

PHTHEGMATA PATRUM. Some of its sources are unidentified, and its provenance—Kievan or Bulgarian—is disputed.

ED. *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 goda. Faksimil'noe izdanie* (Moscow 1983). *Izbornik 1076 goda*, ed. S.I. Kotkov (Moscow 1965).

LIT. *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 g.*, ed. B.A. Rybakov (Moscow 1977). H.G. Lunt, "On the *Izbornik* of 1073," in *Okeanos* 359–76. W.R. Veder, "The *Izbornik* of John the Sinner," in *Polata künigopis'naja* 8 (June 1983) 15–37.

—S.C.F.

IZMARAGD (from Gr. *σμάραγδος*, "emerald"), a compendium of ethical instruction compiled in Rus', probably in the early 14th C., initially in 88 chapters. The precepts in *Izmaragd*, aimed mainly at laymen and priests, concern the life of a Christian in society: marriage, work, relations with authority, charity, and the blessings derived from reading. The sources of *Izmaragd* overlap with those of other Slavonic compilations (the IZBOR-

NIKI of 1073 and 1076, ZLATOSTRUJ, *Zlatoust*) and include translated extracts from pseudo-Chrysostom, the *Centuria* ascribed to Patr. Genadios I, the *Pandektes* of ANTIOCHOS and of NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, EPHREM THE SYRIAN, ANASTASIOS OF SINAI, pseudo-Athanasios, *Ecclesiasticus*, the *vita* of Niphon of Constantia, and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. *Izmaragd* also contains works ascribed to KIRILL of TUROV, FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA, and SERAPION OF VLADIMIR. A second version in 165 chapters probably dates from the late 15th C. It draws on a similar range of sources (though only 50 chapters are borrowed directly from the first version), with additional material from PALLADIOS, John MOSCHOS, and the *Dialogues* of GREGORY I THE GREAT.

LIT. V.A. Jakovlev, *K literaturnoj istorii drevnerusskich sbornikov. Opyt izsledovanija "Izmaragda"* (Odessa 1893; rp. Leipzig 1974). V.P. Adrianova-Perec, "K voprosu o krug čtenija drevnerusskogo pisatelja," *TODRL* 28 (1974) 3–29. O.V. Tvorogov, "Izmaragd," *TODRL* 39 (1985) 249–53. Fedotov, *Mind* 2:36–112.

—S.C.F.

JABALA, the first attested GHASSĀNID chief in the service of Byz.; died ca.528. Around 500 he appeared as a warrior in occupation of the island of Iotabe, which had been captured in the reign of Leo I by AMORKESOS. After hard-fought battles, Romanos, the energetic *doux* of Palestine, was able to force Jabala out of Iotabe and restore Byz. rule. In the general settlement with the Arab tribes who attacked the frontier, Anastasios I concluded a peace with the Ghassānids in 502 that made them the dominant federate group in Oriens. Jabala remained the principal figure in Byz.-Arab relations for another quarter of a century. The Ghassānids became staunch Monophysites, a fact reflected in the appearance of the Monophysite firebrand Simeon of Beth-Arsham at Jabala's camp in Jābiya ca.520, invoking the extension of aid to the Christians of NAJRĀN and South Arabia. Jabala probably died at the battle of Thanuris (528) while fighting in the Byz. army against the Persians.

LIT. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran* (Brussels 1971) 272–76.

—I.A.Sh.

JACOB BARADAEUS (*Baradaïos*, Syr. Burde'ana, "man in ragged clothes"), Monophysite bishop of Edessa (from 542/3); born Tella, Osrhoene, ca.500, died Kasion, near the Syro-Egyptian frontier, 30 July 578. He was the organizer of the Monophysite church, called JACOBITE after him. In 527/8 the monk Jacob went to Constantinople, where he became a favorite of the empress Theodora and also gained the support of the Arab chieftain Hārith ibn-Jabala (ARETHAS). When Ephraim of Antioch (527–45) launched a severe attack against the Monophysites, Theodora urged Theodosios, Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, to consecrate two bishops in Syria to counterbalance Ephraim's activities—Theodore in Bostra and Jacob in Edessa (542/3).

According to John of Ephesus (PO 19:154), Jacob's diocese extended over most of the East, where the Monophysite cause had been severely weakened by Justinian's persecution. Jacob was

tireless in his missionary activity, appointing Monophysite bishops in many cities, including Chios, Ephesus, and Antioch. Although much of his work was in Asia Minor and along the coasts of the Mediterranean, most of the bishops were drawn from Syrian monasteries, giving the Monophysite hierarchy a distinctly Syrian character. Justinian attempted to arrest Jacob, but he was frequently in disguise (hence his sobriquet) and was never caught. Some of Jacob's letters, written originally in Greek, have survived in Syriac.

ED. See CPG, vol. 3, nos. 7170–99.

LIT. H.G. Kley, *Jacobus Baradaeus de stichter der syrische monophysitische kerk* (Leiden 1882). D.D. Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus. The State of Research," *Muséon* 91 (1978) 45–86. E. Honigmann, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle* (Louvain 1951) 157–245. A. van Riez in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 2:339–60.

—T.E.G.

JACOBITES, SYRIAN MONOPHYSITES, followers of JACOB BARADAEUS. Although Monophysitism had individual followers from the time of the Council of CHALCEDON, the movement was not given firm institutional form until the missionary activity of Jacob Baradaeus beginning ca.542. The Jacobite church traced its roots to Patr. Theodosios of Alexandria (535–66), who consecrated Jacob. Although many Jacobite churches were established in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands, the hierarchy of the church was made up largely of Syrian monks who brought with them their language and spiritual ideals. Jacobite missionaries spread their teachings as far as Persia, but their real centers were the villages and monasteries of Syria, and many bishops lived in desert monasteries rather than cities. The Jacobite church survived the Persian and Islamic conquests, although with decreased numbers, into modern times.

LIT. Frend, *Monophysite Movement* 285–87, 318–20, 326. S.P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance* (Berlin 1955).

—T.E.G.

JACOB OF SARUG (or Serugh), Syriac poet and theologian; born Curtam, near Sarug on the Euphrates, ca.451, died Batnan 29? Nov. 521. Edu-

cated in the Nestorian school of Edessa, he nevertheless became a follower of CYRIL of Alexandria. He served as *chorepiskopos* in the district of Sarug and in 519 was elected bishop of Batnan. Jacob's religious creed was attacked by his contemporaries: Nestorian chroniclers characterized him as a turncoat who accepted the beliefs of the ruling emperor (P. Krüger, *OstSt* 13 [1964] 15–32); an anonymous Monophysite accused Jacob of falling at the end of his life into a horrible heresy, that is, the creed of Chalcedon (P. Krüger in *Wegzeichen* [Würzburg 1971] 245–52). In his works Jacob did not follow the final formula of Chalcedon but taught that the incarnate Christ was "one nature out of two."

A prolific author, Jacob left homilies in prose and verse as well as numerous letters; not all of these have survived. He interpreted Scripture in an allegorical or typological manner: Moses had to place a veil over his face after the Theophany on Mt. Sinai because the Israelites were not mature enough to receive the divine truth; it was removed, according to Jacob, after the Incarnation that allowed the world to see the Son of God openly (S. Brock, *Sobornost* 3 [1981] 70–85). The theme of the Incarnation attracted Jacob: he perceived it symbolically as "three wombs": Mary's womb, the womb of the Jordan (baptism), and the womb of Sheol (death, or the baptism on the cross), and discovered the prefigurations of these baptisms in the Old and New Testaments (S. Brock, *OrChrAn* 205 [1976] 325–47). A man of Christian culture, Jacob strongly opposed any remnants of classical civilization and sharply criticized theatrical performances (W. Cramer, *JbAChr* 23 [1980] 96–107).

ED. *Homiliae Selectae*, ed. P. Bedjan, 5 vols. (Paris 1905–10). *Six homélies festales en prose*, ed. F. Rilliet (Turnhout-Brepols 1986). *Epistulae*, ed. G. Olinder [= *CSCO, Scriptores Syri*, 57] (Paris 1937).

LIT. A. Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Jakob von Serug*, 4 vols. (Louvain 1973–80). T. Jansma, "Die Christologie Jakobs von Serugh," *Muséon* 78 (1965) 5–46. P. Peeters, "Jacques de Saroug, appartenait-il à la secte monophysite?" *AB* 66 (1948) 134–98. Chesnut, *Three Christologies* 113–41. —T.E.G.

JACOB'S LADDER, a ladder ascending to heaven seen by the Hebrew patriarch Jacob during his dream (Gen 28:10–22). John Chrysostom (PG 59:454–55), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Mol-

inghen, vol. 2 [Paris 1979] 216, ch.27.1.4–5), and others interpreted it as a metaphor for the ascent to God. As an image for the Virgin, it figures in the AKATHISTOS HYMN; the biblical account was read at the Great Feasts of the Virgin (Birth, Annunciation, Dormition).

Representation in Art. The ladder was illustrated already by the 4th C., for example, at Dura Europos and the Via Latina catacomb, and appears in 5th- and 6th-C. GENESIS MSS and the OCTATEUCHS. It was the explicit model for illustrations to the *Heavenly Ladder* of JOHN KLIMAX, and icons based on this text. Jacob is shown ascending the ladder on the Brescia Casket (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107), depicting the ascent to God rather than the details of the Old Testament account. In Palaiologan painting (e.g., in the CHORA) the ladder appears as a prefiguration of the Virgin (S. Der Nersessian in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:334–36).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:519–25. C.M. Kauffmann, *LCI* 2:370–83. M. Putscher, "Die Himmelsleiter. Verwandlung eines Traums in der Geschichte," *Clio medica* 13.1 (1978) 13–37. —J.H.L., C.B.T.

JAMES (Ἰάκωβος). Three individuals named James were associated with Jesus; as a result there has been confusion over their identities. (1) The apostle James Major ("the Great"), the son of Zebedee, was the elder brother of the apostle JOHN; he preached in Palestine, was beheaded, and was commemorated on 15 Nov. and 30 Apr. (2) The apostle James Minor ("the Less"), son of Alphaeus, was martyred by clubbing and was commemorated on 9 Oct. (3) James, the "brother of the Lord" (*adelphotheos*), was Christ's half-brother. He became the first bishop of Jerusalem, was martyred when the Jews pulled him from the height of the Temple, and was commemorated on 23 Oct. The last two Jameses are sometimes conflated.

The Epistle of St. James in the New Testament is usually attributed to James *adelphotheos*; John Chrysostom wrote a commentary on this epistle (PG 64:1039–52). Several other works were ascribed to this James: the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, a homily on the Dormition (actually a compilation of JOHN I, archbishop of Thessalonike [M. Jugie, *PO* 19 (1926) 344–438]), and a dialogue with John the Theologian on the departure of the soul (*Anecdota graeco-byzantina* [Moscow 1893],

ed. A. Vassiliev, 317–22). The ancient liturgy of St. James is also traditionally ascribed to the brother of the Lord. James was praised by various authors, including Andrew of Crete, Hippolytos of Thebes, and Niketas Paphlagon. The center of his cult in Constantinople was the Church of the Virgin Mary in Chalkoprateia.

Representation in Art. James the *adelphotheos*, although not an apostle, was conflated with them in artistic representations: James Major and James Minor often wear his episcopal robes, and his white hair sometimes replaces their brown hair. The figure of James Major—known with his brother, John, as "thunder-voiced"—illustrates Psalm 76:19 in several marginal PSALTERS; here, as in the scene of their calling, both are beardless youths. In the scene of the TRANSFIGURATION, James Major is brown-haired; it is as a mature man with brown hair and beard that he is shown preaching at Psalm 19 in the marginal Psalters and at his martyrdom in a MS in Paris (B.N. gr. 102—H. Kessler, *DOP* 27 [1973] pl.1).

LIT. R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 2.2 (Braunschweig 1883–84) 201–57. F. Halkin, "Une notice byzantine de l'apôtre saint Jacques, frère de saint Jean," *Biblica* 64 (1983) 565–70. *BHG* 763y–766i. —J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS (an unidentified monastery), the author, probably of the 12th C., of six homilies on the Virgin. Nothing is known of his life. A. Kirpičnikov (*Letopis'* 2 [1892] 255–80) identified him with another James, the author of letters addressed to the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE; this identification remains debatable. The homilies are devoted to the life of the Virgin from her conception to her visitation with Elizabeth. They are preserved in two deluxe MSS, Paris, B.N. gr. 1208 and Vat. gr. 1162, probably from the second quarter of the 12th C., which were profusely illustrated by the major atelier then active in Constantinople. Their numerous INITIALS, both floral and zoomorphic, and their elaborate HEADPIECES are hallmarks of this atelier, which also produced the CODEX EBNERIANUS.

ED. PG 127:543–700.
LIT. E.M. Jeffreys, "The Sebastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness: The Monk Iakovos," *JOB* 32.3 (1982) 63–71. J.C. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *DOP* 36 (1982) 83–114. Anderson, "Sinai. Gr. 339." —R.S.N., A.K.

JANISSARIES (γιανιτζαροι). According to the traditional etymology, a term deriving from the Turkish *yeni çeri*, "new army," which was the OTTOMAN sultan's personal army or Kapıkulları (lit. "slaves of the Porte"), the troops of the palace. The army of the Janissaries was the result of the *devshirme* (Turk. "collection, recruiting"), an Ottoman institution, namely the periodical levy of Christian boys living within the sultan's territories (*dhimmi*) for training to fill the ranks of the Janissaries and later to enter palace service or the administration. The same term is used in the earliest Ottoman sources with the meaning of *pencik*, that is, the collection of the fifth part of the prisoners, an old Islamic institution, called by the Byz. πέμπτον (Kantakouzenos) or πενταμοιρία (Chalkokondyles) and by the Latins *pendameria* (Veneto-Cretan text of 1402). The earliest reference to the *devshirme* as an institution applied to the sultan's subjects appears in the Life of St. PHILOTHEOS OF ATHOS, apparently composed in the second half of the 14th C. (B. Papoulia, *SüdostF* 22 [1963] 259–80), and in a sermon of Isidore GLABAS, metropolitan of Thessalonike, delivered in 1395 (S. Vryonis, *Speculum* 31 [1956] 433–43). The Greek term *gianitzaroi* also designated the Christian guards of the Byz. emperor ca.1437. In that case it probably constituted the Greek rendering of the Latin or neo-Latin *ginetari*, *giane-tario*, *janizzeri*, etc.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:110f, 113. G.T. Den-nis, "Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401–1402," *StVen* 12 (1970) 243–65. V.L. Ménage, *EI*² 2:210–13. Idem, "Some Notes on the Devshirme," *BSOAS* 29 (1966) 64–78. E.A. Zachariadou, "Les 'janissaires' de l'empereur byzantin," in *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata* (Naples 1982) 591–97. —E.A.Z.

JARMĪ, AL-, more fully Muslim ibn Abī Muslim al-Jarmī, Arab official and warrior who wrote books on Byz. based on information obtained as a prisoner of war; fl. 9th C. His biography is only known from al-Mas'ūdī, who describes him as an eminent man in the Arab-Byz. frontier region. He was captured by the Byz. ca.837 and was released in 845. His writings on Byz. are now lost. They were used by IBN KHURDĀDBEH, QUDĀMA, and al-Mas'ūdī (and probably ibn al-Faqīh, ca.900). According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih* 191), al-Jarmī was well informed on Byz. His writings dealt with historical, political, administrative, topographical,

and strategic matters as well as the northern neighbors of Byz. Al-Jarmi's description of Byz. THEMES and other aspects of the Byz. army and administration are extremely accurate and detailed, forming the core of practically all such accounts in Arab geographers. Of special importance are his descriptions of routes into Byz. Asia Minor and practical instructions on the suitable times for raids into Byz. territory.

LIT. W. Treadgold, "Remarks on the Work of Al-Jarmi on Byzantium," *BS* 44 (1983) 205-12. F. Winkelmann, "Probleme der Informationen des al-Garmi über die byzantinischen Provinzen," *BS* 43 (1982) 18-29. Miquel, *Géographie* 1:xviii, 2:391-95. A. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ûdi and His World* (London 1979) 234. -A.Sh., A.M.T.

JAROSLAV (Ἰεροσθλάβος), prince of Kiev; son of VLADIMIR I of Kiev; baptismal name George; born 978, died Kiev 20 Feb. 1054. Victorious in his war for the succession, Jaroslav became the ruler of all Rus' in 1036. In 1037 he began to construct the new city of Kiev on the Constantinopolitan pattern, with its own "Golden Gate" and stone churches. The Cathedral of St. Sophia (see KIEV) contains a fragmentary fresco of the founder Jaroslav and his family. His victory over the PECHENEGS turned their main raids toward the DANUBE and the Byz. provinces. In 1043 he sent a naval expedition of about 400 vessels and up to 20,000 men against Constantinople; defeated in the Bosporos by the Byz. general THEOPHANES, the fleet returned home with serious losses. Six thousand warriors lost their boats, but reached shore and were taken prisoner; many were blinded. The attack on Constantinople can be seen as either a belated attempt to support George MANIAKES or a trade conflict. The peace treaty of 1046 restored the alliance, sealed by the marriage of Constantine IX's daughter to Jaroslav's son, VSEVOLOD.

In 1051, after Jaroslav nominated ILARION as metropolitan of Kiev, the bishops of the Russian eparchy elected and consecrated him, basing their action on the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES. Although they ignored the designative and consecratory rights of the patriarch of Constantinople, Byz. jurisdiction itself was not in question since, no later than 1054, a Greek named Ephraim who bore the title of *protoproedros ton protosynkellon* was metropolitan of Kiev.

LIT. Shepard, "Russians Attack." Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pts.IV (1981), 15-66; V (1972), 5-31. -An.P.

JEREMIAH (Ἰερεμίας), one of the four great PROPHETS, also considered to be the author of the Old Testament Book of Lamentations; feastday 1 May or 4 Nov. (Halkin, *infra* 111). ORIGEN wrote commentaries on both books (Jeremiah and Lamentations), offering an allegorical rather than a "historical" interpretation; thus in some cases (e.g., *Werke* 3² [1983] 5.8) he discarded the exegesis of Jeremiah as a reference to Christ and insisted on explaining his words as allusions to mankind's moral infamy. After John Chrysostom and esp. Theodoret of Cyrillus, the image of Jeremiah as prophet of Christ's advent became entrenched in Byz. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and the imperial *Menologion* of the 11th C. (Halkin, *infra*) have Jeremiah announce to the Egyptian priests the fall of their idols and the birth of the Savior in the manger. Byz. legend ascribed to Jeremiah a miraculous power to expel asps (identified as crocodiles). He is described as a short man with a sharp-pointed beard. His memory was celebrated in the Church of Apostle Peter, near Hagia Sophia (Janin, *Églises CP* 398).

Representation in Art. Images of Jeremiah are found principally among the prophets in monumental art and in the PROPHET BOOKS. The depiction of Jeremiah with long dark hair and beard in Florence Laur. 5.9 (late 10th C.) is one of the most monumental images of Byz. illumination, but his book offered little to the repertoire of narrative iconography, even in contexts such as the *Sacra Parallela*.

LIT. BHG 777-79. Y. Congar, "Ecce constitui te super gentes et regna (Jér. 1.10) 'in Geschichte und Gegenwart,'" in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich 1957) 671-96. F. Halkin, "Le prophète 'saint' Jérémie dans le ménologe impérial byzantin," *Biblica* 65 (1984) 111-16. A. Heilmann, *LCI* 2:387-92. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. H. Belting, G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas* (Wiesbaden 1979) 45.

-J.I., J.H.L., A.K.

JERICHO (Ἰεριχώ, Hebr. Yeriho), ancient city in the southern Jordan Valley that flourished during the late Roman period: the MADABA MOSAIC MAP represents it with ramparts, gates, and palm trees. By 325 Jericho was a bishopric. After the earthquake of 551 Justinian I ordered the repair of its churches of Elisha and the Virgin; the latter is identified as a large 6th-C. basilica uncovered at Tell Hassan. The remains of successive churches of the 4th-9th C. were discovered at Khirbat en-Nitla, as well as an 8th-C. synagogue. The city became a monastic center, with a hospital and

several hospices; a mosaic floor with a Nestorian inscription was found. Among the city's attractions for pilgrims was Elisha's spring.

Jericho was destroyed by Persian and Arab invasions and became a village: John PHOKAS (ch.20) describes the area as countryside covered with gardens and vineyards, but Constantine MANASSES (ed. K. Horna, *BZ* 13 [1904] 333.280-87) saw only a stifling sandy valley. The Crusaders built a castle and Church of the Trinity at Jericho.

LIT. Abel, *Géographie* 2:359f. G. Beer, *RE* 9 (1916) 928. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 160. Ovadia, *Corpus* 72-75. *EAEHL* 2:570-75. -G.V., Z.U.M.

JEROME, more fully Eusebius Hieronymus, biblical exegete and translator, saint; born Stridon in Dalmatia 331 (Kelly) or ca.348, died Bethlehem 30 Sept. 420. Jerome was early exposed to both classical and Christian culture at Rome, being baptized and studying under the scholar Donatus. Years of travel and asceticism in the West and East followed. He learned Hebrew as a hermit in the Syrian desert. Jerome was ordained at Antioch, where he studied Greek and heard APOLLINARIS lecture. A visit to Constantinople in 381 acquainted him with GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Back in Rome he became secretary to Pope Damasus (366-384), also functioning as spiritual and worldly adviser to wealthy Roman ladies, such as MELANIA THE YOUNGER. After the death of Damasus, renewed travels ended at BETHLEHEM where he ruled a newly founded monastery and devoted himself to scholarship.

Jerome's translation of the Bible into Latin (Vulgate) is preeminent among his writings. Voluminous biblical commentaries are enriched by the secular learning brought to bear on sacred texts. Equally important for his contemporaries were his *De viris illustribus* (On Famous Men) of 392, a catalog of 135 Christian authors, both Greek and Latin, from St. Peter to himself, and his Latin paraphrase and expansion of the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, a world history from the birth of Abraham to 325, with much emphasis on chronology and synchronization of events. His many letters mirror the social and intellectual life of the times. He also wrote vituperative attacks on heresies and heretics, the fruit of his passionate involvement against Arianism, Origenism, and Pelagianism. Jerome's famous dream, in which God invited him to choose between Cicero and

Christianity, crystallizes the dilemma of how to reconcile the old Roman culture with the new Christian religion.

ED. PL 22-30. *Opera*, ed. G. Morin, P. Antin, 2 vols. (Turnhout 1958-59). *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, ed. R.W.O. Helm (Berlin 1956). *Hieronymus liber De viris illustribus*, ed. E.C. Richardson (Leipzig 1896). *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, ed. F.A. Wright (London-New York 1933), with Eng. tr. *The Homilies of Saint Jerome*, tr. M.L. Ewald, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1964-66). *Saint Jerome, Dogmatic and Polemical Works*, tr. J.N. Hritzu (Washington, D.C., 1965).

LIT. J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: his Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London 1975). K. Sugano, *Das Rombild des Hieronymus* (Frankfurt 1983). D.S. Wiesen, *St. Jerome as a Satirist* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1964). A.S. Pease, "The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature," *TAPA* 50 (1919) 150-67.

-B.B.

JERUSALEM (Ἱεροσόλυμα), the present Old City, lies near the summit of the Judean Hills on a pair of rocky spurs sloping south toward the junction of two valleys, the Hinnom (Gehenna) to the west and south and the Kidron (Valley of Jehosaphat) to the east. The eastern spur includes the ancient Temple Mount, now the Haram al-Sharif. The broader and higher western spur, in antiquity nearly bisected by a transverse valley, terminates in Mt. SION (Zion), towering above the Hinnom Valley.

In the late Roman period Jerusalem retained the plan and the name of Aelia Capitolina, a Roman colony founded by Hadrian between 130 and 135. On the existing street grid Hadrian had imposed two monumental colonnaded streets, one leading south from the main north gate (the present Damascus gate) along the western spur, and the other descending the Tyropoean Valley between the two spurs. The Temple Mount lay in ruins, and Aelia's principal temple, to Capitoline Jupiter, dominated the city from the higher western spur, adjacent to the colonnaded street. To the south of the temple opened the city's forum, part of it over the transverse valley, which Hadrian had filled in to provide the needed space. Another major street, perhaps not colonnaded, extended from the main west gate (now the Jaffa gate) east across the western spur and the Tyropoean Valley to the Temple Mount.

Roman Aelia's small Christian community had venerated caves in Bethlehem 9 km to the south, and at Gethsemane and on the Mount of Olives just east of the city. Outside the walls stood a house church and a small suburban community on Mt. Sion. The Christians played no role in the

city, of which the empire's Christians were scarcely aware.

This changed dramatically in 326 when, according to tradition, HELENA reached Jerusalem. The year before, Bp. Makarios of Jerusalem had secured permission from Constantine I at the Council of NICAIA to destroy the Capitoline temple. While removing the foundations, in Helena's presence, workmen uncovered an empty tomb which was identified as that of Christ. A rock nearby was taken to be Golgotha. This discovery created a sensation among Christians and quickly stimulated PILGRIMAGE from as far away as the western provinces. Constantine ordered a basilica (which became the city's episcopal see) constructed just to the east of the tomb.

Retaining its Roman plan, Aelia now became a Christian city and, in common parlance, was once again called Jerusalem or "the Holy City." An outpouring of public and private wealth gave the city's topography a Christian appearance. Besides the complex surrounding the Holy SEPULCHRE, Constantine built the Eleona church on the MOUNT OF OLIVES and a great basilica in BETHLEHEM. By the end of the 4th C. the Roman noblewoman Poimonia had financed the Ascension Church (Imbomon) near the Eleona, and unknown benefactors the Church of the Apostles on Mt. Sion and a church in Gethsemane. Bishops such as CYRIL of Jerusalem became the most powerful men in the city.

Constantine enforced Hadrian's edict excluding Jews from Jerusalem but permitted them entrance to mourn the destruction of the Temple—in Christian eyes salutary proof of Christianity's triumph. With similar symbolism but opposite intentions, Julian the Apostate lifted the Hadrianic ban and resolved to rebuild the Jewish Temple. Work began in 362/3 but was soon suspended. Christian pilgrims to the Temple Mount were shown the bloodstains of Zacharias there (*Proto-evangelion of James* 23.2–3) as well as the standing Herodian retaining walls (of considerable height) and the various underground chambers said to belong to Solomon's palace.

By the end of the 4th C., virtually the entire pagan population had embraced the victorious faith. By 381–84, when EGERIA visited Jerusalem, asceticism had struck root, and monks and consecrated virgins, many from abroad, formed an important part of the populace. Mainly Western

ascetic communities existed on the Mount of Olives by 375, and a decade later St. JEROME and his protégé Paula founded rival monasteries in Bethlehem. Immigrant ascetics like MELANIA THE YOUNGER helped the city's economy with generous endowments to churches, monasteries, and XENODOCHEIA.

Like PALESTINE as a whole, Jerusalem profited from traffic in RELICS. Rich in ordinary "blessings" (see EULOGIA), Jerusalem also possessed the wood of the TRUE CROSS; bits of it, acquired for a price, or stolen, or given as presents, soon made their way across Christendom. Similarly, Bp. JOHN II of Jerusalem took control of the relics of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, which came to light in 415. In 420 or 421 John's successor dispatched Stephen's right arm to Constantinople, in return for which Theodosios II sent money to Jerusalem and dedicated a gem-encrusted cross on Golgotha.

Melania influenced ATHENAIIS-EUDOKIA, consort of Theodosios, who first came to Jerusalem on pilgrimage in 438/9 and then, exiled from the court, settled permanently (ca.443–60). Eudokia endowed monasteries, founded hostels for pilgrims and the poor, and built churches to the Virgin at Siloam—on the south flank of Jerusalem's eastern spur—and perhaps at the Sheep Pool, the latter commemorating Mary's birth. Eudokia's Basilica of St. Stephen, north of the city, remained the largest church for a century. Above all, the exiled empress built a new fortification wall whose defensive perimeter finally incorporated Mt. Sion and the southern suburbs as far as Siloam. In the mid-5th C., Jerusalem reached a pinnacle of population and wealth unequalled since the Herodian period. Despite this, CAESAREA MARITIMA held primacy among the sees of Palestine until 451, when Bp. JUVENAL of Jerusalem secured the patriarchate (see JERUSALEM, PATRIARCHATE OF).

After Constantine and Eudokia, Justinian I ranks as Jerusalem's third imperial benefactor. He built the Nea Ekklesia of Mary Theotokos, the city's largest church, and extended the main colonnaded street south to its west façade. This completed the urban plan of Jerusalem as depicted on the MADABA MOSAIC MAP.

In 614 the Persians besieged and captured Jerusalem with heavy destruction and loss of life, gave the city over to the Jews, and carried off the True Cross (*Expugnationis Hierosolymae AD 614 re-*

censiones arabicae, ed. G. Garitte, 2 vols. [Louvain 1974]). Herakleios forced the Persians to withdraw; the return of the city's talisman is variously dated to 629, 630, and 631 (V. Grumel suggests 21 March 631 [*ByzF* 1 (1966) 139–49]); within the decade, however, Jerusalem fell to the Arabs. About March 638, after a long siege, Patr. SOPHRONIOS surrendered Jerusalem to the Caliph 'Umar, who refrained from praying at the Lord's Tomb and thus preserved the site for Christianity. The Muslims, who likewise called Jerusalem "the Holy City" (al-Quds), built their shrines, the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque, on the Temple Mount. Christian pilgrimage continued on a smaller scale. In 1009 the mad Fātimid caliph al-Hākim leveled the Holy Sepulchre, but Constantine IX soon restored it (R. Ousterhout, *JSAH* 48 [1989] 66–78).

The Crusaders entered Jerusalem in 1099 and established the Kingdom of Jerusalem (see JERUSALEM, KINGDOM OF). Europeans ruled the city from 1099 to 1187 and from 1229 to 1243, gave the Church of the Holy Sepulchre its present form and built the Gothic Church of St. Anne. They turned the Dome of the Rock temporarily into a church, the *Templum Domini*, and the knightly Order of Templars established itself in al-Aqsa. Despite subsequent rebuilding, the Old City today retains the urban plan of the Roman and Byz. periods.

In art, biblical exegesis, and theology a celestial Jerusalem paralleled and sometimes reflected the terrestrial city. Conforming to biblical prophecies about Jerusalem, this conception became an archetype of the human soul, of the Christian church, and of individual church buildings. It provided an image of paradise, as in Revelations 21–22 and the 10th-C. vision of the Monk Kosmas (*Synax.CP* 111–14), where the heavenly city with golden streets and a palace could equally be Constantinople, sometimes called by the Byz. the New Jerusalem.

Pilgrimage Sites. In addition to the Holy Sepulchre, six sites in Jerusalem were of special interest to pilgrims.

1. The *House of Caiaphas*, where part of Jesus' trial took place and Peter denied him (Mt 26:57–75), was east of Mt. Sion. Peter's repentance (Mt 26:75) was remembered there in the early stationary liturgy of Holy Thursday. By the 6th C. at the latest, a church of St. Peter replaced "ruins"

of at least the house and continued to be a focus of interest through the Latin Kingdom.

2. The *Garden of Gethsemane*, just east of the city, was the site where Jesus prayed (Mk 14:32–42) and was betrayed by Judas (Mk 14:43–50). Early pilgrims used Gethsemane as a place of prayer. By the late 4th C. a church was built there; probably the earthquake of 746 destroyed it. Sources refer to a rock or a cave of the betrayal. The BREVIARIUS, Patr. Eutychios of Constantinople, and the PIACENZA PILGRIM held that Jesus had a supper at Gethsemane; Eutychios distinguishes this "first supper" from the "second" meal at Bethany (Jn 12:2) and the "third," that is, the Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER). A certain Theodosius set the WASHING OF THE FEET at Gethsemane, which was also identified with the tomb of the Virgin's DORMITION.

3. The *Praetorium*, or residence of Pontius Pilate (Mk 15:16), was in fact in the area of the Tower of David, but the place pointed out to Byz. pilgrims was in the Tyropoean Valley. A church existed there from the mid-5th C., decorated perhaps with murals depicting the narrative of Mark 15:16–20. From the 6th C., pilgrims were shown the stone (with footprints) upon which Christ stood during his trial, Pilate's seat, and a portrait of Christ.

4. The *Sheep Pool* (pool of Bethesda, John 5:2) was located near the east gate of the city. Excavations have shown that the site was originally a pagan healing shrine; porticoes enclosed its two pools during the Roman period. By the mid-5th C. a "Church of the Sheep Pool" was on the spot, with a courtyard overhanging the pools. It was the LOCUS SANCTUS not only of the healing of the paralytic (and preserved his couch), but also of the birth of the Virgin.

5. *Siloam* was a pool on the south side of the city where Jesus sent the blind man to wash and be healed (John 9:7). A traditional healing shrine, it was enclosed by a square colonnade in Roman times, and, in the 5th C., marked by a church that attracted the sick (PIACENZA PILGRIM, *Travels* 24) seeking the EULOGIA of the waters. Remains of both stages have been found by excavation.

6. The *Tower of David*, on the site of the present Citadel, is portrayed on the Madaba mosaic map as two towers to the right of the west entrance to the city. The name was applied generally to the originally three-towered fortress built there

by Herod the Great, where Byz. pilgrims believed David had composed or recited the Psalms.

LIT. J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, rev. ed. (Jerusalem-Warminster 1981). Wilkinson, *Pilgrims*. H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jerusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2 vols. in 4 (Paris 1912-26). N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Nashville, Tenn., 1983) 205-46. —K.G.H., G.V.

JERUSALEM, ASSIZES OF, designation given to a group of treatises, chiefly of the 13th C., which record the procedures, customs, and laws of the kingdom of JERUSALEM; some of the royal laws ("assizes") incorporated data from the 12th C. The principal group of treatises, composed in Old French by Jean d'Ibelin and others, relates to the usages of the High Court of the kingdom, which judged cases involving the king and his barons. These represent Western feudal law, interpreted by the baronial jurists so as to weaken royal power. A second, smaller group of treatises records the practices of the Court of Burgesses, esp. that at ACRE, which tried cases involving nonnobles, chiefly merchants. Of these latter treatises, the *Livre des Assises des Bourgeois* was strongly influenced by a Provençal compilation ultimately deriving from the CODEX THEODOSIANUS. Because these codifications continued in use on Cyprus, parts of them were translated into Greek for the benefit of the formerly Byz. inhabitants. Jean d'Ibelin's treatise influenced the Assizes of ROMANIA.

ED. French—RHC Lois. Greek—Sathas, MB 6.

LIT. J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174-1277* (London 1973) 121-84. J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford 1980) 343-468. —C.M.B.

JERUSALEM, KINGDOM OF, Crusader state that existed from 1100 to 1187. Following the Crusaders' capture of Jerusalem in 1099, the kingdom was established with the coronation of Baldwin I, 25 Dec. 1100. Its kings claimed suzerainty over other Crusader leaders, the princes of ANTIOCH and the counts of EDESSA and TRIPOLI. While Byz. claimed sovereignty over some Crusader states in Syria-Palestine, only in the reign of Manuel I was an effort made to assert supremacy over the kingdom. In order to secure assistance against Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, BALDWIN III and AMALRIC I sought an alliance with Manuel. The latter's patronage at Bethlehem is commemorated by the mosaicist EPHRAIM in a Greek

inscription (1169). But Byz. exercised no real sovereignty over the kingdom. Initially, the Greek Christians of Palestine accepted Crusader rule. By 1187, however, those in Jerusalem were sufficiently alienated to be willing to help Saladin take the city (2 Oct. 1187). After the Third Crusade, the kingdom was reestablished at ACRE.

LIT. J.L. La Monte, "To What Extent Was the Byzantine Empire the Suzerain of the Latin Crusading States?" *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 253-64. R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Munich 1981). Prawer, *Royaume latin*, vol. 1. —C.M.B., A.C.

JERUSALEM, PATRIARCHATE OF. The see's prestige, as the original mother church of Christendom, was first formally recognized at NICAIA I (canon 7). The extensive building program and support of the emperors, beginning with CONSTANTINE I, were crucial in its eventual rise to patriarchal status. Despite Nicaea's acknowledgment, however, its incumbents remained subject to the metropolitan see of CAESAREA MARITIMA (under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of ANTIOCH), which had precedence as the capital of the administrative province of Palestina Prima. Finally, at the Council of CHALCEDON, Jerusalem was ranked fifth as an independent patriarchate with power of jurisdiction over the three provinces of Palestine: Caesarea, Skythopolis, and Petra (cf. S. Vailhé, *ROC* 4 [1899] 44-57), comprising 59 bishoprics. The skillful diplomacy of Patr. JUVENAL was largely responsible for this change. Still, the new patriarchate never became a force in church politics or achieved the prominence of the other major sees. Its decline began with the Persian attack on the city (614) and its conquest by the Arabs (638), when most of the bishoprics disappeared. Vacancies, as in the other patriarchates under Muslim rule, were frequent, although in 1027 an agreement with the caliph allowed the installation of imperial candidates. Jerusalem kept direct relations with Rome, and, during and after the events of 1054, was not automatically anti-Latin. Nonetheless, with the arrival of the Crusades and the establishment of a rival LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM, relations with the Latins gradually deteriorated. Many of the patriarchs during this period lived as exiles in Constantinople.

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym*. G. Fedalto, "Liste vescovi del patriarcato di Gerusalemme I. Gerusalemme e Pa-

lestina prima," *OrChrP* 49 (1983) 5-41. A. Michel, *Amalfi und Jerusalem im griechischen Kirchenstreit (1054-1090)* (Rome 1939). —A.P.

JESSE, TREE OF. See TREE OF JESSE.

JESUS PRAYER. See HESYCHASM.

JEWELER. The Byz. distinguished the goldsmith (*chrysochoos*) from the silversmith (*argyrokopos*) (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:225, 228). Often they used the word *chrysochoos* in the broad sense of a jeweler, for example, *chrysochooi* were ordered to make crowns (Kantak. 2:564.12-13). Sometimes (as in *TheophCont* 450.17-19) a clear distinction is made between craftsmen working in gold (*chrysostiktai*) and those working in silver (*argyrokopoi*). In the vita of Theodore of Sykeon, an *argyrokopos* seems to be an individual who sells silver vessels, but employs others to make them.

A passage in John Moschos (PG 87:3088CD) describes the production of JEWELRY and METALWORK in Constantinople: the artisan began his career as an APPRENTICE; after mastering the craft, he worked under the supervision of an *epistates* who directed clients to him. The precious materials were rigorously controlled and the object was weighed before the gems were set in the metal. The prestige of goldsmiths in the 6th C. is shown by their taking precedence over all other merchants and artisans in *adventus* ceremonies (*De cer.* 484.9). Some jewelers were clerics, such as the *argyrokopos* Romylos, a deacon of the church of Gethsemane, who worked in Jerusalem (CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, ed. Schwartz 184.21-23). Cyril of Jerusalem (PG 33:349A) describes experienced *chrysochooi* who worked with minute tools and melted gold over a fire, while John TZETZES (*Hist.* 4:887-88) refers to their tiny clay smelting furnaces. He also states that *chrysochooi* made tar models that they then covered with silver or gold.

Some jewelers plied their craft in state workshops under the supervision of the *archon ton chrysochoeion* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:341-43), whom Oikonomides (*Listes* 317) likens to the *chrysoepsetes* mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos and other texts. In an edict of 1202 (MM 3:57.27-28) the *archon ton chrysochoeion* is a high-ranking official titled *megalodoxotatos* who was the owner of several houses.

The chapter on the guild of the ARGYROPRATAI in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* refers frequently to *chrysochooi*; the relationship between the two terms is unclear. *Chrysochooi* were specifically prohibited from working in their own houses and had to set up their workshops on the MESE. They were also forbidden to purchase more than one pound of uncoined gold (bullion) at a time. Sjuzumov (*Bk. of Eparch* 136) considered the *chrysochooi* jewelers and the *argyropratai* inspectors who controlled the sale of precious metals, jewelry, gems, and so forth, while Stöckle thought that the *argyropratai* were both jewelers and inspectors.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 20-22. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923) 6f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 199-202. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 150-53. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" 94-97. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 81f. —A.K., A.C.

JEWELRY (κόσμος, lit. "ornament"). Byz. jewelry continued Greco-Roman traditions but was also influenced by Eastern decorative and nonfigural types, with an admixture of local elements wherever in the empire it was produced. The forms of objects made by JEWELERS in Rome, Constantinople, Athens, Antioch, or Alexandria thus varied considerably. Byz. jewelry may generally be distinguished by its extensive use of color, usually achieved with GEMS or ENAMELS. In his preface to the best-known medieval handbook on artistic technique, the Western monk Theophilus (ca.1110-40) specifically associates color with the Greeks. This 12th-C. notice is late witness to a tradition reverting to the 3rd or 4th C., when NIELLO seems first to have been applied to gold and silver. But the association of gems and ornament with Byz. in the Western mind persisted at least down to the time when German envoys to Constantinople in 1196 pointed out that they were not "worshipers of ornaments and garments secured by brooches suited only for women" (Nik.Chon. 477.82-83).

Our knowledge of Byz. jewelry comes from examples found in TREASURES, accounts of items that have not survived, and illustrations in mosaics, painting, textiles, metalwork, and MS illumination. The procession of female saints in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA, shows matching sets of HAIR ORNAMENT, EARRINGS, NECKLACE, BRACELET, RINGS, and BELT FITTINGS. Gold plaques and gems were sewn on clothing, and antique coins were incorporated into other items

of personal adornment. The importance of precious stones is indicated by their frequent imitation in the borders of miniatures in MSS and on mosaic pavements and wall panels as much as by the jeweled walls in depictions of the heavenly cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and gem-encrusted thrones, crosses, liturgical vessels, and book covers.

Byz. jewelry is further characterized by the extensive use of Christian iconography and sacred objects, worn thus for protection as well as ornament. These pieces could incorporate an inscription or symbol, an image, a cross or Christogram, or be carried in an ENKOLPION, an invention of the Byz. Jewelry was not only an outward symbol of faith or wealth but also served as a badge of office. Special FIBULAE, rings, and belt buckles, awarded by the emperor and often inscribed, indicated status within the civil service or the army. Belisarios rewarded his soldiers with ARM-BANDS and TORQUES (Prokopios, *Wars* 7.1.8). Jewelry was also made to adorn and protect animals. FLOOR MOSAICS show race horses wearing jeweled trappings and hunting dogs with gem-studded collars. Apotropaic devices (e.g., ivy leaf, swastika, sunburst, crescent) as well as Christian symbols decorate charms and AMULETS worn by animals.

A great variety of techniques was used in the manufacture of jewelry. Gemstones were mainly polished. They might then be drilled and/or carved as a CAMEO or engraved as a SEAL. Metal might be cast or worked in repoussé, then have added niello, enamel, or engraving, or be cut into OPUS INTERRASILE. It could also be made into a simple wire, which was worked as filigree or drawn through successively smaller holes in a wooden or metal board. This wire was used in fine gold work and incorporated into textiles.

While members of the imperial court adorned themselves with crowns, necklaces, great ropes of pearls, and large gems, ordinary people also had access to the work of jewelers. Their products, known from archaeological excavation, were usually made of gilded bronze imitating gold or had colored glass paste simulating gems in rings and earrings. Bracelets in this category tend to be fairly plain; there are surprisingly few traces of necklaces, with the exception of fragments of chain and ornaments, such as amulets or crosses, that may have been suspended on the chain. Glass bracelets—a form of jewelry probably invented

for the mass market in Roman times or intended as a substitute for ivory or precious metal—were found in large numbers, sometimes in contexts that suggest local manufacture.

Because of the mixture of styles in many pieces, dating is often hard to establish. Gems were often set into a new ring or even recarved. Antique coins included in jewelry provide only a *terminus post quem* for dating. An inscription on an item often helps, as may controlled excavation. Representations of jewelry in datable works of art can also provide a base for comparison.

In very broad, general terms, the evolution of Byz. jewelry was from simple to complex, from light to heavy, from small to large, but these criteria must be applied with care. Earrings started out in the 4th C. as simple hoops and, by the 10th–12th C., were open filigree work with multiple projections in a three-dimensional form. They were complex but light. Bracelets changed from narrow, solid, or cutwork bands to wide, hinged bands, sometimes worked in repoussé. Necklaces developed from simple chains or strands of beads, made of polished and drilled stones and pearls, to more complex forms with multiple hanging elements. Early gold and silver gem-mounts were made in an openwork technique; by the 11th–12th C. they were solid and rather heavy in appearance. In all cases, however, the combination of influences listed above must be studied along with techniques used in cutting stones by wheel or burin, types of enamel, working of metal (e.g., cast, *opus interrasile*, granulation), and methods of working links in a chain. The study of this technology is still at a very early stage. When sufficient context is lacking, as is often the case with “mass-produced” work—the so-called costume jewelry of gilded bronze and glass—one can only try to fit such pieces as far as possible into this general typology.

LIT. T. Hackens, R. Winkes, *Gold Jewelry: Craft, Style and Meaning from Mycenae to Constantinople* (Louvain 1983) 141–60. E. Coche de la Ferté, *Antiker Schmuck vom 2. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Bern 1961). L. Niederle, *Přspěvky k vývoji byzantských šperků ze IV.–X. století* (Prague 1930), with rev. M. Andreeva, *BS* 2 (1930) 121f. —S.D.C., A.C.

JEWISH ART AND ARCHITECTURE. The influence of Jewish art and architecture on the history of Byz. art is a much debated problem. The fact that, in spite of Exodus 20:4, Jews had

developed artistic practices by the 1st C. B.C. allows the possibility that Jewish models helped shape Christian art, which first arose only in the late 2nd/early 3rd C. Key to the whole discussion has been the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS (before A.D. 256), the only Jewish monument with an elaborate program of narrative and symbolic art. According to Weitzmann (K. Weitzmann, H.L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* [Washington, D.C., 1990]), the paintings at Dura were derived from an illustrated Septuagint, from which, in turn, came motifs and compositions in Christian art that strikingly resemble the Dura paintings. Since direct evidence of illustrated Jewish MSS in late antiquity is lacking, however, other scholars have inferred other means of transmission (oral or literary tradition, the tradition of monumental art itself, or of certain minor arts [finger rings], etc.) or have argued against the possibility of any influence at all. H. Brandenburg (9 *IntCongChrArch*, vol. 1 [1978] 331–60), for instance, has described the Christian and Jewish arts of Late Antiquity as arising out of the *koine* of the late Roman world, this common source accounting for their similarities. After the 6th C. evidence of Jewish artistic practices in Byz. virtually disappears.

LIT. *No Graven Images*, ed. J. Gutmann (New York 1971). —W.T.

JEWISH LEGENDS, ILLUSTRATION OF. Ever since the discovery in the 1930s of the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS with its extensive decorative program of anthropomorphic religious scenes, art historians have enthusiastically debated the possible existence of biblical and nonbiblical illustration among hellenized Jews of late antiquity and its potential role in the formation of Early Christian Old Testament iconography. The accepted approach has been to isolate nonbiblical iconographic elements among Christian Old Testament picture cycles and to match them with their appropriate textual tradition within the vast body of Jewish legends. Thus, the hitherto unexplained “court official” going through a gate in the miniature of Joseph’s promotion by Pharaoh in the Vienna GENESIS (ed. Gerstinger, pl.32) is identified on the basis of Jewish legendary texts as Potiphar hurrying home to tell his wife of Joseph’s exaltation (O. Pächt in *Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda*

[Vienna 1959] 219). Usually left unresolved, however, is whether the sources were visual or textual—that is, by way of lost JEWISH ART or by way of Jewish textual traditions adopted by and popularized among Christians. The Potiphar legend cited above, for example, is attested in several Christian authors whose works were popular at the time and in the region (Syria-Palestine, 6th C.) where the Vienna Genesis may have been produced (H. Näf, *Syrische Josef-Gedichte* [Zurich 1923] 73–75).

LIT. J. Gutmann, “Prolegomenon,” in *No Graven Images: Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. J. Gutmann (New York 1971) xi–lxiii. R. Stichel, “Ausserkanonische Elemente in byzantinischen Illustrationen des Alten Testaments,” *RQ* 69 (1974) 159–81. C.-O. Nordström, “Rabbinic Features in Byzantine and Catalan Art,” *CahArch* 15 (1965) 179–205. —G.V.

JEWISH LITERATURE used by Byz. Jews and Christians included the Hebrew Bible, Hellenistic apocrypha—in Judeo-Greek translation—Jubilees (Little Genesis), and Old Testament and some New Testament pseudepigrapha. Along with the Greek works of JOSEPHUS and PHILO, these influenced subsequent Byz. language, style, and culture. After A.D. 70, Jews wrote down and further developed their oral tradition, which was encyclopedic for internal Jewish intellectual and social concerns. This Hebrew and Aramaic literature included Mishnah (2nd-C. code) and Talmud (3rd–5th-C. commentary); *responsa*; midrash (ethical and historical folklore, e.g., “Throne and Hippodrome of King Solomon”); apocalypse (e.g., 10th-C. *Hazon Daniel*, which comments on emperors from Michael III to Constantine VII); mystical works (e.g., *Eben Saphir*, a 14th-C. kabbalistic and Aristotelian commentary on the Bible that includes contemporary historical data); numerous commentaries on the Bible; and oral tradition by Rabbanite and Karaite Jews. This extensive literature contains valuable linguistic and historical material for Byz. studies, esp. the demotic translations of biblical books, bilingual dictionary aids, and extant marriage contracts. Of particular interest are *Megillat Ahimaaz*, an 11th-C. family chronicle from southern Italy in rhymed prose; *Sepher Yosippon*, a unique 10th-C. history of ancient Israel based on the Vulgate and *Hegesippus*, which Judah ibn Moskoni of Ohrid reedited and expanded (ca.1356); a Hebrew translation of pseudo-Kallisthenes’ Alexander Romance; and

abbreviated Hebrew translations of nonextant Byz. chronicles that preserve unique historical data. A prolific religious and secular poetic tradition followed Jewish patterns and contemporary styles. Secular studies include monographs on medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy, esp. by Shabbetai Donollo (913–ca.982) and Shemaryah Ikriti (1275–ca.1355), who castigated Byz. philosophers for failing to understand Creation. A number of valuable historical sources are extant, such as BENJAMIN OF TUDELA and Jacob ben Elia's unique account of 13th-C. persecutions in Epiros and Nicaea.

LIT. *Anthology of Hebrew Poetry in Greece, Anatolia, and the Balkans*, ed. L. Weinberger (Cincinnati 1975). E. Lieber, "Asaf's Book of Medicines, A Hebrew Encyclopedia of Greek and Jewish Medicine, Possibly Compiled in Byzantium on an Indian Model," *DOP* 38 (1984) 233–49. Starr, *Jews* 50–65. Bowman, *Jews* 129–70. Ankori, *Karaites*. T. Reinach, "Un contrat de mariage du temps de Basile le Bulgare," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, vol. 1 (Paris 1924) 118–32. —S.B.B.

JEWS (Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἑβραῖοι), also called Israelites, term used for the ancient inhabitants of Judah and Israel as well as for Byz. citizens who practiced JUDAISM. Byz. Jewish history has two aspects: the history of the Jews in Israel, where their autonomy was recognized, and that of the Jews of the Greek-speaking diaspora, where they formed an integral part of the Byz. population.

The Jewish Community of Israel. This community was organized under a bureaucracy of scholars headed by a *nasi*, called in Greek "patriarch of the Jews." After the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D.70), Jews established new administrative centers in the Galilee (Usha, Sepphoris, Tiberias), where they flourished until the 7th C. Christian-Roman legislation periodically restricted their right to hold slaves, proselytize, build new synagogues, work for the government, teach in public institutions, or serve in the army. These discriminatory laws, summarized in the codes of the 5th–6th C. and epitomized in the *Ecloga* and *Basilika*, were designed to limit the Jews' enfranchisement, separate them from Christians, and support the view that God rejected the Jews. Rabbinic leadership also erected social barriers to preserve the Jewish community. Christian imperial policy in Palestine paralleled these restrictions and emphasized the church's claim as the New Israel: churches and monasteries were built on

biblical holy sites, and Hadrian's ban on Jewish settlement in Jerusalem or its environs was periodically enforced. During the Muslim conquest, SOPHRONIOS still argued that Jews had no right to settle in Jerusalem; they were allowed, however, to mourn one day a year (9th of Ab) at the ruins of the Temple (the Byz. city dump) as a demonstration of God's rejection of Old Israel.

The ability of the Jews to survive the Christian onslaught in their own land slowly deteriorated despite sporadic revolts (most important of which was in 351) and an attempt to rebuild the Temple with Julian's permission. In 429 the office of *nasi* was recognized as vacant by Theodosios II; as a result the autonomous central Jewish leadership in the empire was effectively abolished. Justinian I clashed with the Jews on many fronts. His Code repeated a number of Jewish liabilities and introduced new restrictions. He also interfered with Jewish religious practices (nov.146; Prokopios, *Buildings* 6:11.22). Jews fought alongside the Vandals and the Ostrogoths against Byz. attempts to reconquer the Western Empire; they participated also in the Nika revolt in Constantinople and the rioting of 580. Justinian ended their autonomous rule of Jotaba (ca.535), which had lost its independence under Anastasios I (498). They rebelled in 556, again in 578 (together with SAMARITANS), and assisted the Persian conquest of Palestine in 614–17. Herakleios slaughtered many in revenge after his reconquest and even forcibly baptized Jews, despite his promise to Benjamin of Tiberias not to harm them.

The Jewish Diaspora. The Jews flourished in both commercial and administrative centers and in smaller locales. Their quarter, called *Hebraike*, was usually located near the market and running water. Many of these communities dated from the Hellenistic period, for example, Berroia in Macedonia, Patras, Thessalonike, Crete; many are known from southern Italy: Bari, Oria, Siponto, Venosa, Otranto. Jews also lived in Ioannina, Ohrid, Kastoria, Adrianople, Serres, Mistra, Nicaea, Attaleia, Ephesus, and Philadelphia. BENJAMIN OF TUDELA visited some 25 Byz. Jewish communities and describes Patras, Krissa, Thebes (2,000 inhabitants), Corinth, Chalkis, Armylo, Drama, Kallipolis, Constantinople (2,500 inhabitants), and the islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. Modern scholars extrapolate Benjamin's unique population data (approximately

9,000) to a Byz. Jewish population ranging from 12,000 to 100,000 based on differing interpretations of his numbers (individuals, heads of families, families, or guild members) and adding locales not mentioned. In Constantinople Jews lived at various times along either shore of the Golden Horn (e.g., *Hebraike skala* and Pera) and in the Chalkoprateia and Vlanca quarters. Under the Palaiologoi, some Byz. Jews obtained Venetian and Genoese privileges and lived in their quarters. Jews worked as dyers and weavers (silk and wool), tanners, furriers, smiths and glassmakers, wholesale and retail merchants both international and local, real estate agents, physicians, translators, scribes, and agriculturalists.

The Jewish communities, led by rabbis appointed with government consent, enjoyed autonomy in religious and social affairs. The rabbi was chief judge and spokesman for the community and in larger cities was assisted by various functionaries (e.g., teachers, ritual slaughterers) supported by a communal tax system. The community supplied social services: education, care of the sick, dowries for orphans, burial in a Jewish graveyard, etc. Part of the communal taxes went to the government, although whether there was a special Jewish tax is undetermined despite much scholarly speculation. Financial support to the *nasi* was diverted after 429 to the imperial treasury and called *aurum coronarium*. When and if this tax was abolished is uncertain. Jews contributed to the *archipherekitai* of the Sanhedrin in Israel, which flourished until the Muslim conquest, and to the 10th- and 11th-C. academies.

Jews regularly immigrated into the empire from Muslim and western Christian lands. These immigrants rapidly became culturally assimilated and strongly identified with Byz. culture, although there was occasional social tension with native Jews. There was close contact with KHAZARIA, whose Jewish kings welcomed refugees from Romanos I's persecution of Jews, and later with Crimean KARAITES. The attitude of Jews toward Byz. was ambivalent. Predating Christianity in many Greek-speaking areas, they now lived among a triumphant, arrogant, and multiethnic Christian population whose literature, religion, liturgy, and art derived in part from Jewish sources. They experienced ANTI-SEMITISM through imperial policy, intellectual snobbery, and ecclesiastical polemic. Byz. religious art, save for canonical Old

Testament figures and scenes, confined representations of Jews to such pejorative contexts as among the Damned in the LAST JUDGMENT. There were Jewish scholars with whom Christians (e.g., Plethon) studied privately and who occasionally responded through biblical commentary and liturgical verse; they were forbidden, however, to insult Christianity. Their doctors, skilled in Greek and Arabic medicine, treated the general population: an Egyptian Jew was physician to Manuel I. Yet Byz. ecclesiastics consistently denigrated Jewish doctors: even though 9th- and 10th-C. hagiography shows some respect for Jewish doctors, it expresses suspicion of their education and disdain for their religion.

Occasional debates with Christians are recorded; some may have led to conversion, which the church heartily encouraged. Still, few voluntary conversions are attested, the most famous being CONSTANTINE THE JEW; Makarios, spiritual adviser to Manuel II; and possibly ROMANOS THE MELODE. The Byz. church consistently opposed forced baptism of Jews (such as those effected by Herakleios, Leo III, Basil I, Romanos I Lekapenos) for theological reasons and upheld the right of Jews to practice their ancestral religion. Jews replied to imperial persecution by identifying government with Esau/Edom, the biblical adversary of Israel. In nearly every century, but esp. during periods of international tension, there were messianic hopes for and occasional movements toward the repatriation of Jews to an independent Israel. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 was marked both by such messianic expectations and by a moving Hebrew lament for the city.

LIT. J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, 2 vols. (Paris 1914). M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine Rule* (Jerusalem-New York 1984). Starr, *Jews*. Bowman, *Jews*. Ankori, *Karaites*. E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, 2 vols. (New York 1959–84). Jacoby, *Société*, pt.II (1967), 167–227. *Greek Orthodox–Jewish Consultation* (GOrThR 22.1 [1977] = *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 13.4 [1976]). —S.B.B.

JOB (Ἰώβ). To judge by the number of surviving MSS, the Book of Job, an account of the suffering of an innocent man, was read significantly more in Byz. than in the West. Origen led the church fathers in distinguishing three types of just man, represented by Noah, Daniel, and Job. A CATENA on Job was compiled, probably in the 6th-C. circle of Prokopios of Gaza. The COMMENDATIO ANIMAE

includes Job, and references to him in hagiography were frequent. For instance, the Life of St. JOHN ELEEMON (ch.28) compared the saint to Job in his virtuous response to catastrophic loss. The monk Niketas patterned the opening of his Life of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL on the Book of Job (L. Rydén, 17 *CEB*, Major Papers [Washington, D.C., 1986] 542f).

Representation in Art. The scene of Job on his dung heap (Job 2:8) was widely illustrated, occurring already in the 4th C. (e.g., sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, died 359) and as the frontispiece to Job in the 7th-C. Syriac Bible of Paris (B.N. syr. 341) and the 10th-C. Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS. It occasionally appears later in monumental art (e.g., Hagia Sophia, Trebizond). After the Psalter, Job was the most frequently illustrated Old Testament book in Byz. A large group of catena MSS were illustrated with an extensive cycle. These fall into an early group (Patmos 171; Vat. gr. 749; Venice, Marc. gr. 538, dated 905; Sinai gr. 3) and a more numerous group of 12th-through 14th-C. MSS. All contain a dense narrative illustration interspersed with the text of Job 1 and 2—the subject of lengthy comments in the catena—and a repetitive, formulaic treatment of Job's discussions with his visitors. The miniatures in the first group, esp. Sinai gr. 3, treat the setting illusionistically, which suggests an early model; the Patmos Job may be a product of the years of Iconoclasm.

Job is usually represented as a patriarchal figure with long white hair and beard, cut short in due course (Job 1:20). His youthful appearance in the Leo Bible may be explained as a misunderstanding of this shaven-headed type. Job may also appear as an ancestor of Christ, even as a king, owing to the SEPTUAGINT conflation of Job with Jobab, King of Edom (Job 42:17d, Gen 30:32–33).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:131–52. R. Budde, *LCI* 2:407–14. P. Huber, *Hiob. Dulder oder Rebell?* (Düsseldorf 1986). S. Papadaki-Ökland, "The Illustration of Byzantine Job Manuscripts" (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg, 1979).

—J.H.L., C.B.T.

JOB (Ἰώβ), monk who wrote a Life of St. THEODORA OF ARTA and hymns for the Nativity, Epiphany, and Pentecost; fl. second half of 13th C. He has been identified with the monk Job IASITES, known from George PACHYMERES also as Iasites Melias, an adviser of Patr. JOSEPH I and author

of a *tomos* against the Latins, written for that patriarch with the help of Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:487.10–17, 489.15–18). Job Iasites was punished in 1273 with Manuel HOLOBOLOS for opposing the Union and was exiled to Bithynia in 1275 (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:503.25–505.4, 535.1–3). Perhaps two exegeses, one on the Psalms (PG 158:1053–56) and one on the sacraments, which bear the name of Job Hamartolos, are to be ascribed to Job.

ED. Life of Theodora—PG 127:904–08. M. Petta, "Inni inediti di Iob monaco," *BollBadGr* n.s. 19 (1965) 81–139.

LIT. S. Pétridès, "Le moine Job," *EO* 15 (1912) 40–48. *PLP*, no.7959. —R.J.M.

JOEL (Ἰωήλ), compiler of a world chronicle beginning with Creation and ending in 1204; fl. first half of the 13th C. The work is basically a list of rulers (Jewish, Oriental, Roman, and Byz.), their length of reign, and the cause of their death. The period from the reign of Alexios I Komnenos to 1204 is treated most briefly; the rapid changes in ruler from Manuel I's death to 1204 demonstrate the inevitability of the blow of divine justice in the form of the Latin conquest. Joel is perhaps also the author of an unpublished *THRENOS* on the Latin conquest of Constantinople.

ED. *Cronografia compendiaria*, ed. F. Iadevaia (Messina 1979).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:476. Eu. Tsolakes, "He cheirographe paradosse tou chronographikou ergou tou Ioel," *Byzantina* 8 (1976) 449–61. E. Kojčeva, "Srednovekovnata bulgarska istorija v svetlinata na edin neispolzuvan dosega istoričeski izvor," *IstPreg* 40 (1984) no.6, 84–89. —R.J.M.

JOHN (Ἰωάννης), Semitic personal name (etym. "God's grace"). The name appears in the Old Testament in the form Ioanas (1 Chr 3:15, 26:3, etc.); in the New Testament, Johns play an important role, esp. JOHN THE BAPTIST and JOHN the apostle. From the end of the 4th C. onward we meet the name in Rome and Asia Minor (O. Seeck, *RE* 9 [1916] 1743–47; *PLRE* 1:459), at first infrequently—Ammianus Marcellinus does not mention a single John. Then the name acquired popularity. Sozomenos cites 11 Johns, including the Baptist and the Apostle—second only to EUSEBIOS (14); in Prokopios there are already 32 Johns, followed far behind by THEODORE (11) and PAUL (10). The name maintains its dominance in Theophanes the Confessor (67), but in Skylitzes

(48) and Anna Komnene (14) John is second to Constantine, with 60 and 15, respectively. In the acts of Athos, however, it remains dominant: *Lavra*, vol. 1, encompassing the 10th–12th C., lists 90 Johns ahead of NICHOLAS (42) and GEORGE (41), while *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.) includes 350 Johns and 275 Georges. John was the third most common imperial name and the most frequently used by patriarchs of Constantinople (14 individuals). In panegyrics the typical epithet of John was *charitonymos*, "named after grace"; another, "the son of thunder" (after Mk 3:18) was applied specifically to the apostle. By the 12th C., if not earlier, the composite Kaloioannes ("good John") was created.

—A.K., A.M.T.

JOHN, apostle and saint; often called John the Theologian; feastdays 26 Sept., 8 May, and others. The son of Zebedee, he was considered to be the author of the fourth GOSPEL and of three epistles in the New Testament canon; already in the 3rd C. Dionysios of Alexandria had rejected the possibility of John's authorship of the APOCALYPSE (Book of Revelation). His Gospel was widely commented on: ORIGEN compiled a lengthy commentary in order to refute the views of the Gnostics; he was followed by DIDYMOS THE BLIND, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, CYRIL of Alexandria, AMMONIOS of Alexandria, and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. The major problem for EXEGESIS was the difference between John and the three synoptic gospels, so that some doubts concerning its authenticity were expressed, esp. by the so-called *alogoi*: EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus censured this heresy and tried to show that the Gospels did not disagree. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS compiled a metrical paraphrase of the Gospel of John. The epistles attracted less attention.

John was popular in hagiography and homiletics; numerous apocryphal acts as well as homilies survive, among others by pseudo-Chrysostom, ANDREW OF CRETE, Cyril of Alexandria, and later writers such as Constantine AKROPOLITES, PALAMAS, and Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS. Byz. legend made John a grandson of Joseph the Carpenter and thus nephew of Jesus; after Mary's Dormition he preached throughout Asia Minor and was exiled by Domitian to the island of PATMOS. Frustrated by the apostasy of his disciple (a local bishop who became a robber), John attempted suicide by

poison, but the cross he wore negated its effect. From Patmos John went to Ephesus where he worked miracles and died peacefully. At least eight churches in Constantinople were dedicated to John (Janin, *Églises CP* 264–70).

Representation in Art. John has two guises in art: young and beardless as the beloved disciple; white-haired, balding, and long-bearded as the visionary evangelist. As the disciple, John appears in scenes of his calling, his mother's plea, the TRANSFIGURATION, Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER), CRUCIFIXION, and at Christ's tomb. In this guise, he is indistinguishable from the young disciple who witnesses Christ's actions in countless scenes. John barely figures in Acts illustration and his further imagery draws on apocrypha: his prominent role in the DORMITION of the Virgin; his voyage to Patmos (CODEX EBNERIANUS, fol. 302v), where he dictated his Gospel under divine inspiration; and his self-burial at Ephesus (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II). As an evangelist, John is shown seated before a desk (see EVANGELIST PORTRAITS) or standing and dictating to his secretary, Prochoros—an image also drawn from his apocrypha. Consistently in the latter composition and sometimes in the former, the divine inspiration he receives is shown by an arc of Heaven or the HAND OF GOD. In Paris, B.N. gr. 93, the hill behind him becomes a mandorla, stressing his ecstatic condition. The frontispiece of a lectionary in the Skeuophylakion at Iviron, Athos, likens him to Moses on Sinai (Xyngopoulos, *infra*, pl.54). Only rarely (e.g., Moscow, Univ. Lib. 2280, fol. 347r, of 1078) is he portrayed as the author of the Apocalypse.

LIT. BHG 899–932t. M. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel* (Cambridge 1960). E. Junod, J.-D. Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes des apôtres du IIIe au IXe siècle: Le cas des Actes de Jean* (Geneva-Lausanne-Neuchâtel 1982). H. Buchthal, "A Byzantine Miniature of the Fourth Evangelist and Its Relatives," *DOP* 15 (1961) 127–39. A. Xyngopoulos, "Euangelistes Ioannes-Moüses," *DChAE* 8 (1975–76) 101–08.

—J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

JOHN I, patriarch of Antioch (429–441/2). Before his elevation John had been a student at Antioch with NESTORIOS. Although John disapproved of his friend's repudiation of the title THEOTOKOS and even wrote to him counseling moderation, he supported him against CYRIL of Alexandria in the ensuing controversy over NES-

TORIANISM. John's unintentionally late arrival for the opening of the Council of EPHEBUS (431) prompted Cyril to proceed with Nestorios's condemnation. This resulted in a countercouncil, in which the Antiochian delegation headed by John had Cyril condemned. The moderates of both parties, however, desired peace and, in 433, signed the so-called Symbol of Union that ended the schism. In effect, John implicitly agreed to the condemnation of Nestorios in return for Cyril's toleration of Antiochian terminology regarding the duality of the nature of Christ. Also, both men accepted the legitimacy of the term *Theotokos*. Nevertheless, their more extreme followers rejected the settlement. The resulting tension led directly to the "Robber" Council of EPHEBUS (449) and the Council of CHALCEDON. Some of John's correspondence with PROKLOS of Constantinople, Cyril, and THEODOSIOS II dealing with the Nestorian dispute has survived.

ED. Letters—ACO I,1,1:93–96, 119; I,1,4:7–9, 33; I,1,5:124–35; I,1,7:84, 146, 151–61; III, IV, *passim*.
LIT. P.T. Camelot, *Épêse et Chalcedoine* (Paris 1962).

—A.P.

JOHN I, pope (from 13 Aug. 523); born Tuscany, died Ravenna 18 May 526. In 525/6 the Ostrogothic ruler THEODORIC THE GREAT sent John to Constantinople as head of a delegation to protest imperial measures against the Arians. After the end of the AKAKIAN SCHISM Emp. Justin I sought rapprochement with Rome and arranged a spectacular welcome for the pope: the wording of the *LIBER PONTIFICALIS humiliavit se pronus* suggests that the emperor performed PROSKYNESIS. John celebrated the Easter liturgy in Constantinople, while Patr. Epiphanius (520–35) was relegated to a secondary role in the service. All of this made Theodoric suspicious, and, despite the success of John's mission, he detained the pope in Ravenna where he died several days later. The recorded details of John's imprisonment and martyrdom appear to be fictitious.

LIT. W. Ensslin, "Papst Johannes I. als Gesandter Theoderichs des Grossen bei Kaiser Justinus I.," *BZ* 44 (1951) 127–34. P. Goubert, "Autour du voyage à Byzance du Pape Saint Jean I.," *OrChrP* 24 (1958) 339–52. H. Löwe, "Theoderich der Grosse und Papst Johann I.," *HistJb* 72 (1953) 83–100.

—A.K.

JOHN I, archbishop of Thessalonike, politician, writer, and local saint; died ca.630 (Stiernon) or ca.649 (Jugie). John participated in the defense

of Thessalonike against the Avars and Slavs and was responsible for introducing the feast of the DORMITION to that city. He wrote the first version of the miracles of St. DEMETRIOS and several homilies, among which those on the Dormition were the most popular. In them John, having promised to remove all heretical elements from the narrative of Mary's death, placed an unusual emphasis on the filial affection of Christ for his mother. He also stressed St. Peter's primacy over the other apostles.

ED. M. Jugie, "Homélies mariales byzantines," *PO* 19,3:289–526.

LIT. D. Stiernon, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 778–80. M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la sainte Vierge* (Vatican 1944) 139–54. Idem, "La vie et les oeuvres de Jean de Thessalonique: son témoignage sur les origines de la fête de l'Assomption et sur la primauté de saint Pierre," *EO* 21 (1922) 293–307.

—A.K.

JOHN I DOUKAS, *sebastokrator* of Thessaly (1267/8?–1289?); born Epiros? ca.1240?, died 1289 or earlier. He was the illegitimate son of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros and half-brother of NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros. Married to the daughter of the Thessalian VLACH chieftain Taron, John led a contingent of Vlach troops to support his father at the battle of PELAGONIA (1259). According to George Akropolites (Akrop. 170.5–9), John surrendered to the Nicene commander after the Epirot army fled in despair. Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:119–21), on the other hand, relates that John treacherously agreed to attack the Latin forces after being insulted by WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN. After the battle John repented his actions and returned to his father.

Upon Michael II's death (1266 or 1268), John's rule over Thessaly was confirmed, with its capital at NEOPATRAS. Although MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS married his nephew to John's daughter and granted John the title *sebastokrator* in the effort to secure an alliance, John became an implacable enemy of the Byz. emperor. He defeated an imperial army sent to besiege Neopatra (1272–73), entered into commercial agreements with the Angevins, and ardently opposed the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. He convened a synod at Neopatra in 1277, attended by anti-Unionist exiles, which anathematized Michael VIII and Patr. JOHN XI BEKKOS (R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 31 [1965] 374–408). It was on a campaign against John in 1282 that Michael VIII fell ill and died. The Church

of Porta Panagia near Trikkala, built by John in 1283, contains portraits of the *sebastokrator* and his family (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 1 [1935] 8, 33–35).

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 154f, 172–81, 186–89. Nicol, *Epiros II* 9–11, 19–21, 31–36. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 64–73, 231. *PLP*, no.208.

—A.M.T.

JOHN I TZIMISKES (Τζιμισκής), emperor (969–76); born Chozana, Armenia, ca.925, died Constantinople 10 Jan. 976. John was a general of Armenian origin; according to LEO THE DEACON (p.92.1–5), his name was an Armenian version of the Greek *Mouzakites*, meaning "of short stature." He was related to the KOURKOUAS family; his mother was the sister of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS; and his first wife Maria was the sister of the *magistros* Bardas SKLEROS. John first distinguished himself under CONSTANTINE VII by capturing Samosata in 958. He was the staunchest supporter of Nikephoros II but later changed sides. Head of an aristocratic coup, he murdered the emperor on the night of 10/11 Dec. 969 with the help of Nikephoros's wife THEOPHANO. Yielding to the demands of Patr. POLYEUKTOS, John banished Theophano; he then married Theodora, Constantine VII's daughter and the aunt of the legitimate emperors, BASIL II and CONSTANTINE VIII. Acting in close concord with the church, John cancelled Nikephoros's legislation against church land ownership. Two rescripts (*sigillia*) of 974 and 975 manifest John's flexible policy toward monastic land ownership: although his fiscal functionaries proclaimed the necessity of restoring "to the emperor" state-controlled peasants who fled to the *DYNATOR* and onto church property, they permitted a number of peasants to remain on monastic *proasteia* "by virtue of previous chrysobulls."

John conducted an energetic foreign policy: he repelled SVJATOSLAV from Bulgaria (971), subduing part of this country; concluded an alliance with OTTO I (972); and fought successfully in Syria. In 970/1 the *patrikios* Nicholas, a eunuch, defeated the Fāṭimid army near Antioch (P. Walker, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 431–40), and in 975 John led a victorious campaign into Syria, forcing Damascus to pay tribute and capturing Beirut. The unsuccessful siege of Tripoli, however, was a setback, and John's claim of conquests in Palestine (in a letter to the Armenian king AšOT III) does not find support in Arabic sources (P. Walker,

Byzantion 47 [1977] 301–27). MATTHEW OF EDESSA preserves a legend that at the end of his reign John returned the crown to Basil II and retired to a desert monastery (M. van Esbroeck, *BK* 41 [1983] 71); on the other hand, there were rumors that he had been poisoned by BASIL THE NOTHOS.

Apart from his coins, only one portrait of John is known. The Madrid SKYLITZES MS, however, richly illustrates his career with 41 miniatures, including his conspiratorial arrival at the BOUKOLEON palace, arranged by Theophano, and her subsequent expulsion—both by boat. John's triumphal entry into Constantinople in 971 (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, fig.221) shows him accompanied by a horse-drawn icon of the Virgin.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* (Paris 1925). Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie*, 11–19. V. Tüpkova-Zaimova, "Les frontières occidentales des territoires conquis par Tzimiscès," *Recherches de géographie historique*, 2 (Sofia 1975) 113–18. N. Thierry, "Un portrait de Jean Tzimiskès en Cappadoce," *TM* 9 (1985) 477–84.

—A.K., A.C.

JOHN II, bishop of Jerusalem (386/7–417), succeeding CYRIL of Jerusalem; born ca.356. He was a monk in Jerusalem before his election to the episcopate. His Origenist sympathies were denounced by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, both in a sermon delivered in his presence in Jerusalem in 392 and in two letters, one of which survives in a Latin translation made by JEROME. His pro-Origenist position also caused John to break with former friends such as THEOPHILOS of Alexandria when the latter switched from support to condemnation of that belief.

John may be the author of the five *Mystagogical Catecheses*, addressed to neophytes in Easter week, that form part of the collection of Cyril of Jerusalem's 24 catechetical lectures. One MS does attribute them to John, others give joint credit to Cyril. Possibly John revised these lectures, which Cyril had written and delivered.

ED. *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris 1966), with Fr. tr. *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments*, ed. F.L. Cross (London 1951; rp. Crestwood, N.Y., 1977), with reproduction of Eng. tr. by R.W. Church (Oxford 1838).

LIT. E. Yarnold, "The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem," *Heythrop Journal* 19 (1978) 143–61.

—B.B.

JOHN II, metropolitan of KIEV (ca.1077–89), of Greek origin. A writer on canon law, John was praised in the POVEST' VREMENNYKH LET for his

erudition (*PSRL* 1:208); the belief that he was the uncle of Theodore PRODROMOS is probably incorrect (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 357f; S. Franklin, *BS* 45 [1984] 40–45). John addressed a letter (with a treatise on the AZYMES appended in the Greek version) to the (anti-)pope Clement III (1080–1100) and wrote a set of *Canonical Responses* to the monk James. The letter focuses on Latin “innovations,” mainly as listed in the 867 encyclical of PHOTIOS (Saturday fasts; the eating of cheese, eggs, and milk during Lent; celibate clergy; confirmation exclusively by bishops; the *filioque*), but with additional emphasis on the azymes. The tone is firm but conciliatory. John’s *Canonical Responses* treat miscellaneous practical difficulties encountered by the propagandists of Byz. Christianity in Rus’: pagan customs in public and private life, marriages and other contacts with non-Orthodox foreigners, and the proper behavior and organization of the clergy. John’s main source is the NOMOKANON OF 14 TITLES, but the suggestion that he was responsible for its translation (R.G. Pichocha, *ADSV* 11 [1975] 133–44) is tenuous. Some scholars believe that John composed the extant office to BORIS AND GLEB.

ED. *Tou hosiou patros hemon Ioannou, metropolitou Rosias, epistole pros Klementa, papan Romes*, ed. S.K. Oikonomos (Athens 1868). *Kritičeskie opyty po istorii drevnejšej greko-russkoj polemiki protiv latinjan*, ed. A.S. Pavlov (St. Petersburg 1878) 169–86. *Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands*, ed. L.K. Goetz (Stuttgart 1905; rp. Amsterdam 1963) 114–70.

LIT. B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Paris 1924) 32–41. J. Spiteris, *La critica bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII* (Rome 1979) 38–44. Podskalsky, *Rus’* 174–77, 186f, 286f. —S.C.F.

JOHN II KOMNENOS, emperor (from 15 Aug. 1118); born Constantinople 13 Sept. 1087, died near Anazarbos 8 Apr. 1143. John succeeded his father Alexios I against the wishes of IRENE DOUKAÏNA and ANNA KOMNENE; the latter conspired on behalf of Nikephoros BRYENNIOS. Byz. historians describe John’s reign only briefly. His domestic policy is little known. Austere in manner, John tried to regulate even the costume of his courtiers; he was nonetheless tolerant and eschewed maiming as a punishment. He entrusted military command to noble relatives but put civil administration in the hands of men of obscure origin, such as JOHN OF POUTZE and Stephen Meles, the *logothetes tou dromou*. John centralized the ad-



JOHN II KOMNENOS. Portrait of the emperor and his wife Irene; mosaic. Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.

ministration of the army and navy and for this purpose charged the state treasury with maintaining vessels and their crews, previously the burden of the maritime regions (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 234–36). He founded the monastery of the PANTOKRATOR and wrote its *typikon*. The dynastic sense that underlay this foundation also prompted other works, including a lost mosaic of John mourning his dead father whose victories were depicted (Magdalino-Nelson, “Emp. in 12th C.,” 126–30). A mosaic in Hagia Sophia portrays John, his wife, Irene, and, to one side, his son, Alexios.

John capitalized on Alexios I’s military successes. Most of John’s wars were in Anatolia, esp. against the DANIŞMENDIDS (he captured Kastamon and Gangra after the death of GHĀZĪ in 1134). He subdued the RUBENIDS of Cilicia (1137) and made RAYMOND OF POITIERS his vassal (1138), but the ensuing campaign from Antioch to inner Syria failed before the walls of Aleppo and Shayzar. In the northwest, John crushed the Pechenegs in 1122 (not 1123 as in B. Radojičić, *ZRVI* 7 [1961] 178) and defeated the Serbians and Hungarians in 1127–29 (not 1125 as in Radojičić, 182f). He attempted to annul Venice’s privileges but in 1126 was forced to yield to a Venetian expedition. Theodore PRODROMOS was John’s official eulogist. Allegedly John died in a hunting accident, but one cannot rule out the possibility of assassination (R. Browning, *Byzantion* 31 [1961] 229–35).

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:1–193. Angold, *Empire* 150–60. A.P. Kazhdan, “Ešče raz o Kinname i Nikite Choniats,”

BS 24 (1963) 9–23. G. Ostrogorsky, “Autokrator Johannes II. und Basileus Alexios,” *SemKond* 10 (1938) 179–83. —C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

JOHN II KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1280–97); born ca.1262/3, died Limnia, near Trebizond, 16 or 17 Aug. 1297. Son of MANUEL I KOMNENOS of Trebizond, John succeeded his brother GEORGE KOMNENOS as ruler of Trebizond. He initially incurred the anger of the Byz. emperor Michael VIII by styling himself “emperor and *autokrator* of the Romans.” Michael sent frequent embassies to the “ruler (*archegos*) of the Lazes,” as Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:270.9) calls John, to criticize his wrongful use of the imperial title. In 1282 John went to Constantinople and married Michael’s daughter Eudokia, receiving the Byz. title *despotes*; he then changed his imperial title to “emperor and *autokrator* of all the East, the Iberians, and the transmarine provinces.” The chief events of John’s reign were the siege of Trebizond in 1282 by the Georgian king David IV (V) and the brief usurpation of the throne in 1284/5 by John’s half-sister Theodora (M. Kuršanskis, *REB* 33 [1975] 187–210). John was a patron of the SOUMELA monastery.

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 27–32. *PLP*, no.12106. —A.M.T.

JOHN III, patriarch of Antioch (4 Oct. 996–July 1021). His surname Polites perhaps derives from the fact that he was a native of Constantinople. Originally *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia, he was elevated to the see of ANTIOCH by Emp. Basil II following the abdication of Agapios (978–96). Since John feared that, before he reached his see, his predecessor might attempt to recover the throne, he agreed to be consecrated in Constantinople and thus to renounce (in writing) his right to be ordained by the metropolitans of Antioch. This questionable act, by which Antioch became ecclesiastically subject to Constantinople, was later revoked by Patr. PETER III, but it is not known with what success. The practice probably continued.

During his tenure John also chose to surrender to Orestes, patriarch of Jerusalem (986–1006), the annual sum of money sent by the church of GEORGIA to Antioch for the preparation of the Holy Chrism, which the Georgians now received from Jerusalem. John did not, however, abandon

his privilege of confirming the KATHOLIKOS of Georgia, or the right to be commemorated by the Georgian episcopate in the liturgy. An extract of John’s only known work, *Responsa de baptismo*, addressed to Theodore of Ephesus, was published by Allatius. This reply was probably written while John was still *chartophylax*; normally, canonical questions requiring no synodical decision were referred to this official.

ED. L. Allatius, *De aetate et interstitiis in collatione ordinum* (Rome 1638) 215.

LIT. V. Grumel, “Les patriarches grecs d’Antioche du nom de Jean (XI^e et XII^e siècles),” *EO* 32 (1933) 281–84. Papadopoulos, *Antioch*. 837–39. —A.P.

JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS, patriarch of Constantinople (31 Jan. 565–31 Aug. 577); born Sirmis near Antioch ca.503 (L. Petit, *DTC* 8 [1947] 830), died Constantinople. First a lawyer (SCHOLASTIKOS) in Antioch, in 548/9 he was sent to Constantinople as *apokrisiarios* of the patriarch of Antioch. Justinian I, shortly before his death, selected John to replace EUTYCHIOS as patriarch. John crowned Justin II and supported his policy. John of Ephesus presents the patriarch as an eager anti-Monophysite who ordered persecution of the Monophysites through all the provinces; John of Nikiu, on the other hand, ascribed to him a book, *Mystagogia*, that allegedly dealt with a single substance of Christ, both divine and human (Beck, *Kirche* 423). Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.75) mentions a catechetical sermon of John on the Trinity, delivered in 567/8, that was refuted by John PHILOPONOS; the doubts of W. Kroll (*RE* 9 [1916] 1792) concerning this evidence are not valid. Probably while still in Antioch, John composed the SYNAGOGUE OF FIFTY TITLES. Haury (*infra*) identified him with John MALALAS on the basis of the similarity in names, origin, and scanty biographical data. Although possible (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:319f), the identification is far from certain.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 250–59. J. Haury, “Johannes Malalas identisch mit dem Patriarchen Johannes Scholastikos?,” *BZ* 9 (1900) 337–56. Cf. E. Stein, *Jahresberichte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 184 (1920) 86f, no.232. L. Petit, *DTC* 8 (1947) 829–31. —A.K.

JOHN III VATATZES, emperor of Nicaea (from ca.15 Dec. 1221); born ca.1192, died Nymphaion 3 Nov. 1254. He married Irene, daughter of THEODORE I LASKARIS, and ca.1244 Constance

("Anna"), an illegitimate daughter of FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN. His succession was opposed by Theodore's brothers, who had Latin backing. John defeated them at the battle of POIMANENON in 1224 and was able to drive the Latins out of northwestern Asia Minor, thus rounding off the Nicaean territories in Asia Minor. His bid to secure control of ADRIANOPLE, the key to Thrace, was thwarted by THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS. Only in 1234 was John able to establish a permanent bridgehead in Thrace, thanks to an alliance concluded with JOHN ASEN II. The latter's death left a power vacuum in the southern Balkans, which John was quick to exploit. An astute campaign made him master of the region in 1246 and brought him his greatest prize—the city of Thessalonike. His remaining years were devoted to protecting and extending his European territories and seeking ways of recovering Constantinople.

When alliance with Frederick II Hohenstaufen brought him little material reward, he turned to the papacy in 1248. He was willing to make unprecedented concessions over papal claims to PRIMACY in the hope that the papacy would withdraw its backing for the Latin Empire of Constantinople, but these plans came to nothing. Still, John had created the conditions that made the eventual recovery of Constantinople possible and had turned the Nicaean Empire into the strongest power of the region, with territories stretching from the Turkish frontier to Albania. At the end of his reign his relations with the aristocracy were soured by the need to secure the succession of his son THEODORE II LASKARIS. In 1252 he had the leader of potential aristocratic opposition, MICHAEL (VIII) PALAIOLOGOS, arraigned on a charge of high treason.

John III was a ruler of the highest ability and of great tenacity of purpose. Remembered as "a kind and gentle soul" (Akrop. 1:103.19–20), he was revered after his death as a saint by the Greeks of Asia Minor (D.J. Constantelos, *Kleronomia* 4 [1972] 92–104). He was buried in the monastery of Sosandra near Nymphaion.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 106–09, no.72. D.I. Polemis, "Remains of an Acoluthia for the Emperor John Ducas Batatzes" in *Okeanos*, 542–47. P. Žavoronkov, "Nikejskaja imperija i Vostok," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 93–97. J. Langdon, "John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile, 1222–54," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles, 1978).

—M.J.A.

JOHN IV KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1429–1459/60?); born before 1403 (Kuršanskis) or ca.1404/5, died 1460. Son of ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS and Theodora Kantakouzene, as a youth he murdered his mother's suspected paramour and rebelled against his father. He then fled to Georgia, where he married the daughter of King Alexander I (1412–42). In 1427 he went to Kaffa and in 1429 returned to Trebizond where, with Genoese assistance, he overthrew his father and had him assassinated (V. Laurent, *ArchPont* 20 [1955] 138–43). John's reign was preoccupied with defending Trebizond against the continuing onslaughts of the Turks, both Turkomans and Ottomans. He evidently favored union with Rome in hopes of Western assistance against the Turks (A. Bryer, *ArchPont* 26 [1964] 305f). After the fall of Constantinople, the Ottomans attacked Trebizond by land and sea in 1456 and forced John to pay tribute to MEHMED II. By his second wife, a Turk, John had a daughter Theodora whom he married to Uzun Hasan, chief of the White Sheep Turkomans, in exchange for the Turkoman pledge to defend Trebizond against the Ottomans (M. Kuršanskis, *ArchPont* 34 [1977–8] 77–87).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 81–96. Kuršanskis, "Descendance d'Alexis IV," 239–47. *PLP*, no.12108. K. Barzos, "He moira ton teleutaion Megalon Komnenon tes Trapezountos," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 270f.

—A.M.T.

JOHN IV LASKARIS, emperor in Nicaea (1258–61); born Nymphaion? 25 Dec. 1250, died ca.1305. He was the only son and heir of THEODORE II LASKARIS, whom he succeeded in Aug. 1258. The boy's rights were progressively set aside by MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS. Once the latter had recovered Constantinople, he felt secure enough to have John blinded on Christmas Day 1261 and confined in the fortress of Dakibyze on the south shore of the Sea of Marmara. Patr. ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS excommunicated Michael in protest. This prompted the people around Nicaea to rise up in support of a pretender claiming to be John. The rebellion was quickly crushed, but a strong current of support for the Laskarid cause endured, esp. in Asia Minor. When ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS visited Asia Minor in 1284, he found it politic to placate those with Laskarid sympathies by visiting John in his dungeon and begging forgiveness for what his father had done. With John's death, the Laskarid cause withered

away. A cult seems to have grown up around John; the Russian pilgrim Stefan of Novgorod recorded that in the mid-14th C. it was centered on the monastery of St. Demetrios at Constantinople, where his body was to be seen (I. Ševčenko, *SüdostF* 12 [1953] 173–75).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 111, no.76.

—M.J.A.

JOHN IV NESTEUTES (Νηστευτής, "Faster"), patriarch of Constantinople (12 Apr. 582–2 Sept. 595); born and died Constantinople. According to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP*, col. 7.22), he was a coinmaker by profession, then joined the clergy and was elected patriarch. The legend preserved by Theophylaktos Simokattes (Theoph.Simok., bk.7.6.4) described him as living in extreme poverty, owning only a wooden pallet, thin blanket, and plain cloak. John was very close to Emp. Maurice, whose son Theodosios was crowned at the age of four and a half by the patriarch. John fought against heresies and, despite Maurice's resistance, introduced capital punishment for magicians. His claims to the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH led to a conflict with Pope Pelagius II (579–90) and GREGORY I.

Little of his writing is preserved; his long speech on penitence, temperance, and chastity (PG 88:1937–78) is a collection of citations from John Chrysostom. Several penitentials are preserved under John's name (a *Kanonarion*, the *Akolouthia and Order for Penitents* [PG 88:1889–1918], and the *Indoctrination of Nuns*), but all three are spurious, having been written several centuries later.

ED. N. Suvorov, "Verоятnyj sostav drevnejšego ispovednogo i pokajannogo ustava v Vostočnoj cerkvi," *VizVrem* 8 (1901) 357–434; 9 (1902) 378–417. N.A. Zaozerskij, A.S. Chachanov, *Nomokanon Ioanna Postnika v ego redakcijach: gruzinskoj, grečeskoj i slavjanskoj* (Moscow 1902).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 264–72. Beck, *Kirche* 423–25. R. Janin, *DTC* 8 (1947) 828f. E. Herman, "Il più antico penitenziale greco," *OrChrP* 19 (1953) 71–127.

—A.K.

JOHN IV (V) OXEITES, Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (ca.1089–1100); died after 1100. All we know about John before his patriarchate is that he was a monk; the conclusions of Ch. Papadopoulos (*EEBS* 12 [1936] 361–78) should be treated with caution. Appointed patriarch before Sept. 1089, he remained in Constantinople until 1091. John's situation in Antioch under Seljuk rule was miserable, esp. during the Crusaders'

siege of the city; after their victory he had under his jurisdiction both the Greek and Latin clergy of Antioch. Eventually he was charged with plotting to surrender the city to the emperor, left for Constantinople, and in Oct. 1100 officially renounced his patriarchate. John retired to the HODEGON monastery but incited the hatred of the monks and probably moved to the island of Oxeia (Princes' Islands), where he was later buried.

John's works had a clear political imprint. In 1085 or 1092 he issued a treatise on CHARISTIKIA, which he blamed for the decline of monasticism. He also wrote a diatribe accusing Alexios I of responsibility for all the internal and international problems of Byz. His invectives were addressed also against those who possessed "cities within the cities" (P. Gautier, *infra*) and esp. against tax collectors, whereas he lamented the plight of poor peasants, merchants, and craftsmen (p.33.19–22). John also wrote a treatise on AZYMES, possibly in connection with the Byz. dispute against Peter GROSSOLANO in 1112.

ED. P. Gautier, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis I^{er} Comnène," *REB* 28 (1970) 19–55. Idem, "Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975) 91–131. B. Leib, "Deux inédits byzantins sur les azymes au début du XII^e siècle," *OC* 2 (1924) 244–63.

LIT. P. Gautier, "Jean V l'Oxite, patriarche d'Antioche. Notice biographique," *REB* 22 (1964) 128–57.

—A.K.

JOHN V KATHOLIKOS, patriarch of Armenia (897–925) and historian; born Draxanakert mid-9th C., died Vaspurakan soon after 925. As *katholikos*, John (Arm. Yovhannes) played a role in diplomacy both between the BAGRATID Armenian kings and their Armenian rivals, and between Armenia and both Byz. and Muslim rulers.

The first third of his *History* is primarily a résumé of earlier sources. John developed the concept of the strong royal power of the Bagratid dynasty and justified it by reference to the Bagratids' succession from previous royal houses (M.O. Darbinian-Melikian, *IFŽ* [1982] no.3, 119–25). The *History* contains the earliest Armenian reference to Bagratid descent from King DAVID of Israel, although earlier MOSES XORENAC'I had claimed a Jewish origin for that family. The main part is an eyewitness account of John's own times and of his role in Armenian politics. It includes a letter to him from NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, patriarch of Constantinople, and one from John himself to

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, written in 914. The *History* is the most important source for the reigns of Smbat I and his son Ašot II.

ED. *Patmut' iwn Hayoc'*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow 1853; Tbilisi 1912), rp. with introd. K. Maksoudian (Delmar, N.Y., 1980). *Histoire d'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI* [sic] dit *Jean Catholicos*, tr. J. Saint-Martin (Paris 1841). —R.T.

JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1341–91); born Didymoteichon 18 June 1332, died Constantinople 16 Feb. 1391 (cf. Barker, *Manuel II* 8of, n. 214). During his 50-year reign John faced numerous rebellions and a civil war; he actually ruled only about 30 years. Nine years old at the death of his father ANDRONIKOS III (1341), John came under the control of his empress-mother ANNA OF SAVOY, Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, and Alexios APOKAUKOS. The same year JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS was proclaimed emperor at Didymoteichon and began the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. After the victory of Kantakouzenos, John married the usurper's daughter Helena and remained in the background until he forced Kantakouzenos's abdication in 1354. Shortly thereafter his mosaic portrait was set up in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Mango, *Materials* 74–76, fig. 97).

During the 1350s and 1360s John attempted to gain Western assistance against the Turks. To this end he journeyed in 1366 to Hungary (J. Gill, *BS* 38 [1977] 31–38) and in 1369 to Rome, where he declared his personal conversion to Catholicism. On his way home he was detained in Venice because of his debts and was forced to promise the cession of TENEDOS to the Venetians (R.-J. Loenertz, *REB* 16 [1958] 217–32). After the Serbian defeat at MARICA (1371), John realized the necessity of seeking an accommodation with the Turks and became an Ottoman vassal. His remaining years were troubled by the rebellions of his son ANDRONIKOS IV (1373, 1376–79) and grandson JOHN VII (1390). To conciliate his heirs, John had to allocate to them appanages and divide the empire into semi-independent principalities, while he retained rule in the capital.

LIT. O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw 1930). Barker, *Manuel II* 1–83. F. Tinnefeld, "Kaiser Ioannes V. Palaiologos und der Gouverneur von Phokaia 1356–1358," *RSBS* 1 (1981) 259–71. —A.M.T., A.C.

JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, emperor (8 Feb. 1347–3 Dec. 1354 [A. Failler, *REB* 29 (1971) 293–302]); born ca. 1295, died Mistra 15 June 1383. The son, probably posthumous, of a Peloponnesian governor of the aristocratic KANTAKOUZENOS lineage, John Kantakouzenos was about the same age as ANDRONIKOS (III) PALAIOLOGOS and was his close friend until the emperor's death in 1341. His first known title was that of *megas papias* (1320); he became *megas domestikos* ca. 1325. He supported Andronikos's rebellion against his grandfather (1321–28) and was his principal general and adviser during his reign.

After Andronikos died, leaving a nine-year-old heir, JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, Kantakouzenos failed to secure the regency. His power struggle with ANNA OF SAVOY, Alexios APOKAUKOS, and Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS ended in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, and Kantakouzenos was proclaimed co-emperor at Didymoteichon (26 Oct. 1341). Thanks to his extraordinary wealth (in land and livestock), the support of landed magnates in Thrace and Thessaly, and military aid from Serbs and Turks, Kantakouzenos eventually emerged victorious. On 21 May 1346 he was crowned at Adrianople and in Feb. 1347 entered Constantinople. He was crowned a second time (21 May) and married his daughter Helena to John V.

During his brief reign Kantakouzenos crushed the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike (1349) and supported PALAMISM at the local council of Constantinople of 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). The relatively peaceful relations between John V and John VI lasted until 1351; in 1352 a new civil war broke out. Although Kantakouzenos used Ottoman troops (who established themselves at KALLIPOLIS, their first European foothold), he was defeated by John V, who assumed sole power (M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 21 [1982] 127–41). After his abdication Kantakouzenos became the monk Ioasaph, retiring first to the MANGANA monastery, then to CHARSIANEITES. He made at least two trips to MISTRA, where his son MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS was *despotes* (1347–80). He continued to influence both political and religious affairs until his death (cf. Lj. Maksimović, *ZRVI* 9 [1966] 119–93; J. Meyendorff, *DOP* 14 [1960] 147–77).

He also devoted himself to the preparation of his lengthy memoirs, the *Historiai*, one of the



JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS. Portrait of the emperor at the Council of 1351. Miniature in a manuscript of his works (Paris gr. 1242, fol. 5v); 14th C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

principal sources for the first half of the 14th C. In four books he treated events from 1320 to 1356, drawing on personal reminiscences and perhaps on a diary. The remarkable homogeneity of composition is a result of the subordination of the historical material to an overall structural theme. He used this very subjective work to justify his own actions and policies and to present himself as a tragic hero and as the central figure of events. At the same time his history is a useful complement to the account of Nikephoros GREGORAS. The bias of Kantakouzenos is offset by the author's first-hand knowledge of events, his precise chronology, and citation of original documents. His work is characterized by a belief in *ananke* (necessity) and *tyche* (fate or fortune); he believed that his eventual defeat was not caused solely by human factors, but by transcendent and cosmic forces. Kantakouzenos wrote in a simple style marked by the absence of rhetoric. His work was influenced by THUCYDIDES (T. Miller, *GRBS*

17 [1976] 385–95, and H. Hunger, *JÖB* 25 [1976] 181–93) and includes an unusual number of speeches.

Kantakouzenos also wrote treatises attacking Islam and Judaism, and pro-Palamite theological works, refuting John KYPARISSIOTES and Prochoros KYDONES. Portraits of Kantakouzenos as emperor and monk survive in a deluxe MS of his theological writings, Paris, B.N. gr. 1242, fols. 5v and 123v.

ED. *Historiarum Libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols. (Bonn 1828–32). Germ. tr. G. Fatouros, T. Krischer, *Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1982). Theological works—PG 154:372–710. *Refutationes duae Prochori Cydonii et Disputatio cum Paulo Patriarcha Latino epistulis septem tradita*, ed. E. Voordeckers, F. Tinnefeld (Turnhout-Leuven 1987).

LIT. G. Weiss, *Joannes Kantakouzenos—Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch—in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1969). Dölger, *Paraspora* 194–207. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 35–103. A.P. Kazhdan, "L'Histoire de Cantacuzène en tant qu'oeuvre littéraire," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 279–335. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:465–76. Beck, *Kirche* 731f. *PLP*, no. 10973. —A.M.T.

JOHN VII, pope (1 Mar. 705–18 Oct. 707). Greek by birth, he was the son of a *curator sacri palatii* named Plato who moved to Rome from Constantinople. John inherited from his predecessors the problems of the canons of the Council in TRULLO, which Pope SERGIUS I had refused to sign. Emp. Justinian II took up the issue, sending copies of the canons to the pope and urging him to approve those that were acceptable and reject those that were not. John returned them without emendation or signature, causing the author of the *LIBER PONTIFICALIS* to accuse him of cowardice. A fresco in the Church of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, commissioned by John, may reflect his acceptance of the canons, however; instead of the Adoration of the Lamb of God, it represents Christ in human form. The canons of Trullo were not formally accepted in Rome until the pontificate of Constantine I (708–15). Both the frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua and the mosaics of John's oratory in Old St. Peter's are generally attributed to Byz. artists (M. Andaloro, *RIASA* 19–20 [1972–73] 183f). The latter program included John's portrait, today preserved in the Vatican grottoes, offering his foundation to the Virgin clad as a Byz. empress.

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 211f. P.J. Nordhagen, *The Frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705–707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome*

[*ActaNorv* 3] (Rome 1968) with add. J.D. Breckenridge, *BZ* 65 (1972) 364–74. J.M. Sansterre, "Jean VII (705–707): idéologie pontificale et réalisme politique," in *Rayonnement grec* 377–88. —A.K., A.C.

JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS (the Grammarian), patriarch of Constantinople (21 Jan. 837?–4 Mar. 843 [V. Grumel, *EO* 34 (1935) 162–66, 506]); born Constantinople late 8th C., died western shore of Bosphoros before 867. John was born to a family (perhaps of Armenian origin) whose name is variously given as Morokardianos, Morocharzamios, and Morocharzianos. He began his clerical career ca.811–13 as an *anagnostes* in the Hodegon monastery; according to PHOTIOS (homily 15, ed. Laourdas, 140.25–27) he was also an icon painter. Three letters addressed to him by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS are further proof of his original Iconodule position (V. Grumel, *EO* 36 [1937] 186). The epithet GRAMMATIKOS indicates that he was respected for his learning. By 814 he had become an Iconoclast and was chosen by Emp. Leo V to head a committee to collect a florilegium of patristic texts in support of ICONOCLASM, in preparation for the local council of 815 in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which again condemned the veneration of images. He was rewarded with the post of *hegoumenos* of the Sergios and Bakchos monastery, which served as a center where recalcitrant Iconodules were "rehabilitated."

John had a reputation for persuasive rhetorical skills, and debates with him became a hagiographical *topos* of the second Iconoclastic period. Under Michael II, John tutored the crown prince THEOPHILOS and is usually credited with inculcating strong Iconoclastic sympathies in his pupil. Upon Theophilos's accession to the throne, John became *synkellos*, and went on an embassy to the Arab caliph al-MA'MUN, probably in 829/30. Little is known of his actual patriarchate; he was deposed in 843 as a preamble to the restoration of images, excommunicated, and exiled from Constantinople. In some of the marginal PSALTERS, John is depicted as the principal adversary of the Orthodox patriarch NIKEPHOROS I who, as a pendant to St. Peter crushing Simon Magus, tramples John underfoot (Grabar, *Iconoclasm* 226–28, 287f, figs. 150, 155). John was probably the compiler of a collection of GNOMAI that served as the major

source for the *Gnomologion* of John Georgides (A. Kambylis, *JÖB* 37 [1987] 95, n.1).

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 154–68. V. Laurent, "Jean VII le Grammairien," *Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, fasc. 24 (Paris 1964) 513–15. Lipšic, *Očerki* 296–301.

—A.M.T., A.C.

JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1390); born ca.1370, died Thessalonike 22 (23?) Sept. 1408. According to E. Zachariadou (*DOP* 31 [1977] 339–42), he was also called Andronikos. Eldest son of ANDRONIKOS IV, as a small child he developed a grudge against his grandfather JOHN V, who partially blinded him and his father after the latter's rebellion. John viewed himself as rightful heir to the throne and opposed his uncle MANUEL II, who had "usurped" his claim to the empire. Upon Andronikos's death in 1385, John inherited his appanage in Selymbria. In April 1390 he seized Constantinople with Genoese and Turkish support and reigned briefly until his deposition in September. After a reconciliation with Manuel, John served as his regent from 1399 to 1403 and was entrusted with the defense of Constantinople against the siege of BAYEZID I. The capital was saved by Bayezid's defeat at Ankara in 1402; the next year (3 June 1403) John signed a treaty with the Turks whereby the Byz. regained Thessalonike. His triumphal entry into the city and his family may well appear on a tiny ivory at Dumbarton Oaks. Shortly after Manuel's return from the West, John was made "*basileus* of all Thessaly" and *despotes* of Thessalonike, where he spent his final years quietly.

John was married to Irene GATTILUSIO, daughter of Francesco II of Lesbos. The union produced one son, ANDRONIKOS V, who predeceased his father. John thus died without an heir, leaving the lineage of Manuel unchallenged in its claim to the throne.

LIT. F. Dölger, "Johannes VII., Kaiser der Rhomäer 1390–1408," *BZ* 31 (1931) 21–36, corr. by P. Wirth, *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 592–600. Oikonomides, "Ivory Pyxis" 329–37. —A.M.T., A.C.

JOHN VIII, pope (14 Dec. 872–16 Dec. 882); of Roman origin. John was elected despite the future pope FORMOSUS's opposition, which continued during the first years of John's pontificate. John faced the Arab invasions of southern Italy, often

supported by the rulers of Gaeta and other small Lombard princedoms; the pope built a navy to deter the Arabs, and until the death of LOUIS II the anti-Arab war proceeded successfully. After 875, however, Emp. Basil I was the most effective ally. The situation was complicated since John actively tried to establish papal control over Moravia (by supporting METHODIOS), Croatia, and Bulgaria. At a council in Constantinople in 879/80, the pope's legates were coerced into yielding: they joined the rehabilitation of Photios (the legend of the "second Photian schism" under John is a forgery—F. Dvornik, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 425–36) and also had to accept Byz. claims over Bulgaria, although the pope still tried to influence the Bulgarian khan BORIS I. Defeats by the Arabs, who gained a stronghold at GARIGLIANO and burned MONTECASSINO, as well as failures in Bulgaria and Moravia, gave new impetus to the opposition to the pope. The *Annals of Fulda* preserve a rumor that John was murdered.

LIT. F. Engreen, "Pope John the Eighth and the Arabs," *Speculum* 20 (1945) 318–30. F. Dvorník, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode* (Prague 1933) 313–30. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:169–209. —A.K.

JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES (Χρυσόστομίτης), or Merkouropolos (Μερκουρόπωλος), patriarch in Jerusalem (ca.1098–1106/7?; on the name see B. Englezakis, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 506–08). Although his personality and patriarchate remain obscure, John must be identified with the anonymous metropolitan of Tyre who fled his own see to Jerusalem and was subsequently elevated to patriarch succeeding SYMEON II (cf. XANTHOPOULOS in PG 146:1196D). Despite the Crusaders' election of a Latin patriarch, John continued in his office. In 1107/8 he went to Constantinople, where he was recognized as the legitimate patriarch of Jerusalem (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.986). Grumel suggests that his patriarchate ended before 1122.

Of the three treatises on AZYMES attributed to him, only the last two are from his pen; the first is probably by EUSTRATIOS OF NICAIA. An unpublished work on the origins of the SCHISM of 1054 may be his, although this seems rather doubtful (cf. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 21 [1963] 54).

John is sometimes confused with John IX of Jerusalem, who was present at the local council

of Constantinople of 1156–57—the only known evidence of his patriarchate (I. Sakkellion, *Patmiake bibliotheke* [Athens 1890] 327). Englezakis has tentatively suggested that it was John IX who was actually John Chrysostomites, the monk mentioned in the *typikon* of the monastery at Koutzovente in Cyprus. One of these two Johns wrote the "dual" vita of John of Damascus and KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER, which includes a rare attempt to evaluate Kosmas's literary activity.

ED. Treatises on azymes—Dositheos of Jerusalem, *Tomos agapes* (Jassy 1698) 516–38. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:303–50; 5:405–07.

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym.* 394. Th. Detorakes, *Kosmos ho Melodos: Bios kai ergo* (Thessalonike 1979) 39–50. BHG 395. —A.P., A.K.

JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1425–48); born 17/18 Dec. 1392 (cf. Barker, *Manuel II* 104 n.28), died Constantinople 31 Oct. 1448. Eldest son of MANUEL II and Helena Dragaš, he was made co-emperor before 1408 (Oikonomides, "Ivory Pyxis" 332–34) and became *autokrator* on 19 Jan. 1421 (F. Dölger, *BZ* 36 [1936] 318f). He was the effective ruler during the final four years of Manuel's life and succeeded him in mid-1425. John took active part in two successful campaigns in the Peloponnesos. During his reign the Byz. regained control of most of the Morea and began to expand into Attica and Boeotia. Nonetheless, Thessalonike fell to the Turks in 1430 and, after the Turkish campaign of 1446, the Morea had to pay tribute to the sultan.

John pursued a policy of seeking rapprochement with the West in order to stave off further Ottoman advances. He was eager to achieve UNION OF THE CHURCHES and personally participated in the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, where he signed the decree of Union. After his return to Constantinople in 1440, however, he found much popular opposition to the decisions of the council. Moreover, the Crusade of 1444, a reward for the Union of Florence, never reached Constantinople, but was crushed by the Turks at VARNA. John died without ever implementing the Union. Despite three marriages, he was childless and was succeeded by his brother, CONSTANTINE XI.

John appears as co-emperor with his father in the Louvre MS of the works of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.93) and,

again identified as *basileus*, with his first wife, Anna of Moscow, on the so-called Large SAKKOS, probably sent to Moscow between 1411 and 1417. A number of portraits by Western artists (miniatures and bronzes) commemorate John's visit to Italy (*ibid.*, figs. 21–22, 178–79).

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Genealogie*, no. 90. Gill, *Personalities* 104–24. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* (London 1982), pt. X (1972), 141–446. C. Walter, "A Problem Picture of the Emperor John VIII and the Patriarch Joseph," *ByzF* 10 (1985) 295–302. —A.M.T.

JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS, patriarch of Constantinople (1 Jan. 1064–2 Aug. 1075); born Trebizond ca. 1010, died Constantinople. John was born to the XIPHILINOS family, which was reportedly of humble origin. After an education in Constantinople, he joined the circle of John MAUROPOUS and PSELLOS and was granted the post of *nomophylax* of the law school in the capital. J. Cvetler's hypothesis (*Eos* 48.2 [1956] 297–328) that Xiphilinos composed the novel on the foundation of the law school does not prove valid. In the late 1040s Xiphilinos fell out of favor with Constantine IX and was attacked by a certain Ophrydas who accused him of "freethinking." Psellos defended Xiphilinos and praised his love of knowledge. When CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDS was replaced as *mesazon* by the eunuch John ca. 1050, Xiphilinos and friends were forced to leave Constantinople. Xiphilinos took the monastic habit and was—unlike Psellos—content with his new situation; he soon began to retreat from the "emancipated" ideals of his youth. This created a tension in his relations with Psellos, who, even in his *enkomion* of Xiphilinos (*Sathas*, *MB* 4:421–62), was unable to refrain from criticism, conventional though it may be.

After the death of Leichoudes, who had become patriarch (1059–1063), Emp. Constantine X (allegedly at the recommendation of Psellos) summoned Xiphilinos from Mt. Olympos and appointed him patriarch. Under the difficult conditions of the growing Seljuk menace, Xiphilinos tried to establish union with the Armenian church. He also abolished a decision of Patr. Michael I Keroularios prohibiting metropolitans who resided in Constantinople from electing in the capital new bishops for vacant sees (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 18 [1960] 55–78). Xiphilinos wrote a number of legal works—according to W. Wolska-

Conus (*TM* 7 [1979] 13–53), scholia to the *BASILICA*, *TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS*, *DE PECULIIS*, and *MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS*. He also wrote the *Miracles* of St. EUGENIOS.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 893–906. K. Mpones, *Ioannes ho Xiphilinos* (Athens 1937). Ljubarskij, *Psell* 49–55. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no. 18. —A.K.

JOHN X, pope (Mar./April 914–June 928); born Tossignano in the Romagna, died Rome 929. He owed his elevation to the noble Roman family of Theophylact. The major problem he had to face was the Arab threat; to fight them John advocated an alliance of Rome, Lombard princedoms in Italy, and Byz. In Aug. 915 the allies captured the Arab stronghold of GARIGLIANO. In 920 John's legates attended the council in Constantinople where the *TOMOS OF UNION* was signed; the next year, the envoys of Romanos I Lekapenos and Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS were sent to the pope to suggest that contacts between Rome and Constantinople be reestablished (Nicholas, ep. 53). John, however, taking advantage of the tense situation in the Balkans resulting from the war with SYMEON OF BULGARIA, tried to force papal influence on both Dalmatia and Bulgaria: in 925 TOMISLAV convened a synod in Split under John's direction (F. Šišić, *Pregled povijesti Hrvatskoga naroda* [Zagreb 1962] 123); Zlatarski (*Ist.* 1.2:507) surmised that the pope had promised to recognize Symeon's imperial title and the autocephaly of the Bulgarian church. John was deposed and imprisoned by Marozia, Theophylact's daughter.

LIT. T. Venni, "Giovanni X," *ASRSP* 59 (1936) 1–136. —A.K.

JOHN X KAMATEROS, patriarch of Constantinople (5 Aug. 1198–Apr./May 1206); died Didymoteichon June 1206. A member of the KAMATEROS family, John was related to the empress EUPHROSINE DOUKAINA KAMATERA, wife of Alexios III Angelos. Well versed in classical literature, his training included rhetoric and philosophy. After holding a series of ecclesiastical positions, he was *chartophylax* when chosen as patriarch to succeed George II XIPHILINOS. Between 1198 and 1200 he exchanged letters with INNOCENT III on the question of papal primacy; he attacked the *FILIOQUE* clause and asserted that Rome held first place in the pentarchy not on account of the

apostle Peter but because it was the imperial capital in the early Christian centuries. John intervened with Alexios III to gain the release of the banker KALOMODIOS. After Alexios's flight in July 1203, and the accession of Isaac II and Alexios IV, John continued to serve as patriarch. According to Western sources, he and Alexios IV submitted to the authority of Innocent III that same year. When Constantinople fell to the Crusaders in 1204, John took refuge at Didymoteichon. THEODORE I LASKARIS invited him to Nicaea to join the government-in-exile but John refused, perhaps because of old age.

ED. A. Papadakis, A.M. Talbot, "John X Camaterus Confronts Innocent III: An Unpublished Correspondence," *BS* 33 (1972) 26–41.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1193–1202. R. Browning, "An Unpublished Address of Nicephorus Chrysoberges to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 37–68. —A.M.T.

JOHN XI BEKKOS, patriarch of Constantinople (26 May 1275–26 Dec. 1282); born Nicaea? between 1230 and 1240, died in fortress of St. Gregory on the Gulf of Nikomedeia, March 1297 (V. Laurent, *EO* 25 [1926] 316–19). First mentioned as *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia (1263–75), John twice served as Michael VIII's ambassador: to Stefan Uroš I in Serbia in 1268 and to Louis IX in Tunis in 1270 (L. Bréhier in *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga* [Paris 1933] 139f). At first John opposed plans for the *UNION OF THE CHURCHES* and in 1273 was imprisoned; after further study of the Latin fathers, he changed his views and was released from prison. He became head of the Unionist party and was soon chosen patriarch. Throughout his patriarchate John supported Michael VIII, but he urged the emperor to be more lenient toward his opponents. As a result of this dispute John temporarily withdrew from the patriarchate between March and August 1279. He was deposed after Michael's death and thereafter bore the brunt of attacks from the anti-Unionist party that then came to power: in Jan. 1283 a synod at Constantinople formally charged him with heresy and banished him to Prousa. He was again condemned at the Council of Blachernai in 1285 (see under *CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF*), by the *tomos* of GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and imprisoned, together with Constantine Meliteniotes and George Metochites.

ED. PG 141:9–1032.

LIT. *PLP*, no. 2548. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1424–1452. N.G. Xexakes, *Ioannes Bekkos kai hai theologikai antilepseis autou* (Athens 1981). Papadakis, *Crisis in Byz.* 18–22, 48–57, 66–73. —A.M.T.

JOHN XIII GLYKYS, patriarch of Constantinople (12 May 1315–11 May 1319), writer, civil servant; born ca. 1260, died Constantinople soon after May 1319. John studied in Constantinople with GREGORY (II) OF CYPRUS in preparation for a civil service career; ca. 1282–1295/6 he was *epiton deeseon*. He accompanied Theodore METOCHITES to Cyprus and Armenia in 1294 to find a bride for MICHAEL IX; his account of this embassy, the *Presbeutikos*, has been lost. He then served as *logothetes tou dromou* until 1315 when he was made patriarch, despite the fact that he was a married layman with several children. John was already ill when he ascended the patriarchal throne and after four uneventful years was forced to resign for reasons of health. He spent his final days in the monastery of Kyriotissa in Constantinople.

John was active as a writer and teacher; his pupils included Nikephoros GREGORAS. He corresponded with many contemporary literati, for example, Maximos PLANOUDS, Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, and Metochites. His most important surviving work is a treatise on SYNTAX; his *enkomion* of Constantinople is not preserved. He was also a copyist of MSS. John is to be distinguished from the homonymous composer (*PLP*, no. 4267).

ED. Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP*, pt. 1:100–398, with Germ. tr. *Opus de vera syntaxeos ratione*, ed. A. Jahn (Bern 1849).

LIT. S.I. Kourouses, "Ho logios oikoumenikos patriarches Ioannes IG' ho Glykys," *EEBS* 41 (1974) 297–405. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2028–99. *PLP*, no. 4271. —A.M.T.

JOHN XIV KALEKAS, patriarch of Constantinople (Feb. 1334–between 2 and 8 Feb. 1347); born Apros, Thrace, 1283, died Constantinople 29 Dec. 1347. John began his career as a married priest in the entourage of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS; he then became a member of the palatine clergy. Despite John's marital status, Kantakouzenos supported his election as patriarch in 1334, after first arranging his *pro forma* election as metropolitan of Thessalonike. He presided over the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under *CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF*), which con-

demned BARLAAM OF CALABRIA and exonerated Gregory PALAMAS.

After the rebellion of Kantakouzenos and his coronation at Didymoteichon, the patriarch excommunicated his former patron and became regent for JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, whom he crowned in Nov. 1341. He then turned against Palamas and threw his support to the anti-Palamite Gregory AKINDYNOS. In 1344 he excommunicated Palamas and deposed ISIDORE (I) BOUCHEIRAS from the see of Monemvasia. By 1346 the tide began to turn against John, after the murder of Alexios APOKAUKOS and Kantakouzenist victories in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. On 2 Feb. 1347, just before Kantakouzenos entered Constantinople, John was deposed by ANNA OF SAVOY and condemned by the synod (G. Dennis, *JÖB* 9 [1960] 51–55). He was briefly exiled to Didymoteichon but then returned to Constantinople, where he died.

ED. MM 1:168–242. P. Joannou, "Joannes XIV. Kalekas Patriarch von Konstantinopel, unedierte Rede zur Krönung Joannes' V.," *OrChrP* 27 (1961) 38–45.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2168–2270. *PLP*, no.10288. —A.M.T.

JOHN AKTOUARIOS, or John Zacharias, chief physician at court of Andronikos II Palaiologos; born ca.1275, died after 1328. When first mentioned in 1299 in a letter from George LAKAPENOS, John was studying medicine in Constantinople; sometime between 1310 and 1323, he received the title of AKTOUARIOS. He corresponded with Michael GABRAS and taught astronomy to George OINAIOTES (S.I. Kourouses, *Athena* 77 [1978–79] 291–386; 78 [1980–82] 237–76).

One of John's teachers was JOSEPH THE PHILOSOPHER, to whom he dedicated his treatise *On the Workings and Illnesses of the Spirit of the Soul*. The last of the great Byz. physicians, John was well acquainted with the medical classics and Greek literature and philosophy. The *Method of Medicine*, written for his friend Alexios APOKAUKOS, is generally based on GALEN, but the work is innovative on colics from lead poisoning, whipworm infestations, and the combination of several techniques of bloodletting. John's *Urinæ*, a masterpiece of Byz. diagnostics, is divided into four basic parts: various urines and their physiological characteristics; diagnostics; etiology; and prognosis (K. Dimitriadis, *Byzantinische Uroscopie* [Bonn 1971]

55–64). John's meticulous gradations of colors, consistency, sediments, and floating substances in given levels of the urine flask (*amis*, Lat. *matula*) are in a MS diagram (Ideler, *infra* 2:22). Much of his work is still unpublished.

ED. *De spiritu animali*, *De urinis*, and *De diagnosi* in *PhysMedGr* 1:312–86; 2:3–192, 353–463.

LIT. A. Hohlweg, "Johannes Aktouarios: Leben—Bildung und Ausbildung—*De Methodo Medendi*," *BZ* 76 (1983) 302–21. Eng. version in *DOP* 38 (1984) 121–33. *PLP*, no.6489. —J.S., A.M.T.

JOHN ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS. See ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS.

JOHN ANAGNOSTES, early 15th-C. writer. Nothing is known of his biography; the name ANAGNOSTES is probably not a family name but an indication of the clerical rank of reader. John lived in Thessalonike during the siege of MURAD II in 1430, and composed a brief eyewitness account (*Diegesis*) of the failure of the city's Venetian occupiers to resist the Turkish onslaught. The most recent editor of the *Diegesis*, G. Tsaras, believes that John's account breaks off suddenly with the entrance of the Turks into Thessalonike, and that it was completed ca.1453 by an editor who also composed the *Monody* on the fall of Thessalonike that has been attributed to John. The narrative is presented in literary language, but in a simple, straightforward manner, with precise details. A. Kazhdan (*BZ* 71 [1978] 301–14) has pointed out similarities between the account of John and the narrative of John KAMINIATES, which is traditionally assigned to the 10th C.

ED. G. Tsaras, *Diegesis peri tes teleutaia haloseos tes Thessalonikes. Monodia epi te halosei tes Thessalonikes* (Thessalonike 1958), with modern Gr. tr., rev. by J. Irmscher, *BZ* 52 (1959) 364–67. PG 156:588–632.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:484f. *PLP*, no.839. I. Tsaras, "Ho tetartos katholikos naos tes Thessalonikes sto Chroniko tou Ioannou Anagnoste," *Byzantina* 5 (1973) 165–85.

—A.M.T.

JOHN ASEN II, Bulgarian tsar (1218–41); born ca.1195/6, died 1241. John was the eldest son of ASEN I, one of the founders of the Second Bulgarian Empire. In 1207, when the Bulgarian throne was seized by his cousin BORIL, John was forced to flee to Galicia (GALITZA), but he overthrew his rival in 1218. He was married to a Hungarian

princess and was content to allow the Bulgarian church to remain under papal auspices. On the strength of his Western ties he put himself forward in 1228 as a regent for BALDWIN II. The Latins of Constantinople rejected his offer, confident in the truce they had concluded with his erstwhile ally, THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS. This was the prelude to the latter's invasion of Bulgaria in 1230, but John defeated and captured him at the battle of KLOKOTNICA. An inscription John had erected at TŪRNOVO soon after recorded that his conquests stretched from Adrianople in the east to Dyrrachion in the west and set out his claim to the overlordship of Constantinople. He now styled himself tsar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks, reviving the claims of SYMEON of Bulgaria.

Seeking patriarchal status for the Bulgarian church, John turned to JOHN III VATATZES. The Nicaean emperor was willing to arrange this in return for a joint undertaking against the Latins of Constantinople. This alliance was sealed by the marriage of John's daughter Helena to THEODORE II LASKARIS, heir to the Nicaean throne. The head of the Bulgarian church was duly accorded patriarchal rank by a church council meeting at Kallipolis in 1235 (I. Tarnanidis, *Cyrrillomethodianum* 3 [1975] 28–52). The allies launched an assault on Constantinople. Such concrete gains as there were, however, went to the Nicaeans. John was therefore happy to come to an understanding with the Latins of Constantinople, until the sudden death of his Hungarian consort in 1237 convinced him that he was guilty of perjury; he hastened to make peace with the Nicaeans. In yet another turnabout he married Irene, daughter of Theodore Komnenos Doukas, whom he allowed to return to Thessalonike. These vacillations were forced upon him by the large-scale settlement in his territories of CUMANS, seeking refuge from the Mongols. They presaged the collapse of the Bulgarian state which followed his death.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:323–418. I. Dujčev, *Tsar Ivan Asen II* (Sofia 1941). Idem, *Prinosi kŭm istorijata na Ivan Asenja II* (Sofia 1943). V. Gjuselev, "Bulgarien und das Kaiserreich von Nikaia (1204–1261)," *JÖB* 26 (1977) 143–54.

—M.J.A.

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (Χρυσόστομος, "golden-mouth"), bishop of Constantinople (26 Feb. 398–20 June 404); saint; born Antioch between 340

and 350, died Komana 14 Sept. 407; feastday 13 Nov., translation of his relics 27 Jan. Born to a rich family, John received an excellent education, esp. under LIBANIOS and DIODOROS OF TARSOS. He became a monk and retired briefly to the desert, then returned to Antioch, where he was ordained deacon (381) and priest (386) and became a popular preacher. Invited to Constantinople to succeed NEKTARIOS as bishop, John became involved in a series of political struggles, acting in opposition to court favorites (EUTROPIOS), the growing power of the Arian Goth mercenaries (GAINAS), the increasing influence of Alexandria (THEOPHILOS), and Empress EUDOXIA. His invectives against the latter, whom he called "Jezebel" and "Herodias," proved fatal to his career; deposed at the Synod of the Oak at Chalcedon in Aug. 403, then briefly recalled after popular riots in the capital in his favor, he was banished in 404 to Koukousos in Armenia and died three years later during a move to a harsher exile.

John's reputation as orator was sustained throughout the Byz. millennium. Almost all of his voluminous writings have survived, in approximately 2,000 MSS; in addition a large number of spurious works bear his name. For example, the LITURGY attributed to Chrysostom is not his work. The greater bulk of his oeuvre consists of exegetical homilies on particular books of the Old and New Testaments, the majority of them belonging to his Antiochene period. The preserved texts are often from his stenographers' notes rather than his own hand and are sometimes accompanied by a later polished version. John emphasized the historical and literal meaning of biblical texts, disdaining allegorical interpretations; he was also concerned to show how they could furnish spiritual guidance for everyday life. He used these homilies, esp. those on the New Testament (in particular the go on Matthew), as vehicles for attacks on ARIANISM, also combatting the Anomaeon views of EUNOMIOS in a series of sermons entitled *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God*. John was more distinguished as an orator than as a theologian. He used vague terms when discussing the hottest controversies of his time: thus he spoke of the unity of the natures in Christ without a clear definition of the union (*henosis*); he avoided the term *theotokos* although he stressed Christ's love of his mother; his attitude toward ORIGINAL



JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Icon of St. John Chrysostom; mosaic, early 14th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

SIN allowed both Pelagius and AUGUSTINE to consider him an ally.

John wrote much on morality, praising the ascetic life and virginity, and attacking the cohabitation of the sexes in ascetic communities and priestly homes. His criticism of the circus, THEATER, and other public entertainments was sharpened by the loss of his own congregation to these rival temptations; ironically, his own literary imagery teems with metaphors of the Hippodrome and chariot racing. An essay entitled *On the Education of Children* stresses the duty of parents to teach morality to their progeny by example and to prepare them for eternity rather than life. John's ideal was the nuclear family in which the *pater familias* would exercise mild and just authority in order to educate, not castigate, his children.

John had a strong sense of social justice. He emphasized the extremes of wealth and poverty at Antioch and contrasted the extravagance of public games with the virtues of almsgiving. He was not a radical social reformer, however, and never advocated the abolition of slavery as an

institution. His 21 homilies titled *On the Statues*, rebuking the Antiochene mob for overthrowing the imperial effigies in 387 in protest against a new tax, complement the account by Libanios and are of great value to secular and social historians (R. Browning, *JRS* 42 [1952] 13–20).

The first biography of John (by PALLADIOS of Helenopolis?) appeared in 425, in the form of a fictitious dialogue in Rome between an anonymous Eastern bishop and the deacon Theodore (*BHG* 870). Several other vitae were also produced (F. Halkin, *Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome* [Brussels 1977]).

Illustration of the Homilies of Chrysostom. Unlike the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, those by John were never codified in a standard edition and reproduced in numerous illustrated versions. Consequently, illuminators approached their task independently. Illustrations may provide commentary (Athens, Nat. Lib. 211) but more often represent the subject of the sermon. As author, John is depicted in the pose of an evangelist and is sometimes represented as inspired by Paul or Luke, shown leaning over his shoulder. In a Palaiologan portrait added to a 12th-C. MS (Milan, Ambros. A 172 sup.), John's scroll changes into a stream of water for the faithful, an example of the FOUNTAIN OF LIFE used also for other church fathers in late frescoes and MSS. The characteristic features of John, his sunken cheeks and high forehead, became exaggerated in the Palaiologan period.

ED. PG 47–64. Eng. tr. P. Schaff, H. Wace, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vols. 9–14 (New York 1889–93). For complete list of works, see *CPG* 2, nos. 4305–5197.

LIT. D.C. Burger, *A Complete Bibliography of the Scholarship on the Life and Works of St. John Chrysostom* (Evanston, Ill., 1964). P.C. Baur, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. (Munich 1929–30). Eng. tr. M. Gonzaga, *John Chrysostom and His Time* (London 1959–60). Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 241–54. *Jean Chrysostome et Augustin: Actes du Colloque de Chantilly*, 22–24 septembre, 1974, ed. C. Kannengiesser (Paris 1975). T.E. Gregory, *Vox Populi* (Columbus 1979) 41–79. R. Hill, "Chrysostom as Old Testament Commentator," *Prudentia* 20 (1988) 44–56. S.P. Madigan, "Athens 211 and the Illustrated Sermons of John Chrysostom," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1984). O. Demus, "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 110–19. —B.B., A.K., R.S.N.

JOHN ELEEMON (Ἠλεήμων, "the merciful"), Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria (from 610); saint; born Amathous, Cyprus, died Cyprus 619/

20; feastday 12 Nov. Son of the governor of Cyprus, Stephen or Epiphanios (P. Pattenden, *JThSt* n.s. 33 [1982] 191–94), John received an appropriate education, married, and had children; both his wife and children soon died, however. At the instigation of the *patrikios* Niketas, who conquered Egypt for Emp. HERAKLEIOS, John became patriarch of Alexandria. He supported Orthodoxy against Monophysitism and the remnants of paganism, employing monastic organization as his instrument. Famous for his charity, he built seven hospitals in Alexandria and provided food to emigrés, esp. clergy, from territories occupied by the Persians (K. Galling, *ZDPV* 82 [1966] 46–56). Surrounded by intellectuals such as SOPHRONIOS and MOSCHOS, John was not without literary interests and himself compiled the *Life of St. Tychon of Amathous* (H. Delehay, *AB* 26 [1907] 244–47). He left Alexandria on the eve of the Persian invasion and returned to Cyprus. Plots were hatched against him in both Alexandria and Cyprus, but they came to naught and he died peacefully.

Both Moschos and Sophronios wrote biographies of John, known only from their epitomes (H. Delehay, *AB* 45 [1927] 19–74; E. Lappa-Zizicas, *AB* 88 [1970] 274–78). The major vita, by his younger contemporary LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS, presents John as having close contacts with Niketas and being involved in urban life with its trade, handicrafts, and financial transactions. ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS translated the *Life* into Latin.

Representation in Art. John, always clad as a bishop, may be shown in the act of distributing alms, accompanied by a personification of Mercy (THEODORE PSALTER, fol.23v) and of Alexandria (Venice, Marc. Z 351, fol.179v). From the 13th C. onward, he frequently appears in sanctuary frescoes, one of the procession of bishops shown approaching the altar.

SOURCE. *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, L. Rydén (Paris 1974) 257–637, with Fr. tr. Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 195–262, with Eng. tr. *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen*, ed. H. Gelzer (Freiburg im Breisgau–Leipzig 1893).

LIT. *BHG* 886–89. H.T.F. Duckworth, *St. John the Almsgiver Patriarch of Alexandria* (Oxford 1901). G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:82f. —A.K., N.P.S.

JOHN GEOMETRES, or Kyriotes, poet of the second half of the 10th C. John was probably

born to a noble family, but the traditional view that his father was the *patrikios* and *strategos* Theodore is the result of a misinterpretation. John received a good education and served in the army but retired and became a monk. His identification with John of Melitene, whose poem is in the chronicle of Skylitzes (Skyl. 282f), is wrong (M. Bibikov in *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie* [Sofia 1980] 65f). John's epigrams contain abundant material concerning Byz. wars against Bulgaria and the Rus', as well as internal revolts. His favorite hero is NIKEPHOROS II. He describes JOHN I, who murdered Nikephoros and destroyed images of him, as transformed by this crime from a lion into a hare, trembling before his subjects and frightened by false dreams. This "Macbethian" theme of retribution is accompanied by a Christian indifference to the material world: after a few unhappy years of rule the emperor found rest in a grave only three cubits long.

John's general outlook is pessimistic: he foresees a political crisis, onslaughts of barbarians, peasant poverty, earthquakes, and a menacing comet. He praises his father but is very critical of conjugal ties. In his *enkomion* of the oak, the theme of a mother's love for her offspring is strongly emphasized (A. Littlewood, *JÖB* 29 [1980] 133–44). An erotic theme is treated allegorically: the lover whom a girl asked for some water symbolized Christ assuaging a moral thirst. Besides epigrams and PROGYMNASMATA, John produced hymns and orations dedicated to the Virgin and speeches on GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and St. PANTELEEMON. The so-called *Paradeisos*, a collection of monastic epigrams, was apparently by John (P. Speck, *BZ* 58 [1965] 333–36). C.A. Trypanis hypothesized that a fresco in KALENDERHANE CAMII presents John's portrait (in *Meletemata ste mneme Basileiou Laourda* [Thessalonike 1975] 301f).

ED. PG 106:812–1002. *The Progymnasmata*, ed. A.R. Littlewood (Amsterdam 1972). See also list in Beck, *Kirche* 554.

LIT. F. Scheidweiler, "Studien zu Johannes Geometres," *BZ* 45 (1952) 277–319. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2:107–24. P.O. Karyškovskij, "K istorii balkanskich vojn Svjatoslava," *VizVrem* 7 (1953) 224–29. —A.K.

JOHN ITALOS (Ἰταλός), philosopher; born southern Italy ca.1025, died after 1082. John moved to Constantinople ca.1049, attended the lectures of PSELLOS, and polemicized with him. Supported by MICHAEL VII and some civilian

officials, he replaced Psellos as HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON. He fell into disfavor under Alexios I, however, and was condemned at a trial in 1082. Although the anathemas of 1082 accuse John of heresy and paganism (Gouillard, "Synodikon" 57–61), his own works present a rather moderate philosophy; accordingly, some scholars (such as N. Kečakmadze) describe John as a radical reformer, whereas P. Joannou, P. Stephanou, and L. Clucas emphasize his Christian orthodoxy. Thus his condemnation may have been caused by John's bad character (stressed by Anna KOMNENE), political considerations, or his attention to classical philosophers, above all ARISTOTLE. Whatever John's own views were, his works and his trial demonstrate that he and his contemporaries discussed key philosophical problems such as the eternity of the cosmos, the existence of *universalia*, the existence of matter and *physis* ("nature"). John apparently also refuted the Neoplatonic thesis concerning the dialectic emanation of the world from the One.

ED. *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, ed. P. Joannou (Ettal 1956). *Opera*, ed. N. Kečakmadze (Tbilisi 1966).

LIT. P. Joannou, *Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz* (Ettal 1956). P. Stephanou, *Jean Italos, philosophe et humaniste* (Rome 1949). L. Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century* (Munich 1981). —A.K.

JOHN KLIMAX (or ὁ τῆς Κλίμακος, "of the Ladder"), also called Scholastikos or Sinaïtes, theologian and saint; born before 579, died ca. 650 (F. Nau, *BZ* 11 [1902] 35–37); feastday 30 Mar. His biography is barely known. According to his encomiast Daniel of Raithou, John received a general (*enkyklios*) education (and possibly was a SCHOLASTIKOS), but at age 16 took monastic vows, lived as an anchorite at the foot of Mt. SINAI, and eventually became the *hegoumenos* of the Sinai monastery.

Klimax's major work, *The Ladder of Paradise*, or *The Heavenly Ladder*, summarizes the experience of the DESERT FATHERS as reflected in the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM. It is an unsystematic presentation of vices and virtues, in scenes and more often in direct indoctrinations and definitions; they do not form a hierarchy of modes of behavior and are only superficially connected with the concept of the ladder. John ends by quoting 1 Corinthians 13:13, saying that the three greatest



JOHN KLIMAX. Illustration from a manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax (Sinai, gr. 418, fol. 162v); 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai. A depiction of Avarice: a rich man sits between a golden chest and a cupboard, while his servants drive away two beggars.

virtues are faith, hope, and *agape* (Christian love), of which *agape* is the worthiest. Even though the monastic status is considered as supreme, the layman is not excluded from salvation if he avoids theft, falsehood, hatred, etc. (PG 88:640C–641A). John refers to angels and demons and to biblical personages, but never mentions the Virgin (S. Rabois-Bousquet, S. Salaville, *EO* 22 [1923] 450). John's style ranges between enigmatic obscurity and aphoristic simplicity of presentation; almost hymnic is the cadence of his repetitive definitions ("Penitence is the revocation of baptism. Penitence is a contract with God concerning the second life," etc.—PG 88:764B). Metaphors and similes are abundant, often borrowed from animal mythology (e.g., a SNAKE struggling against a deer). The *Ladder* was extremely popular; the text was commented on by scholars including PHOTIOS (G. Hofmann, *OrChrP* 7 [1941] 461–79) and translated in the West and in the Slav countries.

Illustration of the Ladder of Paradise. Portraits of John appear occasionally in church decoration



JOHN KLIMAX. Icon of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax; 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.

(Mouriki, *Nea Mone* 168f) and on icons, esp. those from Sinai. His text, however, was not illustrated in monumental painting. The *Ladder* was first extensively illustrated in MSS in the 11th C. The simplest versions show only the ladder's 30 rungs and sometimes the author, modeled on an EVANGELIST PORTRAIT. In Vat. gr. 394 and other MSS, the chapters receive detailed illustration that is noteworthy for its rendering of the abstract qualities of the text. Often included in MSS (e.g., Vat. gr. 1754, or the Haifa-Bucharest fragment) is a Penitential Canon that celebrates the deeds of the "holy criminals," described in ch. 5 of the *Ladder* (T. Avner, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 5–25). While most MSS were presumably intended for a monastic audience, at least two have other associations. Milan, Ambros. B. 80. sup. has monograms of Andronikos DOUKAS, a brother of Michael VII (J.C. Anderson, *REB* 37 [1979] 229–38), and Paris, B.N. Coisl. 263, written in 1059 for Eusta-

thios BOILAS, also contains his will in which he mentions that he owned two copies of the *Ladder*.

ED. PG 88:632–1209. Eng. tr. C. Luibheid, N. Russell, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (London-New York 1982).

LIT. W. Völker, *Scala Paradisi* (Wiesbaden 1968). E. von Ivanka, "Aufstieg und Wende," *JÖB* 19 (1970) 141–52. I. Hausherr, "The Monastic Theology of St. John Climacus," *American Benedictine Review* 38 (1987) 381–407. Josef, metropolitan of New York, *Prepodobni Ioan Lestvičnik: Lestvica* (Sofia 1982). D. Bogdanović, *Jovan lestvičnik u vizantijskoj i staroj srpskoj književnosti* (Belgrade 1968). J.R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton 1954). —A.K., R.S.N.

JOHN LYDOS, scholar, bureaucrat, and writer; born Philadelphia (Lydia) 490, died ca. 565?. Well versed in Latin in addition to his native Greek, John came to Constantinople in 511 in search of a post in the palace ministries; he attended philosophy lectures in the interim. He owed the first of several appointments to the praetorian prefect Zotikos, a fellow countryman. John served 40 years in the civil service, earning the admiration of Justinian I, which helped him acquire a professorial chair. After retirement (ca. 551) he settled down to a literary life.

His major work is *On the Magistracies*, a history and description of late Roman BUREAUCRACY. The treatise is both interestingly antiquarian and a mirror of the social and intellectual life of his day, characterized by John's scholarly confidence (esp. his Latin expertise) and vicious attacks on high officials, notably JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA, whose infamy he helped to secure. Continuity between the Roman past and the Byz. present is a major theme. The work is enriched by many digressions on scholarly matters, esp. philological. Also extant are *On the Months*, a history of calendars and feasts, again stressing continuity from Rome to Byz., and *On Omens*, a historical survey of divination and related matters that has earned John the label of last astrologer of the old world (Bandy, *infra*, xxix). Panegyrics on Zotikos and Justinian, a history of the latter's Persian war, and some poetry are lost.

ED. *De magistratibus*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig 1903). *On Powers*, ed. and tr. A.C. Bandy (Philadelphia 1983). *De mensibus*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig 1898). *Liber de ostentis*, ed. C. Wachsmuth (Leipzig 1897).

LIT. T.F. Carney, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society: Romano-Byzantine Bureaucracies Viewed from Within* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1971), with Eng. tr. of *Magistracies*. C.N. Tsirpanlis, "John Lydos on the Imperial Administration," *Byzantion* 44

(1974) 479–501. J. Caimi, *Burocrazia e Diritto nel De magistratibus di Giovanni Lido* (Milan 1984). –B.B.

JOHN MERKOUROPOULOS. See JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES.

JOHN OF AMALFI (?), Latin monk and priest, one of several Latin translators active in Constantinople in the 11th C. (P. Chiesa, *StMed*³ 24 [1983] 521–44). Circa 1060–1100 John resided in the Greek monastery of “Panagiotum” (Panagiu?) in Constantinople, where, at the request of the Amalfitan aristocrat Pantaleon the *dishypatos*, he composed a *Book of Miracles* drawn from *The Spiritual Meadow* of John MOSCHOS, the legend of the Antiphonetes Icon, etc., arranged roughly according to theme and often concerning merchants. He also translated a sermon on St. NICHOLAS to complete the earlier work by JOHN OF NAPLES, and a Life of Irene, the latter in connection with the AMALFI colony’s church in Constantinople, S. Maria Latina (A. Hofmeister, *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* 4.2 [1924] 129–53).

ED. *Liber de Miraculis*, ed. M. Huber (Heidelberg 1913), rev. C. van de Vorst, *AB* 33 (1914) 363–65.

LIT. A. Hofmeister, “Der Übersetzer Johannes und das Geschlecht Comititis Mauronis in Amalfi,” *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift* 27 (1932) 225–84, 493–508. –M.McC.

JOHN OF ANTIOCH, to be distinguished from John MALALAS, is a name to which many historical excerpts in various MSS are attached. That such an author lived is seemingly attested by John TZETZES (*Epistulae* 6; *Historiae* 6.556), but nowadays the name is thought to confound two individuals, one the 7th-C. author of a world chronicle from Adam to 610, the other a 10th-C. figure. Which excerpts belong to which writer is an often insoluble problem. Many are preserved in the EXCERPTA of Constantine VII; others derive from various quarters, including scholia to Homer’s *Odyssey* (ed. W. Dindorf, vol. 1 [Oxford 1855; rp. Amsterdam 1862] 3–6). The earlier author is sometimes equated with JOHN I, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (631–49). Overall, the fragments dealing with late Rome and early Byz. both enhance and supplement other fragmentary sources, while Lampros’s MS (*infra*) confirmed that the SOUDA and MAXIMOS PLANOUEDES used

John’s Roman Republic material. John was also a source for the *Epitome* of ZONARAS (M. diMaio, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 158–85).

ED. *FHG* 4:535–622, supp. *FHG* 5:27–38. S. Lampros, “Anekdoton apospasma Ioannou tou Antiocheos,” *NE* 1 (1904) 7–31, 495–98; 2 (1905) 240f; 3 (1906) 124–26. Eng. tr. of frs. 191–214 in C.D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila*² (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:326–28. F.R. Walton, “A Neglected Historical Text,” *Historia* 14 (1965) 236–51. –B.B.

JOHN OF BICLAR, bishop of Gerona and historian of the VISIGOTHS; born Santarem (Scallabis) in Lusitania, died Spain ca.621. John is said by ISIDORE OF SEVILLE to have been a Goth, but this is nowhere evident in his work. Having been educated in Greek and Latin at Constantinople, he returned ca.576 to Spain, where he fell foul of the Arian persecution of the Visigothic king Leovigild (568–86), resulting in ten years of exile and harassment. John subsequently founded a monastery at the now unidentifiable site of Biclär in Spain, drawing up the house rules for the brothers it attracted. He wrote a Latin chronicle, covering the years 567–90. Its narrative of Visigothic history is relatively impartial; in addition the chronicle is a valuable source for such matters as the military objectives of Justin II and Tiberios I and the former’s religious policies (Av. Cameron, *SChH* 13 [1976] 53f).

ED. *Juan de Biclär, obispo de Gerona: Su vida y su obra*, ed. J. Campos (Madrid 1960). *Chronica minora*, pt.2, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH AuctAnt* 11:206–20.

LIT. A. Kollautz, “Orient und Okzident am Ausgang des 6. Jh. Johannes, Abt von Biclär, Bischof von Gerona, der Chronist des Westgotischen Spaniens,” *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 463–506. Thompson, *Goths* 57, 80f. –B.B.

JOHN OF BRIENNE, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1231–37); born ca.1170, died Constantinople March 1237 (J.M. Buckley, *Speculum* 32 [1957] 315–22). This scion of a great French noble family enjoyed enough experience for several lifetimes: king of Jerusalem (1210–25), a leader of the Fifth Crusade, papal marshal, father-in-law and enemy of FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN, and finally emperor of Constantinople. Contemporaries admired his prowess and the elegant figure he cut. It was almost a matter of course that the barons of the Latin Empire of Constantinople should turn to him in 1228 when they were seeking a regent for BALDWIN II. John

agreed to take up the defense of Constantinople, on condition that he be made emperor, with Baldwin succeeding him on his death. Terms were duly ratified in April 1229 at Perugia; Venice provided him with transports for his expedition. He reached Constantinople in autumn 1231 and was crowned emperor. His arrival aroused extravagant hopes that he might be able to restore the fortunes of the Latin Empire. A strike into Asia Minor had some success, but it pushed JOHN III VATATZES into an alliance against him with JOHN ASEN II. John organized a successful defense of Constantinople over the years 1235–36, but died soon after.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 169–77. *HC* 2:216–21.

–M.J.A.

JOHN OF CAESAREA, or John the Grammarian, early 6th-C. priest and theologian. His biography is unknown, and it is not clear whether his Caesarea was located in Palestine or Cappadocia. John was the first NEO-CHALCEDONIAN. In 514–18 he wrote an *Apology* for the Council of Chalcedon in which he tried to harmonize Chalcedonian doctrine with the ideas of CYRIL of Alexandria. The book consists of three parts: John’s conciliatory teaching; an analysis of Cyril’s position; criticism of SEVEROS of Antioch. John rejected the Monophysite argument against the idea of two natures of Christ that allegedly implied that the whole Trinity would have to have been incarnated and introduced the concept of the “characteristic hypostasis” of Christ in which these two natures were united. Severos responded in a long *Refutation* that is preserved only in Syriac. Other works include tracts against the Akephaloi and APHTHARTODOCETISM, homilies against the MANICHAEANS, exegesis of the Gospel of John. He is probably to be identified with John the Orthodox, the author of a *Dialogue with a Manichaeon*.

ED. *Opera minora*, ed. M. Richard (Turnhout-Louvain 1977).

LIT. C. Moeller, “Trois fragments grecs de l’Apologie de Jean le Grammairien pour le Concile de Chalcédoine,” *RHE* 46 (1951) 683–88. R. Draguet, *Julien d’Halicarnasse* (Louvain 1924) 50–73. –A.K.

JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA (Καππαδόκης), high-ranking official; born Caesarea (Cappadocia) probably before 500, died Constantinople after 548. When Justinian I first met him in 520, John

was the clerk of a *magister militum praesentalis*. Named praetorian prefect before 30 Apr. 531, John held the position (except from 15 Jan. to mid-Oct. 532) until May 541. He was energetic, astute, and clever, yet critics denounced him as drunken, gluttonous, debauched, brutal, and unscrupulous. John was said to be corrupt and excessively powerful, esp. because he economized on the military budget by removing many soldiers from military registers; he largely suppressed Latin, reduced the *sportulae* (see SYNETHAI) of bureaucrats, and allegedly supplied faulty provisions to a naval expedition against the Vandals. NIKAI rioters forced John’s temporary removal on 14 Jan. 532. He was consul in 538. In May 541 Empress THEODORA succeeded in deposing him and confiscating his fortune and palace. John was first banished to Kyzikos and ordained as a deacon, but was then accused of murdering Bp. Eusebios of Kyzikos. Ignominiously deported to Antinoopolis in Egypt, John was allowed to return to Constantinople after Theodora died in 548, but only as a priest. Despite his faults, John was a principal force in the smooth functioning of the bureaucracy, most notably the efficient collection of taxes and the imposition of fiscal control.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:435–49, 463–83. Bury, *LRE* 2:36–39, 41, 55–59. P. Lamma, “Giovanni di Cappadocia,” *Aevum* 21 (1947) 80–100. A. Čekalova, “Senatorskaja aristokratiya Konstantinopolja v pervoj polovine VI v.,” *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 22. –W.E.K.

JOHN OF DAMASCUS, theologian and saint; born Damascus ca.675 (according to J. Hoeck, ca.650), died Lavra of St. SABAS 4 Dec. 749 (S. Vailhé, *EO* 9 [1906] 28–30; this precise date is suspect) or more probably ca.753/4; feastday 27 March, with variations. His vita, written by JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES, patriarch of Jerusalem, or by John IX, describes him as a member of an influential Arabo-Christian family, the Mansür, who controlled the financial administration of the caliphate. John received an excellent education together with his adoptive brother KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER. Both became monks of the Lavra of St. Sabas. Patr. John V of Jerusalem (705–35) ordained John priest.

John was the greatest Eastern systematizer of Christian dogma. His major work, *Pege gnoseos* (The Fountain of Knowledge), consists of a terminological introduction (“Philosophical chap-

ters"); a refutation of heretical teachings, including Islam and Iconoclasm; and an exposition of the Orthodox creed (*Expositio fidei*) concerning God, creation, Incarnation and Christology, and related topics (sacraments, Mariology, eschatology, etc.). The exposition is based primarily on THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, albeit reworked and expanded. Possibly the *Fountain* was produced in two versions, with the refutation of heresies and some smaller sections added later.

John wrote many polemical works, esp. against the Iconoclasts: accordingly the Council of HIERIA (754) anathematized him as a supporter of the Saracens and teacher of impiety. John developed the Orthodox theory of images by categorizing six types of ICON: the natural image as originating from the prototype; the idea (*ennoia*), preexisting in God, of things; man as imitation (*mimesis*) of God; visible objects aiming at the representation of the invisible; corporeal objects that symbolize and presage the future; and objects reminiscent of the past.

John also worked as moralist, exegete, hagiographer, author of sermons, and hymnographer. Some works ascribed to him are spurious, however, including a speech against Constantine V (actually by John of Jerusalem), the SACRA PARALLELA, and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. John was very popular in the West (J. de Ghellinck, *BZ* 21 [1912] 448–57), in Slavic lands, and in the Near East, where THEODORE ABU-QURRA continued his traditions. The Arabic vita of John was written at the end of the 11th C. by the monk and priest Michael; the oldest Greek Life, by John of Jerusalem, was probably produced in the first half of the 12th C., although B. Hemmerdinger dates it before 969 (*OrChrP* 28 [1962] 422f).

ED. PG 94–96. *Schriften*, ed. B. Kotter, 5 vols. (Berlin 1969–88). *Homélies sur la nativité et la dormition*, ed. P. Voulet (Paris 1961). Eng. tr. F.H. Chase, *Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1958; rp. 1970) and D. Anderson, *On the Divine Images* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1980).

LIT. BHG 884–885. J.M. Hoeck, *LThK* 5:1023–26. Beck, *Kirche* 476–86. A. Tsirpanlis, "The Anthropology of Saint John of Damascus," *Theologia* 38 (1967) 533–48; 39 (1968) 68–106. H. Menges, *Die Bilderlehre des hl. Johannes von Damaskus* (Münster i.V. 1938). V. Fazzo, "Rifiuto delle icone e difesa cristologica nei discorsi di Giovanni Damasceno," *VetChr* 20 (1983) 25–45. A. Siclari, "Il pensiero filosofico di Giovanni di Damasco nella critica," *Aevum* 51 (1977) 349–83. T.F.X. Noble, "John Damascene and the History of the Iconoclastic Controversy," in *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (Kalamazoo 1987) 95–116. —A.K.

JOHN OF EPHESUS, Syriac historian, born near Amida ca.507, died Chalcedon 586 or 588 (P. Allen, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 10 [1979] 251–54). John was a Monophysite leader in Constantinople in the time of Justinian I, under whose orders he was sent in 542 as a missionary to the Ephesus region. Around 558 he was ordained bishop in Syria by JACOB BARADAEUS. John preached against Jews and Montanists in Asia Minor and in 545/6 upbraided pagans, aristocrats, and intellectuals in Constantinople. After Justinian's death John was jailed for anti-Chalcedonian activities.

John wrote an ascetical tract titled *Lives of the Eastern Saints*. It recounts the stories of 58 holy men and women who lived in the Syriac-speaking milieu in John's own day, affording a rare glimpse into the world of the religious life of the Monophysite community. Of his *Church History*, written from a Monophysite point of view, only the third part survives in its entirety, covering the years 571–86. Sections of the second part are recoverable from the excerpts quoted by pseudo-DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAHRĒ, MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, and ELIAS BAR SHINĀYĀ. The *History* contains important evidence, for instance, on Slav invasions (A. Djakonov, *VDI* [1946] no.1, 20–34).

ED. "Lives of the Eastern Saints," ed. E.W. Brooks, PO 17 (1923) 1–307; 18 (1924) 513–698; 19 (1926) 153–285, with Eng. tr. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars Tertia*, ed. E.W. Brooks, 2 vols. (Paris 1936; rp. Louvain 1952), with Lat. tr.

LIT. S.A. Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the "Lives of the Saints"* (Berkeley 1990). E. Honigmann, "L'histoire ecclésiastique de Jean d'Éphèse," *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 615–25. Idem, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle* (Louvain 1951) 207–15. —S.H.G.

JOHN OF EPIPHANEIA (Syria), 6th–7th-C. historian. John was variously a lawyer, *apo eparchon*, and an adviser to Gregory, patriarch of Antioch (570–93). John wrote a history in formal continuation of AGATHIAS, its main theme being the long war (572–92) between Byz. and Persia, culminating in the flight of CHOSROES II and his restoration by MAURICE. Only one fragment of this history survives, containing the introduction and beginning of the first book. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, a kinsman (5.24), states that John's work was not yet available to him in the 590s when he was writing his own history; this may either mean

it was in progress or published but not yet physically accessible.

ED. FHG 4:273–76.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:312f.

—B.B.

JOHN OF EUBOEIA, mid-8th-C. writer. His biography is barely known; the only ascertained fact is that he wrote one of his sermons in 744 (PG 96:1504D). In the lemmata of his authentic works he is called "the monk and priest of Euboea (or Euoia)," whereas in some spurious texts he appears as a bishop of EUBOEIA. Because no such bishopric existed, Dölger (*infra* 7–9) located John in Eupoia/Euaria, a bishopric near Damascus (or in Euroia in Epiros), but probably he was not a bishop (Halkin, *infra* 227).

John's oeuvre is not clearly determined. Some works by John of Damascus have been ascribed to him (J.M. Hoeck, *OrChrP* 17 [1951] 38, n.2), and vice versa. He wrote some sermons on Gospel themes—Mary's conception, the resurrection of Lazarus, the massacre of the innocents—the last perhaps inspired by contemporary events. He also wrote the earliest extant legend of PARASKEVE. John's authorship of the so-called *Religious Dispute at the Court of the Sasanians* was rejected by E. Bratke (*TU* 19.3a [1899] 97).

ED. PG 96:1460–1508. F. Dölger, "Johannes 'von Euboea,'" *AB* 68 (1950) 5–26. F. Halkin, "La passion de sainte Parascève par Jean d'Eubée," in *Polychronion* 226–37.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 502f.

—A.K.

JOHN OF GAZA, 6th-C. Christian grammarian. John wrote 703 hexameters (with iambic prologue) in the style of NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, describing a mural in the winter baths of GAZA or ANTIOCH, built during Justinian I's reign and containing a Christian cross along with some 60 allegorical figures. An early example of Byz. EKPHRASIS, it is also notable as one of the first such works to describe PERSONIFICATIONS. John also penned six Anacreontic poems, their subjects ranging from roses and mythology to addresses and EPITHALAMIA to local grandees; he was one of the last to essay this ancient meter (T. Nissen, *Die byzantinischen Anacreonteen* [Munich 1940] 13–18).

ED. Ekphrasis—Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreib.* 135–213. Anacreontics—ed. T. Bergk in *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*⁴, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1882) 342–48.

LIT. G. Downey, "John of Gaza and the Mosaic of Ge and Karpoi," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 2, ed. R. Stillwell (Princeton 1938) 205–12. C.A. Trypanis, *Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis* (Chicago 1981) 401f, 407. —B.B.

JOHN OF KARPATOS, theologian. His biography is unknown, his dates questionable. Because Photios's BIBLIOTHECA (cod. 201) mentions John's work, we know John lived before the 9th C. Some MSS (including the 9th-C. Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. Sabait. 408) call him bishop of Karpathos (an island between Crete and Rhodes). He may be the "John of Karpathos" who signed the decisions of the Council of 680. John had high repute, was sometimes characterized as a saint, and his works were included in the PHILOKALIA.

Besides spurious texts (some actually by ELIAS EKDIKOS), two collections of admonitions (*centuria*) bear John's name: *Consolations to the Monks of India* and *Theological and Gnostic Chapters*. John understood asceticism as a constant struggle against demons. Vices—such as vainglory, gluttony, avarice—dwell in the inferior parts of the soul, and the monk's task is to purge them and to develop his intellect (*logistikón* or *nous*): while the imperial treasury contains gold, the monk's treasure is his knowledge of the intelligible. Although he refers primarily to the Bible, John is familiar with Stoic terminology; he also quotes Plutarch and uses Pythagoras, "whom the Greeks admired more than any other philosopher," as an example of the virtue of silence.

ED. PG 85:1837–60 (this appendix is not in every copy). *A Supplement to the Philokalia: The Second Century of Saint John of Karpathos*, ed. D. Balfour (Brookline, Mass., 1989).

LIT. M.-T. Disdier, "Jean de Carpathos," *EO* 31 (1932) 284–303; 39 (1940–42) 290–311. P.V. Nikitin, "Ioann Karpafijskij i Pateriki," *Izvestija imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*⁶ vol. 5 (St. Petersburg 1911) 615–36. —A.K.

JOHN OF NAPLES, deacon and author ca 900 of a continuation (762–872) of the *Deeds of the Bishops of Naples*. The *Deeds* mirrors the position of Naples between Byz. and the West as its focus shifts from events in southern Italy—particularly the Arab advance—to Constantinople. The *Deeds'* anonymous first section, composed sometime between about 834 and 849 according to Achelis (but cf. B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 3 [Stuttgart 1981] 29, n.124), treats bishops and buildings from the beginnings to 754 using jejune

local sources augmented by the LIBER PONTIFICALIS, Paul the Deacon, GREGORY OF TOURS, etc. Although this author favored icons, his mutilated account of the Iconoclast Constantine V as a lion hunter, dragon slayer, and victor over ARTABASDOS is quite positive (S. Gero, *GRBS* 19 [1978] 155–59). Only a fragment survives of a second continuation by subdeacon Peter.

John's *Translatio S. Severini* (BHL 7658) and *Acta S. Januarii, Sosii et aliorum* (BHL 4134–35) describe the Arab depredations. He may also have written the *Acta Maximi Cumani*, and, with the help of an unknown Byz., he certainly adapted into Latin a number of Byz. hagiographical works, including the *Vita of Euthymios* by Cyril of Skythopolis (ed. F. Dolbeau, *MEFRM* 94.1 [1982] 315–36), a *Life of Nicholas* by Patr. METHODIOS I (ed. P. Corsi, *Nicolaus* 7 [1979] 359–80), and a *Passion* of the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA, offering eloquent testimony on the cultural orientation of Naples in his lifetime.

ED. G. Waitz, *MGH SRL* 402–36. AASS Jan.1:734–39. AASS Sept.6:874–84.

LIT. H. Achelis, *Die Bischofschronik von Neapel* (Leipzig 1930). Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 440–44. —M.McC.

JOHN OF NIKIU, Egyptian bishop and chronicler; fl. late 7th C. Little is known of his life save that as bishop of Nikiu he was appointed overseer of all the monasteries, but was suspended from the priesthood because he caused the death of a monk whom he had disciplined. Probably after this incident John wrote a chronicle along conventional Byz. lines, beginning with Adam and ending with the immediate aftermath of the Arab conquest of Egypt. Thought to have been originally written in Greek with some sections in Coptic, it survives in two late Ethiopic MSS. The Ethiopic text, translated from Arabic in 1602, is in deplorable condition. Sections are missing, and some chapter headings are unrelated to the contents of the chapters. How faithful the Arabic and Ethiopic translations are to John's original cannot be determined; the Ethiopic version indicates influence from traditional Arabic historiography. For the period of the Arab conquest, the *Chronicle* remains the earliest and only eyewitness account, antedating the earliest Arab accounts by almost 200 years.

ED. *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou, texte éthiopien*, ed. and tr. H. Zotenberg (Paris 1883). *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, tr. R.H. Charles (London-Oxford 1916). —D.W.J.

JOHN OF POUTZE (Ἰὼν Πούτζης), tax collector; fl. 1120s–1157. John served John II and Manuel I as general superintendent of revenue collection (*logistes megistos*—Nik.Chon. 54.76, probably *megas LOGARIASTES*) and *protonotarios* of the *dromos* (Kresten, “Styppeiotes” 84f). During John's reign, he was scrupulously upright and an unrelenting collector of revenue; he convinced John II to divest the taxes raised for the navy into the general treasury and pay for ships only when needed. To preserve his position under Manuel, John totally changed his style, greedily enriching himself and his family. The stories of his gluttony and avarice told by Choniates (56–58) reflect oral traditions that survived among the bureaucrats of Constantinople.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 230–33.

—C.M.B.

JOHN OF RILA, Bulgarian monk and saint; born near Kjustendil between ca.876 and 880, died 18 Aug. 946; feastdays 1 July, 18 Aug., 17 Oct. After leaving the monastery where he had taken his vows, he lived for many years as a hermit in the Struma (Strymon) valley and on Mt. Vitoša. He founded a monastery at RILA in the mountains east of the upper Struma ca.930–31. In 941 he returned to the eremitic life near his monastery. His reputation for holiness spread far and wide during his lifetime and after his death; as a result his remains were taken first to Sofia, then to Hungary, and finally to Tŭrnovo, before being returned to Rila. Many vitae of John were written, but none is contemporary. The oldest Slavonic vita was composed before 1183. A mid-12th-C. Greek Life by George SKYLITZES survives only in Slavonic translation. The most widely copied Life is that by Patr. EVTIMIJ OF TŭRNOVO, which makes critical use of earlier material. John's only surviving work was a spiritual testament establishing rules for his monastery (ed. Ivanov, 136–42). His cult is widespread in the Orthodox world, and he is represented in many Byz. and post-Byz. wall paintings and icons.

LIT. J. Ivanov, *Sv. Ivan Rilski i negovijat monastir* (Sofia 1917). I. Dujčev, *Rilskijat svetec i negovata obitel* (Sofia 1947). I. Fekeldžiev, *Narodni legendi za Ivan Rilski* (Sofia 1979). —R.B.

JOHN OF SARDIS, name of several metropolitans of the city. The first of them, a correspondent of THEODORE OF STODIOS, participated in the Council of 815 (J. Pargoire, *EO* 5 [1901–02] 161). C. Foss (*Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass.-London 1976] 66) distinguishes him from John II, a victim of the Iconoclasts. In an unpublished text Demetrios of Kyzikos praises their homonym, who lived before 950, for his knowledge of divine and human sciences (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:263). Two seals of John are dated in the second half of the 11th C. Another John signed the minutes of the Council of 1147 (PG 147:500C).

It is unclear which of them, if any, can be identified with the author of the Commentary on the *Progymnasmata* of APHTHONIOS, which in the 14th-C. Vat. gr. 1408 is ascribed to John of Sardis. Beck (*Kirche* 510) sees in him the contemporary of Theodore, Foss identifies him with John II, whereas Rabe (*Commentarium*, xvi) places him in the second half of the 10th C. In any case this commentary was known to John DOXOPATRES (2nd half of the 11th C.), who also mentions John's scholia on HERMOGENES. In his commentary John used commentaries on Aristotle and *progymnasmata* produced in the 5th–6th C. According to Hunger (*Lit.* 1:78), this points to a survival rather than revival of the knowledge of antiquity; if, however, John lived ca.950, this thesis should be reconsidered. A John of Sardis also wrote hagiographical works (*BHG* 215i, 1334).

ED. *Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1928). *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1931) 2:351–60. —A.K.

JOHN OF SKYTHOPOLIS. See JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS.

JOHN PATRIKIOS, appointed by Emp. Leontios in 697 to lead a naval expedition against the Arabs in North Africa. John recaptured Carthage and several surrounding towns, but in 698 'ABD AL-MALIK sent a superior fleet, forcing him to retreat

for supplies and reinforcements to Crete, where mutinous supporters of TIBERIOS II killed him.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:80–84. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:278f. —P.A.H.

JOHN PETRIC'I (of Petritzos), the most notable translator of Greek philosophical texts into Georgian; died Georgia soon after 1125. John was educated in Constantinople, a pupil of PSELLOS and JOHN ITALOS. He spent approximately 20 years after 1083 at the Georgian monastery of PETRITZOS at Bačkovo. He then returned to Georgia, to the monastery and academy at GELAT'I founded by DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER. His translations include works of history (*Antiquities of Josephus Flavius*), theology (John Klimax), and most importantly numerous philosophical texts (Aristotle, *Topika* and *On Interpretation* [which have not survived], Nemesios, *On the Nature of Man*, and Proklos Diadochos, *Elements of Theology* [with an original commentary]). These are slavishly literal. John's desire to establish a Georgian tradition of philosophy, reconciling Aristotelian, Platonic, and Christian thought, ultimately failed because of the obscurity of his own writings and lack of interest among his countrymen, but his efforts had a significant impact on later Georgian philosophy. His translation and commentary on Proklos were rendered into Armenian in 1284.

LIT. Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Lit.* 211–25. E.R. Dodds, *Proclus: The Elements of Theology*² (Oxford 1963). N.V. Kiladze, *Filosofskaja leksika srednevekovogo Vostoka* (Tbilisi 1980). G. Tevzadze, “Aristoteles in Joane Petrizis Kommentaren,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, Georgien, Beiträge zur georgischen Literatur*, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, vol. 1 (Jena 1977) 51–61, no. 1. —R.T.

JOHN ROGER. See ROGERIOS, JOHN.

JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS, Neo-Chalcedonian theologian, bishop of Skythopolis (ca.536–50). John tried to reconcile the statements of the Council of Chalcedon with the teaching of CYRIL of Alexandria but was attacked by a strictly dyophysite anonymous writer in a treatise with the title *Against Nestorios* that concealed its real purpose. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.95) suggests that the author was Basil of Cilicia; in a later passage (cod.107) Photios says that Basil was a Nestorian who borrowed from

DIODOROS OF TARSOS and THEODORE OF MOP-SUESTIA but avoided a direct attack on Cyril. John answered the anonymous writer with a tract entitled *Against Those Who Have Cut Themselves off from the Church*, criticizing also EUTYCHES, DIOSKOROS, and other Monophysites. Since all of these works are known only in fragments, the real substance of the dispute is hard to establish (E. Honigmann, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle* [Louvain 1951] 80f). John was subsequently involved in Orthodox polemics against SEVEROS of Antioch and the Monophysites. He was also the first scholiast on the writings of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (PG 4:15-432, 527-76), attempting to exploit him for Orthodox beliefs; his commentaries, translated into Syriac ca.800, were preserved along with those of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR.

ED. Mansi 10:1107, 11:437-40. F. Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum* (Münster 1907; rp. 1981) 85f.

LIT. S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus* (Bonn 1962) 176-84. H.U. von Balthasar, "Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Scythopolis," *Scholastik* 15 (1940) 16-38. -B.B., A.K.

JOHN SIKELIOTES, orator; fl. ca.1000. At the order of Basil II, John Sikeliotēs delivered in the Pikridion monastery a speech (*RhetGr*, ed. Walz 6:447.24-26) that is now lost. His identification with John DOXOPATRES was rejected by H. Rabe (*RhM* 62 [1907] 581, n.1). John is known primarily as a commentator of Hermogenes; his scholia to Ailios ARISTEIDES have also been discovered (F.W. Lenz, *Aristeidestudien* [Berlin 1964] 99, 114).

ED. *RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 6:56-504.

-A.K.

JOHN SIKELIOTES, purported chronicler. Krumbacher (*GBL* 386-88) admitted reluctantly the existence of John, identifying him with the "Sikeliotēs didaskalos" mentioned in the preface to Skylitzes (Skyl. 3.18). This second John Sikeliotēs is, however, a result of palaeographical "corrections" by Andrew Darmarios in the 16th C.: Darmarios introduced John's name in the title of the chronicle by GEORGE HAMARTOLOS and probably on the MS of the chronicle ascribed to Theodore SKOUTARIOTES as well.

LIT. O. Kresten, "Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 213-17.

-A.K.

JOHN SMBAT (Ἰωβαννῆς, Arm. Yovhannēs Smbat), son of GAGIK I; BAGRATID king of Armenia (ca.1017/20-1040/1). His authority was challenged from the start by his brother Ašot IV the Brave, with whom he was forced to divide the lands of the kingdom of ANI. Thanks to these quarrels, Giorgi I, the ruler of the newly united kingdom of ABCHASIA and Iberia, was able to capture John Smbat, whom he released only after the sack of Ani and the surrender of several border fortresses. When Emp. BASIL II advanced in 1022 to complete the Byz. annexation of the lands of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO and laid waste to Iberia, John Smbat tried to conciliate the emperor: the childless king sent the *katholikos* Peter Getadarj to Constantinople with his testament in which he willed his realm to Byz., keeping only a life tenure with the title of *magistros*. The death of Basil II delayed the implementation of this agreement, but when John Smbat died, Emp. Michael IV demanded the immediate fulfillment of the testament, which became the legal basis for the Byz. annexation of the kingdom of Ani in 1045.

LIT. Grousset, *Arménie* 556-58, 566-69. J. Shepard, "Skylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s, and the Role of Catalan Cecaumenos," *REArm* n.s. 11 (1975-76) 283-311. Juzbašjan, "Skilica."

-N.G.G.

JOHN THE ALMSGIVER. See JOHN ELEEMON.

JOHN THE BAPTIST, precursor (*prodromos*) of Christ, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth, a relative of the Virgin Mary. Three episodes of his life were held to have a special significance: the appearance of an angel predicting John's birth, his baptism of Jesus and prophecies concerning the role of Jesus, and his arrest by Herod and his beheading. In Christian tradition John occupies an exceptional place, his life being described in apocryphal gospels and acts, homilies, and hymns. In monastic literature John appears as an ideal type of monk. He was the object of great veneration. In Constantinople alone at least 36 churches and monasteries were dedicated to him, of which the most famous was the STODIOS; others were LIPS, the Prodromos in PETRA, in Sphorakion, etc. The monastery of PHOBEROU on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos was also dedicated to the Prodromos. Various relics were connected with the

cult of John, esp. his head (of which several examples are mentioned in various texts) and hand. Among authors who wrote on John were Sophronios of Jerusalem, Leontios of Constantinople, Theodore of Stoudios, John Mauropous, Maximos Holobolos, Thomas Magistros, Neilos Kabasilas, and Manuel II.

Feasts of John the Baptist. The conception (*syllipsis*) of John (Lk 1:5-25), commemorated 23 Sept., was the original Byz. civil New Year and beginning of the church CALENDAR until ca.462 when the INDICTION was shifted to 1 Sept. Not found originally in Jerusalem, the conception feast may be of Constantinopolitan origin and is undoubtedly the original feast of John in the capital. It initiated the course-reading of Luke in the EVANGELION. Neither this feast nor the Nativity (*genethlion*) of John on 24 June had any special liturgical solemnity.

More important was the 29 Aug. commemoration of his beheading (*apotome tes timias kephales*) described in Mark 6:14-29. Celebrated in Jerusalem ever since the 5th C. (Severos of Antioch, PO 36:358-66) and at the Stoudios monastery from the 10th C., this feast was to acquire greater solemnity than the other two with the gradual substitution of the Palestinian SABAITIC TYPIKA for the *Typikon of the Great Church* after 1204. The beheading is one of but two Byz. feasts that are also days of FASTING.

Representation in Art. Longhaired and progressively more haggard, John is generally represented in art wearing a prophet's pallium and often the fur mantle of Elijah since he was called a new Elijah (Mt 11:14). From the 11th C. onward, he manifests his role as ascetic exemplum by wearing the fur *melote* of the desert ascetic or the monastic MANDYAS. Depicted first in catacombs in scenes of the Baptism of Christ (see EPIPHANY), he appears independently by the 6th C. (Cathedral of MAXIMIAN, where he displays a lamb, recalling Jn 1:36). Stories of his life, death, and relics were being depicted by the 9th C. (e.g., an icon described by Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:768AB). In post-Iconoclastic art, John is represented more frequently than anyone except Christ and Mary. Richly illustrated Gospel books depict his birth, naming, ministry, recognition, baptism of Christ, imprisonment, and death. *Evangelia* illustrate the discoveries (*inventiones*) of his relics; cycles of his ministry and baptisms ac-

company the homily on baptism of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and adorned the baptistery of HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople (ca.1200); and semicanonical cycles of his life and relics were depicted in churches (Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 121, 138, 140, 162, etc.). John appears as the classic third member of the DEESIS and in scenes of the ANASTASIS. In Palaiologan art, narrative cycles of John are further elaborated, and when John is shown in Paradise, he is given angels' wings (M. Tatić-Djurić, *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja* 7 [1973] 39-51).

LIT. E. Lupieri, "Felices sunt qui imitantur Iohannem (Hier. Hom. in Io.)," *Augustinianum* 24 (1984) 33-71. Idem, "John the Baptist, the First Monk," *Word and Spirit* 6 (1984) 11-23. R. Janin, "Les églises byzantines du Précurseur à Constantinople," *EO* 37 (1938) 312-51. K. Corrigan, "The Witness of John the Baptist on an Early Byzantine Icon in Kiev," *DOP* 42 (1988) 1-11. C. Walter, "The Invention of John the Baptist's Head in the Wall-Calendar at Gračnica," *ZbLkUmet* 16 (1980) 71-83.

-J.I., A.K., R.F.T., A.W.C.

JOHN THE EVANGELIST, MONASTERY OF. See PATMOS.

JOHN THE EXARCH, Bulgarian writer and translator; died probably between 917 and 927. His fine knowledge of Greek and his familiarity with Byz. theology and philosophy suggest that he was educated in Constantinople, where he may have been sent by Tsar Boris I. From the late 9th C. he was a member of the circle of intellectuals at Preslav under the patronage of Tsar Symeon and held the office of exarch of the Bulgarian church; the functions of this office are unknown.

By 893 he had already translated substantial excerpts from John of Damascus's *On the Orthodox Faith*. This entailed the creation of a new technical vocabulary and a means of expressing abstract concepts in Old CHURCH SLAVONIC, the difficulty of which he recognized and discussed perceptively. His *Šestodnev*, written somewhat later, was based on the *Hexaemeron* of Basil the Great and his Greek commentators, and the *On the Constitution of Man* of MELETIOS THE MONK. By adding much material of his own, John made the *Šestodnev* a kind of encyclopedia of medieval Orthodox cosmology and culture. It contains interesting information on Bulgaria in the author's time, such as the long description of Symeon's palace in book 6. He also wrote a series of festal sermons.

John helped create medieval Slavonic literature. His wide knowledge, his command of classical rhetoric, and his occasional poetic lyricism gave him great influence both on southern Slavic literature and on the early literature of Rus'.

ED. Slova, ed. D. Ivanova-Mirčeva (Sofia 1971). *Des Hl. Johannes von Damaskus, Ekthesis akribes tes orthodoxou pisteos in der Übersetzung des Exarchen Johannes*, ed. L. Sadnik, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden 1967–83), with Germ. tr. *Das Hexaemeron (Šestodnev) des Exarchen Johannes*, ed. R. Aitzetmüller, 7 vols. (Graz 1958–75), with Germ. tr.

LIT. I. Dujčev, "Zur Biographie von Johannes dem Exarchen," *Litterae slavicae medii aevi* (Munich 1985) 67–72. Idem, "L'Hexaéméron de Jean l'Exarque," *BS* 39 (1978) 209–23. A. Lägheid, *Der rhetorische Stil im Šestodnev des Exarchen Johannes* (Wiesbaden 1965). —R.B.

JOHN THE GRAMMARIAN. See JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS.

JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS, politician; died Lesbos 13 May 1043. He was a eunuch and belonged to a family of money-changers (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 33 [1972] 39). Psellos (*Chron.* 1:44 no.18.5–7) says John advised Basil II. He supported ROMANOS III even before the latter's coronation. Romanos made him senator and *praipositos*. He aided the emperor in his conflicts with nobles such as Constantine DIOGENES and Constantine DALASSENOS. John promoted his brother to the throne as MICHAEL IV and thereby gained control of civil and military affairs, even though he was only ORPHANOTROPHOS (Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XIII [1955] 329, n.1). ARISTAKES LASTIVERTC'I declares that John was entrusted with *pronoia* and legal documents of the palace (K. Juzbašjan, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 24–28); he probably became KOURATOR of Mangana. During a famine, John purchased grain from the Peloponnesos and Hellas for Constantinople. In 1037 he vainly attempted to dismiss ALEXIOS STOUDITES and to become patriarch himself. Skylitzes (Skyl. 397.52–57) preserves a story of his healing by Nicholas of Myra. Because of Michael IV's advancing epilepsy, John arranged the succession of MICHAEL V, but upon his accession Michael replaced John as imperial favorite by his brother Constantine, who then exiled John. The accession of CONSTANTINE IX finally ruined him. He was sent to Lesbos and blinded, and he soon died. The chroniclers emphasize John's greed and harsh taxation while Psellos depicted him vividly (Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.IV

[1954] 15); closely following the text, the illustrated Madrid Skylitzes (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 504–31) pays elaborate attention to John's domestic intrigues.

LIT. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 254f. R. Janin, "Un ministre byzantin: Jean l'Orphanotrophe (XI^e siècle)," *EO* 30 (1931) 431–43. —C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

JOHN UGLJEŠA (Οὐγκλεσις in the Greek sources), Serbian *despotes* of Serres (from before 1366), called *autokrator* in a Greek act of 1369; died Černomen on the Marica River 26 Sept. 1371. The brother of VUKAŠIN, he began his career at the court of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, whom he probably served as *hippokomos* or groom. After Dušan's death in 1355, Uglješa served his widow Helena in Serres and became *de facto* ruler of the southeastern region of Dušan's empire, including Christoupolis, Philippi, Drama, and Zichna. Drama was probably the inheritance of his wife Helena, the daughter of Caesar Vojhna, who was governor of Drama. It is not clear if John Uglješa is to be identified with the grand *voivode* Ouglesis, who signed an act that is probably to be dated to 1358 (*Koutloun.*, App. IIC, p.231).

Mt. Athos was also within the territory controlled by Uglješa and he made lavish donations to several monasteries, esp. Hilandar, Koutlounousiou, and Vatopedi. In 1371 he reached a reconciliation with the patriarchate of Constantinople by agreeing to condemn the policy of Dušan, "the alleged autokrator of Serbia and 'Romania,'" who had unjustly seized cities belonging to the jurisdiction of the Byz. state and patriarchate (MM 1:562.11–25). In Jan. 1371, Sabas, *protos* of Mt. Athos, granted to Uglješa a small monastery (*monydriou*) called Makrou (or Makre) for the retirement of the *despotes*, bestowing upon this *monydriou* the rank of a great monastery (*Xénoph.*, no.31). Uglješa did not have the opportunity, however, to retire to Athos since he and his brother were defeated by the Turks that same year at the battle of MARICA, and both fell on the battlefield.

The Greek epitaph of his sister Helena, the spouse of the powerful Serbian lord Nicholas Radonja, survives in the chapel of St. Nicholas on Mt. Menoikeion (S. Subotić, S. Kisaš, *ZRVI* 16 [1975] 161–81). Uglješa's wife Helena became the nun Jefimija, the first Serbian poetess.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 12–19. Mihaljević, *Kraj carstva* 79–125. Soulis, *Dušan* 91–100. P. Lemerle, *Le monde*

de Byzance (London 1978), pt. XIX, 134–46, with add. in *Koutloun*, p.432f. V. Djurić, "Freske crkvice sv. Besrebrnika despota Jovana Uglješe u Vatopedu," *ZRVI* 7 (1961) 125–38. —J.S.A.

JOHN VLADISLAV, ruler of Bulgaria (1015–18); died near Dyrrachion Feb. 1018. Son of Aaron, one of the KOMETOPOULOI, he survived the massacre of that branch of the family by SAMUEL OF BULGARIA on the intervention of Samuel's son Gabriel Radomir. After Samuel's death, Gabriel Radomir ruled what remained of Bulgaria, until he was killed by John, perhaps at the suggestion of Basil II. A truce between Basil and John was soon broken. John procured the murder of John Vladimir, ruler of Duklja (DIOKLEIA), Samuel's son-in-law. In a vain effort to seize Dyrrachion, John was killed. His wife Maria surrendered Ohrid, herself, her sons (Traianos, Radomir, and Kliment), and six daughters to Basil; three other sons, Prousianos, ALOUSIANOS, and Aaron, yielded later.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:753–90. S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London 1930) 242–58. G. Györffy, "Zur Geschichte der Eroberung Ochrids durch Basileios II," *12 CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:149–54. Jo. Zaimov, *Bitolskijat nadpis na Ivan Vladislav samodržec bulgarski* (Sofia 1970). —C.M.B.

JONAH (Ἰωνᾶς), one of the 12 Minor PROPHETS. The Book of Jonah recounts his stay "for three days and three nights" in the belly of a great fish rather than his prophecy of days to come. Exegesis of the Book of Jonah was very popular in the 3rd–5th C., JEROME's commentary forming the peak of it; much later THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid interpreted the book of Jonah (PG 126:905–68). The explanation went two ways: an allegorical-anthropological approach explained the narrative as indicating the material wickedness of mankind (Jonah on his boat is the soul imprisoned in the body), the Christological approach emphasized the similarity of Jonah's fate and the story of Christ, Jonah being a prefiguration of Christ and of his descent to Hades. Different authors ascribed to Jonah different attitudes toward the Ninevites: in the sermon of Pseudo-Athanasios, Jonah is full of sympathy for the sinners of Nineveh, whereas Basil of Seleukeia makes him hate them and expect their chastisement.

Representation in Art. Artistic depictions of Jonah appear very early, as in the late 3rd-C.

sculpture group in Cleveland (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 365–68). Representations of Jonah were esp. popular in the CATACOMBS and on SARCOPHAGI because of his role in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE. The theme remained well known through its repetition in PSALTERS, as an illustration to the ODE of Jonah. The soteriological content of the book and the typological parallel drawn by Jesus himself (Mt 12:40) ensured its continuing popularity in MSS of the 10th–14th C., including the *Menologion of Basil II* (W. Nyssen, *Frühchristliches Byzanz* [Trier 1978] 75–79, 160), MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES (Kosm. Ind. 1:152, figs. 25–26, 2:222–25), and the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.20). Jonah also appears on the Brescia casket. Frequently Jonah is depicted among the prophets in monumental art, usually portrayed as bald, often with a short gray beard.

LIT. Y.-M. Duval, *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine*, 2 vols. (Paris 1973). J. Allenbach, "La figure de Jonas dans les textes préconstantiniens," in *La Bible et les pères* (Paris 1971) 97–112. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:647–55. J. Paul, *LCI* 2:414–21. B. Narkiss, "The Sign of Jonah," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 63–76. Lowden, *Prophet Books*.

—A.K., J.H.L., C.B.T.

JORDAN (Ἰορδάνης), river in Palestine; more specifically, a LOCUS SANCTUS on the river about 8 km north of the Dead Sea, where two biblical events were commemorated: the Baptism of Christ (see EPIPHANY) and the assumption of ELIJAH into heaven. Pilgrim veneration at the site included baptism and immersion: the PIACENZA PILGRIM observed this ritual on Epiphany. A pillar marked the spot, and a church founded by Emp. Anastasios I was nearby. John PHOKAS (ch.22), who calls Jordan "the holiest among rivers" in honor of the mystery of Christ's baptism, lists three monasteries in the area: those of Kalamon, of Chrysostom, and of John the Baptist, the last rebuilt by Manuel I. In contrast to Phokas, Constantine MANASSES (ed. K. Horna, *BZ* 13 [1904] 333.288–93) had a negative attitude toward the Jordan, criticizing its muddy and foul-tasting water.

Representation in Art. Male PERSONIFICATIONS of the river occur frequently in images of the Baptism of Christ and in the Joshua Roll and some Octateuchs containing scenes of Israelites carrying the ARK OF THE COVENANT across the Jordan; more rarely the personification of the

river appears in the context of Elijah's ascension. Like antique river-gods he often carries an urn; sometimes he is labeled merely *potamos* ("river"). Jordan assumes a variety of forms: on a 6th-C. medallion at Dumbarton Oaks he appears as two figures—his twin sources, Ior and Dan, emerging from shells. He may be represented as a youth, as on the cathedra of Maximian, or, as at Daphni, as a mature man. In the marginal Psalters Jordan is either a squatting, fully clothed individual or a half-naked divinity seen from the rear. In monumental painting of the 13th–15th C., he is more active, sometimes straddling one or more dolphins.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 162f. G. Beer, *RE* 9 (1916) 1903–07. G. Ristow, "Zur Personifikation des Jordan in Taufdarstellungen der frühen christlichen Kunst," in *Aus der byzantinischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1957) 120–26. Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll* 10–12, 69f. —G.V., A.C.

JORDANES, Latin historian; died June/July 552?, according to Wagner (*infra* 29). Of partly Gothic origins, Jordanes was notary to Gunthigis-Baza, chieftain of the Goths. His later resignation from this position was probably connected with his "conversion," an event of debated significance: a switch from Arian to Orthodox views, taking of monastic vows, or simply retirement have all been suggested.

Circa 551 Jordanes produced a three-part history. The *Romana* is composed of two sections: the *De summa temporum* (now lost), a universal chronicle extending to the reign of Augustus; and a Roman history from Romulus to 550/1. It is dedicated to a certain Vigilius, probably not the pope of that name. Of much greater significance is the *Getica*, a history of the GOTHS up to 551, composed at the behest of a certain Castalius. Written in faltering Latin, the *Getica* is abridged from the lost *Gothic Histories* of CASSIODORUS and derived from many first- and second-hand sources, including PRISKOS of Panion and AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (B. Baldwin, *RBPH* 59 [1981] 141–46). It is a fascinating source for barbarian history and society, including a notable portrait of ATTILA; it also offers (e.g., ch.143) brief but vivid glimpses of Constantinople. Jordanes writes with a clear pro-Byz. bias: for him Constantinople is the *urbs*, the East is *nostrae partes* ("our regions"), and Jus-

tinian I is eulogized as the conqueror of the Goths. The *Getica* concludes with a much-discussed passage hoping for reconciliation between the Gothic and Byz. royal families (B. Baldwin, *Hermes* 107 [1979] 489–92).

ED. T. Mommsen, *MGH AuctAnt* 5.1. Eng. tr. C.C. Mierow, *The Gothic History of Jordanes*² (Princeton 1915; rp. New York 1960). *Iordan. O proischozdenii i dejanijach getov*, ed. E. Skržinskaja (Moscow 1960), with Russ. tr.

LIT. W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800)* (Princeton 1988) 20–111. N. Wagner, *Getica: Untersuchungen zum Leben des Jordanes und zur frühen Geschichte der Goten* (Berlin 1967). —B.B.

JOSEPH, son of Jacob; biblical patriarch. In the Hellenistic apocryphal *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, he became the type of the "good man" who both loves (and fears) God and loves his neighbor. Byz. literature presented Joseph primarily as a paragon of chastity, emphasizing his behavior toward the wife of Potiphar, whose advances he rejected; this topic is developed, among others, in a homily of Basil of Seleukeia (PG 85:112–25) and another ascribed to John Chrysostom (PG 56:587–90). A second theme connected with Joseph is the apocryphal confession of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the daughter of a different Potiphar (P. Batiffol, *Studia Patristica* [Paris 1889–90] 39–86).

Representation in Art. Depictions of Joseph arose from Byz. interest in the long narrative of his fluctuating fortunes (Gen 37:2–50:26), rather than his status as a patriarch. This is reflected in the uneven distribution of the material—extensive in 5th- and 6th-C. GENESIS MSS and on the cathedra of MAXIMIAN (S. Tsuji in *Synthronon*, 43–51), but sparse after Iconoclasm, with the exception of some cycles (as in the OCTATEUCHS) or scenes (e.g., the Khludov Psalter's illustrations to Ps 104:17, 21, 23) based on early sources. There are also some puzzling anomalies, such as the full-page miniature with a lengthy Joseph cycle in five registers in the PARIS GREGORY and the Joseph cycle in the narthex frescoes at SOPOČANI. Joseph was esp. popular in Byz. Egypt.

LIT. BHG 177–179b, 2197–2201t. H.W. Hollander, *Joseph as an Ethical Model in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Leiden 1981). K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:655–65. G. Vikan, "Joseph Iconography on Coptic Textiles," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 99–108. K. Weitzmann, H. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*

(Princeton 1986) 102–24. G. Montanari, "Giuseppe l'Ebreo della Cattedra di Massimiano: Prototipi del buon governo?" *FelRav*⁴ 1–2 (1984–85) 305–22. —A.K., J.H.L.

JOSEPH, husband of the VIRGIN MARY. In New Testament apocrypha, such as the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, Joseph plays a limited number of marginal roles. The church fathers mention him occasionally in the context of his marriage, which they praised. The story of Joseph the Carpenter is told in a Coptic devotional text of probably the end of the 4th C.; the original Greek version is lost (S. Morenz, *Die Geschichte von Joseph dem Zimmermann* [Berlin 1951]). A feast of Joseph was unknown in the Greek church, but he was commemorated on the Sunday after Christmas.

Representation in Art. Generally absent from early Christian art, Joseph assumed his peripheral, but thereafter abiding, place as spectator in images of the NATIVITY on 5th-C. ivories (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.119); the cathedra of MAXIMIAN enlarges this role to include his first dream and the Flight into Egypt. Based presumably on the Protoevangelion, scenes such as Joseph's flowering rod and trial by water appear in 10th-C. Cappadocia. Joseph is represented, unusually, with his sons and the tools of his trade in the illustrations of the homilies of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAFOS, which dwelt on Joseph's reproaches to the Virgin. Consistent with a passion for narrative detail, events involving Joseph in Mary's life down to the Annunciation were favored in Palaialogan painting. The fullest such cycles are in St. Clement, OHRID, and in the CHORA (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:184–94). —J.I., A.C.

JOSEPH I, patriarch of Constantinople (28 Dec. 1266–9 Jan. 1275; 31 Dec. 1282–Mar. 1283); died Constantinople 23 Mar. 1283. Joseph served as *anagnostes* for over 30 years (1222–54) and was married for eight. In 1259/60 he became superior of the Lazaros monastery on Mt. GALESIOS. He succeeded ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS as patriarch of Constantinople, after the latter refused to retract his excommunication of MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS for the blinding of JOHN IV LASKARIS. Joseph, who was Michael's spiritual confessor, pardoned Michael in 1267, thus aggravating the

ARSENITE schism. He crowned Andronikos II as co-emperor in 1272 but would not agree to Michael's plans for UNION OF THE CHURCHES at the Council of LYONS. In 1273 he swore an oath never to accept Union under the conditions imposed by Rome (V. Laurent, *EO* 26 [1927] 396–407), and early in 1274 he retired to the Peribleptos monastery in Constantinople. He formally resigned the next year. After Michael's death and the deposition of the Unionist patriarch JOHN XI BEKKOS, Joseph returned briefly to the patriarchate but was soon forced to abdicate because of poor health. R. Macrides (*Byz. Saint* 79–81) rejects Laurent's claim that Joseph was "canonized" by GREGORY II; he was recognized as "confessor" but never received popular veneration.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1383–1423, 1453–59. *PLP*, no.9072. V. Laurent, "L'excommunication du patriarche Joseph I^{er} par son prédécesseur Arsène," *BZ* 30 (1929–30) 489–96. —A.M.T.

JOSEPH II, patriarch of Constantinople (21 May 1416–10 June 1439); born Bulgaria? ca.1360?, died Florence 10 June 1439. Of Bulgarian background, Joseph was allegedly John Asen, an illegitimate son of John II Šišman (1371–93), last tsar of Bulgaria (V. Laurent, *REB* 13 [1955] 131–34); I. Dujčev (*REB* 19 [1961] 333–39) suggests, however, that his father may have been IVAN ALEXANDER. Because he restored the monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople, Laurent also hypothesizes that Joseph's mother was a Greek of the PHILANTHROPENOS family. Nothing certain is known of his biography until he was appointed metropolitan of Ephesus ca.1393. Patriarch under Manuel II Palaialogos and John VIII, he was a supporter of UNION OF THE CHURCHES. J. Nikolov (*BBulg* 4 [1973] 202–12) hypothesizes that Joseph attended the Council of Constance in 1416–17. Despite ill health, the long-bearded octogenarian was a major figure at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE (V. Laurent, *REB* 20 [1962] 5–60); his realistic portrait, possibly by an Italian artist, is attached to a list of patriarchs in Paris, B.N. gr. 1783 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.177). With regard to the controversial FILIOQUE clause and the Procession of the Holy Spirit, Joseph took the position that the prepositions *διὰ* and *ἐκ* were equivalent, and therefore the teachings of both churches were correct. He

died of dropsy before the end of the council and was buried in Florence at the Church of S. Maria Novella.

ED. AASS Aug. 1:185f.

LIT. Gill, *Personalities* 15–34. *PLP*, no.9073.

—A.M.T., A.C.

JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES (Ῥακενδύτης, “wearer of rags,” one of the terms for a monk), also known as Joseph the Philosopher, learned monk and physician; born Ithaca ca.1260? (*PLP*) or ca.1280? (Stiernon), died Thessalonike ca.1330. Of modest background, he was a monk in Thessalonike and on Athos before coming to Constantinople ca.1307. In 1320 Joseph was an emissary from Andronikos III to Andronikos II. He was four times nominated as patriarch, but always declined. He belonged to a group of literati that flourished in Constantinople under Andronikos II and included among his friends and correspondents Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, Nikephoros GREGORAS, and Theodore METOCHITES, who wrote a funerary *enkomion* of him. Joseph was a man of wide-ranging concerns, including philosophy, rhetoric, physics, mathematics, astronomy, and theology. Like many 14th-C. intellectuals he was interested in medicine; he was the teacher of JOHN AKTOUARIOS and healed Michael GABRAS of an eye affliction. About 1324 he retired to a mountain near Thessalonike, where he spent his final years.

Joseph is best known for his *Encyclopedia*, a compendium of knowledge that included rhetoric, mathematics, music, and theology; only the section on rhetoric has been published. He also wrote hymns (G. Pentogalos, *Hellenika* 23 [1970] 114–18) and prayers.

ED. *RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 3:467–569.

LIT. M. Treu, “Der Philosoph Joseph,” *BZ* 8 (1899) 1–64. R. Criscuolo, “Note sull’ ‘Enciclopedia’ del filosofo Giuseppe,” *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 255–81. D. Stiernon, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 1388–92. *PLP*, no.9078.

—A.M.T.

JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER, saint; born Sicily (Palermo, according to E. Tomadakes) between 812 and 818, died Constantinople ca.886 at age 70; feastday 3 Apr. The dates ca.810–83 have also been suggested, but Stiernon (*infra* 248–53) questions the traditional chronology of Joseph’s life. Brought by his parents to the Peloponnese, Joseph fled to Thessalonike, became a monk, then moved to Constantinople. Captured

by Cretan Arabs on his way from Constantinople to Rome, he managed to return from Crete to Constantinople. In the capital he founded the monastery of the apostle Bartholomew. As a supporter of Patr. IGNATIOS, he was exiled by PHOTIOS to the Crimea; after his return, he was appointed patriarchal *skeuophylax*.

Joseph belonged to the poetic school of STODIOS. He contributed much to the transformation of the KANON from loosely linked paraphrases of Old Testament canticles into a unity wherein a single thought is skillfully worked out and varied in all the odes. Joseph was among the first to reduce the number of stanzas in the KONTAKION compatible with acrostic poetry. Some of his hymns were dedicated to saints of his own time, such as his spiritual father GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS, Peter of Athos (D. Papachryssanthou, *AB* 88 [1970] 27–41), and THEODORA OF THESSALONIKE (*Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich*, ed. E. Kurtz [St. Petersburg 1902] 82–86). The authorship of the latter raises problems since Theodora died in 892, that is, after the traditional date of Joseph’s death. Tomadakes (*infra* 273–85) established a list of approximately 400 works by Joseph; their attribution, however, is not always certain. Vitae of Joseph were written by his contemporary, Theophanes (whose identification with THEOPHANES OF SICILY has been disproved), and later by the deacon John; John’s attitude is more pro-Photian than that of Theophanes (G. da Costa-Louillet, *Byzantion* 25–27 [1957] 822). A puzzle with regard to Joseph’s biography is the silence about him in the Life of Gregory of Dekapolis, since Joseph’s hagiographers present him as Gregory’s closest friend.

Representation in Art. As a melode, Joseph appears at LAGOUDEA, a standing monk carrying a roll. In the *parekklesion* of the church of the CHORA MONASTERY, he occupies a pendentive and writes at a desk like an Evangelist; his scroll bears the words of his kanon for the Akathistos Hymn.

SOURCES. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patr. pertinentia*, vol. 2 (Petersburg 1901) 1–14. PG 105:939–76.

ED. PG 105:983–1426.

LIT. BHG 944–947b. E. Tomadakes, *Joseph ho Hymnographos* (Athens 1971), with criticisms by D. Stiernon, *REB* 31 (1973) 243–66. C. Van de Vorst, “Note sur s. Joseph l’Hymnographe,” *AB* 38 (1920) 148–54. Beck, *Kirche* 601f. G. Kaster, *LCl* 7:208f.

—A.K., D.C., N.P.S.

JOSEPH THE PHILOSOPHER. See JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES.

JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS (Ἰώσηπος), Jewish priest, historian, and apologist; fl. ca.38–after 100. His works written in Greek (*Jewish War* and esp. *Jewish Antiquities*) were among the most important sources for the Byz. interested in the ancient history of Palestine. They were designated authoritative by Eusebios of Caesarea and broadly used by chroniclers; for John Chrysostom, Josephus was, after Plato, his favorite pagan author (S. Krawczynski, U. Riedinger, *BZ* 57 [1964] 8); in the section of Constantine VII’s *Excerpta* titled *On Virtues and Vices* Josephus is quoted 119 times, while the *Souda* preserves over 200 citations. Greek MSS are known from the 10th C. onward, but Photios had already read several of Josephus’s works in the 9th C. Probably in the 9th or 10th C. an epitome was compiled, later used by Zonaras. Josephus was considered a stylistic model by Photios, Gregory Pardos, and Theodore Metochites, and was imitated by some Byz. authors (e.g., Niketas Choniates). Several works were falsely ascribed to Josephus by church fathers and Photios, among them the so-called 4th book of the *Maccabees* and *On the Essence of the Whole* (Photios, *Bibl.*, cod.48).

Josephus was early translated into Latin; a translation of the *War* is ascribed to Rufinus, a translation of *Antiquities* was arranged by Cassiodorus; an epitome of the *War*, the so-called *Hegesippus* (4th C.), has been wrongly attributed to Ambrose. Latin versions of Josephus have survived inter alia in a papyrus of the 6th–7th C. and a 9th-C. parchment MS. A recension of Josephus, the so-called *Sepher Yosippon*, was produced in Hebrew. Syriac, Slavic, Armenian, Georgian, and Arabic translations are also known.

LIT. H. Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden 1972). R. Fishman-Duker, “The Works of Josephus as a Source for Byzantine Chronicles” (in Hebrew), in *Flavius Josephus: Historian of Eretz-Israel in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, ed. U. Rappaport (Jerusalem 1982) 139–48. J. Schamp, “Flavius Josephus et Photios,” *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 185–96. S. Bowman, “Josephus in Byzantium,” in *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*, ed. L.H. Feldman, G. Hata (Detroit 1987) 362–85.

—S.B.B.

JOSHUA, successor to Moses and archetypal military leader. The Old Testament book ascribed to his authorship was commented on by Origen (ed.

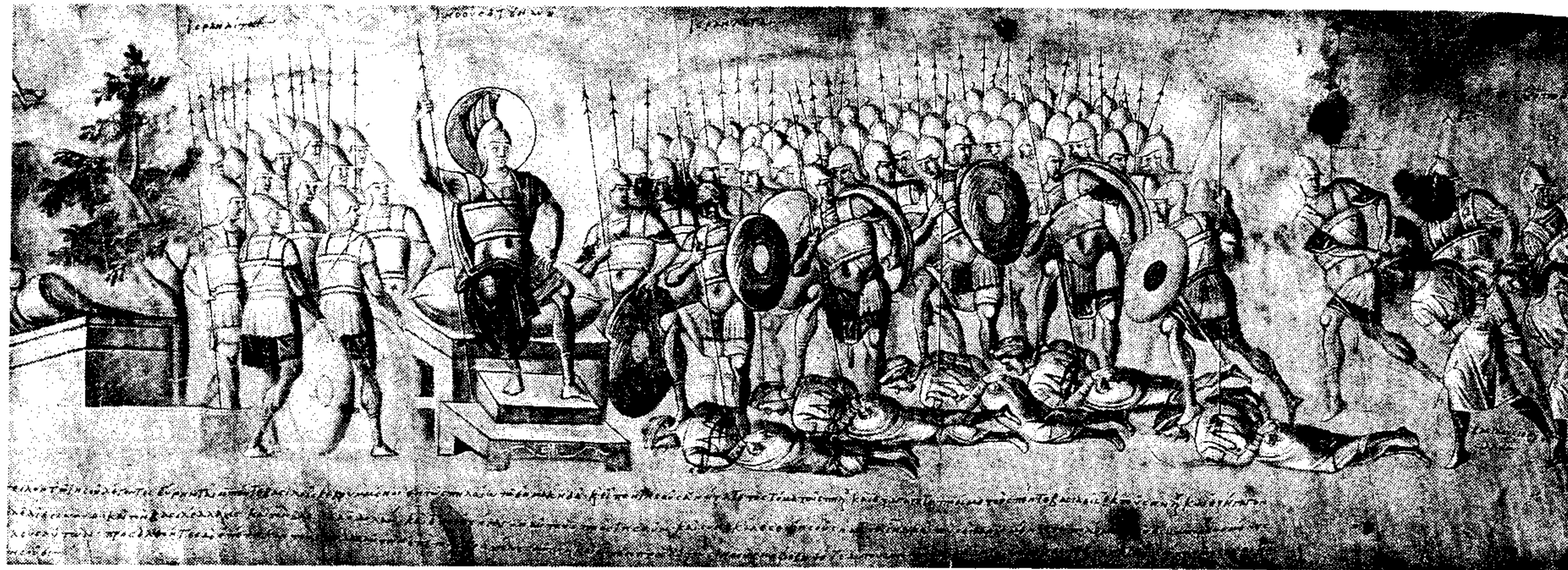
W.E. Bährens, 7 [Leipzig 1921] 286–463), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (PG 80:457–86), and Prokopios of Gaza (PG 87.1:991–1042). The Book of Joshua did not attract the attention of later Byz. exegetes.

Representation in Art. Joshua’s encounter with an archangel (interpreted as the *archistrategos* MICHAEL), his battles with the men of Ai, and his arrest of the sun’s course at Jericho were all depicted in the OCTATEUCHS, while the first of these events is represented on a fresco surviving from the Theotokos church at Hosios LOUKAS. While the angel here is preserved only in fragments, the fully armed figure of Joshua parallels the emphasis on his generalship in the JOSHUA ROLL and on ivories of the 10th C. An equestrian statue in the Forum Tauri in Constantinople was held by some to represent Joshua’s miracle at Jericho (Nik.Chon. 649.58–64).

LIT. L. Rost, W. Werbeck in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*³, vol. 3 (Tübingen 1959) 873f.

—J.I., A.C.

JOSHUA ROLL (Vat. Palat. gr. 431), a unique 10th-C. example of a parchment ROLL (10.64 m long) with continuous horizontal illustration of episodes in the first 10 chapters of the Book of Joshua. The text, written along the bottom and often omitting words or phrases, is subservient to the miniatures. These are painted in a wash technique, unusual in Byz., that reserves much unpainted parchment. Against this neutral ground, LANDSCAPE, PERSONIFICATIONS, and above all the exploits of JOSHUA, the archetypal Old Testament general, are depicted in pastel-like color against trees and rocks painted in a soft-edged, almost Pompeian manner. This style, like the Palestinian setting of the iconography, could fit the manner of painting in the reign of either Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos or Nikephoros II Phokas: the exploits of Joshua could allude to the exploits of Nikephoros II or John I Tzimiskes. Scenes of the Hebrew general’s triumphs, including acts of *proskynesis* and *calcatio* required of the enemies of Israel, depict ceremonies imposed on Arab leaders in mid-10th-C. Constantinople (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 160–62). C. Mango (*ActaNorv* 4 [1969] 126) and others suggest that the Joshua Roll is a copy of an original celebrating the victories of Herakleios. Previously believed to be a conscious imitation of a monument like the Column of Trajan, it has been interpreted by Mazal



JOSHUA ROLL. Portion of the Joshua Roll (Vat. Pal. gr. 431, sheet XIV) depicting Joshua's triumph over the five kings of the Amorites. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

(*infra*) as an innovation intended to express in a classical manner the military ethos of the Macedonian era. On the verso of the MS are 13th-C. excerpts from church fathers and a later set of building accounts. The roll was in Padua by the early 15th C. and is today arbitrarily cut into 15 sheets.

ED. and LIT. O. Mazal, *Josua-Rolle: Faksimile, Kommentar*, 2 vols. (Graz 1984). K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll* (Princeton 1948; rp. 1970). M. Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History," *GBA* 35 (1949) 161-76.

-A.C.

JOSHUA THE STYLITE, an Edessan of unknown date who was a priest and a monk at the monastery of Zuqnīn near Amida. He is known only through a scribal note of uncertain date in the 9th-C. MS Vat. Syr. 162, which contains the unique copy of the *Chronicle* of pseudo-DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAHRĒ. It has been suggested that Joshua is the author of a Syriac chronicle included *en bloc* in the *Chronicle* of pseudo-Dionysios of Tell Maḥrē that covers the years 495-506, with some earlier events being mentioned, such as the revolt of ILLOS and LEONTIOS in 484. The chronicler wrote as an eyewitness, probably before 518. The independent *Chronicle of the Persian War*, as some scholars call it, carries its own title, *The History of the Time of Troubles in Edessa, Amida, and all Mesopotamia*. The subject matter is largely an account of battles between the Roman and Persian empires under Anastasios I and Kavād, and the work is an indispensable source for the history of Persia

at this period. It is still unresolved whether Joshua was the author of the independent 6th-C. chronicle, or the author of the 8th-C. *Chronicle* of pseudo-Dionysios, or the scribe who copied the 9th-C. MS. It has been customary to adopt the first option and to speak of the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*.

ED. *The Chronicle*, ed. W. Wright with Eng. tr. (Cambridge 1882). Russ. tr. N. Pigulevskaja, *Mesopotamija na rubeže V-VI vv. n.e.* (Moscow-Leningrad 1940).

LIT. S.P. Brock, "Syriac Historical Writing," *Journal of the Iraqi Academy, Syriac Corporation* 5 (1979) 10-13. H. Gelzer, "Josua Stylites und die damaligen kirchlichen Parteien des Ostens," *BZ* 1 (1892) 34-49. E. Černousov, "Sirijskij istočnik po istorii Vizantii," *VizVrem* 25 (1927) 24-32.

-S.H.G.

JOVIAN (Ἰουλιανός), more fully Flavius Jovianus, augustus (from 27 June 363); born near Singidunum 331, died Dadastana, Bithynia, 17 Feb. 364. Possibly of barbarian origin, he was commander of the *protectores et domestici* under Emp. Julian; he was well known among the soldiers as son of the *comes domesticorum* and son-in-law of the *magister militum*. After JULIAN died on his Persian campaign in 363 and the praetorian prefect Salutius refused the purple, Jovian was chosen emperor—according to Ammianus Marcellinus at the initiative of a small group of common soldiers. Although Jovian was able to repel Persian attacks, the situation of the army, suffering from hunger in the Tigris region, and the threat of political rivalry in Constantinople caused Jovian to sign a treaty with the Persians whereby

he surrendered Mesopotamia and the strategic cities of Nisibis and Singara. He died unexpectedly on his way back to Constantinople.

Jovian differed from the pagan Julian in both appearance and behavior: tall with blue eyes, he was a gourmand and enjoyed wine and women. His education was modest, although he tried to play the role of patron. He was a Christian but tolerant of pagan beliefs. The assertion of Christian writers that he abolished the anti-Christian legislation of Julian seems to be false. His peace treaty with the Persians was regarded as ignominious by pagan authors (e.g., Ammianus Marcellinus) and criticized by Christians in Antioch; more distant writers, however, from Gregory of Nazianzos to Augustine, considered it necessary or even a gift of Providence.

LIT. G. Wirth, "Jovian. Kaiser und Karikatur," in *Vivarium: Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (Münster 1984) 353-84. A. Solari, "La elezione di Gioviano," *Klio* 26 (1933) 330-35. R. Turcan, "L'abandon de Nisibe et l'opinion publique," in *Mélanges André Piganiol*, vol. 2 (Paris 1966) 875-90.

-T.E.G.

JUDAISM, the religion of the JEWS, strictly monotheistic and primarily concerned with social justice, ethics, and family purity. Its liturgy at home and in the synagogue, based upon the Hebrew Bible and JEWISH LITERATURE, taught a political redemption by a messiah. Dietary laws required a painless slaughtering of domesticated animals, health inspection, and complete removal of blood; use of unleavened bread at Passover; separation of meat and milk; no pork; and close supervision of wine, cheese, and clothing. Males were circumcised eight days after birth. Biblical tradition required ritual ablutions and postmenstrual bath. The Jewish calendar (soli-lunar) celebrates every Sabbath and New Moon with liturgical and Pentateuchal readings. Annual holidays include New Year, Day of Atonement, Tabernacles, Passover, Pentecost, 9th of Ab (to mourn the destruction of the Temple), and Feasts of Maccabees and Esther. Byz. deprecated the observance and practices of Judaism, yet it was necessary to have practicing Jews to demonstrate that God rejected and abandoned them, and because their voluntary conversion was both a proof of the truth of Christianity and a prerequisite for Christ's return. The Bible was read in Hebrew and Aramaic until Justinian I responded to Jewish reformers (nov. 146) by

mandating use of the Septuagint and vernacular translations. He also forbade *deuterosis* (oral commentary) and denial of Christian doctrines. Palestinian Jews responded by developing *piyyut* that poeticized oral laws and by muting potentially political expressions in the liturgy. Orthodox and heterodox Christians occasionally relied on the Jewish calendar to date EASTER: Justinian legislated that Passover follow Easter (Prokopios, *SH* 28.16-18). Biblical and postbiblical Judaism influenced the symbolism (Temple as prefiguration of the Church), theology, ecclesiastical calendar, liturgy, and practice of Byz. Christianity through borrowings and converts. The tradition of magic, apocalyptic, and mysticism in Judaism paralleled that of contemporary Christian society.

LIT. J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue Due to Religious Persecutions," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 4 (1927) 241-310. Starr, *Jews* 173-80. E. Werner, "Tribus Agathas (The Good Way)," *GOrThR* 22 (1977) 143-54.

-S.B.B.

JUDAS ISCARIOT (Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης), the apostle who betrayed Christ. Byz. tradition dealt with him primarily in commentaries on ACTS. He came to represent the epitome of treachery and of monetary greed; his suicide by hanging, accompanied by bloating limbs and the gushing out of his bowels, became the typical death of the sinner. Orthodox authors compared the end of Arius (although he did not commit suicide) with Judas's foul death. Sermons devoted to Judas are rare (e.g., a short homily by pseudo-John Chrysostom, PG 61:687-90); ROMANOS THE MELODE, however, wrote an emotional poem permeated with horror at the false disciple's impious action. Some clauses in charters appoint "the fate of Judas" as the punishment for breach of contract.

Representation in Art. Judas figures throughout Byz. art in the Lord's Supper, the Betrayal of Christ, and scenes of his attempts to return the silver and of his suicide (Mt 27:3-5). The Betrayal appears already in the very earliest Passion cycles on 4th-C. Roman sarcophagi. Scenes of his remorse, first depicted in the 5th C., become frequent in the 6th; also in the 6th C., the standard composition of the Lord's Supper first appears. In none of these is Judas vilified and the same temperance extends into later periods, when Judas is portrayed as slender and young. In the Last Supper, he is distinguished—if at all—only by his

gesture toward the food; the emotive intensity that mounts in depictions of the Betrayal from the 11th C. onward expresses the anguish of the moment and not outrage toward Judas. If temperately portrayed, however, Judas was nonetheless deplored. The savage Psalm 109:6, 8 is illustrated with Judas's suicide in the marginal PSALTERS, and a 12th-C. version of the Communion of the Apostles at ASINOU (see LORD'S SUPPER) shows Judas in profile, gobbling the sop as he hurries away.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:665–68. H. Jursch, "Das Bild des Judas Iscariot im Wandel der Zeiten," 7 *IntCongChrArch* (1965) 565–70. —J.L., A.W.C.

JUDEA, WILDERNESS OF, term for the rocky and sparsely inhabited region south of Jerusalem and Jericho and west of the Dead Sea as far as Arad and Elusa, which became the principal area of monastic settlement in late antique Palestine. The first monastic founder in the area was St. Chariton in the 4th C.; other lavras were founded in the 5th C. by monks such as St. EUTHYMIOUS THE GREAT, from whose settlement Christianity spread among the Arab tribes of the Parembolē (the region of Palaestina I, northwest of the Dead Sea); St. SABAS, whose monastery housed a famous library and scriptorium; Sts. Gerasimos, Choziba, Kalamon, and others. These monastic houses were the centers of the Greek and later Arabic literary and spiritual life of the Chalcedonian patriarchate of Jerusalem, and several benefited from imperial patronage. In the 5th–7th C. these monasteries and their monks were visited by writers, such as CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, John MOSCHOS, and others. They maintained their integrity in the face of Arab raids while under Roman rule, but after the Arab conquest of Palestine some were destroyed, while others changed the language of their culture from Greek to Arabic.

LIT. O. Meinardus, "Notes on the Laurae and Monasteries of the Wilderness of Judaea," *Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus* 15 (1964–65) 220–50; 16 (1965–66) 328–56. A. van der Heyden, "Monasteries of the Judean Desert," *Ariel* 65 (1986) 77–90. J. Patrich, R. Rubin, "Les grottes de al-'Aleiliyât et la Laure de Saint-Firmin," *RevBibl* 91 (1984) 381–87. Y. Hirschfeld, "The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period" (Ph.D. diss., Jerusalem 1987). —L.S.B.MacC.

JUDGE. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the generic term *kritai* designated several high-ranking officials who enjoyed judicial as well as administrative and financial rights: the EPARCH OF THE CITY, QUAESTOR, and EPI TON DEESEON, and their staffs. Some other functionaries had their own law courts and presided over litigation; since the ARCHONTES, as BALSAMON puts it, were often incompetent in legislation, special assessors (SYM-PONOI), also called *kritai*, were attached to them. In 539 Justinian I tried to create a body of professional judges, *diaitetai* of the agora (nov. 82.1). This institution seems to have fallen into desuetude; in the *ECLOGA* the term *krites* appears only once, in a biblical quotation (164.74). The thematic judges of the 10th–11th C. were administrators of provinces, whereas *politikoi* and *litai kritai* functioned as assessors. In the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escorial, however, the college of professional judges, the *kritai tou Hippodromou* and *kritai* of the VELUM, reappeared, and soon thereafter Constantine IX Monomachos reintroduced legal education. These judges probably had their tribunal at the Hippodrome. The judge of the velum remained active through the later period, when new categories of professional judges, such as KRITAI KATHOLIKOI and KRITAI TOU PHOSSATOU, also appeared.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 1:499–507. Oikonomides, *Listes* 319–23. Bury, *Adm. System* 69–78. —A.K.

JUDICIUM QUINQUEVIRALE, a tribunal in the late Roman Empire consisting of the urban prefect and five senators chosen by lot; it was convened under special circumstances to determine whether senators were guilty of capital offenses. The *judicium quinquevirale* was still a living institution in Italy in 506, but did not exist in Constantinople, thus reflecting the greater social status of SENATORS in the West.

LIT. C.H. Coster, "The iudicium quinquevirale in Constantinople," *BZ* 38 (1938) 119–32. —A.K.

JUGUM (ζυγόν, lit. "yoke"), initially a unit for measuring land, supposedly according to the plowing capacity of a yoke of oxen (about 12,616 sq. m of first quality arable, about 15,104 sq. m of second quality). In the context of Diocletian's reform of the FISCAL SYSTEM, the *jugum* was a unit

of account used for taxing land in the system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO. As a measure of tax liability for equitably distributing the *annona* obligations among taxpayers, *jugum* could correspond to surfaces varying according to the land's quality or to the kind of cultivation: for example, one fiscal *jugum* could correspond to 6,300 sq. m of vines, about 25,000 sq. m of first quality arable, or 50,000 sq. m of second quality arable, etc. (See also ZEUGARION.)

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 75, 78f. Goffart, *Caput* 32–35. —N.O.

JULIAN (Ἰουλιανός), sometimes called "the Apostate," emperor (from 361); born Constantinople May/June 332, died on campaign on the Persian frontier, 26 June 363. He was the son of Julius Constantius (half-brother of Constantine I) and the half-brother of GALLUS. In 337 his father and many relatives were murdered, probably at the order of Constantius II. Julian was sent to Nikomedeia and then to Cappadocia, where he grew up, entered minor Christian orders, and perhaps finally embraced paganism. As a young man he studied at Nikomedeia and Athens. In 355 Julian was summoned to court and made caesar; he was put in charge of the western provinces that were threatened by revolt and pressure from the Alemanni and Franks, against whom he was remarkably successful.

When Constantius ordered Julian to dispatch his troops to the eastern frontier in 361, they revolted and proclaimed Julian as emperor. Negotiations failed but Julian became sole emperor when Constantius died on 3 Nov. 361. Julian then set about to restore traditional Roman society and undo the innovations he associated with the house of Constantine. The most famous aspect of this policy was his attempted revival of PAGANISM. Julian's paganism was practical (it was to imitate the organization and social policies of contemporary Christianity), but also influenced by magic and charlatans like MAXIMOS OF EPHEBUS. Julian's law excluding Christians from the teaching profession was condemned even by pagans. Julian's Persian expedition was initially successful, but he was unexpectedly struck and killed by a spear from an unknown assailant and his policies died with him.

To contemporary and later Christian authors

Julian was the personification of evil. Gregory of Nazianzos, Cyril of Alexandria, and Ephrem the Syrian all wrote against him. Sozomenos records a thoroughly legendary account of his life, and Malalas, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and the *Life of St. Basil* (falsely attributed to Amphilochios of Ikonion) build upon the story. Attention to the apostate remained keen in the 9th C., when an extended sequence of miniatures in the PARIS GREGORY (fols. 374v, 409v) culminates in the legend (based on the *Chronicon Paschale*) that Julian was slain by St. MERKOURIOS.

Two statues in Paris and a head on Thasos, as well as ivory and bone statuettes and an engraved gem in Leningrad (H. von Heintze in *Studien Deichmann* 2:31–41), have been identified as likenesses of Julian. Contemporary sources describe Julian as short and heavy, with a thick neck, animated eyes, and a philosopher's beard, features that are confirmed by sculpture and numismatic portraits (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 48f, 52). He is usually shown wearing a priestly diadem and a philosopher's mantle. Julian was the author of voluminous correspondence, and tracts such as the *Misopogon*, *Against the Galileans*, and the satirical dialogue *The Caesars*.

ED. *Works*, ed. W.C. Wright, 3 vols. (London–New York 1913; rp. 1930), with Eng. tr.

LIT. R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976). G.W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism* (Oxford 1981). E. Pack, *Städte und Steuern in der Politik Julians: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen eines Kaiserbildes* (Brussels 1986). N.H. Baynes, "The Death of Julian the Apostate in a Christian Legend," *JRS* 27 (1937) 22–29. M. Wegner, "Die Bildnisse des Julian," in H.P. L'Orange, M. Wegner, *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen* (Berlin 1984) 159–64. —T.E.G., A.C.

JULIAN OF ASKALON, 6th-C. architect known only as the author of the treatise *On the Laws or Customs in Palestine*. It remains debatable whether Julian's treatise was an unofficial work or a collection of police prescriptions to regulate building activity. Julian defines the location of, and distances between, industrial buildings (bakeries, ceramic kilns, glass shops, etc.), bath houses, private buildings, stables, inns, etc.; regulates gutters and sewers and the planting of trees and vineyards. The main purpose of the tract was to preserve beauty and light in the city. The text is transmitted

in a Geneva MS, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire 23, in the appendix to the *BOOK OF THE EPARCH*. A similar MS evidently served HARMENOPOULOS, because the chapters from Julian's work incorporated into his *Hexabiblos* are inscribed—wrongly—with the word *eparchikon*. Harmenopoulos incorporated all of Julian's texts contained in Geneva 23, except for the *prooimion* (Harm. 2.4.13–23, 25–44, 47–51, 75–80, 82, 83, 85–88; all other chapters of title 2.4 are, contrary to prevailing opinion, excerpted from other sources). Individual chapters of Julian's treatise show similarities with the pre-Justinianic SYRO-ROMAN LAW-BOOK, which did not, however, serve as a direct model.

ED. G.E. Heimbach, *Constantini Armenopoli Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos* (Leipzig 1851; rp. Aalen 1969) 238–90.

LIT. C. Ferrini, *Opere I* (Milan 1929) 443–52. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, "O traktate Juliana Askalonita," *ADSV* 1 (1960) 3–34. D. Gkines, "To Eparchikon Biblion kai hoi Nomoi Ioulianou tou Askalonitou," *EEBS* 13 (1937) 183–91. H.J. Scheltema, "The Nomoi of Iulianus of Ascalon," in *Symbolae ad jus et historiam antiquitatis pertinentes Julio Christiano van Oven dedicatae* (Leiden 1946) 349–60. —M.Th.F.

JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS, primary exponent of APHTHARTODOCETISM; died Egypt soon after 527. A Monophysite, he collaborated with SEVEROS of Antioch against Makedonios II, patriarch of Constantinople (495–511), provoking an uprising in July 511 that gave Emp. Anastasios I an excuse to depose the patriarch. In 518, when the Orthodox faction gained the upper hand, Julian lost his see and together with Severos had to flee to Alexandria. In exile the alliance dissolved: Julian developed Aphthartodocetic ideas and entered into conflict with Severos, who asserted that Christ's body before his resurrection was corruptible. Moreover, while Severos taught that Adam was created corruptible and mortal, Julian viewed him as originally incorruptible and immortal, but as undergoing a transformation after his sin. Julian's treatises written against Severos are lost and known only from the latter's quotations. A commentary on the book of Job was falsely attributed to Julian (see *Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian*, ed. D. Hagedorn [Berlin–New York 1973]).

LIT. R. Dragnet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse* (Louvain 1924). P. Carrara, "I frammenti greci del *Contra additiones Iuliani* di Severo di Antiochia," *Prometheus* 11 (1985) 89–92. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:1603f. —T.E.G.

JULIAN THE EGYPTIAN, 6th-C. poet. Described in the lemmata of his epigrams as *apo hypaton* and *apo hyparchon* (APO EPARCHON), he has been identified by Av. and Al. Cameron (*JHS* 86 [1966] 12–14) with the praetorian prefect of 530–31. Julian may be the consul to whom PRISCIAN dedicated his *Institutiones grammaticae*. The GREEK ANTHOLOGY preserves about 80 of his epigrams, thanks to their inclusion in the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS; he may also have published a collection himself. Most of his poems are anathematic, sepulchral, and ekphrastic, only rarely erotic. They are conventional in subject and style but sometimes give tantalizing glimpses into contemporary events, notably the NIKA REVOLT of 532 and the attempted coup of HYPATIOS with whom Julian was somehow involved.

ED. *AnthGr*, see index. Eng. tr. in Paton, *Greek Anth.*, see index.

LIT. K. Hartigan, "Julian the Egyptian," *Eranos* 73 (1975) 43–54. Al. Cameron, "Some Prefects called Julian," *Byzantion* 47 (1977) 42–64. —B.B.

JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS", banker in RAVENNA and founder of the Church of S. Vitale; fl. second quarter of 6th C. He may have come from the East: from the form of a monogram in the gallery of this church, Deichmann (*infra*) deduced that Julianus was Greek or Greek-speaking. The banker's sponsorship is noted in several Latin inscriptions and Greek monograms in the church; Ecclesius, bishop of Ravenna (522–32), is named in these inscriptions as having ordered Julianus to construct and decorate S. Vitale. According to AGNELLUS of Ravenna (chs. 57–59), Julianus began this work after Ecclesius returned from an embassy to Constantinople (together with Pope John I) in 526. The same source reports that Julianus spent 26,000 solidi on the project, but also, improbably, relates that he founded the churches of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Stefano in Ravenna. Julianus was the patron of S. Apollinare in Classe, where an inscription records his sponsorship, and the now-destroyed S. Africisco in Ravenna that he cosponsored with a certain Ba-cauda, sometimes said to be his brother-in-law. The absence of any dignities attached to the banker's name in the inscription suggests that he acted as a private individual, not as an official of the church or state. For this reason he cannot be identified with the figure in court costume in the

bema mosaic of S. Vitale, standing between Justinian I and Archbp. MAXIMIAN, who dedicated the church in 546.

LIT. Deichmann, *Ravenna* 2.2:3–33. Idem, "Giuliano Argentario: Il munifico fondatore di chiese ravennati," *FelRav* 56 (1951) 5–26. G. Bovini, "Giuliano Argentario," *FelRav* 101 (1970) 125–50. S.J.B. Barnish, "The Wealth of Iulianus Argentarius: Late Antique Banking and the Mediterranean Economy," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 5–38.

—A.C., A.K.

JULIUS NEPOS, the last Western emperor recognized by Constantinople (19 or 24 June 474–28 Aug. 475); died near Salona 9 May 480. Julius was the nephew of Marcellinus, the nearly independent ruler of Dalmatia. He was on good terms with Leo I and married a relative of the empress VERINA. Julius apparently inherited his uncle's power in 468 and was given the title of *magister militum* of Dalmatia. In 473/4 Leo I (or those acting for the minor Leo II) sent him to Ravenna to depose the usurper Glycerius, who had succeeded ANTHEMIOS. Glycerius was arrested near Rome or Ravenna. Overthrown by the *magister militum* Orestes, Julius fled to Dalmatia. Orestes then placed his young son ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS on the throne in Ravenna. Romulus was never recognized by the Eastern court, and Julius was therefore still the legitimate Western emperor. In 477 he tried to persuade Zeno to help him regain the throne, but the emperor was content with the rule of ODOACER in Italy and did not go beyond a symbolic gesture, being afraid of Julius's connections with Verina and BASILISKOS. There is a vague statement by Kandidos suggesting that after 476 Julius was accepted in Gaul as a legitimate ruler; at any rate he retained control of Dalmatia until his murder, which was probably arranged by Glycerius.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 16 (1935) 2505–11. Bury, *LRE* 1:404f. Kaegi, *Decline* 47–50. J.P.C. Kent, "Julius Nepos and the Fall of the Western Empire," in *Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata* (Graz-Cologne 1966) 146–50.

—T.E.G.

JURA IN RE ALIENA, concept of Roman law denoting limited rights of OWNERSHIP. Roman law developed a system of these *jura in re* that encompassed servitudes (SERVITUS), USUFRUCT, SUPERFICIES, EMPHYTEUSIS, and several forms of limited

dominium such as a husband's right to dotal land, conditional rights of owners (as in the case of heirs appointed under certain conditions), a right to an object of litigation, a right of the pledgee (if the debt was not paid), etc. The *jura in re* were based on CONTRACT or (infrequently) on an administrative act.

In post-classical law, since the notion of ownership became confused, the concept of *jura in re* was lost (Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2, par.238 II), but the reality of a lesser degree of ownership evolved. Gorecki (*infra*) considers as *jura in re* five types of land (mostly abandoned) on which neighbors, the village community, or the state established temporary rights. Byz. documents mention the rights of neighbors to enter adjoining property to eat—but not remove—grapes and other fruit, to graze their livestock, to collect firewood, to fish, etc. Unlike Roman *jura in re*, these unsystematized Byz. rights were based not on contract but on custom—*ethos* or *synetheia* (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 39 [1989] 15–17).

LIT. E. Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property* (Philadelphia 1951) 39–43. D. Gorecki, "Land Tenure in Byzantine Property Law, *jura in re aliena*," *GRBS* 22 (1981) 191–210. —A.K.

JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ, prince of Suzdal'; son of VLADIMIR MONOMACH; born ca.1090, died Kiev 15 May 1157. Dolgorukij, or Long-Arm, is a sobriquet used only since the 16th C. Jurij (George) laid the foundations of the new principality between the Oka and Volga rivers. Byz., the princes of GALITZA, and the CUMANS supported his claim to the throne of Kiev. In a long struggle against his nephew, Izjaslav of Kiev, who was aided by Hungary, Jurij managed to reign in Kiev three times: 28 Aug. 1149–early summer 1150, Sept. 1150–March 1151, and from 20 March 1155. His second wife, whom he married in the 1150s, was possibly a Byz. Jurij rejected Metr. KLIM SMO-LJATIC, who backed his rival Izjaslav. When Klim was elected, the rights of the patriarch of Constantinople and *endemousa synodos* were ignored, and thus Jurij sought a new metropolitan in the Byz. capital. Constantine, an erudite theologian, was consecrated in fall 1155, arrived in Kiev in summer 1156, and, with Jurij's support, started to purge the clergy. The church of Rus' was effectively split until 1159 since some bishops did not recognize Constantine's jurisdiction.

LIT. Hruševs'kyi, *Istoriia* 2:152–82. G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven-London 1948–49) 97f, 217–19, 262, 351. —An.P.

JURISTIC PERSONS, a conventional legal term, not found in Roman law, that applied the term *persona* (or *caput*) only to human beings. Nevertheless, both Roman and Byz. law had to deal with corporate bodies (microstructures) endowed with rights and liabilities: VILLAGE COMMUNITIES, *municipia*, and GUILDS. There are documents showing that the village community owned land and acted collectively in court; similar evidence concerning *municipia* and guilds is vague and questionable. Churches, monasteries, and charitable institutions also acted as juristic persons: they owned properties, could inherit movable and immovable property, sue, and be summoned to trial. More complex is the question of whether the emperor's *patrimonium* was considered a juristic person distinct from the state: the Byz. recognized a distinction between state (*demosios*) property and the emperor's (*basilikos*) property, treasury, etc., but it is unclear whether this difference in terms had any significance in everyday practice.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:103–07. Buckland, *Roman Law* 173–79. B. Biondi, *Il diritto romano cristiano* 2 (Milan 1952) 341f. —A.K.

JUSTIN I (Ἰουστῖνος), emperor (from 9 July 518); born Bederiana (province of Dardania) ca.450 or 452, died Constantinople 1 Aug. 527. The son of a poor peasant, Justin migrated to Constantinople ca.470, joined the army, and made a military career; he participated in wars against the Isaurians and Persians and helped to suppress the revolt of VITALIAN. After Anastasios I died, Justin was proclaimed emperor by the army and factions; Prokopios suggests that Justin's election was a result of his crafty use of money given to him to bribe soldiers to support another candidate, Theokritos. After his accession Justin executed a group of influential aristocrats, including Vitalian and Theokritos, deposed others, and brought back from exile those banished by Anastasios. Justin stopped Anastasios's imbalanced religious policy, accepted the Chalcedonian course, and put an end to the AKAKIAN SCHISM. Justin made an alliance with the papacy—Pope JOHN I visited Constantinople—and gained authority in the West.

Relations with the Ostrogoths became strained in the last years of THEODORIC, however, and persecution of the Arians reached its peak in Byz. Justin enjoyed peaceful relations with the Persia of Kavād I but endeavored to surround Persia with Byz. allies such as Lazica, the Huns, the Arabs, and Ethiopia. In 526 he waged an unsuccessful war against Persia.

Prokopios presents Justin as dull, boorish, and illiterate (he allegedly used a stencil to sign documents); it is generally thought that Justin's nephew JUSTINIAN (I) was the actual master of the empire. Justin's wife was Lupicina Euphemia. The painter Marinos of Apameia depicted the story of Justin's arrival in Constantinople on the walls of a public bath.

LIT. A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). *PLRE* 2:648–51. G. Wirth, "Zur Datierung einiger Ereignisse in der Regierungszeit Justins I.," *Historia* 13 (1964) 376–83. A. Solari, "La successione di Giustino in Bisanzio" and "La politica estera orientale durante l'impero di Giustino," in *AttiLinc, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 8.3 (1948) 339–49 and 350–59.

—W.E.K., A.C.

JUSTIN II, emperor (from 15 Nov. 565); nephew of Justinian I; died Constantinople 4/5 Oct. 578. As a young man, Justin became *kouropalates*; his marriage to SOPHIA, Theodora's niece, strengthened his position. Justin's elevation (described in detail by CORIPPUS) was achieved by a narrow group of functionaries within the palace. After the election he probably authorized the execution of his rival Justin, son of GERMANOS. Justin's international policy was unsuccessful: he attempted to surround Persia with his allies (Turks, Ethiopians), refused to pay the stipulated tribute (H. Turtledove, *BZ* 76 [1983] 292–301), and waged a war against CHOSROES II in 572 that led to territorial losses. In the West the victory of the Avars and Lombards over the GEPIDS opened the Lombard way to Italy in 568; the Avars under BAIAN invaded the territory south of the Danube; in Spain the Visigoths seized some cities. Domestically, Justin tried to emulate Justinian, but his legislation was on a small scale; his most important law was the reinstitution of DIVORCE by consent. His artistic patronage suggests the coalescence of Christian ideology and the traditional imperial cult, a synthesis expressed in the much-restored silver cross that he sent to Rome, bearing portraits of the augusti flanking the Lamb (Rice, *Art of Byz.*,

pl.71). Because Justin suffered attacks of insanity (E. Kislinger, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 39–44), Sophia advised him to appoint TIBERIOS (I) caesar and his successor, advice that he followed. Justin's speech to Tiberios, preserved in several versions (V. Val'denberg, *IzvAN SSSR, Otdelenie gumanitarnykh nauk* [1928] no.2:111–40; Av. Cameron, *BS* 37 [1976] 161–67), served many generations as a mirror of the imperial ideal.

LIT. K. Groh, *Geschichte des oströmischen Kaisers Justin II* (Leipzig 1889; rp. Aalen 1985). Stein, *Studien* 1–55. Av. Cameron, "The Early Religious Policies of Justin II," *SChH* 13 (1976) 51–67. —W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

JUSTINIAN (Ἰουστινιανός), general; son of GERMANOS and Passara; born Constantinople after 525, died Constantinople 582. Justinian fought the Slavs in Illyricum in 552. In 572, he supported an Armenian rebellion against Persia. Three years later, as supreme commander of the army against the Persians, he won a great victory over CHOSROES I at Melitene; he seized enormous booty but was unable to retain Armenia. Apparently Justinian hoped to succeed Justin II, but was frustrated by TIBERIOS (I). Justinian participated in the intrigues of SOPHIA against Tiberios late in the reign of Justin II (578), but failed and, after contritely giving Tiberios 1,500 pounds of gold, made peace with him. Between 579 and 581 another conspiracy of Justinian was discovered, in which Sophia hoped to raise him to the throne. Germanos, who married Tiberios's daughter Charito, was raised to caesar by Tiberios, and may have been Justinian's son. Justinian was less successful at court intrigue than warfare in the field. He was a competent military commander, but his ambitions were a destabilizing element in the reigns of Tiberios and Maurice.

LIT. E. Stein, *RE* 10 (1919) 1310–13. —W.E.K.

JUSTINIAN I, emperor (from 1 Aug. 527); given name Flavius Peter Sabbatios; born Bederiana (province of Dardania) ca.482, died 14 Nov. 565 (*PLRE* 2:648). The nephew of JUSTIN I, Justinian made a brilliant career under his uncle, who appointed him co-emperor on 1 Apr. 527. PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA describes Justinian as an individual of medium height, with a round face ruddy even after two days of fasting (*SH* 8.12), an approachable and gentle man who never showed his

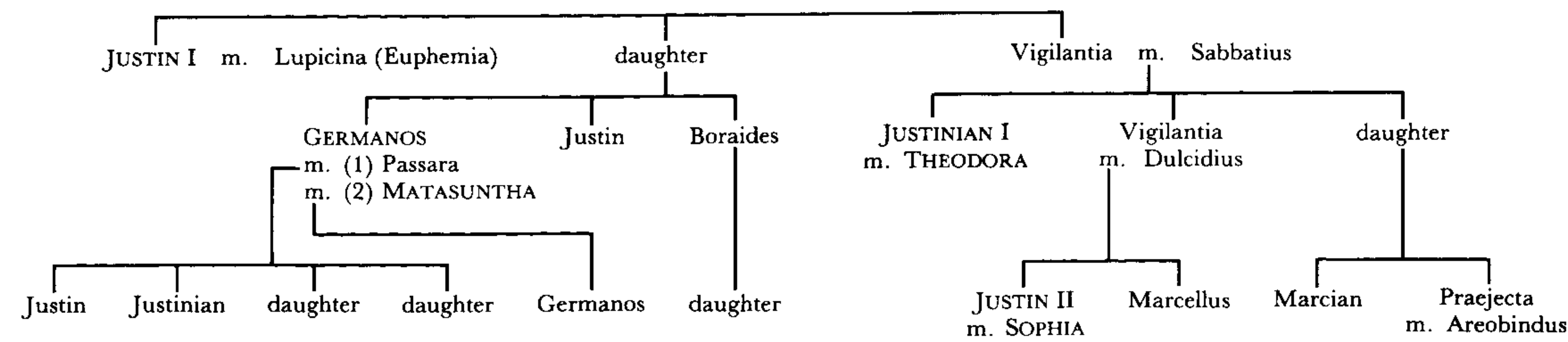
anger and who, in a quiet voice, would order the death of thousands of innocent men (*SH* 13.1–3). Justinian was simple in his tastes, indifferent to splendor, able to work day and night, and crafty in displaying sympathy and even tears.

A man of low origin, Justinian came into conflict with the aristocracy. He was surrounded by energetic, unscrupulous, but loyal people who did not belong to the upper crust of society—his wife THEODORA, his nephew GERMANOS, the generals BELISARIOS and NARSES, and the administrators JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA and TRIBONIAN. The aim of his policy was to create a strong empire, based on a unified administrative system and a single creed, encompassing the whole Mediterranean and ostensibly brilliant. To this end he promulgated the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. To increase the state's income, he often guided reform of the tax system: he developed the EMPHYTEUSIS, tried to eliminate the difference between *adscripticii* and slaves, and developed land ownership of the fisc. He also subsidized the development of trade and attempted to find new trade routes circumventing Persia. Among secrets acquired by the Byz. under Justinian was that of SILK production.

Justinian was personally involved in theological disputes; he sponsored the fifth ecumenical council and pressured Pope VIGILIUS. Proclaiming the principle that the emperor's will is law, Justinian suppressed political and ideological resistance, quashing the movement of the SAMARITANS and the NIKA REVOLT.

He built or reconstructed more than 30 churches in Constantinople alone (G. Downey, *ArtB* 32 [1950] 262–66) including that of the Virgin of PEGE, at the site of a spring whose waters he believed had cured him of a kidney ailment, and above all HAGIA SOPHIA, the altar cloth of which, according to PAUL SILENTIARIOS, bore images of hospitals and other foundations of Justinian. Legends concerning his role in the construction of the Great Church, including the revelation of its plan to him by an angel, are collected in the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Justinian's equestrian statue stood in the AUGUSTAION; extant contemporary portraits of the beardless emperor are preserved in S. Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe in RAVENNA. A 9th- or 10th-C. mosaic in Hagia Sophia shows him bearded, presenting his foundation to the Virgin.

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF JUSTINIAN I



Based on R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London 1987) 8.

Justinian's international policy was intended to restore authority over the western part of the Roman Empire: North Africa was occupied in 533–34, Italy only after a long and costly war in 535–55; in Spain his army was able to occupy only some coastal areas. The situation in the East was more dangerous, and CHOSROES I managed to seize several regions; tactics on the Danube were defensive and the empire ensured peace by paying tribute and stationing troops on the frontiers to repel invading bands.

Justinian's evaluation has been contradictory since Prokopios, who sometimes debases Justinian and at other times praises him highly. The problem is whether Justinian attempted to retain obsolete institutions that wasted the resources of his country or established enduring values that laid the foundation for the long existence of a mighty empire. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:275–845. R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London 1987). B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1960). —W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

JUSTINIAN II, emperor (685–95 and 705–11); born Constantinople ca.668, died Damatrys 7 Nov. 711 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 51). He was son of Constantine V and Anastasia; an improbable tradition places his birth in Cyprus (*De adm. imp.* 47). He had a daughter by his first wife Eudokia. Justinian became emperor on Constantine's death, but may have been crowned co-emperor as early 681/2. He soon sent LEONTIOS against the Arabs in Armenia and encouraged the MARDAITES to raid Lebanon, forcing 'ABD AL-

MALIK to make peace in 688; in 693, however, the Byz. had to evacuate Armenia after being defeated in Asia Minor as a result of the desertion of the Slavic chief, NEBOULOS, and his troops. After campaigning in SKLAVINIA in 688 he formed the *kleisoura* of the Strymon and probably the HELLAS theme and resettled captives in the Opsikion. A fresco in the Church of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike may commemorate his arrival (acc. to A.A. Vasiliev, *OrChrP* 13 [1947] 355–68, but denied by J. Breckenridge, *BZ* 48 [1955] 116–22). His resettlement of KYZIKOS with Cypriots in 690/1 was part of grander colonization schemes (Charanis, *Demography*, pt. III [1961], 143f).

Ardently Orthodox, Justinian convoked a synod in 686/7 that confirmed the rejection of MONOTHELETISM. He also persecuted the PAULICIANS, tried to subordinate Armenia to Constantinople's jurisdiction in 689/90, collaborated with Patr. Paul III (688–94) to introduce reforms at the Council in TRULLO, and tried to arrest Pope SERGIUS I for rejecting the Trullan acts. Justinian introduced the first images of Christ on the coinage and moved the emperor's image to the reverse (J.D. Breckenridge, *Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* [New York 1959]). His building projects included additions, such as the TRIKLINOS, to the Great Palace. Heavy taxation and excesses by the eunuch STEPHEN THE PERSIAN prompted Leontios to dethrone and mutilate Justinian in 695; thereafter he was nicknamed *rhinotmetos* ("cut-nose") and reportedly wore a gold nose. Exiled to CHERSON, he sought help from the Khazar khagan, whose sister married him in 703 and took the name Theodora.

Justinian regained the throne with help from TERVEL in 705, and crowned Theodora (the first foreign-born Byz. empress) and their infant son Tiberios. Through diplomacy he stayed friendly with the Lombards and Bulgars but, under MASLAMA, the Arabs invaded Asia Minor several times. Justinian cultivated good relations with the papacy, including JOHN VII (J.D. Breckenridge, *BZ* 65 [1972] 364–74). In 711 Justinian met Pope Constantine I (708–15) at Nikomedeia and supported him against a revolt in RAVENNA by the local archbishop and nobility. In 711 he launched an expedition against Cherson, perhaps to punish the city for ill-treating him in exile but more likely to halt Khazar advances in the CRIMEA. The fleet revolted and proclaimed as emperor PHILIPPIKOS, who forced Justinian to flee Constantinople for Asia Minor, where he was killed by ELIAS. His body was thrown into the sea, but his head was exhibited in Rome and Ravenna.

LIT. C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Madison, Wis., 1972). F. Görres, "Justinian II und das römische Papsttum," *BZ* 17 (1908) 432–54. I. Dujčev, "Le triomphe de l'empereur Justinien II en 705" in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:83–91. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:1–74, 103–82. —P.A.H.

JUSTINIANA PRIMA (Ἰουστινιανὴ Πρῖμα), city in the province of Dardania in Illyricum, founded by JUSTINIAN I near his birthplace of Tauresium. Although its location has been much discussed, it is now usually identified as the site of Caričin Grad, 45 km south of Niš. The city was deliberately chosen to become a great urban center; although it was off the major roads, its proximity to quarries facilitated large-scale construction. According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.1.17–27), Justiniana had an aqueduct, churches, great stoas, beautiful fountains, streets, baths, marketplaces, and shops. Justinian planned to transfer the seat of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum to his new city and promoted it to the ecclesiastical capital of western Illyricum. In 535 he made the archbishop of the city autocephalous, but in 545 he yielded to the protests of Pope AGAPETUS and accepted papal jurisdiction over his new foundation (B. Granić, *Byzantium* 2 [1925–26] 123–40). Justiniana was captured by the Avars and Slavs, who invaded the area in the early 7th C. The archbishopric of Justiniana is unknown after 602; in the 12th C. the bishops of VELBUŽD and then the archbishops of OHRID assumed the title of archbishop of Jus-

tiniana Prima (G. Prinzing, *BBulg* 5 [1978] 269–87).

The ruins at Caričin Grad extend over several acres of land, including an acropolis and a lower town. The polygonal acropolis contained the cathedral, an adjoining baptistery, and perhaps the bishop's palace. On the slope below, the unfortified town had a colonnaded main street, a circular piazza, bathhouses, and more churches. Most of the construction dates from the reign of Justinian, the acropolis being built ca.530, the lower town somewhat later. Despite the city's grandiose plan, column capitals from the site are crudely carved and in a style that was out of date by the time the city was founded (Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 267). The latest coin hoard discovered at the site dates to 613, and the latest single coin to 615.

LIT. V. Kondić, V. Popović, *Caričin Grad* (Belgrade 1977). *Caričin Grad* I, ed. N. Duval, V. Popović (Belgrade-Rome 1984). Dj. Mano-Zisi, *Caričin Grad—Justiniana Prima* (Leskovac 1979). B. Bavant, "La ville dans le nord de l'Illyricum," *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984) 272–85. —A.K., I. Dj., A.C.

JUST PRICE (δικαία τιμή, Lat. *justum pretium*). The concept of just price, like that of MONOPOLY, was derived from the general idea of state control of the economy: Diocletian introduced the term in a law of 285 (*Cod.Just.* IV 44.2) and established maximum prices of various goods in his PRICE EDICT. Control over PRICES and MEASURES formed a dominant characteristic of Byz. commerce, and the *Book of the Eparch* limited rates of PROFIT and prohibited merchants and artisans from raising prices above "the necessary level" (e.g., *Bk. of Eparch* 10:2). Especially substantial was the control over the price of GRAIN.

The Byz. did not develop the theory of just price to a point equivalent to that of Western teaching; nevertheless the concept permeated agrarian legislation of the Macedonian dynasty: the legislators indicate that many DYNATOI, partly by coercion, partly owing to the unsettled conditions in the wake of the famine of 927–28, had acquired lands of the poor either by ignoring legal restrictions (e.g., PROTIMESIS) or by paying a price below the one that was standard or "just." In such cases, the poor might recover their property within 40 years from the date of sale, and Basil II even abolished this 40-year prescription; in some cases a refund was required as reimbursement for im-

provements made upon the restored lands. The just price could be set on the basis of an official estimate, as in the case of KLASMA (N. Oikonomides, *FM* 7 [1986] 162f), or reflect market conditions.

LIT. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 44f. —A.J.C.

JUVENAL (Ἰουβενάλιος), patriarch of Jerusalem (ca.422–58); saint; feastday 2 July. His lifelong ambition was to raise his suffragan diocese into a patriarchal see, independent of ANTIOCH and the metropolitan of CAESAREA MARITIMA, to which Palestine was canonically subject. Juvenal's appointment of the Arab chief Aspebetos (Peter)—at the request of St. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT—as the first bishop of an Arab camp (Parembolae), has sometimes been seen as a violation of the rights of Caesarea. Juvenal's claims for Jerusalem were rejected at the Council of EPHEBUS (431)

despite his alliance with CYRIL of Alexandria against the Antiochene NESTORIOS, patriarch of Constantinople. Although Cyril failed to support Juvenal strongly, Juvenal still sided with Egypt at the "Robber" Council of EPHEBUS (449) by voting with the Alexandrian DIOSKOROS to restore EUTYCHES. At the Council of CHALCEDON (451), however, Juvenal sided with Constantinople by endorsing Dioskoros's deposition. As a result, the three PALESTINES were detached from Antioch to create the patriarchate of JERUSALEM. When Monophysite monks faithful to Dioskoros and Eutyches rebelled on Juvenal's return to the holy city, he was forced to call in imperial troops before he could enjoy his new status as Jerusalem's first patriarch.

LIT. E. Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," *DOP* 5 (1950) 209–79. S. Vailhé, "Formation du patriarcat de Jérusalem," *EO* 13 (1910) 325–36. F.M. Abel, "St. Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans ses rapports avec la Palestine," *Kyrialliana* 444–1944 (Cairo 1947) 214–20. —A.P.

K

KABALLARIOS (Καβαλλάριος), a family of high-ranking officials and courtiers active ca.1250–1350. The name, meaning "cavalryman, knight," must be of Latin origin. The connection of the Kaballarioi with Constantine Kaballourios, *strategos* of the Kibyrrhaiotai in 1043 (Skyl. 432.13–14), and Maria (?), sister of Constantine Kabaloures (E. Branousse, *EEBS* 33 [1964] 61.14), founder of the Strobilos monastery, mentioned in a charter of 1079, is unclear. Circa 1258/9 Basil Kaballarios belonged to the higher echelon of society: his marriage to Theodora Tarchaneiotissa was approved by Theodore II but annulled by Michael VIII. Alexios Kaballarios (or Kaballares), *domestikos* of the imperial table and governor of Thessalonike (died 1273/4 in battle), was Michael VIII's cousin; Michael Kaballarios was *megas konostaulos* ca.1277 when JOHN I DOUKAS defeated him at Pharsala. Several Kaballarioi supported Andronikos II and were listed among his *oikeioi*: esp. Bardas Kaballarios, who participated in the proceedings against Andronikos III the Younger, and Bardas's son Mark, who insulted Andronikos III at the walls of Constantinople in 1327. Later, in 1343, Theodore Kaballarios, a partisan of John VI, was captured by MOMČILO. The Kaballarioi were related to the TZAMBLAKONES. The Kaballarioi are distinct from the Kaballaropouloi, who throughout the 14th C. served as civil functionaries (Constantine, a judge; George, an interpreter) and clergymen.

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.127. *PLP*, nos. 10024–56. —A.K.

KABALLAROPOULOS. See KABALLARIOS.

KABASILAS (Καβάσιλας; etym. unclear), a noble lineage known from the reign of Basil II onward. The founder, Constantine, was a foreigner and Basil's servant. In 1042 Empress Theodora appointed him *strategos*. In the 11th C. several members of the family were governors: Nikephoros in Thessalonike ca.1022; Constantine

(Theodora's protégé?), *doux* of the West in 1042; another Kabasilas, *doux* of Vaspurakan under Michael IV; and Alexander, *doux* of Skopje ca.1080 (Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.125). Alexander supported Nikephoros III and in Alexios I's reign was demoted to a low position. From ca.1200 some Kabasilai were prominent church leaders, including a metropolitan of Dyrrachion, a bishop of Grebena, and an archbishop of Ohrid ca.1259, all of whom were named Constantine. In the 14th C. the Kabasilai occupied important court positions: Demetrios, *megas papias* in 1347–69; Theodore, *logothetes tou stratotikou* ca.1317; Alexios, *megas konostaulos* ca.1339. The family produced several writers: Neilos KABASILAS, his nephew Nicholas Chamaetos KABASILAS, a scribe Demetrios Kaniskes Kabasilas. Intellectuals of this family often occupied ecclesiastical posts. The Kabasilai also served in provincial administration and possessed lands in Chalkidike, Thessalonike, and elsewhere.

LIT. G.I. Theocharides, "Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas kai alla prosopographika ek anekdotou chrysoboullou tou Kantakouzenou," *Hellenika* 17 (1962) 1–23. *PLP*, nos. 10061–102. A. Angelopoulos, "To genealogikon dendron tes oikogeneias ton Kabasilon," *Makedonika* 17 (1977) 367–96. —A.K.

KABASILAS, NEILOS, theological writer; born Thessalonike? ca.1300, died 1363. Because Kabasilas evidently bore the baptismal name of Nicholas, he has sometimes been confused with his nephew Nicholas Chamaetos KABASILAS. Kabasilas taught in Thessalonike, where Demetrios KYDONES was among his pupils; later he served in the government of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS in Constantinople, and then became a hieromonk (after 1353). From 1361 to 1363 he was metropolitan of Thessalonike, but apparently never took up residence in his see.

Kabasilas wrote Palamite and anti-Latin theological treatises, including an *Antigramma* against Nikephoros GREGORAS (ed. G. Papamichael, *Ekklephar* 11 [1913] 66–75) and an essay titled *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*. In the latter treatise