Gothic attack in the late 3rd C., was repaired by Diocletian and Julian; subsequently a church was installed in it. The fortress was strengthened in the 7th C. and became the nucleus of a new bishopric, Hieron or "the Temple," a suffragan of Miletos attested through the 12th C. Alexios I Komnenos enlarged the fort (C. Foss, *GOrThR* 27 [1982] 157f) and used it as a base for his reconquest of western Asia Minor. Hieron, which consisted only of one ancient building and a surrounding village, is important for illustrating the nature of a small Byz. city and bishopric.

LIT. L. Robert, "Didymes à l'époque byzantine," *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 495–502. W. Müller-Wiener, "Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien," *IstMitt* 11 (1961) 38–41. –C.F.

**HIERONYMUS.** See JEROME.

**HIKANATOI.** See DOMESTIKOS TON HIKANATON.

**HIKANOSIS** (ἱκάνωσις, lit. "equalization"), a fiscal term used in a treatise on TAXATION (Dölger, *Beiträge* 122.41) to designate the operation by which the surveyor ensured that each taxpayer held no more land than the quantity corresponding to the tax that he was paying. The process is also described (ibid. 121.31–32) as assessing "the land that corresponds to the figure (of tax) due by the STICHOS." The term *hikanosis* and its derivatives are found in a number of documents. A chrysobull of Alexios I of 1089 (*Xénoph.*, no.2.14–29) explains that the emperor had established a "norm" (*metron*) in view of assessing how much land should correspond to each nomisma (of tax paid by the landowner). Also in 1089 Anna Dalassene ordered that the land "imposed" on the monastery of Docheiariou be "equalized in accordance with its payment [*teloumenon*] to the fisc" (*Docheiar.*, no.2.23–24). In the 14th C. the verb *hikanopoieisthai* ("perform an equalization") was applied to the assessment of land in accordance with the granted POSOTES (*Docheiar.*, no.26.3–4, *Dionys.*, no.2.32–33). If, after the *hikanosis*, it appeared that the taxpayer held more land than he was entitled to (according to the amount of tax that he paid), this "superfluous" land (*peritte ge* or *perisseia*) could be taken away from him.

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 124f. Dölger, *Beiträge* 132f. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 80, n.1. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 140.
–A.K.

**HILANDAR MONASTERY,** Serbian monastery on Mt. ATHOS, located near Esphigmenou, 2 km inland from the northeastern coast of the peninsula. Originally a Greek foundation, Hilandar (Χελανδάριον) may have been established in the late 10th C. by George Chelandarios ("the Boatman"); by 1015 it was deserted and had been handed over to the KASTAMONITOU MONASTERY. The plan of the main church and possibly its *opus sectile* floor date from the monastery's foundation, as do portions of the eastern enclosure wall and a large area to the southeast, including the Tower of St. George.

In 1198–99 the monastery was restored as a Serbian *koinobion* by STEFAN NEMANJA (died 1199), who took the monastic name Symeon, and by his son SAVA, who composed in 1199 a *typikon* based on the rule of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople. They constructed a new church and added a refectory, which was later partly rebuilt. By the early 13th C. Hilandar was inhabited by

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90 monks. A chapel in an upper story of the Tower of St. George contains wall paintings dated by Bogdanović et al. (*infra* 64) to the mid-13th C. The next great benefactor of Hilandar was STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, who in 1303 replaced the late 12th-C. *katholikon* with a new triconch church with narthex (S. Nenadović, *HilZb* 3 [1974] 85–208; P. Mylonas, *HilZb* 6 [1986] 7–45) and also restored the refectory; he strengthened the monastery's fortifications and added a tower at the harbor. Originally endowed by Nemanja with 15 Serbian villages, Hilandar became very wealthy and, by the mid-14th C., owned one-fifth of the Athos peninsula, plus lands from Macedonia (esp. Strymon and Chalkidike regions) to Serbia, 360 villages or parts of villages in all. At this time it held fourth place in the Athonite hierarchy. Hilandar was completely independent of the authority of both the PROTOS and Byz. emperor. The *hegoumenoi* of Hilandar frequently became archbishops of Serbia.

Hilandar became an important Serbian Orthodox religious and cultural center (see SERBIAN LITERATURE): the Serbian writers DOMENTIAN, TEODOSIJE, and Danilo were all monks of Hilandar. It was also a treasurehouse of Serbian art. It contains an important collection of icons, notably a mosaic icon of the Hodegetria (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, no.7); it is ascribed by V. Djurić to the end of the 12th C. Djurić (*BZ* 53 [1960] 333–51) argued that in the 14th C. Hilandar was a center of icon production, and dated the Čin (an icon row from the church's templon) to ca.1360, seeing there the same hand that painted a Gospel book (cod.9) in the monastery's library. The Serbian variant of Old CHURCH SLAVONIC developed at the monastery, which housed a scriptorium, a center for translation, and bilingual library. Most of the approximately 1200 MSS preserved at Hilandar are in Slavic; esp. notable are the numerous illuminated MSS of the 13th C. The archives, which include 172 Greek and 154 Serbian documents from the medieval period, provide information on the structure of the countryside, *pronoia*, taxation, and the economic inequality of the peasants.

SOURCES. L. Mirković, *Hilandarski tipik svetoga Save* (Belgrade 1935). *Actes de Chilandar, Part I*, ed. L. Petit, *VizVrem* 17 (1910 [1911]), supp. 1. *Part II*, ed. B. Korablev, *VizVrem* 19 (1912 [1915]), supp. 1. V. Mošin, A. Sovre, *Dodatki h grškim listinam Hilandarja* (Llubljana 1948).

LIT. D. Bogdanović, V.J. Djurić, D. Medaković, *Hilandar* (Belgrade 1978). Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 271–73. V. Mošin, M. Purković, *Chilandarski igumeni srednjega veka* (Skopje 1940). *Hilandarski zbornik*, vols. 1– (1966–). M. Živojinović, "The Spiritual Father of the Monastery of Chilandar," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 247–56. D. Bogdanović, D. Medaković, *Katalog cirilskih rukopisa Manastira Hilandara*, 2 vols. (Belgrade 1978). S. Ćurčić, *Hilandar Monastery: An Archive of Architectural Drawings, Sketches, and Photographs* (Princeton 1988). *Treasures* 2:258–87, 387–94. –A.M.T., A.C.

**HIMATION** (ἱμάτιον), a mantle, the Greek equivalent of the Roman *pallium*. It was originally an oblong outer garment of wool or linen, worn over the TUNIC, and draped over the left shoulder and body in such a way as to leave the right shoulder free. In this specific form it survives in all Byz. representations of figures in antique garb, such as Christ, the apostles, and prophets, but it was apparently not in daily use after late antiquity.

In the Byz. monastic *typika*, the word *himation* refers to a different garment, namely the dark cotton mantle worn by monks (e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 65.609) and nuns. When used in the plural (e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 40 [1982] 67.930), it has the more general meaning of clothing.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:20. Idem, "Symbole eis to peri byzantinon phorematon kephalaion," *EEBS* 24 (1954) 9–12. –N.P.Š.

**HIMERIOS,** teacher and orator; born Prusias, Bithynia, between ca.300 and 310, died after 380. Himerios (Ἱμέριος) spent most of his life at Athens, first as a student, then (probably) in an official teaching post. Though his pagan memorialist EUNAPIOS would not think so, his most distinguished students were BASIL THE GREAT and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. He died old, rich, blind, and epileptic. He produced at least 75 speeches and declamations; time has spared only 24, with excerpts and fragments from ten or so others. Thematically, they are the traditional mélange of the old-style sophist: reworkings of great moments in Athenian history, school lectures, addresses to high officials—elegant nothings, for the most part. Yet PHOTIOS (cf. A. Colonna, *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati*, vol. 2 [Milan 1956] 95–106), a great admirer of their style, compares his pagan stance to the "secret yappings of dogs amongst us" (*Bibl.*, cod.165), which may suggest he had read items more detectably pagan than anything now extant.



ED. *Declamationes et orationes*, ed. A. Colonna (Rome 1951). S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen, "Fragments from the Speeches of Himerios," *ClMed* 17 (1956) 23–30.

LIT. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 141–49. D. Serruys, "Les procédés toniques d'Himérius et les origines du 'cursus' byzantin," in *Philologie et linguistique. Mélanges Louis Havet* (Paris 1909; rp. Geneva 1972) 475–99. –B.B.

**HIMERIOS** (Ἱμέριος), admiral under LEO VI; died Constantinople? 912/13. A relative of ZOE KARBONOPSINA, Himerios belonged to the ranks of civil officials and was given, by chroniclers, the offices of *protasekretis* and *logothetes tou dromou;* he had the title of *patrikios*. Leo VI sent Himerios in 904 to prevent LEO OF TRIPOLI from besieging Thessalonike, but Himerios did not dare attack the Arab fleet; later, however, he won a brilliant victory over the Arab fleet "on the day of the apostle Thomas" (6 Oct.). The exact year of this battle is questionable: Grumel assumes that it occurred in 908, but 905 or 906 are more plausible dates (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes*, 2.1:185, n.1); reportedly sent with Himerios, Andronikos DOUKAS unexpectedly defected. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA praised Himerios's victory (P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 29–30 [1959–60] 300.28). In 911 Himerios, as *droungarios* of the fleet, commanded a fleet sent against the Cretan Arabs but was defeated by the Arab admirals Damian and Leo of Tripoli off Chios in April 912 (R. Jenkins, *Hellenika* supp. 4 [1953] 277–81). After his return to Constantinople, Himerios was imprisoned by the emperor ALEXANDER and died six months later.

LIT. V. Grumel, "Notes chronologiques," *EO* 36 (1937) 202–07. – A.K.

**ḤIMṢ.** See EMESA.

**ḤIMYAR,** the land of the Ḥimyarites (Ὁμηρῖται), a state in South Arabia (now Yemen) that included the littoral on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean (with cities such as NAJRĀN and Ẓafar) and inland territory inhabited by Bedouins. Ḥimyar played an important role in late Roman trade with AXUM and INDIA, bringing to the Mediterranean spices, myrrh, silk, etc. For a short time in the 4th C. Ḥimyar was under Axumite domination, as it was to be again in the 6th C. An attempt in the early 6th C. to establish independence under a native ruler, DHŪ-NUWĀS, was suppressed by the Axumites supported by a navy sent by Justin I. The new ruler, ABRAHA, however, while continuing tribute payments to Axum, conducted an independent policy and managed to consolidate his kingdom and to expand its borders northward. Justinian I tried to involve Ḥimyar in active warfare against Persia but the Ḥimyarites avoided direct confrontation with the Persians. Circa 570 some Ḥimyarite chiefs invited the Persians into their country, and King Masruq, the last member of Abraha's dynasty, fell in battle; Ḥimyar was placed under Persian governors with their residence in Ṣanʿāʾ.

Christianity penetrated Ḥimyar in the 4th C. (acc. to Philostorgios), although Theodore Lector dates its appearance in the area much later, in the reign of Anastasios I. The country became a battlefield between Christianity and Judaism, which had had a strong tradition in Ḥimyar. Christianity, in its Monophysite version, triumphed with military support from Axum and Constantinople; local bishops acknowledged the jurisdiction of Alexandria. When Muḥammad sent his first embassy to South Arabia, the emissaries did not meet any serious opposition from the local population, and the Ḥimyarites converted to Islam.

LIT. J.H. Mordtmann, *EI* 2:310–12. N. Pigulevskaja, *Vizantija na putjach v Indiju* (Moscow-Leningrad 1951) 215–384. H. von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien* (Vienna 1965). P. Marrassini, "Bisanzio e il Mar Rosso: Cristianesimo e giudaismo in Arabia fino al VI secolo," 28 *CorsiRav* (1981) 177–91. I. Shahid, "Byzantium in South Arabia." *DOP* 33 (1979) 25–87. –A.K.

**HINCMAR.** See ANNALES BERTINIANI.

**HIPPIATRICA,** or "horse medicine," was highly developed in the Byz. Empire. The shift to dependence upon CAVALRY in the late Roman army ensured the high honor accorded to hippiatric writings; the extant collection of veterinary medical writings in Greek, compiled on orders from Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, compacts the works of Apsyrtos (fl. ca.330?), Hierokles (fl. ca.360?), and many other military veterinarians whose task it was to maintain the health of cavalry horses. A 10th-C. luxury edition of the *Hippiatrika* is preserved in Berlin (Staatsbibl. Phillips 1538), decorated with ornaments and headpieces imitating the form of cloisonné ENAMEL. A more utilitarian 14th-C. version in Paris (B.N. gr. 2244)

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contains miniatures depicting the treatment of sick horses and a portrait of Hierokles (Weitzmann, *Grundlagen* 24).

Byz. veterinarians were forced to invent fresh words to describe the ailments of animals, quite often viewed as analogous to human diseases, and the drugs prescribed and theories assumed are similar to comparable matters in Byz. medicine as a whole. Farm lore is prominent in the hippiatric literature, much as it is for the simple veterinary care suggested for HORSES, DOGS, domestic BIRDS, pigs, and even bees as listed in the GEOPONIKA.

LIT. A.-M. Doyen-Higuet, "The *Hippiatrica* and Byzantine Veterinary Medicine," *DOP* 38 (1984) 111–20. K.D. Fischer, "Pelagonius on Horse Medicine," ed. F. Cairns in *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3 (1981) 285–303. R.E. Walker, "Roman Veterinary Medicine," appendix in J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London–Ithaca, N.Y., 1973) 303–34, 404–14. —J.S., A.C.

**HIPPOCAMP** (ἱππόκαμπος), seahorse, a fabulous monster with a horse's body and fish's tail on which sea deities would ride. The hippocamp is infrequently mentioned in literary texts and plays no role in mythology; the church fathers ignore it. The image does often appear, however, in both classical and Byz. art, notably on bone CASKETS AND BOXES. —A.K.

**HIPPODROMES,** arenas for horse and chariot races as well as other events.

**Hippodrome of Constantinople.** According to unverified tradition, the Hippodrome was built by Septimius Severus (shortly after 196) and completed by Constantine I, who provided it with an imperial box (KATHISMA) and built the GREAT PALACE next to it. It served not only as a sports arena, but also as a setting for the proclamation of emperors and the celebration of TRIUMPHS and as a focus for the public life of the city's population.

As a building the Hippodrome was a typical Roman circus of the period of the Tetrarchy. It was hairpin-shaped, with its gates (Lat. *carceres*; Gr. *kankella*, *thyrai*) toward the northeast and its curved end (SPHENDONE) pointing southwest. The arena was divided into two tracks by a slightly oblique barrier (Lat. *spina*, Gr. *euripos*), upon which were placed obelisks, statues, and other ornamental features. Rising tiers of seats supported on vaulted passages surrounded the arena except for the side occupied by the *carceres*. Above the seating ran a continuous colonnaded passage. The Kathisma rose along the east side, probably somewhat south of center, while the west side, as in some other Roman circuses, followed a somewhat irregular line. The exact length of the Hippodrome is unknown, but must have been about 450 m. The outer width measured at the base of the Sphendone is 117.5 m and the inner width 79.5 m. The seating capacity may be tentatively estimated as somewhat above 100,000.

The 12 gates were equipped with a mechanism that enabled them to be opened simultaneously. At their center rose a tower surmounted by a quadriga of four gilded horses (which at the time of the Fourth Crusade were transported to Venice, where they remained until recently on the façade of S. Marco). Starting from the gates, the competing chariots made for the turning post (Lat. *meta*, Gr. *kampter*) marking the north termination of the *spina*, then went round the course seven times in a counterclockwise direction. The finishing line was probably in the western track, directly in front of the grandstands (Gr. *demoi*) occupied by the partisans of the two main FACTIONS. Opposite these grandstands was the imperial Kathisma, corresponding to the *pulvinar* of the Circus Maximus. It was built into the seating and appears to have been a two-storied structure, with the imperial loge and a reception hall on the first floor. It communicated with the palace by means of a spiral staircase (Gr. *kochlias*) and was protected at the rear by bronze doors, which barred access to the palace in the event the Kathisma was occupied by insurgents, as happened during the Nika Revolt (532).

In the late Roman period CHARIOT RACES were held frequently, but by the 9th C. they were reduced to about three a year, not counting those for special occasions such as imperial triumphs or the reception of foreign potentates. These special races went on until the Latin occupation. The conduct of the games is minutely described in the DE CEREMONIIS (bk.1, chs. 68–73). A schematic representation of the games has survived among the frescoes of St. Sophia, KIEV.

The structure of the Hippodrome was kept up until ca.1200. In 1203 the west wing was burnt down and soon thereafter the Crusaders melted down the bronze statues that had decorated the *spina*, as Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 647–55) records. In the Palaiologan period the Hippodrome, now partly in ruins, was used for jousts. A view, published by O. Panvinio (1600), illustrates its condition in ca.1480. Surviving portions include the tall substructure of the Sphendone, the substructure of part of the east wing, and three monuments of the *spina*, namely: (1) the Egyptian obelisk of Thutmosis III set on a marble base bearing reliefs and bilingual inscriptions of Theodosios I from 390 (see OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS); (2) the Serpent Column, the central shaft of the Delphic tripod dedicated by the victorious Greeks after the battle of Plataea (479 B.C.); and (3) the masonry obelisk or Colossus, bearing an inscription of Constantine VII recording its redecoration with bronze plaques. Two marble bases (out of seven), which had supported the statues of the CHARIOTEER Porphyrios, have been unearthed in the Turkish Seraglio. In 1952 part of the seating of the west wing of the Hippodrome was excavated.

The Hippodrome was a monument rich in legends. Its Roman origins and pagan associations with the Dioskouroi, Poseidon, Helios, etc., were still remembered in the 6th C. (JOHN LYDOS, *De mensibus* 1:12; 4:30, 73; Malal. 173–77). Various features of it received a cosmic interpretation: the 12 gates denoted the signs of the zodiac, the seven races run round the *spina* signified the spheres of the planets, the colors of the four factions stood for the four elements, etc. Confused historical memories, esp. the slaughter of the Nika riot, were woven into the earlier mythology.

**Hippodromes outside of Constantinople.** Hippodromes existed in many other cities of the empire, but all of them went out of use after the 6th–7th C. The old Circus Maximus in Rome was reconstructed in the 4th C., and at the beginning of the same century Maxentius built a circus 520 m long and 92 m wide; an obelisk was erected on its *spina* or barrier (A. Frazer, *ArtB* 48 [1966] 385–92). The circus of Maxentius had space for 10,000 spectators. Private hippodromes in Rome are also mentioned (A. Manodori, *Anfiteatri, circhi e stadi di Roma* [Rome 1982] 225–29). The circus in Carthage, cleared by excavation, seems to have been active through the 5th C.—the area was later used for a rubbish dump (*The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage*, ed. J.H. Humphrey, vol. 1 [Ann Arbor 1988] 114–16).

The existence of hippodromes in the East is attested to primarily by written sources. Papyri, inscriptions, and occasional references in historical works describe the organization of circus factions (Blues and Greens) rather than the physical structure of the buildings. Data concerning factions survives from Alexandria, Oxyrhynchus, Caesarea Maritima, Antioch, Emesa, Helioupolis, Kyzikos, Ephesus, Priene, Stratonikeia in Caria, and several other cities (A. Christophilopoulou in *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon*, vol. 2 [Athens 1966] 358–60). Hagiographical texts describe horse races in Gaza, the factions of the hippodrome in Emesa, and the hippodrome in Damascus (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 87f). It is plausible to assume that chariot racing declined after the 6th C. and provincial hippodromes are scarcely ever mentioned in later centuries: Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 106.30) speaks of a *politikos* (municipal) hippodrome in Thessalonike, but Rudakov is wrong in asserting that the vita of Lazaros of Mt. Galesios (*AASS*, Nov. 3:580B) mentions horse races in Magnesia; the hagiographer is referring to *hippodromia* in Constantinople.

The average hippodrome took about five years to build and, when complete, measured about 450 × 70 m. The omission of an upper colonnade, still present at the Circus Maximus, could be because of the lack of a local tradition in equestrian sports or a perceived need for haste in construction. In the late Roman world hippodromes played an essential role as a setting both for court ceremonial and the ruler's appearance before his subjects. Hence they were frequently built in a city that an emperor determined as his chief residence. Rejecting the pattern that had prevailed down to the time of Constantine I—when hippodromes were built outside the city—most such structures of the 4th C. and after were built within the walls and often next to the imperial residence. Apsidal buildings adjacent to the hippodromes of Sirmium, Milan, and Thessalonike suggest provision for an imperial loge. As at Constantinople, therefore, hippodromes became in effect an integral part of the palace.

LIT. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 64–71. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:369–595. G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris 1974) 320–64. C. Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium,"

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*JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 344–53. J. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (London 1986). J. Gascou, "Les institutions de l'Hippodrome en Egypte byzantine," *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 185–212. Y. Dan, "Circus Factions (Blues and Greens) in Byzantine Palestine," *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981) 105–19.
–C.M., A.K., A.C.

**HIPPOKRATES.** See SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUSTRATION OF.

**HIPPOLYTOS,** in Greek mythology the son of THESEUS and the Amazon Hippolyte, a victim of his stepmother Phaedra's passionate love for him. When Hippolytos repulsed her advances, Phaedra accused him of seducing her, and Theseus asked Poseidon to kill Hippolytos. Phaedra's attempted seduction appears on a silver plate of the 5th or 6th C. (*DOCat* 1, no.7) and again, half a millennium later, in bone carving (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, no.30). In literature Hippolytos becomes a symbol of chastity: thus THEMISTIOS returns several times to the legend of Hippolytos, emphasizing his *sophrosyne* (e.g., or.1:88.9–10, 2:202.11–12). Malalas describes at length the story of Hippolytos, with the intention of exonerating Phaedra and showing that both she and Hippolytos were innocent and that Theseus was fully responsible for their deaths. Diverging from ancient sources, Malalas presents Hippolytos as a man of dark complexion, short-haired, snub-nosed, broad-faced, with sparse beard and large teeth; he also stresses that Hippolytos was a mature and strong hunter and calls him "Theseus's son by a concubine (*pallake*)" (Malal. 88.13). It is impossible to judge to what extent Malalas's story may have been influenced by the "triangle" of Constantine I–Fausta–CRISPUS; the latter was Constantine's son by the concubine Minervina (Zosim. 2:20.2), a young but talented military commander, who perished (along with his stepmother Fausta) as a victim of his father's jealousy.

Hippolytos is depicted in art as a hunter in a MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479; Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 115, fig.130).

LIT. Reinert, *Myth* 555–66. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 175–77.
–A.K., A.C.

**ḤĪRA,** Arab city on the lower Euphrates, the capital of the LAKHMIDS prior to the rise of Islam. Nestorian Christians exiled from Byz. fled to Ḥīra, from which Christianity spread in the Arabian peninsula; the city became officially Nestorian with the conversion of the last Lakhmid king al-Nuʿmān (580–602). After his death the city received a Persian governor and in 633 it capitulated to Muslim arms. Ḥīra was eclipsed by Islamic Kūfa, but in the 9th C. it produced the most important figure in the transmission of Greek science to the Arabs, Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq.

LIT. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥīra* (Berlin 1899; rp. Hildesheim 1968) 12–40. M.J. Kister, "Al-Ḥīra, Some Notes on its Relations with Arabia," *Arabica* 15 (1968) 143–69.
–I.A.Sh.

**HISTAMENON** (*νόμισμα ἱστάμενον*, lit. "standard"), a term commonly applied in the 11th C. to the gold NOMISMA of full weight in order to distinguish it from the substandard TETARTERON. Because the histamena of the mid-11th C. were concave, the term passed, in the shortened form of *stamena* (first attested 1030), to the Byz. billon and copper TRACHEA of the 12th–13th C., used particularly by the Latins in a variety of spellings (*stamina, stanmini*, etc.). Its exact meaning in any particular case has to be deduced from the context.

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 28.
–Ph.G.

**HISTORIA AUGUSTA** (4th C.?), a conventional title for a collection of Lives of Roman emperors and pretenders from 117 to 284, with a real or faked lacuna for 244–59. It was ostensibly written in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine by six otherwise unknown biographers: Aelius Lampridius, Aelius Spartianus, Flavius Vopiscus, Julius Capitolinus, Trebellius Pollio, Vulcacius Gallicanus. If it had a preface and Lives of Nerva and Trajan, its emulation of Suetonius would be complete, but too much logic on its part cannot be assumed. In content and form, the Lives are a poor man's Suetonius, crammed with exotic and erotic details and written in a sometimes remarkable Latin. Much of its documentation and information is demonstrably false and wrong, though it still has to be used when other sources are lacking. The collection parades conventional views of good emperors and senatorial virtues; efforts to equip it with any consistent philosophy have foundered. The current fashion is to follow H. Dessau's thesis (*Hermes* 24 [1889] 337–92; 27 [1892] 561–605) of a single author writing for fraud or literary fun sometime in the late 4th C. A recent computer study of its language (I. Marriott, *JRS* 69 [1979] 65–77) suggests single authorship. The only known use of it by the consular historian Symmachus in 485 might conceivably suggest a later date, or even that this Symmachus wrote it.

ED. *Scriptores historiae augustae*, ed. E. Hohl, revised C. Samberger, W. Seyfarth, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1965). *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. D. Magie, 3 vols. (London–New York 1921–32), with Eng. tr.

LIT. R. Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford 1983). T.D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (Brussels 1978). A. Momigliano, "An Unsolved Problem of Historical Forgery: The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*," *JWarb* 17 (1954) 22–46. C. Lessing, *Scriptorum historiae augustae lexicon* (Leipzig 1906).
–B.B.

**HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI** (History of the Expedition of Frederick), an account of the Crusade of FREDERICK I, compiled in Austria ca.1200, possibly by a priest Ansbert. The *Historia* expanded an earlier record (partially preserved, but misassessed by Chroust) by adding a prologue, documents, and annals (1190–97) of events in the Holy Land. The earlier record seems to derive from TAGENO and another participant, probably in Frederick's entourage. The *Historia* attests diplomatic contacts with Constantinople and IKONION before Frederick's departure (pp. 15f) and quarrels over imperial titles (pp. 49–51). It offers a list of Crusaders (pp. 18–22), a detailed description of their trip and the state of the empire (pp. 26–75), and several Byz. documents (p.29, *Reg* 2, no.1592; p.51.13–18, *Reg* 2, no.1598; pp. 64.15–66.22, *Reg* 2, no.1603). Further knowledge of the lost earlier record comes from an anonymous *History of the Pilgrims* (*Historia peregrinorum*), compiled in the 1190s (ed. Chroust, pp. 116–72).

Both histories overlap somewhat with the brief, factual account of the *Gesta Federici* (Deeds of Frederick [on the Holy Expedition], ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH *SRG* 27 [Hannover 1892] 78–96), which may also derive from Frederick's entourage. It adds new, vivid details to the crossing of the empire (e.g., the Byz. felled trees to block the road through Bulgaria, p.80).

ED. A. Chroust, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.* [= MGH *SRG* n.s. 5] (Berlin 1928) 1–115.

LIT. Wattenbach-Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Heinr. V* 1:99–104. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:438.
–M.McC.

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**HISTORIA LANGOBARDUM BENEVENTANORUM.** See ERCHEMPERT.

**HISTORIANS, ECCLESIASTICAL.** See ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS.

**HISTORIOGRAPHY,** one of the primary genres of Byz. literature. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 3.11–12) used the terms *chronographoi* and *historiographoi* to designate historians; this division into history and CHRONICLE, sanctioned by K. Krumbacher, became traditional, although recently serious doubts have been expressed as to its validity. The Byz. themselves did not clearly distinguish between *historia* and *chronikon:* the late Roman historians preferred the title *History* for their works, but from MALALAS onward "Chronicle" became the typical heading, not only of George Synkellos, Theophanes, or George Hamartolos, but even of some unquestionably "historical" works such as those by Psellos, Niketas Choniates, or George Akropolites. On the other hand, some authors like Patr. Nikephoros I, Skylitzes, Kedrenos, and Zonaras, who wrote in a chronicle style, used the title *History*. Eustathios of Thessalonike distinguished between the terms *historein* ("to write of the past") and *syngraphein* ("to write of contemporary events").

The Byz. contrasted historiography and ENKOMION, emphasizing that historiography's objective was pursuit of the truth. Indeed the element of criticism was substantial in historians. This overt or implied criticism, directed against deceased or living emperors and courtiers, was usually juxtaposed with praise for an ideal figure from the past (Constantine I for Theophanes), from contemporary society (Nikephoros III Botaneiates for Attaleiates), or even from the "barbaric" world (Mehmed II for Kritoboulos).

TIME was conceived as linear, not circular, both by late Roman pagan historians with their concept of eternal Rome (F. Vittinghoff, *HistZ* 198 [1964] 573) and by Christians according to whom history was moving toward Christ's PAROUSIA or Second Coming. This perception of time as a continuum is obvious in the so-called "world chronicles" that begin with Adam or Creation and treat at length both the biblical and Roman past, whereas ancient Greek history is poorly represented (Jeffreys, "Chroniclers" 237f). It is less evident in works on

limited periods that nonetheless implicitly or explicitly continue each other, so that Theophanes and his continuators, Leo the Deacon, Psellos, Anna Komnene, Niketas Choniates, Akropolites, Pachymeres, and Gregoras present an uninterrupted account of events. The geographic scope was wide for late Roman historians who were very interested in ethnography and the problem of barbarians; after Theophanes, the Byz. *oikoumene* shrank, and with rare exceptions (e.g., Chalkokondyles) historians dealt with territory under Byz. control.

The philosophy of history is providential, God or PRONOIA being considered as the ultimate cause of events. Providence could be conceived as in a perpetual dialogue with mankind, sending messages in the form of portents, earthquakes, visions, or miracles, and reacting to humankind's piety or sinfulness; or it could be removed to the background, while TYCHE or human activity proved to be the decisive factors in historical development. In the Palaiologan period historiography had to attempt to explain why God had forsaken his "chosen people" and granted victory to barbarians (C.I.G. Turner, *BZ* 57 [1964] 346–73). The idea that economic or social causes could influence history does appear in historiography, if rarely (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 19 [1961] 80f).

Politically and religiously biased, historians expressed their prejudices by direct praise or invective (esp. George Hamartolos) or by tendentious choice of facts and selective omission of undesirable events. The application of elements of historical criticism is infrequent, although occasionally historians present two contradictory versions and appeal to the reader to resolve the contradiction. More often than not historians uncritically copied their sources and thus created confusion and inconsistency. Documents are infrequently cited, but sometimes letters, treaties, or laws are reproduced, whereas speeches are usually artificial creations, modeled upon earlier examples. Statistical information is rarely dependable.

In addition to the truth, "delight" or "entertainment" was a goal of historiography. This purpose was served by anecdotes, jokes, sensational stories, mirabilia, miracles, love affairs, and murder scenes. On the other hand, the authors used rhetorical techniques, embedding into their story *ekphraseis* and *enkomia*, tropes and figures, metaphors and similes. ARCHAISM formed a link with the past: by imitation, clichés, and citations from earlier models, the historian established his place in the tradition. The structure of the narrative varied between two extremes—the strictly chronological, annalistic method elaborated primarily by Malalas, Synkellos, and Theophanes, and the biographical approach ("by reigns"), which was already used by the continuators of Theophanes. Very few historical works were dedicated to specific events (e.g., EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, John KANANOS). Although written primarily in prose, poetry was not excluded as a form of historiography, both for world history and specific historical reigns/events.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:257–504. J. Karayannopulos, G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)* (Wiesbaden 1982). R. Dostálová, "Vizantijskaja istoriografija," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 22–34. Croke-Emmett, *Historians*. F. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie* (Munich 1971). B. Baldwin, "Greek Historiography in Late Rome and Early Byzantium," *Hellenika* 33 (1981) 51–65. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Neue Tendenzen in der Erforschung der byzantinischen Historiographie," *Klio* 69 (1987) 560–66. –A.K.

**HISTORY PAINTING.** In Byz., as in ancient Rome, history painting normally depicted climactic events in the lives of emperors, such as acts of courage, victories, and the subjugation of barbarians (cf. Mansi 13:356B). A 12th-C. historian (Kinn. 266.7–9) describes the sponsorship of pictorial celebrations of imperial triumphs as "customary among men placed in authority." Thus John Lydos (*De magistratibus*, ed. A. Bandy, p.114.14–15) reports pictures of the rise of Leo I set up by a praetorian prefect, and ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE (*HE*, ed. E.W. Brooks, *CSCO* 88, p.41.27–29) mentions a similar tribute to Justin I commissioned by a *chartoularios*. These pictures were displayed in public places, an agora, and a public bath, respectively. But from the 6th C. onward, history painting is found primarily in the precincts of imperial PALACES. A mosaic showing Belisarios's victories over the Vandals and Goths and the reception of their tribute by the augusti covered the ceiling of the CHALKE. The emperor Maurice had the story of his life up to his accession displayed in the Karianos portico at BLACHERNAI (Theoph. 261.13–15), and Basil I's "toils on behalf of his subjects, his warlike exertions and the prize of victory bestowed by God" (*TheophCont* 332.19–22) were depicted in his Kainourgion in the GREAT PALACE. ROBERT DE CLARI (*Conquête*, p.28) describes pictures above the doors of churches in Constantinople depicting the overthrow of Andronikos I by Isaac II Angelos. Lesser men also commissioned this genre of painting: scenes of ancient history appeared among many others in the palace of DIGENES AKRITAS; Alexios AXOUCH was criticized for displaying victories of the sultan rather than the emperor.

Eusebios of Caesarea (*VC* 3.3) and later writers read such pictures allegorically. Euthymios MALAKES drew an analogy between depictions of the deeds of Manuel I and the Miracles and Passion of Christ. An anonymous text, preserved in Venice, Marc. gr. Z 524, draws parallels between the same emperor's victories, shown in the house of Leo Sikountenos in Thessalonike, and the conquests of Moses and Joshua. The only Palaiologan works known are the paintings of Michael VIII's victory over the Angevins in the vestibule of the palace, described by Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:651.1–4). The propagandistic or allegorical nature of such images differentiates them from both the narrative pictures of the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES and the historical episodes in the Paris Gregory (Paris, B.N. gr. 510).

LIT. Grabar, *L'empereur* 36, 40f, 83f, 93. Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C." –A.C.

**HISTRIA** (anc. Ἴστρια), a Greek colony on Lake Sinoe, in SCYTHIA MINOR, near the shore of the Black Sea, north of Constanța in Rumania. The city prospered in the 4th–6th C., when its ramparts were rebuilt three times, some bricks bearing stamps of the time of Anastasios I. Excavations have uncovered a commercial district, with various workshops and private habitations that usually form clusters, and several public buildings, including a basilical edifice of the 6th C. (E. Condurachi in *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Oriandon*, vol. 4 [Athens 1967–68] 161–68). The sector containing two Roman baths of the 2nd C. was a commercial region in the 4th C. and later the location of a basilica and a cemetery; it was abandoned in the 7th C. (A. Suceveanu, *Histria* 6 [1982] 85–92). In the eastern sector was a large palacelike house.

The period of prosperous activity ended ca.580; the last excavated layer contains humbler habitations. Numerous coins of Maurice (H. Nubar, *Histria* 3 [1973] 84) are connected with that emperor's attempt to protect the area against Avar attacks; then the number of Byz. coins decreases and stops after Herakleios. Sporadic coin finds of the late 10th–12th C. (ibid. 227f) indicate a Byz. presence in the region, but Histria did not regain its former significance. In the sector of the Roman baths, an 11th-C. [Pecheneg?] tomb was found, containing jewelry of a type also known from DINOGETIA and the steppe north of the Black Sea (A. Suceveanu, *SCIV* 24 [1973] 495–502).

LIT. E. Condurachi, "Histria à l'époque du Bas-Empire d'après les dernières fouilles archéologiques," *Dacia* 1 (1957) 245–63. H. Nubar, "Contribuții la topografia cetății Histria în epoca romano-bizantină," *SCIV* 22 (1971) 199–215. –A.K.

**HOARDS, NUMISMATIC.** See COIN FINDS.

**HODEGON MONASTERY,** located in Constantinople east of Hagia Sophia near the sea walls. Hodegon (Ὁδηγῶν, "of guides, conductors") apparently took its name from the monks who led blind pilgrims to a miraculous spring that was able to restore sight. The church was allegedly founded in the 5th C. by the empress PULCHERIA to house precious relics, which later included St. Luke's portrait of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA. In late Byz. this icon was removed from the church every Tuesday and carried in procession through the streets, attended by large crowds hoping for miraculous cures.

The monastic complex was built by the 9th C., perhaps by MICHAEL III, and restored again in the 12th C. In the Palaiologan period a SCRIPTORIUM flourished there, specializing in the production of deluxe liturgical MSS (L. Polites, *BZ* 51 [1958] 17–36, 261–87). Among its scribes were Chariton (fl. 1319–46) and Ioasaph (fl. 1360–1405/6). The Palaiologan emperors had close ties with the monastery and visited it frequently; ANDRONIKOS III died there in 1341. During the late 13th and 14th C. the monastery was granted to the patriarchate of Antioch as a *metochion*, and served as a residence for Syrian monks visiting Constantinople.

LIT. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 362–66. Janin, *Églises CP* 199–207. R.L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: the Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio* 6 (1948) 319–28. –A.M.T.

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**HOLOBOLOS, MANUEL,** teacher, orator, and active anti-Unionist; born ca.1245, died Constantinople between 1310 and 1314. In the service of Michael VIII as a *grammatikos* from an early age, Holobolos (Ὁλόβολος) suffered repeatedly at the hands of the emperor. In 1261 his lips and nose were mutilated because he showed distress at the blinding of JOHN IV LASKARIS. Holobolos thereupon entered the Prodromos monastery in Constantinople with the monastic name Maximos (W. Hörandner, *JÖB* 19 [1970] 116–19). In 1265–66, through an appeal of Patr. Germanos III, he was appointed rhetor and assigned to teach, possibly at the school attached to the orphanage of the Church of St. Paul (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:369.5–371.5). Again in disgrace in 1273 because of his anti-Union stance, Holobolos was exiled to the monastery tou Megalou Agrou on the Sea of Marmara. He returned to Constantinople after Michael's death and was active in condemning the Unionists both in 1283 and at the Council of 1285 in BLACHERNAI (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). In addition to regaining the title of rhetor, he was *protosynkellos*, according to a letter addressed to him by the Dominican Simon (1299). A monody written for Holobolos by a student and relation, George GALESIOTES, states that he was teaching until the end of his life (S.I. Kourouses, *Athena* 75 [1974–75] 335–74).

As rhetor, Holobolos composed several orations for Michael VIII that are important sources for the early years of his reign (1259–61) and for the restoration of Constantinople after 1261. Holobolos also wrote verses for the emperor and his son Andronikos II to accompany the Epiphany PROKYPSIS ceremony, commentaries on Theokritos's *Technopaignia*, and a *logos katechetikos* for Germanos III.

ED. *Orationes*—ed. M. Treu, *Programm des königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam* (1906). L. Previale, "Un panegirico inedito per Michele VIII Paleologo," *BZ* 42 (1943–9) 1–49. Verses for Epiphany—Boissonade, *AnecGr* 5:159–82. Commentaries—C. Wendel, "Die Technopägnien-Ausgabe des Rhetors Holobolos," *BZ* 16 (1907) 460–67.

LIT. R. Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople—1261?" *BMGS* 6 (1980) 13–41. Constantinides, *Education* 55–59. C. Hannick, *Maximos Holobolos in der kirchenslavischen homiletischen Literatur* (Vienna 1981). –R.J.M.

**HOLY APOSTLES, CHURCH OF THE,** name of numerous churches in Byz. territory, the most famous of which were those in Constantinople and Thessalonike.

**HOLY APOSTLES IN CONSTANTINOPLE.** The first building on the site in Constantinople was a circular mausoleum erected by Constantine I for his own burial. Next to it a cruciform basilica was built by Constantius II, who deposited in it relics of the apostles Timothy (356) and Luke and Andrew (357—G. Downey, *DOP* 6 [1951] 72). In 550 the church was rebuilt, again in the shape of a cross, by Justinian I, who added a second mausoleum. The two mausolea served as the burial place of emperors until 1028. After Iconoclasm the church was restored by Basil I and decorated with a cycle of mosaics described in ca.940 by CONSTANTINE OF RHODES. The mosaics appear to have been partly redone in the 12th C. and were described once again by Nicholas MESARITES. After the Turkish conquest the church was ceded to Gennadios II Scholarios as the seat of the patriarchate, but he found it unsuitable and moved instead to the Church of St. Mary PAMMAKARISTOS. The church was demolished and the mosque of Mehmed II Fātiḥ built on its site. Several of the imperial sarcophagi were salvaged (P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 [1962] 1–63). The Church of the Holy Apostles resembled that of St. John at EPHESUS in its cruciform plan and five-domed elevation, a scheme later replicated at S. Marco in Venice.

LIT. A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1908). J. Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique de Constantinople* (Paris 1921) 1–27. N. Malickij, "Remarques sur la date des mosaïques de l'église des saints Apôtres," *Byzantion* 3 (1926) 123–51. A. Epstein, "The Rebuilding and Redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: Reconsideration," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 79–92. –C.M.

**HOLY APOSTLES IN THESSALONIKE.** The Church of the Holy Apostles (originally the Church of the Virgin) in the western part of the city is a fine example of Palaiologan monastic architecture. On the west and south façades are brickwork monograms and carved inscriptions naming the patriarch NIPHON of Constantinople as founder, which would date the church to the period 1310–14; recent carbon-14 analysis of the fabric of the church shows that all of the building was constructed at the same time, but suggests a date of ca.1329. The monk Paul is named as a second *ktetor*. The exterior of the church is richly decorated with brickwork patterns of all kinds: zigzags, hook patterns, cross-stitch designs, pendant triangles, grill patterns, and hexagon stars. The west façade of the outer narthex was an open arcade. The church is effectively divided into two parts: a naos with central dome on four columns, plus a narthex, is surrounded by a U-shaped ambulatory with galleries and domes at each of the four corners. The interior is dominated by verticality; the proportion of height to width of the central bay is 5:1. The interior was once adorned with mosaics, on the upper levels only, and with frescoes, presumably executed by a Constantinopolitan workshop, perhaps the same that decorated the Church of the CHORA.

LIT. P.I. Kuniholm, C.L. Striker, "Dendrochronology and the Architectural History of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki," *Architectura* 20 (1990) 1–26. N. Nikonanos, *The Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1986). C. Stephen, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble: Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche* (Worms 1986). M. Rautman, "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Thessaloniki" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana Univ., 1984). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 431f. C. Diehl, N. Letourneau, H. Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris 1918) 189–200. G. Velenis, "Hoi Hagioi Apostoloi Thessalonikes kai he schole tes Konstantinoupoles," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 457–67. –T.E.G.

**HOLY FACE.** See MANDYLION.

**HOLY FOOLS.** See FOOLS, HOLY.

**HOLY MOUNTAIN** (ἅγιον ὄρος). A number of mountains (with their environs) in the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Levant attracted substantial numbers of monks and acquired reputations as "holy mountains." Among the earliest were Mt. AUXENTIOS, Mt. SINAI, and the WONDROUS MOUNTAIN, first settled in the 4th and 5th C. LATROS probably received its first monks in the 7th C., OLYMPOS and ATHOS in the 8th–9th C. Until the first half of the 10th C. Olympos was considered the Holy Mountain par excellence; subsequently Athos took pride of place. Mounts GANOS and GALESIOS became flourishing monastic communities in the 10th and 11th C. METEORA was the last to be founded, in the 14th C.

Holy mountains are usually characterized by relative isolation and rugged terrain, and appealed to the desire of many monks to reside in a remote wilderness area (see DESERT). They housed both hermits and *koinobia*; a number of holy men moved from one holy mountain to another in the course of their careers. Holy mountains often tended to be centers of Orthodox monastic resistance to such unpopular developments as ICONOCLASM (Olympos) or the UNION OF THE CHURCHES (Athos, Ganos); at the same time, new spiritual trends (e.g., PALAMISM) might begin in such a monastic center. Holy mountains tended to limit the access of women, whether as visitors or as nuns in permanent residence. Two of them (Athos and Meteora) strictly prohibited the admission of women to the mountain for any purpose; Latros had no nunneries at all; Galesios, Auxentios, and Olympos each had one, which functioned in part to house female relatives of monks who lived on the mountain (A.-M. Talbot, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 2f). –A.M.T.

**HOLY RIDER,** a modern term encompassing a variety of 5th- through 7th-C. amuletic images distinguished by a mounted figure. Following a well-established Antique iconographic tradition, most examples show the horse at full gallop and the figure, in military garb, impaling a beast or demon beneath the animal's hooves. In some cases, the warrior is identified as Solomon or, more rarely, as St. Sisinnios; the victim is often a seminude female, the she-devil Gyllou (or Alabastria). The intent was not to portray a specific figure or historical event, but rather to evoke virtuous power and, more generally, the triumph of good over evil. Most Holy Rider AMULETS take the form of bronze pendants or haematite intaglio tokens, although the motif is found as well on amuletic rings, armbands, fibulae, belt fittings, and earthen tokens.

LIT. Bonner, *Studies*, nos. 294–326. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, & Magic" 79–82, n.59. –G.V.

**HOLY SEPULCHRE.** See SEPULCHRE, HOLY.

**HOLY SPIRIT** (πνεῦμα ἅγιον), third person of the TRINITY. The Holy Spirit appears in early Christian literature as a primary experience of the community and the individual Christian. His activity is manifested in his gifts, esp. the gift of prophecy which thrived in Syro-Palestine and Asia Minor, particularly in MONTANISM. In Christian experience, the Holy Spirit is encountered in the



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baptismal liturgy, in the Trinitarian confession of faith, and in the doxology of the Church.

In the 4th C., the Council of NICAEA set forth a simple confession concerning the Holy Spirit: "We believe . . . also in the Holy Spirit." But at the Synod of Antioch of 341 this simple formula was expanded and the Holy Spirit presented as the eschatological gift and "paraclete" promised by Jesus. These elaborations reveal that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was developed in conjunction with the concept of HOMOOUSIOS, the consubstantiality of the Logos with the Father.

The PNEUMATOMACHOI were those who denied the deity of the Holy Spirit and depicted him as a created gift of God. Their most significant opponents were ATHANASIOS of Alexandria and BASIL THE GREAT. In his four letters to SERAPION of Thmuis, Athanasios unites the Holy Spirit to God himself. The Father effects all things through His Logos in the Holy Spirit, involving not only salvation, but creation as well. This Trinity, moreover, is indivisible, constituting one God. At the Synod of Alexandria held in 362, Athanasios argued for an expansion to the Nicaean Creed by condemning those who said that "the Holy Spirit is a creature separate from the essence of Christ" (PG 26:800A). To contemporaries such language approached Sabellianism (see MONARCHIANISM); MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA, for example, had been misunderstood earlier when he said something similar.

A confession concerning the divine nature of the Holy Spirit was formulated for the first time in the theology of Basil and incorporated into the creed of the First Council of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). The Holy Spirit is "the Lord, the Giver of Life." In other words, he stands at the side of God the creator and redeemer. The formula, "He proceeds from the Father," describes how he is distinguished from the Son within the inner relationships of the Godhead. The unity of worship expressed in the formula, "He is worshiped and glorified together with the Father and the Son," confirms that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one in essence. "He spoke through the prophets," does not explain the significance of prophecy, but the unity of Old Testament and New Testament and their divine testimonies. The term *homoousios*, after the controversies it provoked in the 4th C., was consciously avoided, but, inasmuch as the Spirit is introduced as the third hypostasis of the one divine essence, it was not retracted.

A major issue in Byz. theology concerned the FILIOQUE and the Procession of the Holy Spirit "from the Father." That the Son or Logos participates in the Procession of the Holy Spirit was not called into question in either the Byz. or patristic traditions. Apart from some polemical formulas found in the writings of PHOTIOS, no one maintained that the Holy Spirit proceeds "from the Father alone"; rather, the Father is the single "uncaused Cause (*aitia*)" with respect to whom the Son can hold but a mediating position, a concept wholly in line with Greek speculation on first principles. This was expressed in the popular Byz. formula, "from the Father, through the Son" (*ek tou patros dia tou hyiou*). In precisely this sense, MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR interpreted the formula used by Pope MARTIN I: the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. As the uncaused *aitia*, the Father is seen to be the "Ultimate Principle" which does not preclude a mediator (PG 91:136AB).

For Byz. theologians the cause of the controversy was not the coordinating formulas used in Western tradition as much as the addition of the *filioque* to the Nicaean-Constantinopolitan creed by Western theologians in the 7th C. The first polemical discussion on this point took place at the Council of Gentilly (767). The prelude to the controversy was set up in the LIBRI CAROLINI, and in the dispute that erupted in 808 over the use of the *filioque* in the liturgy of the Benedictine monks of Jerusalem. When Photios in his encyclical of 867 put forth the view that the *filioque* introduces two principles into the Godhead, thereby dissolving the unity of God ("The monarchy," he says, "is dissolved into a 'dyotheism' "), what had been an ecclesiastical question was now made a dogmatic issue.

The Photian Synod of 879/80 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) expressly declared that the *filioque* introduced a new heresy. Photios and his followers saw in the Procession (*probole*) of the Spirit a unique property that distinguishes the Spirit as a hypostasis in the Trinity. Both the Son and the Spirit come forth (*proodoi*) from a single principle: the Son in the manner of generation; the Spirit in the manner of procession, but apart from any mediation. Only in terms of the economy (*oikonomia*) of salvation does the Son participate in the sending of the Spirit. Strict Photians, therefore, distinguished between the "economic" and "immanent" models of the Trinity: the Spirit comes forth *ek tou patros*, communicates with mankind *dia tou hyiou* (Theophylaktos of Ohrid, PG 123:1224D). This theme is evident in the Byz. theological controversies with, for example, Peter GROSSOLANO or ANSELM of Havelberg, or the controversy with Rome over UNION OF THE CHURCHES, particularly under Michael VIII Palaiologos, or at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE.

The compromise that the Greek doctrine of mediation expressed by the formula *dia tou hyiou*, "through the Son," has the same meaning as the Latin *filioque* is found already in the teaching of NIKETAS "OF MARONEIA." Some Byz. theologians even held views that approached the Latin position. Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, for example, was originally a strict Photian, but in two of his later writings he maintained that the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession can be differentiated only if the Son participates in the latter. These writings prompted JOHN XI BEKKOS to undertake a detailed study of patristic texts, which led to the Union of Lyons (1274). The study of Bekkos, however, had no impact on Byz. theology, which remained essentially Photian.

LIT. J. Slipyi, "Die Trinitätslehre des byzantinischen Patriarchen Photios," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 44 (1920) 538–62; 45 (1921) 66–95, 370–404. Beck, *Kirche* 306–17.
–K.H.-U.

**HOLY TILE.** See KERAMION.

**HOLY TOWEL.** See MANDYLION.

**HOLY WEEK** (ἡ μεγάλη ἑβδομάς), the week before EASTER, called "great" in Byz. usage, as are its days ("Great Monday," etc.). It originated in the extension to six days of the variable paschal period of FASTING that ended at the Easter VIGIL, a development first seen ca.260 in Dionysios of Alexandria, *Ep. ad Basilidem* 1 (*The Letters and Other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria*, ed. C.L. Feltoe [Cambridge 1904] 90–105). The Easter vigil was at first the only liturgical service of Easter Week, but Eusebios (*HE*, bk.2, ch.17.21–22) and Epiphanios of Salamis (*Panarion*, ed. Holl, 3:523.23) already bear witness to the existence of other vigils during the week, and in 384 EGERIA (*Diary* 30–38) describes a full cycle of stational services in Jerusalem commemorating the Passion week (see GOOD FRIDAY), a cycle confirmed in detail by the 5th-C. Armenian LECTIONARY of Jerusalem.

The Holy Week services in Constantinople differ little from those of other weeks in the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:66–91). But by the 9th C. the more dramatic Jerusalem services had already begun to influence Constantinopolitan usage and were to predominate with the decline of the cathedral liturgy of Constantinople after 1204.

Imperial participation in the services of Holy Week was most evident on Holy Thursday. The emperor assisted at the liturgy, after which he distributed cinnamon and two apples to the dignitaries, then dined with guests (*De cer.* 33). There is no mention here of his participation either in the adoration of the Passion relics or in the WASHING OF THE FEET. According to the *Typikon*, it is the patriarch who washes the feet of 12 clergymen after vespers (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:72f) as the New Testament account (Jn 13) of the event is read aloud. But in a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 228.10–229.20) the emperor himself washes the feet of 12 poor people before the start of the liturgy.

LIT. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 27–31, 40–47. A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie strastnoj i paschal'noj sedmic vo sv. Ierusalime IX–X v.* (Kazan 1894).
–R.F.T.

**HOMER** (Ὅμηρος), "the Poet," was the most widely read and studied ancient author in Byz. For example, Niketas Choniates' *History* contains 134 quotations from the *Iliad* (some used several times) and 58 from the *Odyssey*, whereas the next most popular writer, LUCIAN, is represented by only 24 passages. Byz. schoolmasters and students were constantly occupied with the Homeric poems, esp. the *Iliad*, which became a basic text in the curriculum; students memorized much of it. Thus citations from the Homeric epics are found throughout late antique and Byz. literature, although analysis of papyrological data suggests a decrease of interest in Homer in late antiquity. P. Mazon (*Introduction à l'Iliade* [Paris 1967] 64f) registers 75 fragments of the *Iliad* from the 3rd C., 17 from the 4th, 16 from the 5th, five from the 6th, and one from the 7th (uncertain papyri

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such as the 2nd/3rd C. are here omitted). Nevertheless, educated church fathers quoted Homer: thus, Cyril of Alexandria, who barely mentions Homer's name, was influenced by Stoic tradition and saw in Homeric gods symbols of vices and virtues or metonymies of the elements of the cosmos; he rarely polemicized against Homeric polytheism (G. Bartelink, *WS* n.s. 17 [1983] 62–68). Probably in the 6th C. an otherwise unknown female writer, Demo, wrote a commentary, primarily allegorical, on Homer. DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO in 6th-C. Egypt owned the famous Cairo codex of Homer and called him "the best poet."

Interest in Homer revived in the 9th-10th C. The oldest complete MS of the *Iliad*, Venetus A [= Venice, Marc. gr. 454], which was formerly attributed to the scribe Ephraim and dated before 947 (B. Hemmerdinger, *REGr* 69 [1956] 433f), is probably from the last quarter of the 10th C. (E. Mioni, *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Padova* 1 [1976] 185–93). The oldest copy of the *Odyssey* (Florence, Laur. 32.24) is also of the 10th C. The EPIMERISMS, commentaries of the most elementary nature, were dated by Ch. Theodoridis (*BZ* 72 [1979] 1–5) to the beginning of the 9th C., but A. Dyck (*infra* 7) places them in the 9th–10th C. At the same time collecting of scholia began; many of them are contained in Venetus A, but they derive mostly from Hellenistic and Roman sources (N. Richardson, *CQ* 30 [1980] 265). From Constantinople the knowledge of Homer expanded to Baghdad in the 9th C. (G. Strohmaier, *BS* 41 [1980] 196–200).

The most important Homeric scholarship dates from the 12th C.—the massive commentaries by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and two long commentaries by TZETZES. Eustathios used the vernacular Greek of his time and drew on the customs of peasants and townsmen and recent events to explain the epic. He felt that Homer belonged to this world, sensing no distance between the Homeric past and his own day. Tzetzes' interpretation was more antiquarian (he tried to fill in the gaps in Homer's narrative) and allegorical, aimed at revealing historical, moral, and cosmological ALLEGORY. Among other commentators on Homer were Isaac KOMNENOS the Porphyrogennetos and George LEKAPENOS. Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS composed a paraphrase of the first two books of the *Iliad*, omitting the "Catalog of Ships." The story of the TROJAN WAR excited the imagination of vernacular authors such as Constantine HERMONIAKOS.

In an utterly unclassical manner, Homer is depicted as a young man with long hair in a 9th-C. MS of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.*, fig.96). Together with ORPHEUS and HESIOD he appears among the "theologians" attacked by the church fathers.

ED. *Epimerismi Homerici*, ed. A.R. Dyck (Berlin 1983). H. Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, 7 vols. (Berlin 1969–88). W. Dindorf, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1855; rp. Amsterdam 1962).

LIT. Browning, "Homer." A. Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou, *He anagennesis ton grammaton kata ton IB' aiona eis to Byzantion kai ho Homeros* (Athens 1971–72). G. Morgan, "Homer in Byzantium: John Tzetzes," in *Approaches to Homer*, ed. C. Rubino, C. Shelmerdine (Austin, Texas, 1983) 165–88. Wilson, *Scholars* 161f, 197–99. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad* (Olten 1955), rev. K. Weitzmann, *Gnomon* 29 (1957) 606–16. –A.K., K.S., A.C.

**HOMILY.** See SERMON.

**HOMOIOUSIANS** (from ὁμοιούσιος, "of like substance"), a group, often called "semi-Arians," who refused to accept the term HOMOOUSIOS but who believed in the perfect divinity of Christ and the similarity of his divine nature to that of the Father. Although these beliefs may be traced back to ORIGEN, the Homoiousians as a "party" came into existence ca.356 in an attempt to find a compromise between Orthodoxy and ARIANISM. Leading members of the Homoiousians were BASIL OF ANKYRA, Makedonios of Constantinople, and George of Laodikeia; they are to be distinguished from the Homoians, who maintained closer ties to strict Arianism. The movement met opposition on philosophical grounds since nothing can be "like" God's nature; moreover, the assertion of "likeness" also implies difference, leading on the one hand to charges of polytheism and on the other to identification with Arianism (Wolfson, *Philosophy* 336f). The Homoiousians did, however, influence the theology of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS.

LIT. J. Gummerus, *Die homöusianische Partei bis zum Tode Konstantius* (Leipzig 1900). G. Rasneur, "L'Homoiousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie," *RHE* 4 (1903) 189–206. A. Spasskij, *Istorija dogmatičeskich dviženij v epochu vselenskich soborov*[2] (Sergiev-Posad 1914; rp. Westmead 1970) 365–474. –T.E.G.



**HOMOOUSIOS** (ὁμοούσιος, lit. "consubstantial," "of the same SUBSTANCE"), term crucial for the understanding of the relationship among the PERSONS within the TRINITY. Not used in the Bible, it was introduced by the 3rd C. in Gnostic interpretation of emanation and probably also in the Sabellian view of God's epiphanies in history as Father, Son, and Spirit. ORIGEN and his disciples seem not to have applied the term to the Son (R. Hanson in *Epektasis: Mélanges Jean Daniélou* [Paris 1972] 293–303), but the Council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata (268) condemned the consubstantiality of the Father and Son. Paul probably understood consubstantiality in a sense of MONARCHIANISM, perceiving the Son only as an attribute (LOGOS = reason) of the Father, and the accusation was nothing but a dialectic argument against him. The further discussion of the term was provoked by the teaching of ARIUS that the Logos was a creation of the Father, his intermediary in the act of salvation and therefore subordinate to him. The teaching was rejected by the creed of the First Council of NICAEA that formulated the belief in the Son of God, born, not created, consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the Father. The idea of consubstantiality was to protect MONOTHEISM against the concept of a separate God-mediator. The tendency to identify the substance of the persons, however, introduced the danger of Monarchianism that was interpreted as applying the notions of *monoousios* and *tautoousios* instead of *homoousios* and thus removing the hypostatic difference of the persons.

The term *homoousios* was under attack during the 4th C.; the semi-Arians wanted to replace it with *homoios* ("similar") as representing a looser relationship or a recourse to Scripture (cf. Jn 5:19). It was the interpretation of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS that brought forth a synthesis and produced the canonical formula "one *ousia* (substance), three HYPOSTASES." This formulation preserved the concept of substantial identity as well as numerical difference of Godhead and provided Byz. theology with a weapon against the accusation of TRITHEISM (ANASTASIOS I, patriarch of Antioch, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Traditio* 37 [1981] 105–08). Despite the opposition of the PNEUMATOMACHOI, the term was also applied to the Holy Spirit. Through the definition of CHALCEDON (451) the term entered Christology.

LIT. H. de Riedmatten, *Les Actes du procès de Paul de Samosate* (Fribourg 1952), rev. P. Nautin in *École des Hautes Études, Section des sciences religieuses: Annuaire* (1953–54) 54–58. M. Simonetti, "Ancora su *Homoousios* a proposito di due recenti studi," *VetChr* 17 (1980) 85–98. Kelly, *Doctrines* 252–63. G.C. Stead, "The Significance of the *Homoousios*," *StP* 3 [= *TU* 78] (Berlin 1961) 397–412. J.M. Dalmau, "El homoousios y el concilio de Antioquía de 268," *Miscelánea Comillas* 34–35 (1960) 323–40. –K.-H.U.

**HOMOSEXUALITY** (παιδεραστία, ἀρρενομιξία, ἀρρενοκοιτία), also called the "sin of sodomy" (e.g., Makarios the Great, PG 34:224B), was prohibited by the Old Testament (Lev 18:22) and continued to be condemned in Byz. It was common in the late Roman Empire when an abundance of young slaves and EUNUCHS created favorable circumstances for its practice. Many church fathers, esp. John Chrysostom, inveighed against this form of sexual activity. Denounced by the church as criminal and contrary to Holy Scripture, homosexuality was prohibited by Justinian I's novels 77 and 141, which repeated the punishment of death by the sword decreed by *Cod. Theod.* IX 7.3. The same punishment was imposed by the *Ecloga* (17.38) and *Ecloga aucta* (17.6); the latter exempted youths under 15 from the death penalty, sentencing them instead to flogging and confinement in a monastery. Ecclesiastical law punished the sin with two or three years of EPITIMION. The *Penitential* of pseudo-John IV Nesteutes instructed the confessor to inquire about the sin of *arrenokoitia* (PG 88:1893C) and detailed different forms of homosexuality.

Malalas (Malal. 436.6–15) describes the trial of two bishops accused of homosexuality, Isaiah of Rhodes and Alexander of Diospolis in Thrace. The former was exiled after cruel tortures, the latter castrated and dragged along the streets in an ignominious procession.

Accusations of homosexual behavior sometimes appear in Byz. polemics: thus Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 443.15) lists "the impious lust for men" among Constantine V's vices. Such accusations became less common after the 9th C., probably as a result of the consolidation of FAMILY values and developing masculine ideals; in the last

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centuries of Byz., however, complaints about homosexuality (e.g., in the writings of Patr. ATHANASIOS I and Joseph BRYENNIOS) were again heard. Homosexuality was found in both male and female monasteries (*typikon* of PHOBEROU MONASTERY, 80.31–82.9); several *typika* denied access to beardless youths and/or eunuchs in an attempt to protect monks from temptation (C. Galatariotou, *REB* 45 [1987] 121f).

LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios* 16–19. Koukoules, *Bios* 6:506–15. J. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality* (Chicago-London 1980) 137–66, 335–53, 359–65. D.S. Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (London 1955). D. Dalla, ". . .*Ubi Venus mutator": Omosessualità e diritto nel mondo romano* (Milan 1987). E. Cantarella, "Etica sessuale e diritto: L'omosessualità maschile a Roma," *RJ* 6 (1987) 277–92. S. Troianos, "Kirchliche und weltliche Rechtsquellen zur Homosexualität in Byzanz," *JÖB* 39 (1989) 29–48. –J.H.

**HOMS.** See EMESA.

**HONORIUS** (Ὀνώριος), Western emperor (from 393), younger son of Theodosios I; born Constantinople 9 Sept. 384, died Ravenna 15 Aug. 423. He was summoned to the West by Theodosios in 394 and assumed power after his father's death in 395. His elder brother ARKADIOS ruled the East and the whole empire was never again united. Because of Honorius's youth the court was dominated by the *magister militum* STILICHO, whose two daughters, Maria and Thermantia, were married to Honorius ca.398 and 408, respectively. The double portrait of Honorius on a consular diptych of 401 has persuaded most scholars that he is represented, together with Maria, on a cameo in Paris (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, nos. 1, 66). In fear of ALARIC, he moved his residence from Milan to RAVENNA, which henceforth became the primary Western capital. After the death of Stilicho in 408 the patrician Constantius became the power behind the throne and married the emperor's sister GALLA PLACIDIA. In 421 Constantius was made emperor, but his claims were rejected by Theodosios II, perhaps because Honorius was childless and the Eastern court had ambitions in the West. During the reign of Honorius, Rome was sacked by Alaric. Much of Gaul and Spain fell into barbarian hands. Honorius and his brother Arkadios were represented as consuls on the latter's honorific column in Constantinople.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:106–211. Demougeot, *Unité* 119–570. A. Pabst, *Divisio regni* (Bonn 1986). A. De Veer, "Une mesure de tolérance de l'empereur Honorius," *REB* 24 (1966) 189–95. W.N. Bayless, "The Visigothic Invasion of Italy in 401," *Classical Journal* 72 (1976) 65–67. –T.E.G., A.C.

**HORISMOS** (ὁρισμός, lit. "definition"), term for an imperial decree, known from the late 11th C. onward; it was synonymous with the PROSTAGMA. The rare term *chrysoboullios horismos* designated a less solemn form of the CHRYSOBULL, which had no words written in red ink except for the emperor's signature. The term could be applied to the charters of an empress (e.g., *Koutloum.*, no.8.34), a *doux* (*Lavra* 1, no.64.99), a *despotes*, or a metropolitan (*despotikos horismos—Xénoph.* no.32.42).

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 109, 127f. –A.K.

**HORMISDAS,** pope (from 20 July 514); born Frosinone, Campania, died Rome 6 Aug. 523. Hormisdas inherited the problem of the AKAKIAN SCHISM but sought reconciliation with Byz. After the revolt of VITALIAN, Emp. Anastasios I was forced to seek accommodation with supporters of the Council of CHALCEDON and addressed the pope as *mediator*; Hormisdas sent his emissaries to Constantinople with a *libellus*—conventionally called the formula of Hormisdas—which required the full acceptance of Chalcedon and the condemnation of both the Nestorians and the Monophysites. The negotiations failed, but in 519 under Emp. Justin I a new papal embassy and Patr. John II (518–20) signed an agreement stating that the names of AKAKIOS and his four successors on the patriarchal throne, as well as those of Zeno and Anastasios I, were to be deleted from the DIPTYCHS. The personal and ideological victory was, however, Pyrrhic (Caspar, *infra* 130), and in fact the pope's influence over the eastern part of the empire (including Thessalonike) was drastically restricted; this is in contrast to Hormisdas's funeral inscription (by his son, Pope Silverius) noting "Graecia's obedience to your command."

LIT. Caspar, *Papsttum* 2:129–83. W. Haacke, *Die Glaubensformel des Papstes Hormisdas im Acacianischen Schisma* (Rome 1939). C. Capizzi, "Sul fallimento di un negoziato di pace ecclesiastica fra il papa Ormisda e l'imperatore Anastasio I," *Storia critica* 17 (1980) 23–54. –A.K.

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**HOROLOGION** (ὡρολόγιον) a term that means both a liturgical book and a timepiece.

**Liturgical Book.** Such a book contains the "ordinary" or invariable elements of the Byz. monastic HOURS, beginning with *mesonyktikon* and ending with compline (APODEIPNON). Other material varies from MS to MS. Originally the *horologion* was designed for the monastic office in Palestine; the two earliest surviving MSS of this original *horologion* date from the 9th C. (J. Mateos in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 3 [Vatican 1964] 47–76). The Byz. *horologion*, however, is a hybrid developed in Constantinople gradually from the 8th C. onward; it fuses the early monastic *horologion* with the prayers and DIAKONIKA of the cathedral rite (see ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA) contained in the EUCHOLOGION. The final synthesis of the two was completed only in the 14th C.

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 361–65. Idem, "Mount Athos." *La prière des heures: Horologion* (Chevetogne 1975). –R.F.T.

**Clock.** Any device used to measure the passage of TIME or to mark a specific hour was called a *horologion*. As elsewhere in the medieval world, the Byz. needed timepieces primarily for the scheduling of religious services. In addition to SUNDIALS, which were limited to use in the daytime and in sunny weather, the Byz. continued to use the waterclock (*klepsydra*) devised in antiquity (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, PG 45:969B), a vessel from which water drained through small holes at a steady rate. It was superior to the sundial because it could be used at night and was not affected by changes in the sun's path due to season or latitude, although it was susceptible to frost. The monastic rule of Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1704C) mentions a waterclock (*hydrologion*) fitted with some sort of alarm device to rouse the *aphypnistes*, the monk in charge of awakening his brethren for nocturnal services. At monasteries and churches, both BELLS and wooden gongs (SEMANTRA) were used to summon the faithful to services.

There were several public *horologia* in Constantinople, including the one erected by Justinian I at the Milion (Theoph. 216.25) and the magnificent structure at Hagia Sophia, with 24 doors that opened and shut according to the hours of the day. PROKOPIOS OF GAZA has left a detailed description of the elaborate water-driven *horologion* in early 6th-C. Gaza; it was adorned with AUTOMATA, including the 12 Labors of Herakles (for the 12 hours of daytime). Unfortunately, Prokopios says virtually nothing about the mechanics of the *horologion*. Pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS (ed. Bekker, 681.21–682.15) states that LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN gave Emp. Theophilos the idea of constructing two synchronized *horologia*, one at each end of a chain of BEACONS (P. Pattenden, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 274–76). There is no evidence that the Byz. ever used the mechanical clocks that began to appear in western Europe in the second half of the 13th C.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:89f. H. Diels, *Über die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza* (Berlin 1917). W.I. Milham, *Time and Timekeepers* (New York 1944) 48–54. –A.M.T.

**HOROSCOPE** (θέμα, θεμάτιον, or διάθεμα; ὡροσκόπος [ὡροσκοπεῖον, ὡροσκόπιον] is the ascendant), the representation of the positions in the zodiac at a certain moment of the planets, of the cusps of the 12 astrological places (*topoi*), and sometimes of other astrological entities such as lots (*kleroi*). They may be either diagrams, in which case they are usually squares, or simple lists of longitudes. The latter is the normal method of presentation in documentary horoscopes (e.g., on papyri), which also usually are without any interpretation; diagrams are often used in literary sources, esp. astrological treatises, where they are normally accompanied by an interpretation.

Horoscopes may be cast for any significant moment in any of the branches of ASTROLOGY, and, if interpreted, may provide information on social, economic, and political as well as biographical aspects of life in Byz. Since the seven planets move at different velocities, each horoscope generally represents a situation that is unique within the two millennia that astrology has flourished. They are, therefore, easily datable. Most interesting are the political horoscopes, which include the following:

1. The horoscope of Constantinople for 11 May 330, cast by Demophilos in ca.990 (D. Pingree in *Prismata* 305–15)
2. The birth of Valentinian III on 2 July 419 (D. Pingree, *Vettii Valentis Anthologiae* [Leipzig 1986] 351)
3. The horoscopes cast by the astrologer of Zeno, dated between 440 and 486 (D. Pingree, *DOP* 30 [1976] 135–50)

4. The horoscope of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, dated 2 Sept. 905 (D. Pingree, *DOP* 27 [1973] 219–31)
5. The horoscopes of the coronations of Alexios I Komnenos (on 1 Apr. 1081) and Manuel I (on 31 March 1143) (Pingree, "Chioniades & Astronomy" 138f, n.29)
6. The horoscope for the year prefixed to his almanac for 1336 by Andrew LIBADENOS (*CCAG* 7:152–160)
7. The horoscopes cast by John ABRAMIOS for Andronikos IV between 1373 and 1376 (Pingree, "Astrological School" 191–96) –D.P.

**HORSE FITTINGS.** See CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS.

**HORSES** (ἵπποι, also *aloga*). Horses were not common in the Roman Empire, where the principal BEASTS OF BURDEN were oxen and mules, and the army relied primarily on foot soldiers. The role of CAVALRY increased in the 4th–6th C. due to the conflict with mounted barbarians, and by the beginning of the 7th C. the cavalry was the most numerous of the Byz. elite troop formations (D.R. Hill in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry, M.E. Yapp [London 1975] 37); its role became crucial with the introduction of the KATAPHRAKTOS. It is plausible to hypothesize that the invention of a new system of harnessing animals to a CART and PLOW increased the use of horses in everyday life. Late Byz. *praktika* suggest that only the richest peasants could afford horses, although two horses in one household are attested (*Lavra* 2, no.99.135); less well-to-do villagers might have "half of a horse" (no.99.126,139). Great landowners like JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS owned large numbers of horses; Kantakouzenos complained that he lost 1,500 mares when his property was confiscated in 1341/2 (Kantak. 2:185.5–6). In the 11th C. the Athonite monastery of Xenophon (*Xénoph.*, no.1.154f) possessed 100 dray horses and donkeys. The Byz. appreciated "Arab" horses; it is unclear whether the term refers to a breed or to animals imported from the caliphate. Thessaly was famous for its horses (e.g., An.Komn. 1:20.14), and imperial herds of horses were raised in MALAGINA.

As CHARIOT RACES declined in significance after the 7th C., equestrian SPORTS like polo and tournaments became popular in the higher echelons of society; horses were also used for HUNTING by nobles who chased deer and boar on horseback; the mounted knight, whether the emperor or St. George, was a symbol of manliness. Clergymen and women, on the other hand, were supposed to ride mules, and Jews in 12th-C. Byz. were forbidden to ride horses. The Byz. cared about their horses, and HIPPIATRICA or "horse medicine" was a field of special study. The GEOPONIKA discussed their diseases in book 16, and OPPIAN's book on horses was popular.

The main elements of the harness of a saddle horse were the leather saddle attached by the girth strap (P. Connolly in *Roman Military Equipment* ed. M. Dawson [Oxford 1987] 11), the bridle with snaffle bit (Davidson, *Minor Objects* 337, no.2887), and the iron STIRRUP. (See also CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS.)

LIT. P. Vigneron, *Le cheval dans l'antiquité Gréco-Romaine*, 2 vols. (Nancy 1968). M. Kretschmar, *Pferd und Reiter im Orient* (Hildesheim–New York 1980). –A.K., J.W.N.

**HORTICULTURE,** including arboriculture, was practiced extensively throughout the empire. In addition to FRUIT, the Byz. grew a wide variety of vegetables. Onions and cabbage were esp. important: NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.152.3–5) relates that a village had to supply Hagia Sophia with cabbage (*krambe*) and was therefore exempted from other state taxes. Legumes or pulses (*ospria*) of different kinds were also a mainstay of the DIET. A donation of 1191 (MM 4:202.17–21) describes a household that possessed 120 *modioi* of grain and 39 *modioi* of three varieties of legumes—beans (*phabata*) and two sorts of peas (*erebinthia*). In the *proasteion* of Baris in 1073 the ratio was different (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.119): 410 *modioi* of wheat and barley and only 5 *modioi* of beans. A judicial decision of 1421 incorporates a list of vegetables raised on a garden farm in Thessalonike (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.102.23–24), including leeks, carrots, onions, garlic, lettuce, cucumbers, and gourds.

The GEOPONIKA (bk.12.2.3) advises the farmer that three elements are necessary for the successful production of vegetables: fertile soil, water, and manure. The same text prescribes remedies for ridding GARDENS of grubs and insects (bk.12.8).

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LIT. P. Skok, "De l'horticulture byzantine en pays yougoslaves," in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* (Athens 1935) 463–69. M. Comşa, "Grădinăritul în mileniul I e.n., pe teritoriul României," *Pontica* 13 (1980) 164–84. –J.W.N., A.K.

**HOSIOS.** See SAINT.

**HOSIOS DAVID,** church in Thessalonike. Located in the northern part of the city, Hosios David is the earliest surviving example of a domed cross plan, dating to the last third of the 5th C. The church, which until 1921 was dedicated to Christ, is 14.75 m on a side; the dome has vanished but the pendentives survive. All but the eastern arm of the cross are accessible from the exterior through doors. In the conch of the apse is a mosaic of the young beardless Christ, seated on a cloud, in a rainbow mandorla over the Four Rivers of Paradise, flanked by the EVANGELIST SYMBOLS and figures thought to represent the prophets Ezekiel and Habakkuk or Isaiah. An inscription below invokes Christ as the source of living waters. The mosaic is now generally dated to the late 5th C., although alternatives as late as the 7th C. have been proposed (Kitzinger, *Making* 141, n.41). Frescoes illustrating four Great Feasts have been discovered in and below the south vault; these date from the third or last quarter of the 12th C. and provide a transition between the style of NEREZI and that of the 13th C., for example, MILEŠEVA (E. Tsigaridas, *Hoi toichographies tes mones Latomou Thessalonikes kai he byzantine zographike tou 12ou aiona* [Thessalonike 1986]). Other frescoes from the late 13th to early 14th C. have been found elsewhere in the church.

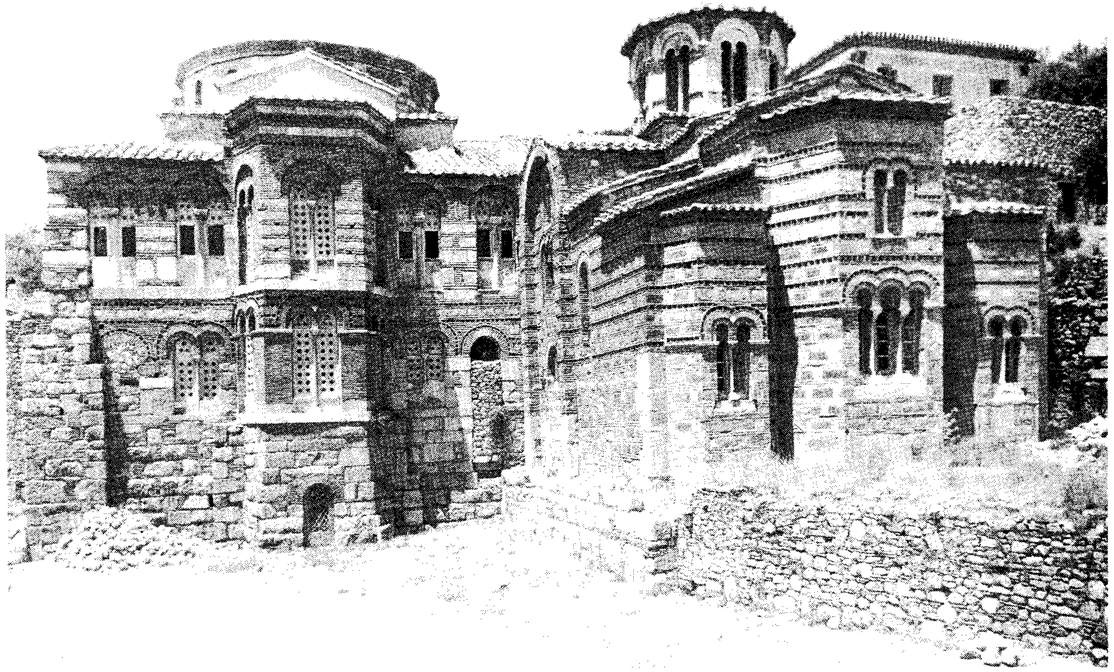
The church served as the *katholikon* of the Latomou monastery, which is first attested in the first half of the 9th C. when JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER took up residence there; it is not mentioned again in historical sources until the Palaiologan period. After the Ottoman conquest of Thessalonike in 1430, it was transformed into a mosque, the Murad Camii.

A legendary tale by the monk Ignatios, *hegoumenos* of the Akapniou monastery in the 11th C., recounts that the daughter of the emperor Maximian secretly converted to Christianity and commissioned a picture of the Virgin. After it was mysteriously transformed into an image of Christ, she had it concealed under a layer of bricks; subsequently the Latomou monastery was built on the site. Under the Iconoclastic emperor Leo V, the revetment suddenly fell off, revealing the image beneath (Janin, *Églises centres* 392–94). A 14th-C. icon in Sofia bears the image of Christ, identified by inscription as "Jesus Christ of the miracle of Latomos" (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 10 [1959] 289–99); it clearly seems to be a copy of the mosaic in Thessalonike.

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 239–41. A. Xyngopoulos, "To katholikon tes Mones tou Latomou en Thessalonike kai to en auto psephedoton," *ArchDelt* 12 (1929) 142–80. P. Grossmann, "Zur typologischen Stellung der Kirche von Hosios David in Thessalonike," *FelRav*[4] 127–30 (1984–85) 253–60. S. Pelekanides, *Palaiochristianika mnemeia Thessalonikes. Acheiropoietos. Mone Latomou*[2] (Thessalonike 1973) 45–68. –N.P.Š., A.M.T., T.E.G.

**HOSIOS LOUKAS,** monastery and pilgrimage site in Phokis (Greece), known for the wonder-working tomb of its eponymous saint, LOUKAS THE YOUNGER, in the larger of its two churches. The smaller, cross-in-square church, now dedicated to the Theotokos, may be the same as the Church of St. Barbara mentioned in the vita of Loukas. According to Stikas (*infra*), the smaller church was built between 946 and 955 by Krinites Arotras, *strategos* of the theme of Hellas, who was resident in Thebes. Bouras (*infra*), on the other hand, attributed the Theotokos church to the patronage of Romanos II, dating it shortly after 960 on the basis of the marble reliefs of its drum revetment, templon screen, etc. While the Theotokos lacks painted decoration, that of the adjacent *katholikon* is the oldest mosaic program from the period of the 10th–12th C.

The plan of the larger church, which replaced a little *martyrion* built after Loukas's death (953), is complicated by a domed octagonal core allowing squinches to support the main dome. This fell after an earthquake in 1593, but most of the church's mosaics, including more than 140 images of saints, are preserved. D. Mouriki (*CorsiRav* 31 [1984] 397) has dated them to the 1020s. The Christological mosaics in the narthex are notable for their severe symmetry, as are the iconlike panels in the naos; in the same style and probably contemporary are frescoes in the northwest, southeast, and northeast chapels (this last specifically connected with Loukas's cult), as are those in the narthex gallery and in the crypt around his tomb. No document survives relating directly to



HOSIOS LOUKAS. The two churches of the Hosios Loukas monastery, seen from the east. The *katholikon* is on the left, the Church of the Theotokos is on the right.

the foundation of the *katholikon*. Bouras argues that it was built between 997 and 1031; M. Chatzidakis (*CahArch* 19 [1969] 127–50) suggested the date of 1011, while Stikas proposed that the KTETOR was Constantine IX. Similar reliefs are found at a *metochion* of Hosios Loukas at Aliveri in Euboia, dated 1014 by inscription (not 1010, as in A. Grabar, *Sculptures* II, pls. XXVII–XXVIII, pp. 60f).

Local interest in the monastery in Phokis is indicated in the *typikon* of a CONFRATERNITY of the Virgin in Naupaktos, ca.1048 (ed. J. Nesbitt, J. Wiita, *BZ* 68 [1975] 365.42, 373f), signed by the monastery's *hegoumenos* Theodore Leobachos, scion of a family of Theban *dynatoi*. In March 1436 the monastery was visited by CYRIACUS OF ANCONA (who ascribed its construction to Constantine IX). Stikas restored Hosios Loukas in a campaign concluded in 1964.

LIT. J. Koder, F. Hild, *TIB* 1:205f. E. Stikas, *To oikodomikon chronikon tes mones Hosiou Louka Phokidos* (Athens 1970). Idem, *Ho ktitor tou katholikou tes mones Hosiou Louka* (Athens 1974). Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends" 81–86. L. Bouras, *Ho glyptos diakosmos tou naou tes Panagias sto monasteri tou Hosiou Louka* (Athens 1980). Th. Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas* (Athens 1982). –A.C.

**HOSIOS MELETIOS,** monastery on the south side of Mt. Kithairon (Myoupolis), on the border between Attica and Boeotia, founded ca.1081 by MELETIOS THE YOUNGER. The monastery flourished in the 12th to early 13th C.; its *hegoumenos* Ioannikios corresponded with Michael CHONIATES. Initially after 1204 Hosios Meletios remained in Greek hands, but in 1218 it was controlled by the Latins and was plundered, perhaps by Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. The monastery is surrounded by a rectangular fortification. The *katholikon* is a cross-in-square of Constantinopolitan type with four columns, perhaps dating to the 11th C.; an exonarthex was added ca.1150. The surviving frescoes are post-Byz. Outside the monastery several chapels associated with it have been found.

LIT. *TIB* 1:217f. A.K. Orlandos, "He mone tou Hosiou Meletiou kai ta paralavria autes," *ABME* 5 (1939–40) 34–118. H. Deliyanni-Dori, *Die Wandmalereien der Lite der Klosterkirche von Hosios Meletios* (Munich 1975). –T.E.G.



**HOSPITAL** (*ξενών, νοσοκομεῖον*). One of the early Christian customs that impressed pagans was the care of the infirm, ill, and the elderly; by the 4th through 6th C., institutions were established that functioned as combinations of hostels and sick bays. Documentation is controversial for hospitals in the early centuries of the Byz. Empire, and scholars define the term hospital differently, but it seems certain that fully operational institutions for health care of the sick were founded by the 9th or 10th C. in the major cities; Miller (*infra*) argues for a date as early as the 6th C. The most meticulously documented hospital is that of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople (1136). The monastery's *typikon* describes in detail the institution's use of specialist PHYSICIANS and five pharmacists who compounded drugs on orders from the attending doctors; the 50 beds were divided among five wards separated by diagnosis of various illnesses. The women's ward had a female physician (*iatraina*); two surgeons and two physicians staffed an outpatient clinic. The medical staff included an ophthalmologist, a specialist surgeon for hernia repair, and an attendant who kept the SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS sharp and clean. Other known hospitals include that at the Great LAVRA on Athos (10th C.), and in Constantinople the 10th-C. Xenon of SAMPSON (PG 115:300B–304B) and the LIPS MONASTERY (14th C.). Victims of LEPROSY were treated in specialized hospitals.

LIT. T.S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore, Md., 1985); rev. V. Nutton, *Medical History* 30 (1986) 218–21. T.S. Miller, "Byzantine Hospitals," *DOP* 38 (1984) 53–63. R. Volk, *Gesundheitswesen und Wohltätigkeit im Spiegel der byzantinischen Klostertypika* (Munich 1983). –J.S., A.M.T.

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**HOSPITALITY** (*φιλοξενία*), an aspect of PHILANTHROPY, which pious Byz. practiced both on a private basis (subject to state approval—cf. vita of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS 54.2–7) and institutionalized in the form of hospices (XENODOCHEIA) for passing travelers in the provinces and for needy provincials who had to stay in Constantinople. Most information on such hospitality comes from monastic sources. Most *xenodocheia* built after the 9th C. were attached to monasteries. Two late 11th-C. *typika* indicate the type of food and shelter provided. At Rhaidestos, Michael ATTALEIATES arranged for pilgrims to the Holy Land and other poor wayfarers to be fed and lodged in an annex to his PTOCHOTROPHEION, where two *modioi* of bread and a measure of wine were to be allocated weekly for their sustenance (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 49). Gregory PAKOURIANOS established three *xenodocheia* on the estates of his monastery of PETRITZOS (Bačkovo), one at STENIMACHOS near Philippopolis, and two on the coast road near the mouth of the Strymon. The first, equipped with "many beds," a stove, and a portable brazier, provided warm accommodation where sick travelers could stay for three nights, or longer in critical cases. This hostel had a daily allocation of two *modioi* of wheat and two measures of wine—double the amount allocated to each of the other two hostels. In all three, the basic diet of bread and wine was supplemented by a variable cooked dish (*prosphagion*) prepared from dried and fresh vegetables (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 110–15).

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 98–110, 144f, 185–221. –P.M.

**HOSPITALLERS,** or Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, a military-monastic order founded in the Holy Land in the early 12th C. The predominantly French order played a vital role in the Crusader kingdoms, providing military and medical services. After the expulsion of the Crusaders from Acre in 1291, the Hospitallers embarked upon the conquest of RHODES (1306–10), following a brief interlude on Cyprus. Rhodes remained their base until 1522 when the island was captured by the Ottomans. The Hospitallers exercised a benevolent rule over the local Greek populace, who regarded them as protectors.

Despite their limited numbers and small fleet, the Hospitallers continued their crusading efforts in the 14th and 15th C., primarily against the Turkish emirates on the west coast of Asia Minor, like MENTESHE and AYDIN. In 1344 they were

involved in the Latin recovery of the port of SMYRNA from UMUR BEG and defended the lower fortress until 1402 when it was destroyed by Timur. The Hospitallers had few direct relations with Byz. except during the reign of Manuel II. In 1390 they sent two galleys to Constantinople to help Manuel depose his usurper nephew John VII. In desperation after the Christian defeat by the Ottomans at Nikopolis in 1396 (Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:347), THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS sold CORINTH to the Hospitallers in 1397 and the rest of the despotate in 1400. The Hospitallers successfully defended the Isthmus of Corinth against the Turks, but withdrew by 1403, at least in part because of the hostility of the local Greeks. By 1404 Theodore had recovered all of the despotate from the Hospitallers.

LIT. *HC* 3:278–321. A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440* (London 1978). Idem, *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades, 1291–1440* (London 1982). Barker, *Manuel II* 76f, 146, 232f. –A.M.T.

**HOUR** (ὥρα). The Byz. divided both night and DAY into 12 hours each (numbered 1 through 12) so one referred to the "seventh hour of the night" (Theoph. 319.10–11) or the "fourth hour of the day" (ibid. 493.30). Such hours inevitably varied in length according to both latitude and season. The "first hour" (*prote hora*) was at sunrise; the "third hour" (*trite hora*) midmorning; the "sixth hour" (*hekate hora*) noon; the "ninth hour" (*henate hora*) midafternoon. *Hespera* (evening) was one hour before sunset, and *apodeipnon* the period after sunset. In addition to its division into hours, the night could also be divided in accordance with Roman custom into four *vigiliae* or "watches." The hours were measured by a SUNDIAL or HOROLOGION such as a waterclock.

The unequal length of hours made their further partition into smaller components rather difficult and quite theoretical. For everyday life it was usual to refer to the "half hour" and "quarter hour." A period of time—a "point" or "moment"—was defined as *stigme* (= Lat. *punctum*). One of the rare sources to mention it is the vita of Loukas the Stylite (ed. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 229.15–17). For astronomical purposes, however, Byz. computists divided the day into 24 equal hours but employed different systems of division. According to that of Psellos, for example, 1 hour = 5 *lepta*; 1 *lepton* = 4 *stigmai*; 1 *stigme* = 12 *rhopai* (G. Redl, *Byzantion* 5 [1929–30] 257.14–15). On the other hand, an anonymous computist of the 11th–12th C. (ed. F. Karnthaler, *BNJbb* 10 [1934] 5.24–26) measures one hour as equivalent to 5 *stigmai*, 10 *lepta*, 150 *moirai*, 1,200 *ripai*, etc.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 163–65. W. Sontheimer, *RE* 2.R. 4 (1932) 2011–23. –B.C.

**HOURS, LITURGICAL** (ὧραι), often called the "Divine Office," a schedule of daily PRAYER comprising, with variations depending on the tradition, ORTHROS, the "Little Hours" (First, Third, Sixth, and Ninth, or prime, terce, sext, and none), VESPERS, APODEIPNON, *mesonyktikon* (nocturns), and occasional VIGILS. To these are sometimes added "intermediate" and "Great" or "Imperial" Hours. The Byz. intermediate hours, or monastic *mesoria*, are said after each of the Little Hours only during the LENT preceding the feasts of the Nativity and Sts. Peter and Paul. The "Great Hours," also called "Imperial," a form of Little Hours characterized by three scripture LECTIONS, a prophecy, an apostle, and a gospel, are celebrated on GOOD FRIDAY and the vigils of NATIVITY and EPIPHANY. Great Hours were first created from elements originally found in a single Palestinian Good Friday vigil service at the ninth hour. Great Hours are not found in the HOROLOGION but in the *triodion* and the *menaion* for the days indicated.

The hours are a formalization of early Christian private prayer at set times, based on the New Testament command to pray without ceasing. The full cursus results from monastic developments of the 4th C. when the two original hours (*orthros* and vespers) were filled in with services at the other traditional times of private prayers (third, sixth, and ninth hours and at night).

Most Divine Offices are hybrids resulting from a synthesis of cathedral and monastic usages. One such office was created under the aegis of St. Theodore of Stoudios (see STOUDITE TYPIKA). This "Stoudite" office combined the prayers and *diakonika* of the cathedral office of Constantinople, contained in the EUCHOLOGION, with the psalmody and hymns of the monastic office used in Jerusalem, contained in the *horologion*. By the 12th C. this hybrid Stoudite office had spread throughout the Orthodox world, even back to Palestine; there, at the Lavra of St. Sabas, it was somewhat altered to suit the more austere, less rigidly cenobitic lifestyle of the Palestinian anachoretes, and a further synthesis was made (see SABAITIC TYPIKA), which eventually took over the field (see BYZANTINE RITE). Its rubrics were codified by Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (PG 154:745–66). There are two extant 15th-C. commentaries on the hours: the *Treatise on Prayer* by Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:535–670; tr. H.L.N. Simmons [Brookline, Mass., 1984]) and one by Mark Eugenikos (PG 160:1163–93).

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours." R.F. Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, Minn., 1986). Taft, "Mount Athos." –R.F.T.

HOUSES. House of Eglon, king of Moab. Miniature in an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 746, fol.473v); 12th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

**HOUSES** (sing. οἰκία). In the late Roman Empire houses took two main forms: the *insula* or apartment house, and the *domus* or private residence. Descriptions of the regions of Rome in the mid-4th C. list 46,602 *insulae* and 1,797 *domus*. The excavations at Ephesus unearthed two *insula*-type buildings that were constructed in the 1st C., but underwent numerous remodelings up to the 7th C. The ground floor contained vaulted shops above which were situated modest rectangular rooms. The two-story mansion of a wealthy citizen formed a component of one *insula*. There is no archaeological evidence concerning later *insulae*, but written sources attest their existence in Constantinople, mentioning "five-roofed" (*pentorophoi*) houses and containing complaints about neighbors who kept pigs on upper floors. The ground plan of the *domus* was a peristyle type, containing an inner courtyard (ATRIUM) surrounded by rooms that formed the outer walls of the house. The *domus* was usually a one-story dwelling with many conveniences, including a bath, kitchen, LATRINES, PLUMBING AND HEATING systems, and storage rooms. By the 7th C. the focal point of the house shifted from the atrium to the second floor GALLERY (*hyperoon*), where guests were received (E. Mioni, *OrChrP* 17 [1951] 83.24–25).

A series of laws (*Cod.Just.* VIII 10.12) regulated the construction of a new house or the remodeling of an old one. The law ordained that a distance of at least 12 Greek feet had to be maintained between houses. Repairs to an old house were allowed, but not changes to its original plan. Neighbors' access to daylight and a view of the sea (esp. in Constantinople) were protected. A balcony could not be built over a street less than 12 feet wide. Furthermore, a staircase leading from the street to the balcony was not permitted because it presented a fire hazard or could obstruct traffic in the street.

The Byz. town houses that have been unearthed in excavations and that date from 1000 onward present several building types. One common plan of a private residence (e.g., at Corinth, Athens, Pergamon, Thebes) was a rectangular building with a central open space that had no peristyle, but perhaps an open-fronted ROOF; the courtyard and the surrounding rooms on the ground floor served as storerooms for agricultural products (with *pithoi* placed in the pseudo-atrium), stables, etc. Workshops (ERGASTERIA) were also situated on the ground floor; living quarters were upstairs. Another common plan was a house without a courtyard or with a narrow courtyard in front of the main façade (e.g., at Pergamon and Euripos). Construction was of poor quality, with frequent reuse of ancient architectural elements. The rooms were small and irregular in shape, and the houses were erected along narrow alleys without any obvious planning.

Written sources demonstrate the same irregularity of the house even in Constantinople. In his foundation charter of 1077 (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 27.159–29.181) Attaleiates describes his mansion in the capital, which consisted of several buildings connected by a common courtyard; the buildings had a ground floor (*katogeon*) and an

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upper floor (*heliakos*) that projected over the courtyard; the mansion also included a chapel and a three-story dwelling with a donkey-driven mill on the ground floor. Another important description is found in a purchase deed of 1320 for a house in Thessalonike (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.111.16–26): it was made of stone and BRICKWORK covered with TILES; adjacent was a two-story building with a thatched roof. The houses of the wealthy provided separate quarters for women, usually in the inner part of the building.

Houses in the countryside were usually modest: built of wood, unbaked bricks, or even reeds, they were rectangular in plan and consisted of small rooms and a porch (e.g., at Armatova in Elis [Peloponnesos]); some had only one or two rooms, with earthen FLOORS, open hearths, and a timber roof (e.g., at Luni in northern Italy—B. Ward-Perkins, *BSR* 49 [1981] 91–98). Nicholas MESARITES describes village houses made of reeds plastered with mud and covered with thatched roofs. In sharp contrast were the mansions of wealthy landowners (like Digenes Akritas), surrounded by GARDENS and defended by walls and towers (PYRGOI).

The architectural decoration of houses was usually simple, but noble mansions and PALACES might be ornamented with polychrome façades, arcades, and balconies as at TEKFUR SARAYI in Constantinople, or with a columned front as on the site of the Seraglio, or with niches and blind arcades as in MISTRA (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 3 [1937] 1–114). The WINDOW openings, wide on the upper stories and narrower on the ground floor level, were mostly semicircular.

LIT. Ch. Bouras, "Houses in Byzantium," *DChAE*[4] 11 (1983) 1–26. T. Kirova, "Il problema della casa bizantina," *FelRav* 102 (1971) 263–302. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:249–317. A.G. McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y.–London 1975). G. Velenis, "Wohnviertel und Wohnungsbau in den byzantinischen Städten," in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum* (Berlin 1978) 197–236. J.P. Sodini, "L'habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984) 341–97. S.P. Ellis, "The End of the Roman House," *AJA* 92 (1988) 565–76. –S.M.-P., Ap.K., A.K.

**HRABŬR ČERNORIZEC** ("militant monk"), Slavic monk who wrote a brief and enigmatic treatise, *On the Alphabet*; fl. ca.880. The authorship, date, and purpose of the work have been much debated since it first came to the attention of scholars in 1824. The text opens with a short discussion of the history of the Greek alphabet, drawing on both classical and Christian sources, and of the invention of the Slavonic alphabet by St. CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER. It then goes on to a vigorous and passionate defense of the religious use of the CHURCH SLAVONIC language and alphabet against the proponents of the trilingual dogma, who believed that the liturgy could be celebrated only in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The consensus today is that the author was a Bulgarian, probably a member of the circle of Tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA before his accession, and that the treatise was written between 885, when the pupils of Constantine the Philosopher and Methodios reached Bulgaria, and 893, when Symeon succeeded his father. During this period there was conflict in Bulgaria between users of the new Slavonic liturgy and Byz. clergy using the Greek liturgy. The treatise shows considerable linguistic discernment.

ED. *O pismenech*, ed. A. Giambelluca-Kossova (Sofia 1980). –R.B.

**HRIP'SIMĒ.** See VAŁARŠAPAT.

**HUDŪD AL-ʿĀLAM** (The Regions of the World), an anonymous Persian geographical treatise written in 982/3, and one of the earliest surviving Persian prose texts. A comprehensive descriptive analysis of the world as known to 10th-C. Muslims, it was composed by an armchair scholar utilizing other books (primarily those by IBN KHURDĀDHBEH, Jayhānī, and al-IṢṬAKHRĪ) and oral traditions. The early geographical sources for knowledge of Byz. have been identified as the two Byz. prisoners, Abi Muslim al-JARMI (redeemed 845–46) and HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ (late 9th C.). The dates of their information are quite relevant to the anachronistic description that the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* presents of Byz., including 14 Byz. provinces (three in Europe and 11 in Anatolia), thus repeating Ibn Khurdādhbeh and QUDĀMA IBN JAʿFAR. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, on the other hand, who wrote earlier than the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, lists 12 provinces in the west and 18 in Anatolia. Furthermore, the treatise's evidence on Byz. cities is inconsistent. Of the land of RŪM it says, "It has many towns and villages," and "Each of these provinces . . . has numerous towns, villages, castles, fortresses . . . ," only to contradict itself: "In the days of old, cities were numerous in Rūm, but now they have become few." By the late 10th C. it would seem that the number and size of cities were in fact on the increase.

TR. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam. "The Regions of the World." A Persian Geography 372 AH-982 AD*,[2] tr. V. Minorsky (London 1970).
LIT. Miquel, *Géographie* 2:381–481. –S.V.



**HUGEBURC,** 8th-C. Anglo-Saxon nun in the Franconian abbey of Heidenheim who composed the stylistically ambitious but grammatically shaky Lives (*BHL* 8966, 8931) of two brothers who were her relatives: Wynnebald, first abbot of Heidenheim (ca.751–61), and Willibald, bishop of Eichstätt (741–24 Sept. 787), collaborators with St. Boniface in the evangelization of Germany. Willibald dictated his account to Hugeburc on 23 June 778; her retelling of his travels (723–29) in Byz. Italy, western Asia Minor, the Holy Land, and Constantinople displays linguistic characteristics distinct from Hugeburc's diction and seems to follow closely Willibald's own words. It focuses on pilgrimage shrines but also sheds light on shipping routes and conditions (via Monemvasia "in Slawinia" and the Aegean, 93.1–94.8, 101.16–102.13), towns (Ephesus, "Strobrolis" [= Strobilos?]), stylites at Miletos (93.15–24), monuments (Jerusalem; tombs of Sts. Andrew, Timothy, Luke, and John Chrysostom in Constantinople; the church in Nicaea, seat of Nicaea I, 101.18–28), general historical conditions (Cyprus's neutrality and peace between Byz. and the Arabs, 95.14–17; plague in Syria, 100.3–9; cf. Theoph. 1:410.19–20), water buffaloes in Palestine (96.10–11), the embassy of Emp. Leo III to Pope Gregory II (100.28–30), and the contemporary state of legends (e.g., an anti-Jewish anecdote about the Virgin's funeral, 97.32–98.5) in one of the most obscure periods of Byz. history. There is no apparent reference to Iconoclasm.

ED. O. Holder-Egger, MGH *SS* 15.1 (Leipzig 1887; rp. 1925) 86–106. Tr. Rev. Canon Brownlow, *The Hodoeporicon of Saint Willibald* [= PPTS, 3, no.2] (London 1895).
LIT. E. Gottschaller, *Hugeburc von Heidenheim* (Munich 1973). –M.McC.

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**HUGH OF VERMANDOIS,** brother of King Philip I of France; died Tarsos 18 Oct. 1101. Leading a magnificently equipped group of French nobles on the First Crusade, Hugh (Οὖβος) grandiloquently announced his forthcoming arrival to Alexios I, then suffered shipwreck near Dyrrachion. Reequipped by its governor John Komnenos, Hugh reached Constantinople in autumn 1096. Welcomed by Alexios, he was placed under some duress until he swore fealty to the emperor. Rumors that he was imprisoned disturbed the followers of GODFREY OF BOUILLON. When the latter reached Constantinople, Hugh attempted mediation between him and the emperor. Later, after fighting at DORYLAION and against Kerbogha, Hugh was sent by the other leaders to Alexios (July 1098) to offer him Antioch if he would join the Crusade (J. France, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 281–84). But Alexios's retreat to Constantinople, where Hugh found him, voided the message, and Hugh returned to France. In 1100, possibly blamed for desertion, he enlisted in a new Crusade. Apparently he accompanied Duke William IX of Aquitaine, was wounded, and escaped with him, only to die of the wound. –C.M.B.

**HUMANISM,** a scholarly term often used to designate a certain period of cultural development and, in this sense, identical or similar to the concept of RENAISSANCE. Thus, for I.P. Medvedev (*Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* [Leningrad 1976] 4) humanism is the "philosophical and literary stream of the Renaissance period." All the cautionary statements applied to the concept of Byz. renaissance(s) remain valid with respect to Byz. humanism, although we can safely assume the existence of individual humanists in Byz. (e.g., PLETHON) or of certain humanistic features in late Byz. culture. It is doubtful, however, that Byz. ever had a humanistic milieu resembling that of Italy in the 14th and 15th C.

From a different perspective, Hunger (*Reich* 355–69) describes "Christian humanism" as a phenomenon distinct from the Western Renaissance; the core of this humanism is the confluence of Christian and classical elements, a conciliatory attitude toward the ancient heritage. The concept of perpetual humanism meshes better with the idea of Byz. continuity than that of perpetual renaissance since it does not require revivals and their counterpart—cultural gaps or dark ages. Humanism has also been identified with Christian philanthropy and active efforts to alleviate human

misery (Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 66). Lemerle (*Humanism* xi) speaks of two Byz. humanisms, the first of which, in the 9th–10th C., "corresponds" (chronologically) to the obscure centuries in the West, whereas the second humanism, that of the Palaiologoi, having been prepared already during the Komnenian period, developed through contacts with the West. Lemerle, however, does not define the notion of humanism.

LIT. V.L. da Nóbrega, "L'humanisme dans la compilation de Justinien," *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques* (Budapest 1984) 315–20. J. Meyendorff, "Humanisme nominaliste et mystique chrétienne à Byzance au XIVe siècle," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 79 (1957) 905–14. E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite: Une réévaluation* (Amsterdam 1987) 11–29. –A.K.

**HUMBERT** (Οὐμπέρτος), cardinal of Silva Candida; born ca.1000, died Rome 5 May 1061. As a monk at Moyenmoutier (Lorraine), Humbert studied Greek; he accompanied Pope LEO IX to Rome and became the principal Greek scholar in the Curia. He translated and responded to the letter on Latin ecclesiastical usages by LEO OF OHRID, sent in 1053 to John, bishop of Trani. Humbert then headed Leo IX's embassy to Emp. Constantine IX, arriving in Constantinople early in 1054. His letters to Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, treatises against Byz. liturgical practices, and response to Niketas STETHATOS inflamed the patriarch and clergy. His intemperate polemics contributed to a controversy that Constantine IX tried vainly to quell. On 16 July 1054 Humbert deposited on the altar of Hagia Sophia a bull excommunicating Keroularios and his followers (PL 143:1001–04). It condemned the lack of the FILIOQUE in the Creed and various Byz. liturgical customs, esp. the use of leavened bread rather than AZYMES. Following his return, Humbert's self-justifications helped perpetuate the SCHISM.

LIT. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, 2 vols. (Paderborn 1924–30). –C.M.B.

**HUMOR.** LAUGHTER was considered in antiquity as a virtue, a divine quality, and writers (including Plutarch) collected jokes and anecdotes often ascribed to famous personages. An anonymous collection of this kind was produced, probably in the 3rd–5th C., under the title of *Laughter-Lover* (PHILOGELOS). Christian society, however, rejected laughter; it was replaced by tears of CONTRITION, compunction, and a quiet smile, frequently described as a quality of a saint. Attitudes toward humor nevertheless remained ambivalent: not only did the *Philogelos* survive in a number of MSS, but Sokrates (*HE* 6:22) describes a collection of theological jokes attributed to Bp. Sisinnios. Byz. humor might take the form of a PUN; for example, in a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 441.23–27), when Isaac II asked for some salt (*halas*) at dinner, the mime Chaliboures replied, "Let us first come to know these women, and then command others (*allas*) to be brought in." The Byz. also found humor in improper or absurd situations such as the lascivious dance of the old lady Maryllis, described by Niketas Eugeneianos (Hunger, *Lit.* 2:136). Exaggerated improper situations were frequently used in personal INVECTIVE and religious POLEMIC, and in such genres as SATIRE, PARODY, and EPIGRAM; the elements of self-mockery developed as well. The peak of humor was achieved by Christopher of Mytilene, Psellos, Ptochoprodromos, Eustathios of Thessalonike, and Sachlikes. There was also coarse and graceless humor, consisting of the cumulation of contorted curses.

ED. G. Soyter, *Griechischer Humor* (Berlin 1959) 83–123.
LIT. B. Baldwin, *The Philogelos or Laughter-Lover* (Amsterdam 1983) iv–xii. Averincev, *Poetika* 57–83. M. Kyriakis, "Satire and Slapstick in Seventh and Twelfth Century Byzantium," *Byzantina* 5 (1973) 291–306. G. Morgan, "A Byzantine Satirical Song?" *BZ* 47 (1954) 292–97. –A.K.

**HUNGARY,** country founded by the Magyars or Hungarians, a people whom the Byz. called TOURKOI and, from the 10th C. onward, Oungroi (early evidence for Oungroi is found in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER). In the 9th C., Hungarians lived in the basin of the Don River and, according to an Arabic source, sold Slavic captives in Cimmerian Bosporos to the Byz. In 837 the Hungarians for the first time entered into direct military contact with Byz.: according to a revised version of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, the Bulgarians invited the Oungroi to put down a rebellion of Byz. captives on the Danube, but the Byz. fleet overcame the Oungroi and repelled their attack (Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:339f). In the Byz.-Bulgarian war of 894–96 they acted as Byz. allies but, under pressure from the PECHENEGS, moved westward and settled in PANNONIA, where they organized their state under the dynasty of the ÁRPÁDS.

In the 10th C., the Hungarians often invaded the Balkans; a Hungarian legend eulogizes the chief Botond, who allegedly knocked a hole in the gates of Constantinople with his battle-ax. In 948, two Hungarian princes were baptized in Constantinople. In 953 a Greek monk was sent as bishop to Hungary; the mission was temporarily successful, esp. in the eastern and southern parts of the country, but when István (Stephen) I (1000–1038), the first Catholic king, defeated rival Byz. Christian relatives and chieftains, Greek influence began to decline. Even though Greek monasteries were founded in the 11th C. and Greek-speaking monks lived in some religious houses as late as 1210, the country became increasingly Catholic and Latin-oriented. Byz. goldsmith-work, jewels, ecclesiastical vessels, reliquaries, and coins reached Hungary throughout the 11th–12th C., partly by trade, but mostly as imperial gifts; best known among these are the gold treasure of NAGYSZENTMIKLÓS, the so-called Monomachos crown (probably a gift to Andrew I) and the crown given to Géza I (now the lower part of the "Holy Crown of Hungary"; see CROWNS).

After LÁSZLÓ I (Ladislas) penetrated into Croatia and Kálmán (Coloman) annexed Dalmatia, the territorial conflicts between Constantinople and Hungary caused several wars; Hungary often made alliances with Serbia, the Normans, and the principalities of Rus' against Byz. In the 12th C. the situation became very complicated: while there were many dynastic contacts between the Árpáds and Constantinople, the support frequently granted to Árpád pretenders by Constantinople caused recurrent tension between Hungary and Byz. When BÉLA III—who for a while was expected to unite both states under his rule—returned to Hungary, he turned definitively to the West and, from the 13th C. onward, the intensity of Byz.-Hungarian relations decreased. When, however, the Ottoman threat became serious, Byz. turned to Hungary for help: in 1366, Emp. John V Palaiologos visited Lajos (Louis) I of Hungary; in 1423/4 John VIII sought an alliance with Sigismund of Hungary; and in 1434–36 two Byz. embassies visited Hungary during their trips to the West. János HUNYADI, who had been successful in repelling the Turks from the borders of Hungary, was defeated in 1444 when he mounted a crusade that was crushed at VARNA, and in 1452/3 he acted too slowly to prevent the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam 1970). A.B. Urbansky, *Byzantium and the Danube Frontier* (New York 1967). Gy. Székely, "La Hongrie et Byzance aux Xe–XIIe siècles," *ActaHistHung* 13 (1967) 291–311. Dölger, *Paraspora* 153–77. Zs. Lovag, "Byzantinische Beziehungen in Ungarn nach der Staatsgründung," *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14 (1985) 225–33. E. Darkó, *Byzantinisch-ungarische Beziehungen in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar 1933). –A.K., J.B.



**HUNS** (Οὖννοι), an Asian (possibly Turkic) people that appears in Roman sources beginning with AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS; it is generally accepted that the Huns are to be identified with the Hsiung-nu of Chinese sources and are related to the EPHTHALITES in Central Asia. Around 375 the Huns crossed the Don, conquered the ALANS, and expelled the GOTHS from the steppe north of the Black Sea. They participated in the Visigoth attacks on the empire but after 380 retired north of the Danube. After 450 they moved westward to Gaul. Their attitude toward the empire was ambivalent for several decades: some Huns served as FOEDERATI, others organized raids—in 422, under the command of "King" Ruga, they reached Thrace (B. Croke, *GRBS* 18 [1977] 347–67). In the east, the Huns in 395 crossed the Caucasus but were destroyed by the Romans at the Euphrates. Ruga's successors were Bleda and ATTILA. Attila created an "empire" that reached from Gaul to the northern Balkans, but after his defeat by AETIUS the empire of the Huns disintegrated quickly.

The Hunnic empire was a conglomerate of various nations, including Alans and some Germanic tribes. The Huns were nomads, although archaeological finds include some agricultural implements. They were horsemen, armed with bows and swords, who astonished Romans by their speed and discipline. PRISKOS of Panion noted that the Huns treated their slaves well and that Roman craftsmen worked for the Huns. A. Bernštam (*Očerk istorii gunnov* [Leningrad 1951]) suggests that the Huns played a progressive role in history by destroying slave-owning societies; E.A. Thompson (*A History of Attila and the Huns* [Oxford 1948] 209) asserts that in the West the *magister militum* Aetius, as a representative of the great landowners, looked forward to cooperation with the Huns against the Visigoths and Bagaudae, whereas in the East the ruling class induced Theodosios II to fight Attila.

After the collapse of the reign of Attila, the name Hun was applied to various peoples: some

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of them (SABIRI, COTRIGURS AND UTRIGURS) may have been related to the Huns, but for others (Bulgarians, Avars, Hungarians, even Ottomans) it was only an archaizing ethnic designation.

LIT. J.O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley 1973; Germ. tr. Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1978). F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, 5 vols. (Berlin 1959–62) and rev. by R. Werner, *JbGOst* 14 (1966) 243–60. J. Werner, *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches* (Munich 1956). J. Harmatta, "L'apparition des Huns en Europe orientale," *ActaAntHung* 24 (1976) 277–83. –A.K.

**HUNS, WHITE.** See EPHTHALITES.

**HUNTING** (*κυνήγιον*). In the Byz. countryside hunting had first of all a practical purpose—protection of the flocks from wild beasts. It also provided MEAT as a supplement to the diet, although it was not as important as FISHING. Farmers snaring hares are represented in MS illumination (e.g., Kádár, *Zoological Illuminations* 179, 225). They also hunted quail: a post-Byz. text describes a great slaughter of quail in Crete in 1494, when a single night's catch netted 4,000 birds (*Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, tr. M. Newett [Manchester 1907] 316f).

Hunting played a more important role as a pastime of the upper class and is represented on their possessions, such as silks and an ivory casket in Troyes (Athens Cat., no.52). Three emperors (Theodosios II, Basil I, and John II) died in hunting accidents. There were imperial officials called PROTOKYNEGOS and PROTOIERAKARIOS, and hunting images formed a signal element of imperial symbolism. Hunting was also considered a good substitute for military training (cf. SPANEAS, ed. Wagner, p.6.122–23). Enthusiasm for hunting peaked under the Komnenoi, when special *ekphraseis* on hunting became fashionable (e.g., by Constantine MANASSES and Constantine PANTECHNES). On the other hand, Michael Psellos, who was expressing the intellectual outlook of his time, had no enthusiasm whatsoever for hunting (Psellos, *Scripta Min.* 2:205.3–6).

The quarry of noble hunters was primarily bears, boars, and deer, but smaller animals such as hares and BIRDS were also hunted. The prey of the various social classes—which are distinguishable by their costume—is illustrated in the Venice *Kynegetika* MS of OPPIAN. The spear was the most common hunting weapon. Noble hunters rode HORSES; the Byz. also trained DOGS and leopards for hunting as well as various birds for HAWKING. Pero TAFUR (ed. M. Letts, 145f) observed that the Greeks were great hunters with falcons, goshawks, and dogs. The equipment of the fowler was simpler: nets, decoy birds in cages, long cords, birdlime, and reeds. His pursuit is treated in illuminated MSS (*Treasures* II, fig.300) as one of the seasonal activities evoked by the Easter homily of Gregory of Nazianzos.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "Kynegetika ek tes epoches ton Komnenon kai ton Palaiologon," *EEBS* 9 (1932) 3–33. A. Karpozilos, "Basileiou Pediadite Ekphrasis Haloseos Akanthidon," *EpChron* 23 (1981) 284–98. Darković, *Svetskoe iskusstvo* 207–11. – Ap.K., J.W.N., A.C.

**HUNYADI, JÁNOS** (Ἰάγγος ὁ Χουνιάδης, in CHALKOKONDYLES usually Χωνιάτης), Hungarian general and statesman; born between 1407 and 1409, died Zemun 11 Aug. 1456. Probably of Wallachian origin, Hunyadi began his career as a retainer at baronial courts and achieved the high posts of *voivod* of Transylvania and, in 1446–53, regent for the minor László (Ladislas) V. He also amassed great wealth.

In 1442–43 Hunyadi successfully campaigned against the Turks, reconquering Niš and Sofia. However, the crusade of VARNA in which he participated in 1444 ended in disaster. In early 1451 Hunyadi signed a three-year truce with MEHMED II, confirming it on 20 Nov. on condition that the sultan would build no strongholds on the Danube. When Mehmed began preparation for the last siege of Constantinople, Constantine XI sent envoys to Hunyadi. In the fall of 1452, the Hungarians agreed to assist if they received Mesembria as their operational base. After long deliberations, a chrysobull was delivered to Hunyadi that granted him Mesembria (*Reg* 5, no.3545). In Apr. 1453 Hunyadi's ambassadors appeared in Mehmed's camp, threatening to wage war unless the Turks ceased besieging Constantinople. The rumors about Hunyadi's intervention as well as frightening omens in the Turkish camp caused Mehmed to waver, but the military council insisted on maintaining the siege. It was too late for Hunyadi to intervene, but in 1456, when Mehmed besieged Belgrade, Hunyadi won a victory that stopped the Turkish advance for decades. Soon thereafter Hunyadi died of the plague.

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LIT. P. Engel in *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi*, ed. J.M. Bak, B.K. Király (Brooklyn 1982) 103–24. Moravcsik, *Studia Byz.* 371–82. F. Pall, "Byzance à la veille de sa chute et Janco de Hunedoara (Hunyadi)," *BS* 30 (1969) 119–26. J. Held, "Hunyadi's Long Campaign and the Battle of Varna 1443–1444," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 16 (1988) 10–27. –A.K., J.B.

**HYAKINTHOS OF CYPRUS,** metropolitan of Thessalonike (ca. late spring 1345–spring 1346); born Cyprus, died Thessalonike before 19 May 1346. Little is known of this anti-Palamite hieromonk; he lived at the monastery of the HODEGON in Constantinople and is probably to be identified with the Hyakinthos who carried letters from Nikephoros GREGORAS to George LAPITHES in Cyprus. Gregory AKINDYNOS praised Hyakinthos in his correspondence as "admirable" and "most holy" (ed. Hero, eps. 52.48–49, 60.54). He was made metropolitan by Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, but was unable to enter Thessalonike until fall 1345, when the ZEALOTS regained control of the city. His short tenure was marked by persecution of Palamite clergy and monks. Kyrres (*infra*) argues that Hyakinthos was the metropolitan attacked in the *"Anti-Zealot" Discourse* of Nicholas KABASILAS for simony, alienation of property, and imposing fixed taxes on monasteries.

LIT. K.P. Kyrres, "Ho Kyprios archiepiskopos Thessalonikes Hyakinthos (1345–6) kai ho rolos tou eis ton antipalamitikon agona," *KyprSp* 25 (1961) 91–122. –A.M.T.

**HYBRIS** (*ὕβρις*), injury to another person through word or deed; it even includes trespassing. *Hybris* committed in a public place, against a person of standing, or in connection with bodily injury was considered severe *hybris*. Only the injured party had the right to initiate a suit, which could be either private or criminal (*Basil.* 60.21). *Hybris* against a donor or *patronus* led to the forfeiture of the gift or emancipation; children who committed *hybris* against their parents were disinherited (*Basil.* 31.6.6.1; 35.8.41; 48.26.1; 49.2.19).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:439. –L.B.

**HYDATIUS,** Latin historian and churchman; born Lemica (mod. Ginzo de Limia) in northern Spain ca.395, died Galicia? ca.470. During youthful eastern travels, Hydatius met JEROME at Bethlehem. Back in Spain, he was ordained in 416 and by 427 was consecrated bishop of an unknown see, perhaps Aquae Flaviae (mod. Chaves in Portugal). On a secular trip to Gaul in 431 he met the general AETIUS, toward whom he may be too partial. In 460, the Suevi kidnapped and briefly imprisoned him. As a theologian, Hydatius acquired a reputation as an expert on Priscillianism (see PRISCILLIAN), which he opposed.

His *Chronicle*, a continuation of Jerome's, covers the period 379–469. Albeit not blind to the world at large, Hydatius focuses on Spain. While prone to inflate casualty figures and unduly partisan, he penned a reliable and well-considered account of most events, giving a uniquely rational reason, surprising in a bishop, for the retreat of ATTILA from Rome. Hydatius can be a useful source for Byz. history when his part of the world is involved, for example, the Visigothic vicissitudes of GALLA PLACIDIA.

ED. *Chronique*, 2 vols., ed. A. Tranoy (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. T. Mommsen in MGH *AuctAnt* 11:3–36.

LIT. E.A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* (Madison, Wisc., 1982) 137–60. C. Courtois, "Auteurs et scribes: remarques sur la chronique d'Hydace," *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 23–54. C. Molè, "Uno storico del V secolo: Il vescovo Idazio," *SicGymn* 27 (1974) 279–351; 28 (1975) 58–139. –B.B.

**HYMN** (*ὕμνος*). A religious poem set to fairly simple music and sung in Byz. sacred services. In early Christianity, the term "hymn" was applied to all devotional CHANT; later it referred only to newly written poems, as distinguished from the scriptural psalms and canticles. The earliest hymns are known to us from the New Testament: the Magnificat, the Song of Symeon, and the short poetic texts quoted by St. Paul in his epistles. Byz. hymns appear first in patristic literature, important early examples being the "Homily on Pascha" (a distant precursor of the KONTAKION) by Bp. Melito of Sardis and the PHOS HILARON and *Ho monogenes hyios* (see MONOGENES, HO), two early TROPARIA, the latter ascribed to Justinian I.

Although no original music for these hymns survives, probably, like their Gregorian counterparts, Byz. melodies were largely based on the principle of one tone to each syllable of the text, which made them suitable for congregational singing. Even the music for the hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE and JOHN OF DAMASCUS is unfortunately lost, but the dramatic character of the texts suggests that they were chanted in a kind of

recitative. Clearly they originally must have had a syllabic musical setting because many hymns are hundreds of lines long and any other kind of performance could scarcely have been feasible. After about the 8th C., when musical responsibility shifted from the congregation to trained choirs, more elaborate styles developed and the hymn texts were subjected at first to melismatic (ornamental) and then to kalophonic (highly florid) treatment (see TERETISMATA).

ED. *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum*, ed. W. Christ, M. Paranikas (Leipzig 1871). *Ekloge hellenikes orthodoxou hymnographias*, ed. P.N. Trempelas (Athens 1949).

LIT. D.E. Conomos, *Byzantine Hymnography and Byzantine Chant* (Brookline, Mass., 1984). —D.E.C.

**HYMNOGRAPHY,** a fertile and creative area of Byz. LITERATURE. A HYMN can be defined as a poem on a religious topic, primarily intended for liturgical use and to be sung, but also including verse written for private devotional purposes. The decisions of the Councils of Laodikeia (4th C.) and Braga (6th C.) prohibited hymns in the liturgy on other than scriptural themes. Hymn singing was part of Christian worship, as it had been of Jewish practice, from the earliest years. Possible specimens of such hymns can be extracted from the New Testament (e.g., Eph 1:3–14) and from the church fathers (e.g., the Easter Homily of Melito of Sardis), while embedded in the 4th-C. APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS are hymns such as "Glory in the highest" and "O, gladsome light" (PHOS HILARON); other similar hymns also survive on papyrus. The limited evidence leads to the conclusion that these early hymns were written in rhythmic prose, used a simple language, and were sung responsorially. From the 5th C. there are a few indications (e.g., the comments of Abba Pambo [Christ-Paranikas, *infra*, xxix–xxxi] and the phrases preserved in the Life of Auxentios [PG 114:1416]) that the psalms and canticles were now part of the Orthros and Vespers services and that TROPARIA and STICHERA, stanzas inserted between psalm verses, were in use (although some monastic communities were opposed to MUSIC in services). The earliest hymn writers known by name (Anthimos and Timokles) are also recorded from this period, though none of their works can now be identified.

Hymns had also been written in classical meters (e.g., by GREGORY OF NYSSA or SYNESIOS), but these, of limited appeal and intelligibility, were unlikely to have been intended for liturgical use. There had developed, however, in response to the evolution of the spoken language and under influence from Syriac literary patterns, increasingly elaborate verse forms that built lines using stress rhythms, an equal number of syllables for phrases in corresponding stanzas, and acrostics. These tendencies culminated in the KONTAKION, a metrical homily consisting of a *prooimion* and a varying number of OIKOI, or stanzas, linked by an ACROSTIC. The *kontakion*, probably chanted by the preacher with the choir singing the refrain at the end of each *oikos*, became the dominant form of the hymn in the late 5th–6th C. Though antecedents for many of its features can be found in earlier phases of Greek literature (e.g., in the late 3rd-C. *Partheneion* of METHODIOS, bishop of Olympos), the most immediate models exist in Syriac and esp. in the works of EPHREM THE SYRIAN. At its best, as in the AKATHISTOS HYMN or the Christmas Hymn of ROMANOS THE MELODE, the leading exponent of the genre, the *kontakion* is characterized by vivid dialogue and striking imagery.

Toward the end of the 7th C. the *kontakion* was replaced by the KANON, for reasons not fully understood, but perhaps connected with a change to a more varied musical setting. As late as the 9th C. *kontakia* were written (notably by JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER), but normally in shortened form for use within the *kanon*. A *kanon*, paraphrasing and meditating on the nine biblical canticles which it replaces, consists of nine odes, each made up of an *heirmos* and several *troparia*. Innumerable examples of *kanones*, many as yet unedited, survive either in full or abbreviated service books, such as the MENAION. Notable exponents of the genre include ANDREW OF CRETE, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER, and Joseph the Hymnographer.

Though hymns, in the form of *kanones*, *stichera*, and *troparia*, continued to be written until the fall of Constantinople, for all practical purposes by the end of the 11th C. the liturgical calendar was full; few additions were made later. The Orthodox church in southern Italy, led from the GROTTAFERRATA monastery, long remained an active center of hymn writing. Many hymns, like those of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, which were not on scriptural subjects, may have been intended for personal use only.

Hymns of all types, whether long forms like the *kontakion* and *kanon*, or the shorter elements like the *troparia* and *stichera*, were a vital feature of the services of the Orthodox church, involving *psaltes* (SINGER), choir, and congregation. Their language, drawing on the *koine* of the Old and New Testaments, was rarely complex, though in the *kanon*, communication seems sometimes to have been subordinate to the musical setting. Limited to paraphrasing biblical passages in ways relevant to a particular feast or saint, the authors' ingenuity is frequently admirable.

Hymnographers, while predominantly monks and clerics, nevertheless came from all walks of life and included emperors (e.g., Justinian I, Leo VI), some learned scholars (e.g., JOHN MAUROPOUS), and a few women such as KASSIA (E. Catafygiotu-Topping, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 98–111). With the early acceptance of stress meters at a time when literary compositions were struggling to impose the irrelevant archaic quantitative meters, hymn writers acknowledged the fact of linguistic change and the need for accessibility with greater realism than the classicizing secular poets.

ED. W. Christ, M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig 1871; rp. 1963). E. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, 6 vols. (Rome 1960–66). G. Schirò, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 13 vols. (Rome 1966–83).

LIT. E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*[2] (Oxford 1961). K. Mitsakis, *Byzantine Hymnographia* (Thessalonike 1971). —E.M.J.

HYPAPANTE. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Miniature from a Gospel book (Getty Museum, 83.MB 69 [MS Ludwig II 5], fol.129v); 13th C. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

**HYPAPANTE** (ὑπαπαντή, lit. "meeting"), the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Lk 2:22–38) at the time of Mary's purification, 40 days after giving birth. The Hypapante, one of the 12 Byz. GREAT FEASTS, is celebrated 2 Feb.

A Presentation feast is first seen in Jerusalem ca.384; it was celebrated on 14 Feb., this being the 40th day after 6 Jan., the feast of EPIPHANY, which at that time in the East comprised the Nativity as well as the Baptism. In 518, Severos of Antioch called Hypapante a recent Palestinian innovation not celebrated in either Antioch or Constantinople (PO 29:246.16–26; cf. 38:400–15). Justinian I decreed its celebration throughout the empire (Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, PG 147:292A). There is some confusion concerning the date on which the feast was celebrated in Constantinople. Under Justinian it was 2 Feb. (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 86 [1968] 351–71; 87 [1969] 442–44), but in 602 the riot that broke out against Emp. Maurice during his procession to Blachernai to celebrate the feast apparently took place on 14 Feb. (M. Higgins, *Traditio* 1 [1943] 409f).

The Hypapante has one day of forefeast, a *synaxis* the following day, and seven days of afterfeast, which may be foreshortened by an early Lent. Despite the fact that, in the celebration of the feast, the theme of Jesus' encounter with Symeon predominated over that of the Virgin's purification, the Hypapante was considered one of the five Marian Great Feasts and was celebrated by the emperor at the Church of the Virgin at BLACHERNAI.

**Representation in Art.** Rare in art of the 7th and 8th C., the Hypapante attained its standard composition in the 9th. C. Usually showing Symeon and Anna standing to the right of a ciborium and altar and the Virgin with the Child and Joseph with his donation of pigeons to the left, the event is presented as a theophanic recognition

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of Christ. Symeon, who perceived Christ's divinity, displaces the priest at the altar, often assuming his vestments, and Anna may gesture in ACCLAMATION. An alternative composition, developed in the 9th C. but widespread only in the 12th, emphasizes the themes of Christ's sacrifice and Mary's grief, as Symeon holds the Child over the altar and the Virgin assumes her mourning posture from the Crucifixion. The late 12th-C. image of Symeon alone cradling the Child in the posture of the VIRGIN ELEOUSA derived from this composition, showing Symeon as a prophet of Christ's PASSION. Both variants of the full composition and the condensed "Symeon Glykophilon" ("sweet-beloved") continued into Palaiologan art.

LIT. M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem* (Brussels 1978) 2–6. D. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *ArtB* 28 (1946) 17–32. H. Maguire, "The Iconography of Symeon with the Christ Child in Byzantine Art," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 261–69. – R.F.T., A.W.C.

**HYPARCH.** See EPARCH.

**HYPATIA** (Ὑπατία), Neoplatonist teacher; born Alexandria between 355 and 360 (R. Penella, *Historia* 33 [1984] 126–28), died Alexandria 415. Educated at Alexandria, Hypatia owed her zeal for mathematics to her father THEON, whose work she assisted and surpassed, revising the third book of his commentary on the *Almagest* of PTOLEMY; her commentaries on Diophantos of Alexandria and the *Conics* of Apollonios of Perga are lost. Hypatia remained in Alexandria to become that city's most celebrated and adored teacher of mathematics and NEOPLATONISM (the version of PORPHYRY rather than that of IAMBLICHOS). Pupils (SYNESIOS being her most famous one), populace, and statesmen alike succumbed to her dazzling combination of intellect, beauty, virtue (which disappointed would-be seducers), eloquence, and political acumen. All this and her paganism provoked the hatred of CYRIL of Alexandria, who may or may not have procured her brutal murder by a gang of hospital attendants (PARABALANOI) led by one Peter the Reader.

ED. *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, vols. 2–3, ed. A. Rome (Rome 1936–43).

LIT. J.M. Rist, "Hypatia," *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 214–25. F. Schaefer, "St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Murder of Hypatia," *Catholic University Bulletin* 8 (1902) 441–53. D. Shanzer, "Merely a Cynic Gesture?" *Rivista di Filologia* 113 (1985) 61–66. –B.B.

**HYPATIOS** (Ὑπάτιος), bishop of Gangra, legendary 4th-C. saint; feastday 14 Nov. His major miracle was the killing of a dragon that had taken up residence in the state treasury under Constantius II, thus causing severe financial problems; Hypatios used his staff, topped with a cross, to kill the dragon, and the icon of Hypatios was allegedly placed at the treasury entrance to protect it. After returning to Gangra with the emperor's fiscal privilege, the abolition of the tax called *xylelaion* (Ferri, *infra* 83.1–5), Hypatios was murdered by partisans of NOVATIANISM.

Several vitae and a *passio* are dedicated to Hypatios. It was suggested by Ferri that the earliest vita was written in the 5th C. and the *passio*, teeming with fantastic episodes, between 500 and 700, but F. Halkin (*AB* 51 [1933] 392–95) demonstrated that his argument was ill founded. If the abolition of the *xylelaion* reflects the same measure recorded as a law of Justinian I (Malal. 437.17–18), the vita cannot be earlier than the 6th C.; if the Scythian *basileus* Chobar was modeled on Kouber-KUVRAT, the *passio* was produced after 680.

**Representation in Art.** The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.181) shows the bishop confronting the dragon by spearing it in the mouth and setting it afire. The saint himself is then killed by a woman throwing stones from an upstairs window (though the title of the page refers to his *koimesis*, or peaceful death). The composition is repeated in the illustrated "imperial" *menologion* in Moscow (Hist. Mus. 183, fol.158).

SOURCES. S. Ferri, "Il *Bios* e il *Martyrion* di Hypatios di Gangrai," *SBN* 3 (1931) 69–103. F. Halkin, "Un recueil de légendes hagiographiques: Le MS. Bollandien 1009," *BZ* 44 (1951) 253–57.

LIT. *BHG* 759–759f. G. Kaster, *LCI* 6:562. –A.K., N.P.Š.

**HYPATIOS,** general who was briefly declared emperor in 532; died Constantinople 19 Jan. 532. The nephew of Emp. Anastasios I, he was consul ca.500. In 503 he was sent with Patrikios and AREOBINDUS to command a campaign against the Persians. In 513 he was *magister militum* in Thrace, where his unpopular administration contributed to the revolt of VITALIAN. Defeated in 514, he was deprived of his position, then reinstated, defeated once more, and captured by the rebels. He was commander again in the East under Justin I and negotiated with the envoys of KAVĀD; the negotiations failed, and after an investigation Hypatios was removed from the court. In 529 he was replaced as the Eastern commander by BELISARIOS. In 532, at the time of the NIKA REVOLT, Hypatios was proclaimed emperor but was executed when the rebellion was quelled. His body was thrown into the sea, but was later washed up and buried in the Church of St. Maura; verses supposedly written for his cenotaph survive in the *Greek Anthology* (*AnthGr* bk.7, nos. 591–92). His property was confiscated but later restored to his children.

LIT. *PLRE* 2:577–81. A. Čekalova, "Narod i senatorskaja oppozicija v vosstanii Nika," *VizVrem* 32 (1971) 24–34. –T.E.G.



**HYPATIOS,** bishop of Ephesus (from 531); died ca.541. Early in his bishopric he presided at the conference convoked at Constantinople by Justinian I to reconcile SEVEROS of Antioch and the Monophysites, whom he confounded by showing the spuriousness of the writings ascribed to DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (J. Gouillard, *REB* 19 [1961] 75). He was also the orthodox spokesman at the Council of Constantinople in 536 that anathematized Severos and other Monophysites. In the interim, Hypatios had taken Justinian's request for a ruling on THEOPASCHITISM to Pope John II (533–35) at Rome. Fragments remain of at least two books titled *Miscellaneous Questions*, answers to the questions of his suffragan, Julian of Atramyttion (H.G. Thümmel, *BS* 44 [1983] 161–70). They include an important statement on the cult of images in which church art is defended as an appropriate aid for uneducated people to progress from material to spiritual contemplation of the divine. The many citations in biblical catenae suggest his authorship of commentaries on Psalms, the Twelve Prophets, and Luke. An inscription (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.108) found at Ephesus in 1904 preserves his instructions on the obligations of Christian burial.

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ED. Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 109–53. Partial Eng. tr., Mango, *Art* 116f.

LIT. S. Gero, "Hypatius of Ephesus on the Cult of Images," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults, Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, vol. 2 (Leiden 1975) 208–16. P.J. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus: A Note on Image Worship in the Sixth Century," *HThR* 45 (1952) 177–84. –B.B.

**HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI,** saint; born Phrygia ca.366, died near Chalcedon 466, on 30 June, according to J. Pargoire (*BZ* 8 [1899] 451); feastday 17 June. A *scholastikos*, Hypatios's father educated his son well, but after a family conflict Hypatios left home for Thrace and became a shepherd. At about 20 he joined an ascetic, Jonas, and assisted him in building the fortified monastery of Halmyrissos. Circa 400 Hypatios founded the monastery of ROUPHINIANAI; from 406 he was its *hegoumenos*. From 436 onward, he was considered the "father" of all the monks of Constantinople. His monastery was a community of laborers; the monks earned their living by making woolen garments and baskets and by gardening (pp. 100.14–16, 248.7–14). Hypatios struggled against pagan traditions; he prevented the prefect Leontios from restoring Olympic games in Chalcedon and caused the disappearance of ARTEMIS, a giant female demon (pp. 270–72). He supposedly resisted Nestorianism even before the Council of EPHESUS and was connected with the AKOIMETOI (E. Wolfe, *BZ* 79 [1986] 302–09). The preamble of Hypatios's Life says that it was written by his disciple Kallinikos and discovered by an anonymous "editor" who corrected the style, esp. mistakes caused by "the Syriac dialect." Bartelink (*infra* 12) trusts this claim and dates the Life to 447–50. If, however, the preamble is fictitious, the author must have lived later—in the 6th C., according to Beck (*Kirche* 404).

SOURCE. *Callinicos, Vie d'Hypatios*, ed. and Fr. tr. G.J.M. Bartelink (Paris 1971). Ital. tr. C. Capizzi (Rome 1982).

LIT. *BHG* 760. G.J.M. Bartelink, "Text Parallels between the *Vita Hypatii* of Callinicus and the Pseudo-Macariana," *VigChr* 22 (1968) 128–36. –A.K.

**HYPATOS** (ὕπατος), Greek term for CONSUL. *Hypatos* and *apo hypaton* (ex-consul) became honorific titles by the 6th C. and declined in importance thereafter. A letter of Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT shows that in Constantinople one could obtain *cartas exconsulatus* for 30 librae (C. Courtois, *Byzantion* 19 [1949] 54f). The seals of *hypatoi* and *apo hypaton* are numerous from the 7th–9th C.; the title is usually combined with modest func-

tions, bureaucratic and fiscal, even though sometimes the *hypatos* could serve as *strategos* (e.g., Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 918–19). In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS *hypatos* is a title following that of SPATHARIOS, and owners of several seals are titled *spatharios* and *hypatos*. In the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial *hypatos* appears as an office—according to Oikonomides (*Listes* 325) with judiciary functions. The texts of the 11th C. again present *hypatos* as a title but of a higher rank than the PROTOSPATHARIOS; the title seems to have disappeared after 1111. (See also ANTHYPATOS; DISHYPATOS.)

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 296. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 342–46. –A.K.

**HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON** ("chief of the philosophers"), title of the president of the school of PHILOSOPHY in Constantinople. F. Fuchs (*Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* [Leipzig-Berlin 1926] 29f) suggested that the office already existed in the 10th C., but the chrysobull of Romanos I that mentions the *hypatos ton philosophon* Paul Xeropotaminos (*Xerop.* 227.18) is a forgery, and Constantine, under Emp. Constantine VII, was *kathegetes* and not *hypatos*. Thus the title was apparently introduced in 1047 (or slightly earlier) by Emp. Constantine IX for Michael PSELLOS, whose successors were JOHN ITALOS and THEODORE OF SMYRNA (ca.1112). The office reappears ca.1165 or 1167, when the future patriarch MICHAEL III received this post. While the first *hypatoi* were serious scholars who contributed much to the development of philosophy, Michael's appointment had a different purpose, to control the followers of "pagan" philosophy and to defend the purity of Orthodox tenets. The office continued to exist in later centuries: in the 14th-C. lists of functionaries, the *hypatos* occupies a place between the *logothetes tou dromou* and *megas chartoularios* (pseudo-Kod. 300.21–22, 321.48) or is named in the same breath as the "first of the rhetors," *dikaiophylax* and *nomophylax* (338.143–45), probably an anachronistic statement reflecting the situation of the 11th C. The *hypatoi* of the 13th and 14th C. were teachers acting under the supervision of the patriarchate (Fuchs, ibid. 50–52).

LIT. W. Wolska-Conus, "Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque," *TM* 6 (1976) 231–33, 242f. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973) 83. Browning, *Studies*, pt.IV (1961), 181–85. –A.K.

**HYPERBOLE** (*ὑπερβολή*), one of the TROPES, an exaggerated statement whose goal was the embellishment of speech. Byz. theoreticians, following their ancient predecessors, considered hyperbole as an exaggeration beyond verisimilitude (e.g., George CHOIROBOSKOS in *RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:252.25–29). However, a modern critic may view the term beyond its limited role of stylistic ornamentation and consider the Byz. vision of the cosmos as hyperbolic. This was expressed, on the lowest level, through frequent use of prefixes such as *poly-* or *archi-* or superlatives (to stress the extreme of certain qualities). It was also expressed, on a higher level, through means used in other medieval literatures as well: endowing the hero (or antihero) with exaggerated qualities such as irresistible power, overwhelming beauty, immeasurable cruelty, or an extraordinary ability to endure pain or deprivation. The hyperbolic vision of people and objects was typical of certain genres, esp. hagiography, hymnography, and epideictic oratory. Rhetorical hyperbole could be traditional, tinged with antiquarian allusions. Thus Attaleiates asserts that his hero's generosity surpassed the riches of the gold-bearing rivers Pactolus and Chrysorrhoe (Attal. 273.22–274.3; cf., e.g., Strabo 13:4.5), but the same Attaleiates could make more innovative comparisons, as, for example, his description of a victory so bloodless that not a single nose was bloody (Attal. 271.8–9). The use of hyperbole is also found in Byz. art as in depictions of the priest Symeon flying through the air to meet the infant Jesus in the temple (Maguire, *Art and Rhetoric* 84–90).

LIT. A. Quacquarelli, "Note sull'iperbole nella sacra Scrittura e nei Padri," *VetChr* 8 (1971) 5–26. –A.K.

**HYPEROON.** See GALLERY.

**HYPERPYRON** (*νόμισμα ὑπέρπυρον*, lit. "highly refined"), the gold coin of standard weight (4.55 g) but only 20.5 carats fine, introduced by ALEXIOS I in 1092 and continued by his successors, though a few earlier 11th-C. references show the name already had been applied to NOMISMATA. The term continued in use until the end of the empire, but after gold coins ceased to be struck at Byz. in the mid-14th C. it became a money of account, divided notionally into 24 KERATIA. The shortened forms *perperum* (Lat.) and *perpero* (It.) are Western. In the Balkans and southern Slavic borderlands it provided in various forms (e.g., *perper*, *iperpero*) a convenient name for a number of denominations, usually silver, and moneys of account.

LIT. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 215–17. Hendy, *Economy* 513–17. –Ph.G.



**HYPOBOLON** (*ὑπόβολον*), the term used from the time of Leo VI for the wedding gift of a man to his wife. Formerly called DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS, it had been obligatory since the reign of Justinian I. Leo VI promulgated three novels on the *hypobolon*. According to the novels, the *hypobolon* should be of less value than the DOWRY. In the case of childlessness and the predecease of the husband, it fell in full to the wife; if the wife died before her husband, it reverted to him (nov. 20). If there were children, the surviving spouse obtained a portion of equal value to the inheritance of a child—as in Justinianic law—but the portion was not calculated on the value of the *hypobolon* (or dowry) but on that of the entire property of the predeceased (novs. 22 and 85). The amount of the *hypobolon* to be provided by the husband, or his family, varied. According to the *Peira* and the treatise *De hypobolo* by Eustathios RHOMAIOS (ed. D.R. Reinsch, *FM* 7 [1986] 239–52), in cases of uncertainty the *hypobolon* amounted to half the dowry; lower amounts were also possible. According to the SYNOPSIS MINOR (Y 4), in default of other agreements, the *hypobolon* amounted to a third of the dowry.

LIT. Simon, "Ehegüterrecht" 225–30. J. Beaucamp, "Proikoûpobolon-Hypobolon-Hypoballo," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 153–61. L. Margetić, "Bizantsko bračno imovinsko pravo u svjetlu novele XX Lava Mudroga," *ZRVI* 18 (1978) 19–50. –M.Th.F.

**HYPOCAUST** (*ὑπόκαυστον*), Roman system of radiant heating in which hot air circulated under a floor made of square or circular brick or tile and raised on low piers (*suspensurae*); heat could also rise through flues in the walls. Hypocausts can be found throughout the Roman world in public and private BATHS and in palaces and upper-class housing. Until at least the 6th C. Byz. builders continued the hypocaust system throughout the empire, both maintaining Roman structures (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 49f) and adding new hypocausts, even in monasteries (A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* [Munich 1982] 102–07; Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 100–08).

LIT. P. Magdalino, "The Bath of Leo the Wise," in *Maistor* 225–40. V. Kondić, V. Popović, *Caričin Grad* (Belgrade 1977) 130–45, 349–52. H. Hunger, "Zum Badewesen in byzantinischen Klöstern," *SbWien* no.367 (Vienna 1980) 353–64. –K.M.K., W.L.

**HYPOMNEMA** (*ὑπόμνημα*), term designating various kinds of documents (e.g., in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67303, II 67131). A *hypomnema* petition was addressed to the emperor; the response to it was called *lysis* (see RESCRIPTUM) or *semeiosis*. A letter of Patr. Athanasios I (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1774) mentions *hypomnestika* as short documents compiled in the patriarchal chancellery and goes on to complain about the greed of copyists who made such compilations; it is plausible that the patriarch was referring to petitions. Usually, however, the patriarchal chancellery defined the term differently. In earlier documents *hypomnema* designated synodal decisions or minutes (e.g., synodal *hypomnemata* of 29 Sept. 394—*RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.10), but evidently from the 10th C. onward it applied to a patriarchal decree. The first case of its use is allegedly a lost act of Nicholas I Mystikos of 923 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.684), but it is only called a *hypomnema* by Patr. Nicholas III in 1084. A patriarchal *hypomnema* (e.g., the act of Matthew I of 1398—*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.3066) was a solemn decree provided with a seal and signature; the designation *sigilliodes hypomnema* was sometimes employed (SIGILLION from the mid-13th C. onward). A *hypomnema* decision or record could be produced in other offices; thus Theodore of Nicaea (mid-10th C.), in a letter to the eparch Constantine, mentions that official's "wise *hypomnemata*" (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 304.7).

A special official, the *hypomnematographos*, is mentioned in the 10th-C. *taktikon* of Beneševič (Oikonomides, *Listes* 251.26) and later texts. In the above-cited letter of Patr. Athanasios, *ho epi ton hypomnematon* is one of the senior officials of the patriarchal chancellery. *Hypomnema* was also a form of panegyric of a saint, e.g., the *hypomnemata* on the Twelve Prophets (BHG 1591).

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 82–85. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 362f, 399–426. –A.K.

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**HYPOSTASIS** (ὑπόστασις, lit. "substance"), an ancient term used by philosophers and scientists primarily to designate individual or real existence; PLOTINOS applied it to his supreme principles—the One, Intellect, and Soul. The word appears in the New Testament five times without having any technical meaning, and in its use by 3rd-C. theologians it was not clearly distinguished from *ousia* (SUBSTANCE); at the First Council of Nicaea it was used as a synonym for *ousia*. As late as the Council of SERDICA hypostasis was conceived of as real existence, and the acceptance of individual divine hypostases proclaimed heretical. Only at the Council of Alexandria in 362 did ATHANASIOS of Alexandria approve the difference between the terms hypostasis and *ousia*, and in the wake of the creed of the First Council of Constantinople in 381 the Cappadocian interpretation of the TRINITY as three hypostases and one *ousia* became canonical.

Hypostasis was contrasted to the substance or NATURE of the divinity, and defined as the individual property (*idiotes*) of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, whereas *ousia*—as an individual reality—was the element they shared (*koinon*) that presupposed a Stoic ontology. In Christology hypostasis was equated with the concept of PERSON at the Council of CHALCEDON (451). This teaching was further developed by JOHN OF CAESAREA and LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM who defined the hypostasis as "being-for-itself" (*kath' heauten einai*), discerning two degrees of individuation, the nature and the person; this formula was analyzed by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR and ANASTASIOS OF SINAI (ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux* 22.4.85–86 [p.303]).

The distinction between *ousia* and hypostasis was not fully understood in the Latin West, which tended to translate both terms as *substantia*; this accounted for the Eastern opinion that the West was Nestorian, that is, that the concept of two natures was in fact the concept of two hypostases in CHRIST. This linguistic misunderstanding appears in John of Caesarea and Anastasios of Sinai.

LIT. H. Dörrie, *Hypostasis* (Göttingen 1955). A. de Halleux, " 'Hypostase' et 'personne' dans la formation du dogme trinitaire," *RHE* 79 (1984) 313–69, 625–70. Prestige, *God* 162–90. Wolfson, *Philosophy* 319–21. K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215–312. Idem, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union bei Maximus Confessor," in *Maximus Confessor*, ed. F. Heinzer, C. Schönborn (Fribourg 1982) 223–33. —K.-H.U.

**HYPOTHEC** (ὑποθήκη, lit. "deposit, pledge"), in Roman law, a type of pledge or security. It differed from a PIGNUS in that the object pledged remained with the debtor, even though the rights of possession were vested in the creditor. Justinianic law and Byz. legal textbooks retained the Roman distinction between hypothec and *pignus*: thus, a scholion to *Basil.* 25.1.1 rejects as mistaken the application of the term *hypotheke* to a *pignus* (*enechyron*), arguing that the *pignus* was contracted by the physical transfer of the object, the hypothec "by simple agreement (*symphonon*)." A pledge without any actual physical transfer of the object was known in late Byz. practice: an act of 1285 describes the case of Theodore Branas who loaned a man 1.33 *litrai* of silver; when the man died and his widow could not repay the loan, she pledged olive trees to Branas equivalent to the amount of the debt. She retained the right to regain her trees after having repaid the loan; no interest is mentioned (MM 4:114.21–28).

The term "general *hypotheke*," however, is used in documents with the meaning of "guarantee" (e.g., *Docheiar.* no.3.3–4; *Lavra* 1, no.53.6), applied not to a pledge but to the sale or exchange of land. The term *rhethe hypotheke*, in the will of Theodore Kerameas of 1284, refers to a certain piece of land used as security for a loan (*Lavra* 2, no.75.40–42).

LIT. Buckland, *Roman Law* 475f. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2, par.251.4. —A.K.

**HYRTAKENOS, THEODORE,** early 14th-C. writer and teacher in Constantinople; born in Hyrtakos on the Kyzikos peninsula (F. Dölger, *BZ* 31 [1931] 411f). Hyrtakenos (Ὑρτακηνός) is known only from his writings, which include an *enkomion* of Andronikos II and monodies for Michael IX, Irene-Yolanda of Montferrat, and Nikephoros Choumnos. He also wrote a panegyric of the Theotokos and an *enkomion* of the anchorite Aninas the miracle worker. His *ekphrasis* on the Garden of St. Anne is based on a picture that he reports having seen.

His 93 surviving letters are addressed to such luminaries as Andronikos II, Patr. John XIII Glykys (S.I. Kourouses, *EEBS* 41 [1974] 344–53), Nikephoros Choumnos, and esp. Theodore Metochites (21 letters). In them, he complains about his straitened circumstances (surely exaggerated) and appeals for a *siteresion* (payment in money or grain) for his services as a teacher and placement on the state payroll. One letter includes a request for a coat lined with fox fur. Other letters describe his exchange of books with friends, requests for copies of MSS, and references to his own library. Constantine Loukites, who was in Trebizond, commissioned him to purchase a copy of the *Odyssey* in Constantinople (ep.56). Hyrtakenos was well read in classical literature; his correspondence contains an unusual number of mythological allusions and citations of ancient authors.

ED. Letters—ed. F.J.G. LaPorte du Theil, in *Notices et extraits* 5 (1798) 709–44; 6 (1800) 1–48. *Enkomia*, monodies, and *ekphrasis*—ed. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 1:248–92; 2:409–53; 3:1–70.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 691. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:184. *Tusculum-Lexikon* 776. —A.M.T., Ap.K.

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