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**PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES**, a group of monasteries for men and women. They were founded by PACHOMIOS in the first half of the 4th C. in Upper Egypt, first in TABENNESI, then in PBOW, which became the center of the community. Monasteries possessed lands, as shown in many papyri, and paid taxes. According to the *Rules* attributed to Pachomios (but written, probably, in the next generation), the monks formed KOINOBIA and divided their time between divine service (with celebration of the eucharist twice a week, on Saturday and Sunday) and productive work; the large monasteries were separated into "houses" and groups of artisans (linen weavers, tailors, carpenters, cobblers, etc.). The organization of labor was strictly centralized and controlled from above. Rich landowners joined the community, such as Petronios, the first successor of Pachomios, and Theodore (died 368), another of Pachomios's associates and later the superior of the community. Reading and the copying of books were encouraged (C. Scholten, *JbAChr* 31 [1988] 144-72).

The community prospered in the late 4th and 5th C., gradually replacing the charismatic leadership by a formal organization, but declined under Justinian I. It exercised substantial influence on monastic communities in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Italy.

LIT. J.E. Goehring, "New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies," in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 236-57. Idem, *Chalcedonian Power Politics and the Demise of Pachomian Monasticism* (Claremont, Calif., 1989). F. Ruppert, "Arbeit und geistliches Leben im pachomianischen Mönchtum," *OstSt* 24 (1975) 3-14. H. Bacht, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs: Studien zum frühen Mönchtum 2: Pachomius—Der Mann und sein Werk* (Würzburg 1983). P.B. Steidle, "Der heilige Abt Theodor von Tabennesi," *Erbe und Auftrag* 44 (1968) 91-103.

—A.K.

**PACHOMIJ LOGOFET**, or Pachomios the Logothete, hagiographer; born ca. 1405, died before 1484?. Of Serbian origin, Pachomij was a monk on Athos until he moved (ca. 1429-38) to Rus', where he spent the rest of his life working mainly

in Novgorod, Moscow, the Trinity monastery of St. Sergej, and the Monastery of St. Kirill of Beloozero. Most of Pachomij's voluminous writings are vitae and eulogies of eastern Slavic holy men. Very few, however, were initially composed by Pachomij himself (a notable exception being his vita of Kirill of Beloozero): usually he revised the work of others (e.g., the vita of Sergej of Radonež by EPIFANIJ, the vita of Varlaam Chutynskij). Most modern assessments accuse Pachomij of vacuous verbosity and of preferring generalized rhetoric to particular evocation or description. Nonetheless, his versions survive in vast numbers of MSS: he helped to establish the cults of several native saints and to produce a "standard" style for hagiography in Rus'. Pachomij was also a scribe: autograph copies survive of a Psalter (1459), a *Paleja* of 1445 (see PALAIA), and a translation from Symeon the Theologian (1443).

ED. *Pachomij Serb i ego agiografičeskie pisanija*, ed. V. Jablonskij (St. Petersburg 1908) appendix; rp. with introd. by D. Čiževskij, *Pachomij Logofet: Werke in Auswahl* (Munich 1963).

LIT. D. Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the Baroque* (The Hague 1971) 180-84. L.A. Dmitriev, *Žitijnye povesti russkogo severa kak pamjatniki literatury XIII-XVII vv.* (Leningrad 1973) 28-35, 123-28.

—S.C.F.

**PACHOMIOS** (Gr. Παχώμιος, from a Coptic word meaning "eagle"), leader of the earliest cenobitic Christian monasteries in Egypt and saint; born Upper Egypt ca. 290, died Pbow 346; feastday 14 May in West, 15 May in East, 9 May in Coptic church. Born to pagan parents, Pachomios was conscripted into the army (312/13), where he encountered Christians and converted. After leaving the army, he sought guidance in asceticism from an experienced monk, Palamon. Then Pachomios gathered a group of disciples who, at first, followed the eremitic pattern of separate work and devotions. A charismatic leader, both a visionary and a gifted organizer, Pachomios imposed more structure in the monks' work by assigning them specific tasks; he also required attendance at pray-



ers at specific times. Fully communal life was established in nine monasteries for men and two for women in TABENNESI and vicinity. In 330 he founded a monastery at PBOW, which later became the administrative center for the PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES.

The letters of Pachomios are preserved in a Latin translation by JEROME; Greek versions of some letters and Coptic fragments are known as well. Jerome also translated the *Rules* ascribed to Pachomios, though the text now available was probably produced after Pachomios's death. Pachomios remained indifferent toward Trinitarian discussions of the 4th C.; his relationship with the Gnostic community of NAG HAMMADI (located near Tabennesi and Pbow) is unclear.

His vitae have survived in three traditions: a Sahidic text, the so-called *Vita Prima* in Greek, and the Latin translation by DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS from another Greek Life (*Vita Altera*). Lefort (*infra*) suggested that they were based on a lost Coptic vita; Halkin (*infra*) considered the *Vita Prima* as the only text chronologically close to the time of Pachomios.

ED. *Oeuvres de s. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, ed. L.T. Lefort, 2 vols. (Louvain 1956). *Die Briefe Pachoms*, ed. H. Quecke (Regensburg 1975). Eng. tr. A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* 2-3 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981-82).

SOURCES. F. Halkin, *Le corpus athénien de Saint Pachôme* (Geneva 1982), with Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière. *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae*, ed. F. Halkin (Brussels 1932). *The Life of Pachomius (Vita Prima Graeca)*, tr. A.N. Athanassakis (Missoula, Mont., 1975). *Pachomian Koinonia* 1 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1980). *CPG* 2 (1974) 2353-58.

LIT. F. Ruppert, *Das pachomianische Mönchtum und die Anfänge klösterlichen Gehorsams* (Münsterschwarzach 1971). P. Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley 1985). J.E. Goehring, "Pachomius' Vision of Heresy: The Development of a Pachomian Tradition," *Muséon* 95 (1982) 241-62. —J.T., A.K.

**PACHYMERES, GEORGE**, patriarchal official and historian; born Nicaea 1242, died Constantinople? ca.1310. After receiving his early education in Nicaea, Pachymeres (Παχυμέρης) went in 1261 to the capital, where he studied with George AKROPOLITES. He became a deacon and member of the patriarchal clergy. In 1277 he served as *didaskalos tou apostolou*. Eventually he received the ecclesiastical position of *protekdikos* and the civil post of *dikaiophylax*.

Pachymeres is best known for his detailed—and for the most part reliable—history of the reigns

of MICHAEL VIII and ANDRONIKOS II, covering the period 1260-1308. Much of his account is based on eyewitness observation; he places special emphasis on the ecclesiastical controversies that divided the empire. The archaizing style of Pachymeres is notoriously difficult to comprehend; he is noted for reviving the use of Attic names for the months (cf. G.G. Arnakis, *BNJbb* 18 [1945-49] 144-53). His chronology has occasioned problems for modern researchers (cf. A. Failler, *REB* 38 [1980] 5-103; 39 [1981] 145-249). Pachymeres is generally regarded as an objective historian, but he does reveal his own opinions. Thus, he was critical of Michael VIII, singling out his irascibility and hypocrisy, and hostile to Patr. Athanasios I of Constantinople because of his intolerance and rigidity, traits shared by his monastic supporters (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:148f). Pachymeres was a perspicacious observer who fully realized the pathetic condition of the declining empire and was interested in the motives of the protagonists and the causation of events. He believed that TYCHE was the determinant force of history (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:228.15-229.1).

Pachymeres was also a scholar and writer of wide-ranging interests, including philosophy, rhetoric, mathematics, and law. He composed *PROGYMNASMATA* (*RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 1:549-96) and 13 *meletai* on rhetoric (ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Georgii Pachymeris Declamationes XIII* [Paris 1848; rp. Amsterdam 1966]). In addition he wrote a compendium of Aristotle and a quadrivium.

ED. *Georgii Pachymeris De Michaelis et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn 1835). Books 1-6 only—*Georges Pachymères. Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, 2 vols. (Paris 1984), with Fr. tr. by V. Laurent. *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère*, ed. P. Tannery, E. Stephanou (Vatican 1940).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:37, 94, 96, 98f, 447-53. A. Failler, "La tradition manuscrite de l'Histoire de Georges Pachymère (livres I-VI)," *REB* 37 (1979) 123-220. A. Lampsakes, "Hyperphysikes dynamis, physika phainomena kai deisidaimonies sten Historia tou Georgiou Pachymere," *Symmeikta* 7 (1987) 77-100. —A.M.T.

**PACTA** (πάκτα, from Lat. *pactum*). In the Roman system of OBLIGATION by CONTRACT, *pacta* assumed the important function of denoting the mass of agreements from which no obligations resulted (*pacta nuda*). Justinianic legislation and the jurisprudence of that time still proceeded in principle from this concept. In the meantime, however, the quantity of nonbinding ("nude") *pacta*

had been reduced to a negligible number, so that the decisive practical difference between *pactum* and contract, namely actionability, had virtually disappeared, and the differentiation appears artificial. Nevertheless, the concept of *pacta* was revived as late as the 11th C. and was supported in a manner faithful to the textual transmission (see *MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS*). In contractual practice the *pacta* converged with the (written) contract of the law of obligations mainly because the classical STIPULATION degenerated into a mere clause used for all kinds of agreements. Consequently and symptomatically, under Leo VI the qualification *nudum pactum* was applied to documents that have no penal stipulation (nov.72). Leo's measure, which allowed the penal clause to be replaced by other means of achieving the desired effect—for example, by affixing the sign of the cross or an invocation—was revised by Romanos II (Zepos, *Jus* 1:244-46), but the theory of *pacta* did not thereby regain its practical relevance.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:363-65 (§261). Taubenschlag, *Law of GRE* 402-07. —D.S.

**PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE**, a Byz. fortress on a Danubian island east of DOROSTOLON in southwestern DOBRUDJA (near mod. Ostrov in Rumania); its Byz. name is unknown. Evidence of late Roman habitation is scanty. The latest coin found is one of Maurice; the settlement was evidently abandoned ca.600. John I Tzimiskes restored the fort and constructed a harbor, probably to defend Dorostolon from attacks by the Kievan fleet. Excavations discovered a strong wall (6 m broad at the foundation), the material for which was brought from several quarries in the area (P. Diaconu, E. Zah, *Dacia* 15 [1971] 289-306). The poorly preserved ruins include a large ashlar stepped landing on the southeast side, flanked by two square towers. To the northeast a tower, with one curved side and one straight side at an obtuse angle, presents the least possible obstacle to ice floes. Soon Păcuiul lui Soare lost its military character and the population concentrated in a smaller area.

The town flourished during the 11th C.—more than 500 Byz. coins from Romanos III to Alexios I have been found on its territory; thereafter, only sporadic coins of Alexios III, John III Vatatzes, and Andronikos II are recorded as well as

some of Epirot and Latin rulers. People lived in semisubterranean habitations and were engaged in fishing and trading activity. A potter's kiln of the 11th C. (S. Baraschi, *SCIV* 25 [1974] 461-72) and various arms and household utensils of bone, also of the 11th C. (P. Diaconu, S. Baraschi, *Dacia* 17 [1973] 351-59), demonstrate the local craftsmanship. Of Byz. origin are some ceramics, glass vessels, and *enkolpia*; on some amphoras there are potter's stamps as well as Cyrillic graffiti. Some objects found in Păcuiul lui Soare are of Kievan and Pecheneg origin. Probably at the end of the 11th C. a fire destroyed the town and in the 12th C. it was severed from Byz. In the 13th and 14th C. Bulgarian (and from the end of the 14th C. onward Rumanian) coins dominate among the finds.

P. Diaconu (*Byzantina* 8 [1976] 407-47) identified Păcuiul lui Soare with VICINA, P. Năsturel (*RESEE* 3 [1965] 17-36) identified it tentatively with Little PRESLAV. In contrast, I. Božilov (*Izv-NarMusVarna* 9 [1973] 324f) thinks that the site was an insignificant harbor.

LIT. P. Diaconu, D. Vilceanu, S. Baraschi, *Păcuiul lui Soare*, 2 vols. (Bucharest 1972-77). —A.K., E.C.S.

**PAENULA** (φαινόλη, φελώνη), a heavy cape or traveling cloak made usually of linen or wool, pulled on easily over the head like a poncho. Sometimes it had an attached hood. Originally a garment worn primarily by slaves, peasants, and soldiers, its simplicity and practicality assured it such popularity in the late antique period that it ultimately replaced the TOGA as an everyday costume and was worn even by senators in late 4th-C. Constantinople (*Cod.Theod.* XIV 10.1). The mosaic figures in the Rotunda of St. GEORGE in Thessalonike are shown wearing the *paenula*. It is considered to be the source of one important liturgical vestment whose use was reserved to priests and bishops, namely the PHELONION, the chasuble of the Latin church.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 244-46. Oppenheim, *Mönchskleid* 118f. —N.P.S.

**PAGANISM** was a living force in the 4th-C. empire, supported by some parts of the senatorial aristocracy (primarily Western), intellectuals, and the rural population, whereas the main strength



of Christianity came from the lower and middle classes of the city. Although it is hard to generalize, it seems indicative that in Kyzikos the city council asked Emp. Julian to restore Hellenic temples, but the workers of the state woolen factories and the "technitai of coins" supported the local bishop (Sozom. *HE* 5:15.4-6). There were three main streams in the paganism of the late Roman Empire: political, intellectual, and cultic. Political paganism stemmed from the religious indifference of the army, a constant influx of Germanic and related warriors, and the influence of the senatorial aristocracy.

The most overt resurgence of paganism took place under JULIAN. Its political power became evident in the case of the ALTAR OF VICTORY and in the revolt of EUGENIUS. Quite a number of pagans were active at the imperial court in the 4th and 5th C.: THEMISTIOS, SYMMACHUS, FLAVIANUS, and the eparch KYROS, to name only a few. Intellectual paganism flourished in the 5th C., which produced such scholars as PROKLOS and PAMPREPIOS, the historians OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES and ZOSIMOS, and the poet CLAUDIAN. A series of decrees issued by Emp. THEODOSIOS I, culminating with the edict of 392, attempted to crush paganism by prohibiting sacrifices and other cult practices. This caused the closing and/or destruction of many temples. Pagan cults continued to survive, however, esp. in the countryside, despite these prohibitions.

In the 5th C. ISIDORE OF PELOUSION (PG 78:344A) asserted that in his era "Hellenismos" had disappeared, defeated by the passage of time, by many efforts and weapons, and by reason. His statement was premature, however, and Justinian I still had to struggle against paganism. He tried to eradicate paganism at the intellectual level by closing the pagan ACADEMY OF ATHENS in 529 and attempted to stamp out remnants of pagan religious practice, esp. by using inquisitorial missions such as that of JOHN OF EPHEBUS (J. Irmscher, *Klio* 63 [1981] 683-88). Thereafter paganism survived either as a component of Christianity, in the form of classical tradition or as an educational vehicle, or in the form of cult tradition. Christian churches were built, for example, on the location of former pagan shrines and the cult of saints was continued at sites of pagan healing.

At the end of the 7th C. paganism as such was preserved predominantly at the level of everyday life, as "pagan" habits—FEASTS, MAGIC, and AS-

TROLOGY, theatrical performances, and pagan oaths—and in the clothing of law students (I. Rochow, *Klio* 60 [1978] 495f). Some forms of pagan cult are attested to in 9th-C. Maina (*De adm. imp.*, 50.71f), and vestiges of "pagan" habits were criticized by 12th-C. canonists and by the 14th-C. patriarch Athanasios I (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1738). These vestiges of paganism may have been reinforced by Byz. contacts with nonbaptized peoples, such as the Pechenegs. On the other hand, accusations of paganism were an effective method of attacking intellectuals involved in the study of antiquity.

LIT. *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford 1963). R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven-London 1981). L.C. Ruggini, "Un cinquantennio di polemica antipagana a Roma," in *Paradoxos politeia: Studi patristici in onore di Giuseppe Lazzati* (Milan 1979) 119-44. T. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay," *AJPh* 107 (1986) 229-42. W. Kaegi, "The Fifth-Century Twilight of Byzantine Paganism," *ClMed* 27 (1966) 243-75. —A.K., A.M.T.

**PAGOMENOS.** See PEPAGOMENOS.

**PAIDEIA** (παιδεία), term that in the Hellenistic and Roman world designated education or training; church fathers (e.g., Methodios of Olympos, Eusebios of Caesarea) retained it to denote pagan education, often in contrast to Christian education based on the Gospels (PG 18:137B). In the wake of the Septuagint and New Testament semitizing usage, they also employed the term in the sense of chastisement or corrective training: God would chastise the Christians for the purpose of their moral discipline. From patristic times onward, authors distinguished between "our" (Christian) *paideia* as moral and religious training (cf. A. Moffatt, in *Iconoclasm* 87) and "external (*exo*, *thyrathen*) *paideia*," meaning secular education (Lemerle, *Humanism* 39). The word *thyrathen* itself could be used as a noun, (e.g., Nik.Chon. 307.77). At the same time, the Byz. inherited from the Second Sophistic the expression *enkyklios paideia/paideusis* with a more technical, if polyvalent, meaning: George Akropolites (Akrop. 1:46.13-15) equated it with the study of grammar; Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:147.12-14), on the other hand, speaks of *enkyklios paideia* as elementary education preceding the study of grammar.

LIT. Marrou, *Education* 95-101.

—A.K.

**PAINTERS' GUIDES.** See MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS.

**PAINTING.** See FRESCO TECHNIQUE; HISTORY PAINTING; ICONS; MONUMENTAL PAINTING.

**PAKOURIANOS** (Πακουριανός, Arm. Bakourian, Georg. Bakuriani), aristocratic Byz. family that made its first appearance in 988 in the army of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO and occupied important administrative positions down to the 13th C. The best-known member is Gregory Pakourianos, who took part in the defense of ANI against the Seljuks in 1064. His career as an imperial *doux* in the East was cut short by the Turkish advance, but his support of Alexios I earned him the office of *megas domestikos* of the West and the title of *sebastos*, with vast estates in the Balkans. He founded a Georgian monastery at PETRITZOS and supported the monastery of IVERON on Athos. Gregory defended the Balkans against the Normans and died in battle against the PECHENEGS in 1086. The facts that the sources sometimes call him an Armenian and sometimes an Iberian; that the *typikon* for his monastery was composed in Greek, Georgian, and Armenian; and that he signed it in "Armenian characters," while referring to himself as an Iberian have led to heated debate over the origin of the family. The most likely explanation is that it belonged to the mixed Armeno-Iberian Chalcedonian aristocracy, which dwelt in the border district of TAYK'/TAO.

ED. P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *REB* 42 (1984) 5-145.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 58-65. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Tipik Grigorija Pakuriana* (Erevan 1978). Lemerle, *Cinq études* 115-91. A. Chanidzé, "Le grand domestique de l'Occident, Gregorii Bakurianis-dzé et le monastère géorgien fondé par lui en Bulgarie," *BK* 28 (1971) 133-66. —N.G.G.

**PAKTON** (πάκτον, from Lat. *pactum*, "contract, agreement, treaty"), a word with several meanings in the Byz. era. (1) The term was used to describe an agreement between rulers, esp. a treaty (usually in the plural; e.g., *pakta tes eirenes*, "peace treaty"). (2) It also referred to tribute (e.g., *pakta chrysiou*), such as that paid by Byz. to neighboring rulers, and was most commonly used in this sense by Byz. historians of the 9th through 11th C. (3) Also called *choropakton*, the term is found in documents and denotes the yearly RENT or rental fee,

normally in specie, paid to the owner or possessor of property (land, fishing rights, mills [*mylopakton*], etc.) for the use of that property. The term *pakton* was employed in regard to LAND LEASES between private parties as well as between a private individual (lessee) and the state (lessor). When the state was landlord the distinction between *pakton* and TELOS blurred. (For rates of the *pakton*, see RENT.)

The term *ampelopakton*, ostensibly a rent on vineyards, is encountered frequently during the 13th and 14th C., usually in connection with *xenoparoi*, that is, new or alien cultivators. There was an official called *paktotes*, for example, on the seal of Nicholas, *chartoularios* and *paktotes* of Paphlagonia (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.619).

LIT. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:57, n.1, 67-75. J. Karayannopoulos, "Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten," in *Polychronion* 324-26. Dölger, *Beiträge* 143, 155. —M.B.

**PALACE** (παλάτιον), an official residence, such as the residence of the emperor. The term derives from the Palatium complex on the Palatine Hill in Rome, the only official dwelling of the Roman emperors until the late 3rd C.; subsequently the term entered general use.

**Imperial Palaces.** During the Tetrarchy and on into the 4th C., establishment of new capitals (ANTIOCH, MILAN, Trier) brought about the proliferation of imperial palaces. The GREAT PALACE in Constantinople, begun by Constantine I, is the final product of that age. Other, later palaces built in CONSTANTINOPLE included the 5th-C. Boukoleon and Hormisdas palaces, the 10th-C. MYRELAION palace, the 11th-C. MANGANA palace, the 12th-C. BLACHERNAI palace, and the late 13th-C. TEKUR SARAYI. Emperors also built palaces away from Constantinople: for example, the 6th-C. Rhegion palace (A.M. Mansel, 6 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Paris 1951] 255-60) and the 9th-C. BRYAS palace (S. Eyice, *Belleten* 23, no.89 [1959] 79-111).

On the basis of archaeological and textual evidence, the historical development of palace architecture is marked by characteristic changes in the relationship between the building and its urban setting. Initially (4th-6th C.), the complex was open toward the city, continuing Roman practice. Decline of cities (7th-8th C.) brought about the emergence of the fortified palace, reflecting a growing concern for security provided not only by city walls but also by those of the complex





PALACE. Palace of the Despots, Mistra. View of the palace complex, looking north.

itself. In the 13th and 14th C. the urban palace-block made its appearance. Probably under Western influence, in Byz. (e.g., MISTRA) the type was characterized by continued segregation of the building from the urban environment.

**Palaces of the Nobility.** It is not clear when the nobility began to build palacelike mansions: one 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:767.6–8) inveighs against the relatives of Alexios I who erected οἰκοί as large as a *polis* and luxurious as a palace, while another (Kinn. 266.7–9) relates that dignitaries decorated their mansions with HISTORY PAINTING and scenes representing the emperor's hunting exploits. The palace described in the poem DIGENES AKRITAS was an elaborate complex that included a large garden, bathhouse, church, and main building, which was decorated with biblical and classical figures rather than an "imperial" program.

LIT. F. Dirimtekin, "Les palais impériaux byzantins," *CorsiRav* 12 (1965) 225–45. E. Mamboury, T. Wiegand,

*Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel* (Berlin 1934). L.A. Hunt, "Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decoration," in *Byz. Aristocracy* 138–57. K. Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*<sup>3</sup> (Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1969) 133–84. N. Duval, "Palais et cité dans la pars Orientis," *CorsiRav* 26 (1979) 41–51. S. Runciman, "The Country and Suburban Palaces of the Emperors," in *Charanis Studies* 219–228. —S.C., A.K.

**PALACE CHURCH**, a CHAPEL associated with a residence (esp. that of an emperor) and generally designated for private use by its owner or occupants. The tradition of palatine church architecture may have begun with Constantine I, though the matter is controversial in modern historiography (F.W. Deichmann, *BZ* 65 [1972] 40–56; Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 76–78). The debate has been brought into an even sharper focus over Justinian I's Church of Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS in Constantinople (C. Mango, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 189–93; T.F. Mathews, *Revue de l'art* 24 [1974] 22–29; R. Krautheimer, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 251–53; C. Mango, *BZ* 68 [1975] 385–92).

While the typology of palace churches may be in doubt, their functional identity is not. From the time of Justinian I onward, they constituted regularly identifiable components of Byz. PALACES. The archaeological evidence for such buildings is meager, but the literary sources are abundant. A large number of churches is recorded within the GREAT PALACE in Constantinople between the early 9th and mid-11th C.: those of Christ, the Virgin, and the Archangel Michael are referred to as having been built by Emp. Theophilos, while the palace church of St. Anne is attributed to Leo VI. Palace chapels of the Savior, Prophet Elijah, Archangel Michael, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, St. Barbara, and the NEA EKKLESIA were built by Basil I. A 12th-C.(?) description of an imaginary palace also locates a chapel—dedicated to St. Theodore—in its midst (*Digenes Akritas*, ed. Trapp, 334, G VII 104–05 [3242–43]). The Church of St. George, next to the monastery and palace of Mangana in Constantinople, was built by Constantine IX (Psellos, *Chron.*, vol. 2:61, par.185.3); its remains have been archaeologically ascertained (R. Demangel, E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes* [Paris 1939] 19–37). The Bodrum Camii in Istanbul has been identified as the chapel of Romanos I Lekapenos; it stood next to his Myrelaion palace, no longer extant (C.L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* [Princeton 1981]).

LIT. S. Ćurčić, "Some Palatine Aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *DOP* 41 (1987) 125–44. —S.C.

**PALACE GUARD.** See HETAIREIA.

**PALA D'ORO.** A *pal(l)a* was the cloth that covered an altar in early Christian and medieval churches. Also called an *antependium*, it was sometimes replaced by panels in precious metals, either covering the four sides of the altar or attached only to the altar's front face. In 1105 Doge Ordelafio Falier (1102–18), one of the founders of San Marco in VENICE, ordered the ENAMEL Pala d'Oro from Constantinople for the main altar of his church, perhaps as a replacement for the 10th-C. silver and gold *antependium* of Doge Pietro I Orseolo (976–78). By 1209, when six feast scenes and the archangel Michael were added to the top, the Pala (measuring 2.1 × 3.5 m) was placed on the main altar, perhaps in imitation of the gold,

jeweled (and enameled?) panel on the high altar of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, that ROBERT DE CLARI described after seeing it in 1204. In 1342–45 the Pala was remounted in its present Gothic frame.

The imagery on Falier's Pala is arranged in typically Western fashion. Christ is enthroned in a large tondo within an inscribed frame, surrounded by the four evangelists. Above, angels and tetramorphs honor the Hetoimasia; the Virgin and the Pala's patrons—Falier and an Empress Irene (whose identification has been the subject of much discussion)—are placed below, between two inscription panels of 1342–45 that describe the work's history. It is likely that, originally, Irene was accompanied by her husband. The "wings" display three tiers of prophets, apostles, and angels paying homage to Christ. Twenty-seven "framing" panels depict the lives of Christ and St. Mark and portraits of six locally venerated deacons—Lawrence, Vincent, Stephen, Eleutherius, Peter of Alexandria, and Fortunatus.

The program of imagery resembles the decoration of palatine chapels of the Komnenian era, beginning perhaps in an expanded decoration of the chapel of the Virgin (of the Pharos?) in the GREAT PALACE of Constantinople, and imitated elsewhere, often with Latin adaptations, in the royal churches of Norman Sicily, esp. the Cappella Palatina in PALERMO. When Falier ordered the Pala, he seems to have intended to set such an imperial program on the main altar of his palatine chapel.

LIT. M. Frazer, "The Pala d'Oro and the Cult of St. Mark in Venice," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 273–79. S. Bettini in *Treasury S. Marco* 35–64. —M.E.F.

**PALAEOGRAPHY** (lit. "ancient writing"), like CODICOLOGY, is an autonomous field of study, as well as an AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE of philology and history. It studies the development of the Greek script in Byz. MSS and documents (see DIPLOMATICS) in its cultural context. It takes its name from the pioneering monograph of B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca* (Paris 1708; rp. 1970). Gardthausen (*infra*) divided palaeography into *Buchwesen* and *Schriftwesen*; the recent tendency is to replace the term *Buchwesen* by codicology, with the emphasis on the place of the book in Byz. civilization. A sound knowledge of palaeography



enables a text editor to read and date Byz. MSS and to establish the STEMMA of a given work.

The reading of MSS presents certain difficulties, such as the need to decipher ABBREVIATIONS, contractions, and LIGATURES; TACHYGRAPHY, MONOGRAMS, and PALIMPSESTS create additional problems. In most MSS, esp. early ones, words were not separated, accents and breathings were omitted or used intermittently, and punctuation was apparently arbitrary. Other problems in deciphering or reconstructing texts are damaged MSS, with FOLIOS or parts of folios missing, worm-holes, ink blots, and even modern tape repairs.

The script of Byz. MSS can be roughly divided into two categories, the UNCIAL, or majuscule, and the MINUSCULE, subdivided into the CURSIVE and minuscule intended as calligraphy. An obstacle to the study of the development of uncial script is the lack of any securely dated MSS for the formative period (4th–8th C.); the only firmly dated uncial text (which is also the earliest dated book MS) is the Vat. gr. 1166 of the year 800. Thus the reconstruction of the development must be hypothetical.

After the introduction of minuscule as a book script, uncial survived until the 11th C., but it became specialized for scriptural and liturgical texts. It was used continuously for LEMMATA (headings) and sections to be emphasized.

Minuscule scripts differ in levels of formality and elegance, ranging from that of a scholar's autograph copy for private use to that of a deluxe CODEX skillfully written by a professional SCRIBE. Minuscule MSS are more likely to bear a date (the earliest dated one is the USPENSKIY GOSPEL BOOK, Leningrad, Publ. Lib. gr. 219, of 835); their COLOPHONS sometimes have precise chronological indications, sometimes only certain elements of a date (INDICTION, month, etc.). Those MSS that are securely dated help reconstruct the evolution of the script and thus indirectly determine the chronology of undated MSS. Palaeographers have attempted to classify bookscripts into certain styles that can be roughly dated, for example, "pearl script" (10th–12th C.), "Fettaugenmode" (13th C.), and "Metochites style" and "Hodegon style" (14th C.). The use of an archaizing script, which revives or preserves features typical of an earlier period, may, however, complicate the dating of some MSS; for instance, the calligraphy of some late 13th-C. codices imitates the "pearl script" that flourished earlier. Statistical methods have been

used to evaluate the reintroduction of uncial letters into minuscule at the very end of the 9th C., but the usefulness of these statistics for dating is still open to question. Another problem in dating MSS is the conservative character of codices copied in the provinces. Paper MSS can be dated more precisely through their WATERMARKS.

Another objective of palaeography (and codicology) is to establish the MS's provenance. Individualized handwriting was rare in Byz., and relatively few MSS have colophons identifying particular scribes. The minuscule script is strongly formalized up to the 12th C.; more individual features begin to appear only in the 13th C., at the end of which period it becomes possible to recognize the autographs of Byz. scholars such as Maximus PLANOUDIS, Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, and Nikephoros GREGORAS. The method of attribution of hands is in general the same as that used for dating: listing MSS of individual scribes and comparing unsigned MSS with those whose copyist is known.

Some MSS are known to have been copied in particular SCRIPTORIA, and again the similarity of production (format of the book and page, composition of QUIRES, RULING PATTERNS, type of handwriting, illuminations) permits the assignment of a MS to a specific scriptorium. The palaeographer must be cautious, however; typical features in the script or codicological features, such as the ruling patterns, may not be restricted to one region. In contradistinction to Latin palaeography, where the study of regional writing is advanced, Byz. palaeographers have not been able to establish many centers of book production, owing mostly to the dearth of evidence. Only for southern Italy and Cyprus, from where a large number of codices have survived, is it possible to study special regional characteristics on preserved MSS.

A part of the palaeographer's task is the study of peripheral information contained in the MS: some of it comes from the scribe himself (e.g., colophon, table of contents, some SCHOLIA); some, esp. on autograph MSS, from the author, who thereby reveals, for example, his methods of commenting and his practice of textual criticism. Remarks from scribes, readers, and owners sometimes convey data on the production of the book (such as its price) or its history (such as changes of ownership); they may also express a reader's attitude to a work. On occasion, successive owners

and readers of the book made marginal notes or additions on blank folios that have an independent value.

LIT. V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*<sup>2</sup>, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1911–13). R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1954). A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*<sup>3</sup> (Paris 1975). H. Hunger, "Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen," in *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Zurich 1961) 25–147. E.M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*<sup>2</sup> (London 1894). *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 1977). —E.G., I.S.

**PALAIIA** (παλαιά, "old," *paleja* in Slavonic), a narrative of events from the Creation to Daniel, based on paraphrased and apocryphal versions of Old Testament episodes and supplemented with passages from, in particular, JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, ANDREW OF CRETE, and THEODORE OF STOUDIOS. The *Palaia* was therefore compiled not earlier than the 9th C. Similar in concept to the Latin "historiated" Bibles (cf. M. Gaster, *Ilchester Lectures on Greco-Slavonic Literature* [London 1887] 147–208), the *Palaia* is often termed "popular," though few Greek MSS survive (Krumbacher, *GBL* 398, 1139). It was evidently more widespread among the Slavs. Three Slavonic translations of the *Palaia*, all entitled *Paleja*, survive: two are Bulgarian, one is Serbian, though most of the extant MSS are Eastern Slavic and derive from a lost 13th-C. Bulgarian version. The name *Paleja* was transferred to an unrelated and larger Slavonic compilation that includes extensive commentaries (*Paleja tolkovaja*) and that in some versions continues the historical narrative down to the death of ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS (*Paleja chronografičeskaja*). This additional narrative is mainly derived from the chronicle of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS and is cited in the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET.

ED. *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, ed. A. Vassilev (Moscow 1893) xlii–lvi, 188–292.

LIT. M.N. Speranskij, *Iz istorii russko-slavjanskich literaturnych svjazej* (Moscow 1960) 104–47. E. Turdeanu, "La *Palaia* byzantine chez les Slaves du Sud et chez les Roumains," *RES* 40 (1964) 195–206. T. Sumnikova, "K probleme perevoda Istoriceskoj Palei," in *Izučenie russkogo jazyka i istočnikovedenie* (Moscow 1969) 27–39. —S.C.F.

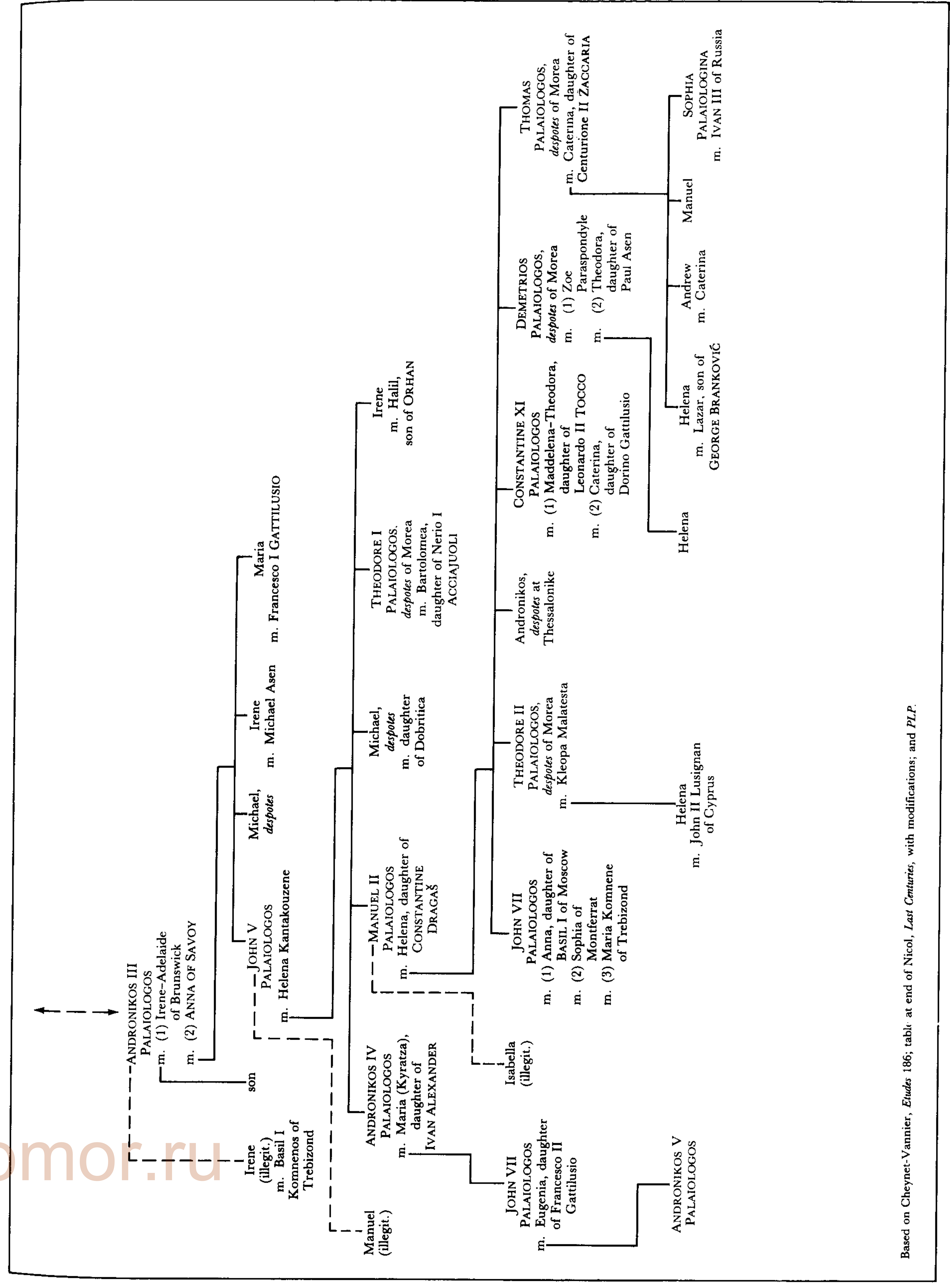
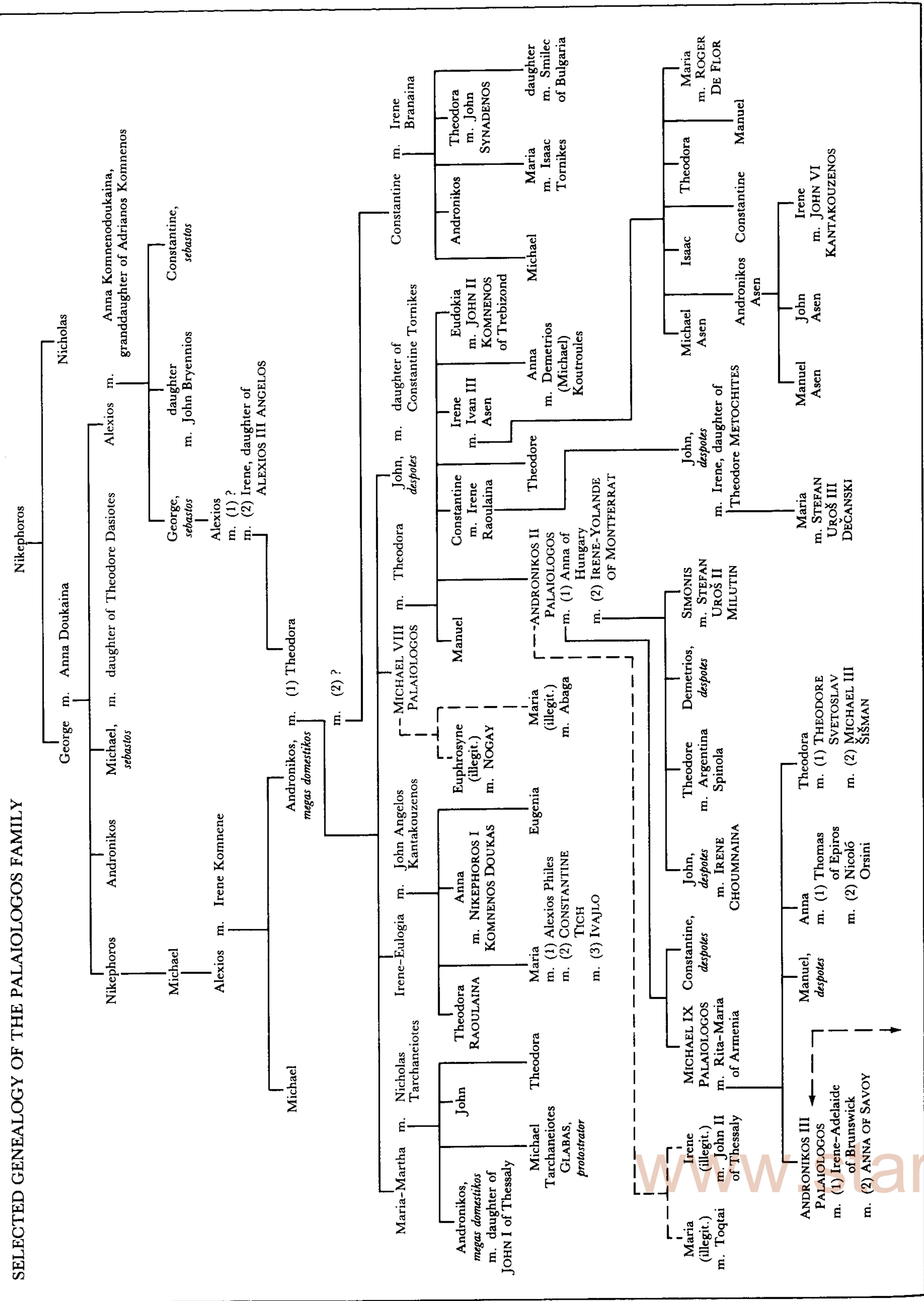
**PALAIIOLOGOS** (Παλαιολόγος, fem. Παλαιολογίνα), a noble family; although *palaialogos* meant "junkman," the Byz. believed that the family possessed ancient ancestors. The first known Palaio-

logos was Nikephoros, general and governor of Mesopotamia under Michael VII; his son George, an experienced military commander, was the staunchest supporter of Alexios I. The 12th-C. Palaiologoi were primarily generals (George, *megas hetaireiarches* in 1166 [O. Lampsides, *Byzantion* 40 (1970) 393–407], Alexios-Antony, *megas doux*) and governors of provinces (Michael of Thessalonike in the first half of the 12th C., Nikephoros of Trebizond ca.1180); it is possible that the *hetaireiarches* George's father was Alexios and held the post of *megas domestikos* at the end of Alexios I's reign. None of the Palaiologoi served in the civil administration. They were wealthy, but little is known of their estates; they acted, however, as monastic patrons. George was praised as the sponsor of a monastery close to Triaditza-Sofia in which he ordered the depiction of the archangel Michael; he and his son the *sebastos* Alexios were also portrayed there (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 143, no.213 tit.). The Palaiologoi were interrelated with the Komnenoi, Doukai, and Angeloi; Alexios Palaiologos (perhaps George's son?) married Irene, Alexios III's daughter; he subdued the rebellion of 1200 in Constantinople and was proclaimed *despotes* and heir to the throne.

The Palaiologoi retained their high position after 1204; Andronikos, Alexios's son, was *megas domestikos*, and in 1259 his son became emperor as MICHAEL VIII and founded the Palaiologan dynasty. After the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, the extensive family took possession of vast estates throughout the empire. Their mightiest rivals, the KANTAKOUZENOI, were defeated by JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS by 1354, and by 1382 they were ousted from the Peloponnesos. A fierce struggle for power ensued, however, within the house of Palaiologos. In 1376 ANDRONIKOS IV rebelled against his father John V and arrested him; only on 1 July 1379 did John V and his heir MANUEL II manage to reconquer Constantinople. Andronikos IV and his son JOHN VII were recognized as legitimate rulers over Selymbria and several other districts but were not appeased; on 17 Sept. 1390 John VII again seized Constantinople but had to yield to Manuel II. The Peloponnesian branch of the Palaiologos family was loyal to Constantinople but independent: by the time of JOHN VIII, the Peloponnesos was ruled by three of his brothers, the *despotai* THEODORE II, CONSTANTINE (XI), and THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS; since John VIII died childless (Theodore died



# SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE PALAIOLOGOS FAMILY





before him), Constantine succeeded him as the last Byz. emperor; he was killed during the Ottoman assault on Constantinople.

The Palaiologoi searched desperately for a Western alliance: they attempted to restore the unity of the church and favored marriages with Western princes and princesses; ANDRONIKOS II married Anna of Hungary and then IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT; ANDRONIKOS III married Irene (Adelheid) of Braunschweig and ANNA OF SAVOY; Andronikos II's son Theodore married Argentina Spinola and became marquis of Montferrat in 1305 (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 38 [1969] 386–410). The Palaiologoi also married their children to the rulers of Serbia, Bulgaria, Trebizond, and Epiros. SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA, daughter of Thomas Palaiologos, became the spouse of IVAN III of Moscow. (See genealogical table; see also BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF: "Empire of the Straits.")

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Etudes* 123–87. A.Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen*, 1259–1453 (Munich 1938; rp. Amsterdam 1962). B. Ferjančić, "Posedi pripadnika roda Paleologa," *ZRVI* 17 (1976) 127–64. Dölger, *Paraspora*, 178–88. *PLP*, nos. 21337–538. P. Magdalino, "Notes on the Last Years of John Palaiologos, Brother of Michael VIII," *REB* 34 (1976) 143–49. M. Živojinović, "O Jovanu Paleologu, bratu Mihaila VIII," *ZbFilozFak* 14.1 (1979) 103–22. A. Carile, "Manuele Nothos Paleologo, Nota prosopografica," *Thesaurismata* 12 (1975) 137–47. A. Sideras, "Neue Quellen zum Leben des Despoten Andronikos Palaiologos," *BZ* 80 (1987) 3–15. —A.K.

**PALAISTE** (παλαιστή, lit. "palm of the hand"), a unit of length = 4 DAKTYLOI = 1/4 POU = 7.8 cm. Synonymous terms are *gronthos*, *pygme*, *tetarton* (as 1/4 *pous*), and *triton* (as 1/3 imperial SPITHAME).

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 18.

—E. Sch.

**PALAMAS, GREGORY**, theologian, archbishop of Thessalonike (1347–59), and saint, canonized in 1368; born Constantinople ca. 1296, died Thessalonike 14 Nov. 1359. Though destined by his aristocratic background for imperial service, Palamas (Παλαμᾶς) chose the monastic life instead and went to Athos in 1316. After a brief stay at Vatopedi and then at Lavra he joined the *skete* of Glossia. In 1326 Palamas was ordained a priest. He then continued the life of prayer, which the hesychasts of Athos had taught him, in a number of hermitages. In 1336 he entered into an exchange of letters with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. His objections to Barlaam's syllogistic reasoning quickly

became a matter of controversy involving both church and society, esp. after Barlaam attacked Palamas and the monastic spirituality of HESYCHASM on Athos. Most of Palamas's literary production is devoted to this cause (often referred to as PALAMISM) that the church supported and endorsed in the Constantinople local councils of 1341, 1347, and 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). In addition to the monks of Athos and numerous bishops, Palamas's staunchest supporters included JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS and the patriarchs ISIDORE I, KALLISTOS I, and PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (the last mentioned wrote an *enkomion* of Palamas).

Still, during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, Palamas was imprisoned by Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS and his ideas condemned. This censorship, however, was primarily politically motivated, for Palamas was a known sympathizer of Kantakouzenos. Indeed, he was initially unable to enter the city of Thessalonike, to which he had been appointed archbishop (1347), because anti-Kantakouzenist ZEALOTS still occupied it. Generally, the party opposed to Palamas was confined to some bishops, the humanist Nikephoros GREGORAS, Gregory AKINDYNOS, and the later small circle of Byz. Thomists led by the KYDONES brothers.

In addition to his two *Apodeictic Treatises*, the *Hagiorite Tomos*, and his *Triads* in defense of hesychasm, Palamas wrote numerous tracts, letters, and sermons dealing with hagiography, liturgy, asceticism, and prayer. The detailed account of his brief captivity (1354–55) among the Turks of Asia Minor and his conversations with them and the so-called *Chionai* is striking for its impartial view of Christians living under Turkish rule and of the Turks themselves (cf. A. Philippidis-Braat, *TM* 7 [1979] 109–222).

ED. Gregoriou tou Palama *Syngrammata*, ed. P. Chrestou, 3 vols. (Thessalonike 1962–70). Grégoire Palamas: *Défense des saints hésychastes*<sup>2</sup>, ed. J. Meyendorff, 2 vols. (Louvain 1973). *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, ed. R.E. Sinke-wicz (Toronto 1988), with Eng. tr.

SOURCE. Enkomion by Philotheos—ed. D. Tsames, *Hagiologika erga*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike 1985) 425–91.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Palamas*. D. Stiernon, "Bulletin sur le Palamisme," *REB* 30 (1972) 231–341. H.G. Beck in *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. H. Jedin, vol. 3.2 (Freiburg-Basel-Vienna 1968) 600–07. —A.P.

**PALAMEDES**. See OLD KNIGHT.

**PALAMISM**, the teaching of Gregory PALAMAS. Its characteristic feature is the distinction between the inaccessible and unknowable essence of God and his uncreated energies. Its goal—expressed most fully in Palamas's *Triads*—was to give an objective theological foundation to the theory and practice of monastic contemplation or HESYCHASM. Palamism affirms that the aim of contemplative prayer is the vision of the uncreated light of God, exemplified by the light that shone about Christ at his Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor (Lk 9:28–36; cf. *Triads* 3, ed. Meyendorff, 574–83). By means of this deifying light or energy, SALVATION or deification (THEOSIS) is realized. Because the contemplative is able to experience God's own uncreated grace (*energeia*), as distinct from his essence which is unknowable, the hesychast encounters the living God directly (*Triads* 1:115.4–5). Therefore, communion with God himself—knowledge of him through his authentically divine operations or energies—is possible and, indeed, accessible to human experience (*Triads* 3:599.22–23). Man, though a creature, was made to participate in God.

This affirmation places Palamism squarely within the development of Byz. theology and its quest for salvation. For both Palamism and Greek patristic theology are soteriologically determined. This is clear from the great Christological debate of the 4th–5th C. with its insistence that the gulf between God and man had been bridged by the Incarnation. Indeed, the focus of this controversy was not theological speculation but salvation, with man's ascent to God and communion with him—made possible through the hypostatic union of the incarnate Word. That is, Christ's assumption of the fullness of our humanity makes deification possible. In Byz. theology (as with Palamism) real and immediate knowledge of God in Christ is thus ultimately rooted in the Orthodox Christology of CHALCEDON (*Triads* 1:193.4–18). Hence the 14th-C. Byz. church approved the Palamite distinction, despite the formal Aristotelian objections of BARLAAM OF CALABRIA that the distinction was an innovation incompatible with the divine simplicity. Hence, too, the Palamite rejection of the opposition of Nikephoros GREGORAS, since this also was based on a formal "rationalism" shared in part with Barlaam.

Palamas's essentially apophatic approach to theological truth has often been viewed as incom-

patible with Thomism—or as an obscurantist mysticism systematically opposed to secular learning. Palamas, however, was only insisting that knowledge of God could not be reduced to a rational exercise alone, that is, to the dialectic reasoning of SCHOLASTICISM with its exclusive endorsement of Aristotle. He held that only the mind transfigured or illuminated by grace can know God. Palamas, quite simply, found unacceptable the degree of authority assigned by scholasticism to Greek philosophy—"its pretension to be adequate to the Christian mystery" (Meyendorff, *Palamas* 240).

LIT. V. Lossky, "La théologie de la lumière chez saint Grégoire de Thessalonique," *Dieu Vivant* 1 (1945) 93–118. G. Florovsky, "Saint Gregory Palamas and the Tradition of the Fathers," *Sobornost* 4 (1961) 165–76. H.-G. Beck et al., "Humanismus und Palamismus," 12 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1963) 63–82, 321–30. C. Journet, "Palamisme et thomisme," *Revue Thomiste* 60 (1960) 429–52. M.A. Fahey, J. Meyendorff, *Trinitarian Theology East and West: St. Thomas Aquinas—St. Gregory Palamas* (Brookline, Mass., 1977).

—A.P.

**The Dispute over Palamism.** Palamism was established in the mid-14th C. as the official teaching of the Byz. church in spite of strong opposition from men such as Barlaam of Calabria, Gregory AKINDYNOS, and Nikephoros Gregoras. The basic philosophical differences (K. Ware, *EChR* 9 [1977] 46–51), both ontological and epistemological, could be expressed in two questions frequently discussed by church fathers: how could the gap between God and man be bridged, and how could the incomprehensible God be known by man. An excessive simplification of the problem by some hesychasts of the early 14th C. (including influential Athonite monks), who asserted the possibility of seeing the divine uncreated light, led to criticism by Barlaam who identified hesychasm as MESSALIANISM, as eliminating the distinction between the Creator and his creation. Barlaam's emphasis on the distinction between God and man endangered the concept of deification and consequently of salvation; Palamas had to defend the traditional view by introducing certain innovative definitions.

Akindynos, another critic of Palamism, denied the existence of a middle being (a "noncreated minor [deity] or inferior noncreated [being]") and stressed the simplicity of God who admits of no distinctions except the properties of the three PERSONS. John KYPARISSIOTES affirmed that Palamas had introduced a fourth nature (*physis*), and



Barlaam treated the light of Tabor as an image, *indalma*. Up to this point the Palamite dispute remained within the sphere of Greek theology; Prochoros KYDONES, however, employed in the anti-Palamite discussion the means of Latin scholastics and tried to prove that in a perfect being *ousia* should coincide with *energeia*.

In response to this criticism the Palamites attempted to modify some flawed formulations of their teacher in order to circumvent the accusation that Palamism introduced higher and lower deities and in order to stress the simplicity of God. Philotheos KOKKINOS emphasized the patristic tradition of the concept of uncreated GRACE, in order to invalidate the identification of Palamism as Messalianism; he states that the real Messalians are those who assumed the possibility of a union with God without such grace, who viewed grace only as a property of the thinking nature. GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS accepted this modified form of Palamism.

The social and political role of Palamism has not yet been elucidated: M. Sjuzumov's (*VizVrem* 23 [1963] 262–68) interpretation of Palamism as the voice of the masses against Italian commercial exploitation is evidently simplistic, but Palamas's alliance with Kantakouzenos and his supporters deserves attention.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 323–32. V. Lossky, *Vision de Dieu* (Neuchâtel 1962) 127–40. A. de Halleux, "Palamisme et Tradition," *Irenikon* 48 (1975) 479–93. B. Schultze, "Zur Gotteserkenntnis in der griechischen Patristik," *Gregorianum* 63 (1982) 525–58. —A.K.

**PALATIA.** See MILETOS.

**PALEJA.** See PALAIA.

**PALERMO** (Πάνορμος), from antiquity a city of northwest Sicily, originally on the coast. During the Middle Ages the sea level retreated, and the old city walls are now relatively far from the sea. The city fell to the Vandals in 440 and to the Ostrogoths in 491. During Belisarios's reconquest of Sicily in 535/6, Panormos was the only city that effectively resisted siege by land, but the Goths surrendered when the fleet from Constantinople was about to attack (Prokopios, *Wars* 5.5.12–16). It remained in Byz. hands until the 9th C. A seal of a Byz. *horrearios* of Panormos has been pub-

lished by Zacos and Nesbitt (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.634), but it is unclear whether it refers to Sicilian Panormos or to another location of the same name. The bishop of Panormos was suffragan of SYRACUSE; Neilos DOXOPATRES gives this hierarchy in his notitia (*Notitiae CP*, no.14.48–49), although it was anachronistic by his time.

Palermo was one of the first Sicilian cities to be taken by the Arabs (in Aug.–Sept. 831). It flourished under the Muslims and maintained its status as capital of Sicily after the Norman conquest of 1072. IBN HAWQAL provides a detailed description of Palermo (Balarm) at the end of the 10th C.

**Monuments of Palermo.** Two foundations in Palermo demonstrate the Siculo-Norman court's ambivalent admiration (colored by rivalry) for the imperial artistic culture of 12th-C. Constantinople: the Cappella Palatina (lit. "palace chapel") of ROGER II and the Church of St. Mary built by Admiral George of Antioch. The latter came to be called "La Martorana" after the nearby Benedictine nunnery founded by Gaufridus de Marturanu. The extensive MOSAIC decoration in both churches must have been at least begun by imported Byz. craftsmen, as Sicily had no contemporary tradition of the craft.

The Cappella Palatina has a southern Italian architectural design (a triple-apsed basilica with a cupola on stepped squinches before the main apse) and an Islamic *muqarnas* ceiling in the nave. The cupola mosaics depict the standard Byz. PANTOKRATOR with ranks of angels below; they are dated by a Greek inscription to 1143. The chronicle attributed to ROMUALD II, archbishop of Salerno, mentions mosaics made under WILLIAM I: these may be the Old and New Testament scenes in the nave and aisles, which Demus and others attribute to Sicilian pupils of Roger II's Byz. craftsmen.

La Martorana, while characteristically Sicilian in silhouette, is entirely Byz. in plan: a four-columned cross-in-square, with a dome on squinches over the central bay. Influenced by the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina and perhaps by those of CEFALÙ, the decoration of the Martorana dates between 1143 and 1151, when George of Antioch died. The program includes a seated Pantokrator in the dome with four angels in *proskynesis*, the Nativity and Dormition on a lower vault, and founders' panels showing George of Antioch and Roger II.

Maguire (*infra*) has shown that the choice and

position of scenes in both churches were affected by Byz. rhetorical conventions, familiar from homilies. B. Cappelli (*BollBadGr* n.s. 16 [1962] 77–93) proposed the intervention specifically of PHILAGATHOS, but for this, as noted by Kitzinger, there is no proof.

LIT. G. Agnello, *Palermo bizantina* (Amsterdam 1969). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:129f. Demus, *Norman Sicily* 25–90. Kitzinger, *Art of Byz.* 290–326, 394. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence* 66, 89f. F. Basile, *L'architettura della Sicilia normanna* (Catania 1975) 70–82. —A.K., D.K.

**PALESTINE** (Παλαιστίνη) in the 4th–6th C. included the coastal plain from Mt. Carmel south to Raphia on the Egyptian frontier, the Galilee and the Golan in the north, the Jezreel valley, the hill country of Samaria and Judaea, and the Great Rift valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. When Diocletian reorganized the LIMES in this region, he moved the Tenth Legion from Aelia Capitolina (see JERUSALEM) to Aila at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba and transferred the southern part of the province of Arabia, including PETRA and the NEGEV desert, to Palestine. The *dux Palaestinae* commanded the Tenth Legion and other forces of the *limes Palaestinae*. At first a single consular stationed at CAESAREA MARITIMA headed the civil administration, but by 358 the former parts of the province of Arabia had been separated to form Palaestina Salutaris. After another subdivision ca.400, Salutaris became Palaestina III, with its capital at Elusa; the Galilee, the Golan, the Jezreel valley, and several trans-Jordanian cities belonged to Palaestina II (capital at SKYTHOPOLIS); and the rest was renamed Palaestina I (capital at Caesarea). A consular governed each province until 536, when Justinian I promoted the governor at Caesarea to proconsul (ANTHYPATOS), gave him supervision over the two remaining consulars, and regulated his relations with the *doux* (nov.103, pr., par.1).

Justinian promoted the governor because he presided over "the province in which our Lord Jesus Christ . . . appeared on earth," a factor that likewise explains why Palestine prospered under the Christian Empire. More farm sites and villages were inhabited than ever before, and the volume of pottery recorded in archaeological surveys exceeds that of any other period. The imperial journey of HELENA in 326 created enthusiasm for PILGRIMAGE, esp. among the wealthy. In

the 5th C. prominent refugees (e.g., MELANIA THE YOUNGER, ATHENAIUS-EUDOKIA) settled permanently, devoting their fortunes to hospitals and churches. The emperors too made generous donations; the sale of RELICS brought in further funds. In creating prosperity, this infusion of new capital overshadowed other economic developments, such as the colonization of the Negev and the booming market for Gaza wine.

The cities of Palestine (e.g., Caesarea Maritima, Jerusalem, Skythopolis, NEAPOLIS, GAZA) generally reached their peak in population and built-up area in the late Roman period, while maintaining a classical appearance with new colonnaded streets, civic basilicas, and aqueducts. The density of construction was extraordinary, even in the towns and villages. Most churches were single- or triple-apsed basilicas, but in the 5th–6th C. some centrally planned churches were modeled on the Church of the Anastasis at the Holy SEPULCHRE in Jerusalem.

The schools of Byz. Palestine—at Caesarea, Gaza, even Elusa in the Negev—produced famous rhetoricians. AINEIAS OF GAZA, CHORIKIOS OF GAZA, JOHN OF GAZA, and PROKOPIOS OF GAZA influenced epistolography, panegyric, and *ekphrasis*. ORIGEN established a tradition of Christian scholarship at Caesarea continued by Pamphilos and his pupil EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. Jerome used Origen's *Hexapla* at Caesarea. In historiography, GELASIOS OF CAESAREA and SOZOMENOS of Bethlema (near Gaza) continued Eusebian ecclesiastical history, while PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, trained in Caesarea and (perhaps) Gaza, wrote classicizing history. CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS was a notable hagiographer.

Before Constantine, there had been only isolated Christian communities in Palestine, notably at Caesarea, where martyrdoms had taken place under Diocletian and his successors, and at Jerusalem. Bp. CYRIL of Jerusalem (died 387) led the christianization of his city. St. Hilarion (mid-4th C.) encouraged the spread of monasticism and brought the new religion to the Negev. By the 5th C. monasteries were numerous but most influential were the Judaeian desert *lavrai* of Sts. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT, SABAS, and others described by Cyril of Skythopolis. These holy men also converted the many ARABS of Palestine to Christianity, both the desert Bedouin and the Arab villagers.



The metropolis of Caesarea ranked first among the approximately 50 sees of Palestine until 451, when Bp. JUVENAL of Jerusalem secured primacy in Palestine and the patriarchate (see JERUSALEM, PATRIARCHATE OF) by adopting the Christological formula of CHALCEDON. This incensed the largely Monophysite monks, whose revolt, supported by the exiled Empress Eudokia, had to be put down by force.

After St. PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA destroyed the Zeus Marnas temple at Gaza (probably in 402), little is heard of paganism but, despite conversion and the influx of foreigners, Christians may have remained a minority in the Holy Land until the Muslim conquest. SAMARITANS were concentrated around Neapolis and their sacred mount, Gerizim, but were also numerous in other parts of Palestine. According to Prokopios (SH 11.27–30) most of the tenant farmers in Caesarea's territory were Samaritans. Excluded from Jerusalem and most of Judaea, the JEWS inhabited the coastal plain and esp. the Galilee, the Golan, and a belt extending from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean. Numerous SYNAGOGUES have been excavated, many of them basilicas with niches for the Torah shrine oriented toward Jerusalem, modeled on Christian churches. Despite sporadic imperial legislation against them, both groups prospered in Byz. Palestine, the Jews sufficiently to create the culture reflected in the Palestinian Talmud and other rabbinic literature. Nonetheless, persecution and legal disabilities caused Jewish revolts in 351–52 and again ca.440. The Samaritans, although they were assimilated readily enough to enter the army and civil service in large numbers, rebelled in 484, when ZENO destroyed their synagogue at Mt. Gerizim, and again in 529 and 555. The authorities crushed these rebellions, deporting many Samaritans to the Persian Empire, but in 578 both Jews and Samaritans revolted once more.

When the PERSIANS invaded Palestine in 614, the Jews and other minorities welcomed them; most cities, with the notable exception of Jerusalem, opened their gates. Renewed Byz. administration, following the end of Persian rule in 628, lasted only a decade. The Muslims first attacked Palestine in 634 and defeated the imperial forces decisively on the YARMUK River in 636. Jerusalem fell in 638, Caesarea not until 640 or 641/2.

The Muslims abolished Palaestina III, but Pa-

laestina I survived as the Jund Filastīn and Palaestina II as the Jund al-Urdunn. Ramla, a new city, became the capital. Many Christians fled, but neither those who remained nor the Jews were persecuted. Pilgrimage continued on a reduced scale except for brief episodes of repression in the 11th C. under the caliph al-Hākīm and the SELJUKS. In 975 JOHN I TZIMISKES claimed to have penetrated Palestine and briefly occupied some northern cities, including Caesarea but his army did not penetrate so far south. In 1099 the Crusaders seized the Holy City and established the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (see JERUSALEM, KINGDOM OF).

LIT. M. Avi-Yonah, "The Economics of Byzantine Palestine," *IEJ* 8 (1958) 39–51. Idem, *RE* supp. 13 (1973) 322–30, 407–54. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 2 vols. (Paris 1933–38). Idem, *Histoire de la Palestine* (Paris 1952). Y. Dan, *The City in Eretz-Israel during the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Jerusalem 1984), in Hebr. Y. Tsafir in *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest*, ed. Z. Baras et al., vol. 2 (Jerusalem 1984), in Hebr. —K.G.H.

**PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE**, conventional name for a series of nine scenes from the life of Christ found in various degrees of completeness on a variety of 6th–7th-C. pilgrim EULOGIAI, as well as on several types of contemporary AMULET. The cycle includes the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, the Myrrophoroi, and the Ascension. It appears on pilgrimage AMPULLAE, the SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY, and (as individual scenes) on PILGRIM TOKENS; it is also found on contemporary silver amuletic ARMBANDS, octagonal gold marriage RINGS, and (as individual scenes) on gold FIBULAE and PENDANTS. The cycle documented the sacred origin of the *eulogia* contained in the *ampullae*, reliquary boxes, etc., and it was thought to give magical power to the amulets. Some scenes, such as the ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, were developed from traditional Roman iconographical *topoi*, while others, like the MYRROPHOROI, were specifically Palestinian, insofar as they reproduce details associated with specific LOCA SANCTA.

LIT. Vikar, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 75, 81–83. J. Engemann, "Palästinenische Pilgerampullen im F.J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn," *JbAChr* 16 (1973) 5–27. —G.V.

**PALIMPSEST** (παλίμψηστος), a PARCHMENT MS used for a second (or even third) time in copying a text. The reason for reusing the parchment was the dearth of writing material. The parchment leaves were washed and the old text scraped off. The *scriptura superior* was written either parallel to the *scriptura inferior* or at a right angle to it; in the latter case the reading of the *scriptura inferior* is easier. Sometimes PALAEOGRAPHERS use ultraviolet light to aid in deciphering a palimpsest MS. The *scriptura superior* provides a *terminus ante quem* for the erased text and indicates the literary preferences of the later SCRIBE or SCRIPTORIUM. Replacement of a classical or a secular Byz. author by a Christian text is the rule (e.g., Ephrem over the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos), but the opposite occurs as well (e.g., Pindar over a *sticherarion*). Many palimpsests have a southern Italian origin, owing to the poverty of southern Italian centers of book production.

LIT. A. Dold, *Palimpsest-Studien*, 2 vols. (Beuron 1955–57). Devreesse, *Manuscripts* 14–16. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 37f. M. Formentin, "I palinsesti greci della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana e della Capitolare di Verona," *Diptycha* 2 (1980–81) 146–86. *Menae patricii cum Thoma referendario "De scientia politica dialogus"*, ed. C. M. Mazzucchi (Milan 1982). —E.G.

**PALLADAS** (Παλλάδας), epigrammatist, grammarian, and teacher at Alexandria; born 319 (Bowra) or 360 (Franke), lived at least 72 years. Numerically at least, he dominates the GREEK ANTHOLOGY with approximately 150 epigrams (he is variously assigned and denied some anonymous items), partly because he assembled a collection of his own work. His poems portray a poor schoolmaster driven to misogyny by a nagging wife. His nihilism and habit of lampooning important officials may have gotten him into some trouble with the authorities. His talent is for the short poem (18 lines at most) in elegiacs, iambics, and hexameters; he was an inveterate punster. Both pagan and Christian sentiments have been detected in him (M. Bowra, *ProcBrAc* 45 [1959] 255–67), but overall he may be described as a poet between the two worlds of dying paganism and triumphant Christianity, equally uncomfortable in both.

ED. *AnthGr*, *passim*, esp. bks. 9–11. Partial Eng. tr. T. Harrison, *Palladas: Poems* (London 1975).

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Palladas of Alexandria: A Poet Between Two Worlds," *AntCl* 54 (1985) 267–73. Al. Cameron, "Notes on Palladas," *CQ* n.s. 15 (1965) 215–29. A. Franke,

*De Pallada epigrammatographo* (Leipzig 1899). J. Irmscher, "Pallad," *VizVrem* 11 (1956) 247–70. —B.B.

**PALLADIOS** (Παλλάδιος), writer, bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia (ca.400–406), bishop of Aspuna in Galatia (from ca.412); born Galatia ca.363, died Aspuna ca.431. A pupil of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, he spent the years 388–400 in Alexandria, Nitria, Kellia, and Palestine. Exiled from Bithynia in 406 as a supporter of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, he traveled the next few years in Egypt, Palestine, and perhaps India before returning to his new bishopric. His account of early Egyptian MONASTICISM, the *Lausiac History*, is so named from its dedicatee Lausus, *koubikoularios* of Theodosios II. Written ca.419, it combined the traditions of biography and the APOPTHEGMATA PATRUM into an engaging mixture of the credulous and the critical (W. Telfer, *JThSt* 38 [1937] 379–83). Palladios is candid on monkish weaknesses and does not harp on asceticism. The work was translated into Latin by RUFINUS of Aquileia and into Oriental languages, including Coptic. The authorship of his other major work, the *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, written ca.408, is questioned; it is modeled after Plato's *Phaedo* and defends John against THEOPHILOS of Alexandria. Also surviving under his name is a treatise titled *On the Races of India and the Brahmins*, the first of whose four sections, describing an Egyptian scholar's journey to INDIA, may be genuinely Palladian (B. Berg, *Byzantion* 44 [1974] 5–16).

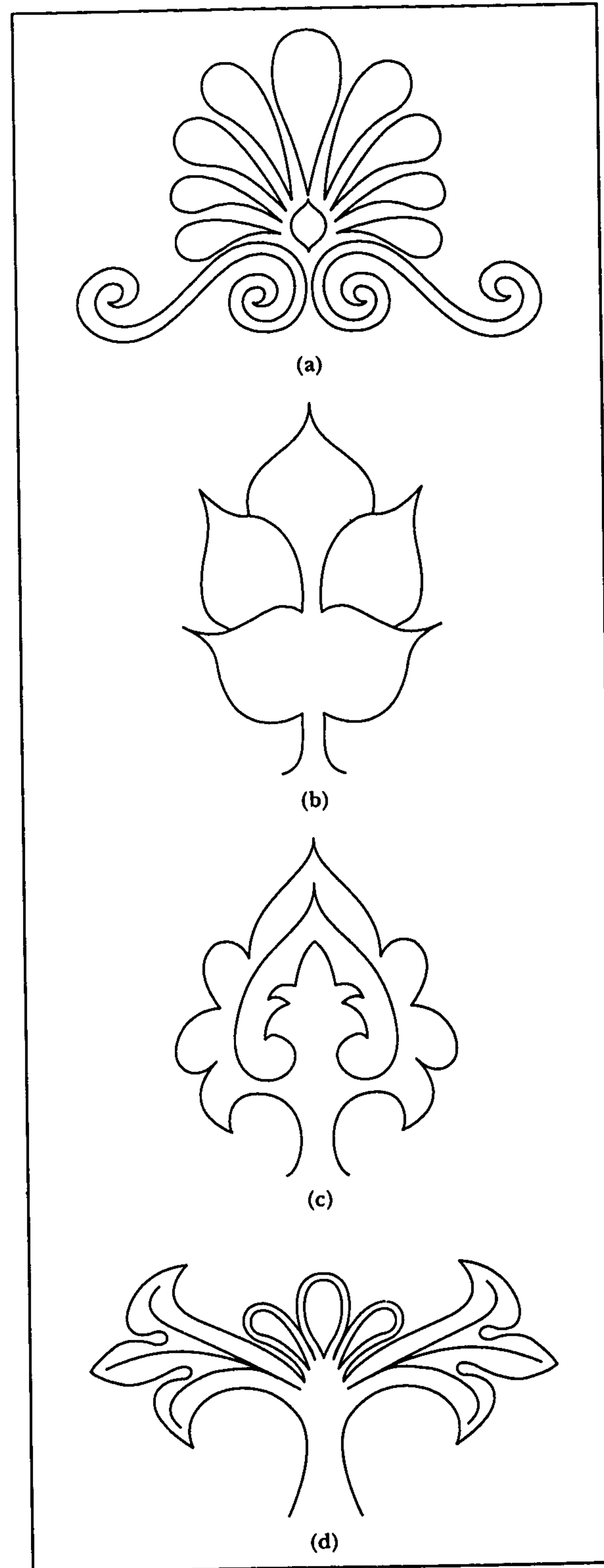
ED. *The Lausiac History*, ed. C. Butler, 2 vols. in 1 (Cambridge 1898–1904; rp. Hildesheim 1967). Tr. R.T. Meyer (Westminster, Md., 1965). *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, ed. R.T. Meyer (New York 1985), with Eng. tr. *Palladius de Gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*, ed. W. Berghoff (Meisenheim am Glan 1967).

LIT. E. Magheri Cataluccio, *Il Lausikon di Palladio tra semiotica e storica* (Rome 1984). —B.B.

**PALLIUM**. See HIMATION.

**PALMETTE**, ORNAMENT derived from vegetal forms consisting of petals radiating from a calyx-like base, used alone or repeated to form a border or frieze. Palmettes were sometimes elaborated with hearts, additional petals or tendrils, and often combined with floral motifs such as the lotus. The simple palmette, continuing a classical Greek form, was a standard feature of architectural ornament





as well as of decorative borders in wall mosaics, monumental painting, and sumptuary arts of all periods. A rounded form with large petals, often termed the "Sasanian" palmette, was perhaps derived from Near Eastern art. It frequently appears in TEXTILES and is extremely common in 10th-C. MSS and ENAMELS. The "split palmette" is a related motif with two symmetrically branching floral elements extending from a central stem and often enclosing other motifs.

LIT. Frantz, "Byz. Illuminated Ornament" 57-63.  
-R.E.K.

**PALM SUNDAY** (*Κυριακή τῶν βαΐων*), the Sunday before Easter. One of the dominical GREAT FEASTS, Palm Sunday commemorates Jesus' triumphal ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM and the beginning of his PASSION. The event was solemnized in 4th-C. Jerusalem with a procession of the faithful bearing palms or other branches, a usage that had passed to the rest of the East by 518 and is still attested in the 10th-C. *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typikon* 2:66). Later Byz. practice generally has only a blessing and distribution of branches and candles at *orthros* (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:542.10-11).

The imperial ceremony for this feast was elaborate. On the eve, the emperor went to the Church of St. Demetrios, where he distributed palm branches and silver crosses to members of the senate and others before entering the palace church, the Virgin of the Pharos, for vespers. In this latter church he took part in the liturgy on the day of the feast; he also held a banquet in the Chrysotriklinos (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 31-32; Philotheos, *Kletor.* 197.6-26). According to a 14th-C. ceremonial book, the gallery along which the emperor passed on the way to *orthros* was festooned with branches of myrtle, laurel, and olive (pseudo-Kod. 224.5-226.21).

SOURCE. Mother Mary, K. Ware, trs., *The Lenten Triodion* (London-Boston 1978).

LIT. A. Baumstark, "La solennité des palmes dans l'ancienne et la nouvelle Rome," *Irénikon* 13 (1936) 3-24.  
-R.F.T.

**PALMETTE.** Common palmette designs. (a) classical palmette; (b) "Sasanian" palmette (Vat. Barb. gr. 449, a.1153); (c) split palmette (Escorial Q-I-16, a.1293); (d) split palmette (St. Polyeuktos, Istanbul).

**PALMYRA** (*Πάλμυρα*, Syriac Tadmor, Ar. Tadmur), city and bishopric situated in an oasis in eastern Syria, in the province of Phoenicia Libanensis. Palmyra was formerly the capital of the ephemeral kingdom of the Arab queen Zenobia, which the Romans conquered in 273. Thereafter it lost out to NISIBIS as a principal trading center. The city was restored between 293 and 303 by Diocletian as a military stronghold of the eastern frontier, which it remained until the 7th C. In 527 Justinian I restored Palmyra, including its churches and public buildings (*demosia*), and placed there the *doux* of EMESA with a garrison (Malal. 426.1-5). According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 2.11.10-12), the emperor ordered repairs to the walls (H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 [1950] 239-42) and the provision of an adequate water supply. There are in Palmyra the remains of two basilical churches (A. Gabriel, *Syria* 7 [1926] 88-90) and of Christian paintings in the temple of Bel, which, like that of Baalshamin, was converted into a church in the 5th or 6th C. (J. Leroy, *CahArch* 15 [1965] 17-20). Excavations in the military area known as the "Camp of Diocletian" reveal on that side of the city a decline in urban life in the late 6th or early 7th C. The wide "Via Praetoria" was encroached upon by humble dwellings and reduced to a narrower (3.7 m) road (K. Michałowski, *Palmyre* [Warsaw 1963] 41), and public squares such as the Roman Tetrapylon were transformed into residential areas (Idem, *Palmyre* [Warsaw 1962] 54f). Palmyra fell to the Arabs in 633 or 634 (Donner, *Conquests* 121-26), but Byz. coins continued to circulate there for some years, as indicated by a hoard of gold coins ranging from Phokas to Constans II (641-68).

LIT. K. Michałowski, *Palmyre: Fouilles Polonaises* 1960 (Warsaw 1962) 54-77. M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre* 8 (Warsaw 1984). R. Fellmann, "Le 'Camp de Dioclétien' à Palmyre et architecture militaire du Bas-Empire," in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offertes à P. Collart* (Lausanne-Paris 1976) 173-91. *Palmyra. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der syrischen Oasenstadt* (Linz 1987).  
-M.M.M.

**PALUDAMENTUM.** See CHLAMYS.

**PAMMAKARISTOS, CHURCH OF HAGIA MARIA** (Turk. Fethiye Camii), monastic church at Constantinople, probably founded in the 12th



PAMMAKARISTOS, CHURCH OF HAGIA MARIA. Dome, east bay, and south bay of the *parekklesion*, Church of Hagia Maria Pammakaristos, Istanbul. In the lunette, a mosaic of the Baptism of Christ. The bishop is St. Gregory Thaumaturgos.

C. by a John Komnenos. After 1261 it came into the possession of the *protostrator* Michael Tarchaneiotes GLABAS (died ca.1305), who was buried there in the south *parekklesion* built in his memory by his widow Maria. Around 1455 Gennadios II Scholarios chose the Pammakaristos as the seat of the Greek patriarchate; it remained such until 1587, when the Turks confiscated it and converted it into a mosque. A document of the second half of the 16th C. describes a number of tombs and relics there, as well as inscriptions of the 12th-13th C. (P. Schreiner, *DOP* 25 [1971] 220-41). As preserved today, the building consists of the main church of the 12th C., greatly altered, the south chapel of ca.1305-10, and a U-shaped



ambulatory that contained many of the tombs. The chapel is decorated with mosaics; remnants of wall painting in the south arm of the ambulatory preserve typological allusions to the Virgin, including the CLOSED DOOR.

LIT. H. Belting, C. Mango, D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1978). —C.M.

**PAMPHYLIA** (Παμφυλία), the coastal plain of southern Asia Minor, ca. 100 km long, surrounded by an arc of the Taurus Mountains. This well-watered and fertile area, prosperous from olives, sheep, and trade along the coast and with the interior, supported several large cities (ATTALEIA, SIDE, SYLLAION). Constantine I made Pamphylia a separate province with Perge as its capital. Leo I appointed military commanders in Pamphylia to resist attacks of the ISAUURIANS. The ecclesiastical structure was more complicated, with inter-city rivalry provoking a 5th-C. division into two provinces with Side and Perge as metropolitan sees. Pamphylia was absorbed into the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme in the 8th C., but remained a separate military and administrative unit: the *tourmarches* of Pamphylia and LYKAONIA appears in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, and 9th-C. seals (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 2198, 3228) mention a *tourmarches* and an *ek prosopou* of Pamphylia. Extensive remains indicate considerable prosperity, esp. in the 6th C. Subsequent Arab attacks severely afflicted the cities of Pamphylia; some were abandoned, others became fortresses. After the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, Byz. control rarely extended beyond ATTALEIA.

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 18.3 (1949) 354–407. —C.F.

**PAMPREPIOS** (Παμπρέπιος), scholar and statesman; born Panopolis 29 Sept. 440, died at fortress Papirios, Isauria late Nov. 484. Up to age 32 Pampreprios was a poor poetry-writing grammarian in Egypt. Emigration to Athens brought him a more lucrative post as well as association with the pagan Neoplatonists. A fistfight (to which he was prone) caused him to move in 476 to Constantinople, where his pretensions to learning and magic impressed many, notably Zeno's high official ILLOS, who procured him public funds and students. The titles of quaestor, *patrikios*, and

(honorary) consul followed in 479. A lucky prediction further endeared him to Illos, whose favorite he became. In 484 he encouraged and joined Illos's revolt against Zeno. Upon their defeat he hid with the other rebels who, exasperated by the now high failure rate of his predictions and suspecting him of treachery, executed him. His career, commemorated by (among others) DAMASKIOS, ultimately belies the ascription to him by MALCHOS OF PHILADELPHIA of great political acumen. Accusations of licentiousness, treachery, unscrupulousness, and vanity may partly be a pious reaction to his militant paganism. The *Souda* credits him with various epic poems. Surviving hexameter fragments on the patrician Theagenes and a spring or autumn idyll may well be his; other ascriptions are insecure.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. E. Livrea (Leipzig 1979). *Select Papyri* 3: *Literary Papyri*<sup>2</sup>, ed. D.L. Page (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1962) 560–87, with Eng. tr.

LIT. R. Asmus, "Pampreprios, ein byzantinischer Gelehrter und Staatsmann des 5. Jahrhunderts," *BZ* 22 (1913) 320–47. R.C. McCail, "P. Gr. Vindob. 29788C: Hexameter Encomium on an Un-named Emperor," *JHS* 98 (1978) 38–63. A. Delatte, P. Stroobant, "L'Horoscope de Pampreprios, professeur et homme politique de Byzance," *BACBelg*<sup>3</sup> 9 (1923) 58–76. —B.B.

**PAN**, in Greek mythology, a god of flocks and pastures who is usually depicted in the company of NYMPHS and SATYRS. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 42:258–61) relates the myth of Pitys, the nymph of the fir-tree, who fled over the mountains to escape marriage with Pan. Eventually, Pan assumed a universal significance. Servius, the 4th-C. commentator on Vergil, states that Pan is the god of all nature (wherefrom allegedly comes his name meaning in Greek "all"): he has horns, the symbols of sun rays; the spotted fawn-skin of his breast designates the starry sky; and his goatlike legs indicate the stability of the earth (R. Herbig, *Pan* [Frankfurt am Main 1949] 67). His cult in the Egyptian desert is testified to by Roman inscriptions up to the 4th C. (A. Bernard, *Pan du désert* [Leiden 1977] 271).

The church rejected with indignation the worship of the divine half-goat with whom various lascivious stories were connected: PHILOSTORGIOS (*HE*, ed. Bidez-Winkelmann, 41.5–16) hypothesizes that the ancient Greeks must have developed their conception of Pan (as a combination of a goat and monkey) from seeing a hybrid monster

like the one sent to Emp. Constantius II by the king of the Indians.

For painters Pan was the embodiment of lust. He appears as an ithyphallic IDOL (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* fig.89) or as a horned, goat-legged, and winged demigod in the act of accosting Aphrodite (Furlan, *Marciana* 5, fig.48b). —A.K., A.M.T., A.C.

**PANAGIA.** See VIRGIN MARY.

**PANAGIARION** (παναγιάριον, from παναγία, "the all-holy [Virgin]"), a small liturgical paten (see PATEN AND ASTERISKOS) 5–15 cm in diameter, decorated with a representation of the Virgin, often in an ORANS attitude. *Panagaria* were intended to carry the bread offered to the Virgin by monks during a meal or in the course of the ORTHROS service (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:661–64). The earliest known example, in the HILANDAR MONASTERY on Mt. Athos, is made of jasper and has been attributed to the 10th–11th C. (B. Radojković, *Les objets sculptés d'art mineur en Serbie ancienne* [Belgrade 1977] 11). A *panagiarion* of gold is recorded in the will of Theodore Sarrantenos of 1326 (G.I. Theocharides, *Makedonika* supp. 2 [Thessalonike 1962] 20.53). Examples of the 14th C. display the Virgin surrounded by prophets, angels, or apostles in compositions evoking the INCARNATION (Kalavrezou, *Steatite* 204–08). In the 15th C. the *panagiarion* was transformed into a PYXIS or pendant made of two shallow disks, one of them showing the Virgin and the other the Trinity. This form of *panagiarion* is often worn by high church officials.

—L.Ph.B.

**PANAGIA TON CHALKEON**, church in Thessalonike. The Panagia ton Chalkeon (Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων, lit. "Virgin of the bronze-smiths"), was constructed in 1028 (and not in 1044) by Christopher, governor (*katepano*) of the theme of Longobardia, his wife, son, and two daughters, as indicated by an inscription over the west door. An arcsoilium in the middle of the north wall was probably originally Christopher's tomb. Another inscription inside the church says that the founder had constructed the building "for the forgiveness of his sins."

The church is of the cross-in-square type, on

four columns; there are three domes, one central and two over the double-storied narthex, all rather high in elevation. The exterior of the church is built entirely of brick, with rectangular pilasters on the lower level, rounded half-columns above. The roofline of the west end of the church is scalloped, while the other arms of the church have gabled roofs. All the arched openings and blind arches have two, three, or four setbacks, enhancing the sculptured effect of the exterior. The church has connections with Constantinople (e.g., the exterior decoration recalls the MYRELAION church) and with central Greece (e.g., interior, window treatment), but the overall style is probably local. In the interior is preserved much of the original carved marble decoration as well as frescoes of the 11th and the 14th C. The 11th-C. ASCENSION in the dome, LAST JUDGMENT in the narthex, and positioning of the CRUCIFIXION and ANASTASIS scenes near the tomb develop the funerary character of the program (A. Tsitouridou, *JÖB* 32.5 [1982] 435–41). The 14th-C. frescoes include an illustration of the AKATHISTOS HYMN (A. Xyngopoulos, *DChAE*<sup>4</sup> 7 [1973–74] 61–77).

LIT. D. Evangelides, *He Panagia ton Chalkeon* (Thessalonike 1954). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 373f. K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki* (Graz-Cologne 1966). Janin, *Églises centres* 383f. A. Tsitouridou, *He Panagia ton Chalkeon* (Thessalonike 1975). —T.E.G.

**PANARETOS, MICHAEL**, chronicler of the GRAND KOMNENOI of Trebizond; born Pontos? ca. 1320, died ca. 1390. Panaretos (Πανάρετος) spent his career in the service of ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS and by 1363 held the titles of *protosebastos* and *protonotarios*. He participated in numerous military campaigns with the emperor and twice visited Constantinople, in 1363 and 1368. His personal involvement with the court of Trebizond ended in 1379.

The chronicle of Panaretos is the unique narrative source for the history of the empire of TREBIZOND; it covers the period 1204–1390. The events of 1340–90, to which Panaretos was an eyewitness, are more detailed than those covered in the early pages of the chronicle. The narrative concentrates on the events of official life: weddings, burials, military expeditions. The manner of storytelling is annalistic, with serious attention to chronology and official titulature. The simple



language is close to the vernacular. The author sometimes mentions his own involvement in affairs (e.g., *sub anno* 1361 "I was among the archons"), but tries to avoid personal interpretation of events. Since the data provided by Panaretos are unique, verification of his reliability is difficult. A 15th-C. writer added to his chronicle a very brief description of events between 1390 and 1426.

ED. *Michael tou Panaretou peri ton megalon Komnenon*, ed. O. Lampsides (Athens 1958).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:480f. *PLP*, no.21651. —A.M.T.

**PANDEKTES.** See ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS.

**PANEAS.** See PANIAS.

**PANEGYRIC.** See ENKOMION.

**PANEGYRICI LATINI**, general title for a dozen addresses to emperors preserved in the MS discovered by Giovanni Aurispa in 1433. First is Pliny's panegyric of Trajan, clearly the school model for later efforts. The other 11 all relate to Gaul, nine from the period 289–321, the remaining two datable to 362 and 389, thus suggesting that some Gallic rhetorician assembled the collection in the late 4th C. In chronological order (modern enumerations vary with different editions) these are, by name: two addresses by Mamertinus to MAXIMIAN, at Trier in 289 and 291; Eumenius from Autun to CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS in 298 in gratitude for his appointment as professor of rhetoric and school organizer; Nazarius's encomium on the absent CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT in 321; another Mamertinus's thanks to JULIAN for his consular appointment in 362 at Constantinople; Drepanius honoring the victory of Theodosios I over MAXIMUS. The other addresses, mainly delivered to Constantine in Trier, are anonymous, perhaps by Eumenius, and datable to the years 297, 307, 310, 312, and 313. Apart from Mamertinus's somewhat poetical address to Julian, the overall style is Ciceronian *à la* Pliny. Their tone is uniformly unctuous, every ruler being a superhuman hero. Yet as with modern propaganda, solid history can be teased out of them, while taken together they constitute a mirror of provincial classicism.

ED. *Panegyriques latins*, ed. E. Galletier, 3 vols. (Paris 1949–55), with Fr. tr. *XII Panegyrici latini*, ed. R.A.B. McNors (Oxford 1964).

LIT. C.E.V. Nixon, "Latin Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period," in Croke-Emmett, *Historians* 88–99. R. Seager, "Some Imperial Virtues in the Latin Prose Panegyrics," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1983) 129–65. T. Janson, *A Concordance to the Latin Panegyrics* (Hildesheim 1979). —B.B.

**PANEGYRIS.** See FAIR.

**PANHYPERSEBASTOS** (πανυπερσέβαστος), title created by Alexios I. It was conferred on several members of noble families such as Katakalon-Euphorbenoi, Kontostephanoi, and Taronitai (L. Stiernon, *REB* 23 [1965] 223, n.12). A seal of John Dalassenos (before 1136) calls him *despotes* and *panhypersebastos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2721). A 14th-C. ceremonial book places the *panhypersebastos* immediately after the *mezas domestikos* and notes that the two were equal (pseudo-Kod. 136.1–2). Before he became emperor, John (VI) Kantakouzenos was *panhypersebastos*. The Komnenoi and their successors introduced other epithets and titles based on the root of SEBASTOS, such as *pansebastos*, *pansebastohypertatos*, and even *protopan-sebastohypertatos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2747). —A.K.

**PANIAS** (Πανιάς, also Paneas, Ar. Bāniyās), rarely called Caesarea Philippi (i.e., the Caesarea of Philip, son of Herod), ancient city in Phoenicia southwest of Mt. Hermon, near an old sanctuary of Pan. Pilgrims were attracted to Panias by a sculptural group thought to represent Christ healing the woman with the issue of blood. Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 7:18.2–4) describes the bronze statue as a genuflecting woman stretching her hands toward a man in an elaborate cloak at whose feet grew a strange plant with the power to cure all diseases. Reportedly the woman herself had erected this image. More likely the group represented a pagan divine healer reclaimed by the Christians (G. Hölscher, *RE* 18 [1949] 599f). Eusebios also mentions painted images of Christ, Paul, and Peter in Panias. The fate of the bronze group is often mentioned by later writers. According to Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 5.21.1–2), Julian replaced it with his own statue, which was destroyed by fire from heaven. Philostorgios (Philostorg., *HE* 7.3, p.79.1–7) relates that the inhabitants of

Panias pulled down the statue; its head was hidden by pious people. Malalas, on the other hand, narrates (Malal. 239.11–14) that the statue was transferred from the city square to a chapel and stood there until his time.

The bishopric of Panias belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch. Under the Arabs the city was an administrative center; the sculpture was probably destroyed even though its legend is mentioned by some authors of the 10th C.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 167. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI* 2 1:1017. —G.V., A.K.

**PANION** (Πάνιον), also Panidon, late antique city on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara near Rhaidestos. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 1.50, ed. Pertusi, p.86) lists it among the *poleis* of Thrace or Europe. A bishop of Panion or Theodosiupolis (Nova) was known in 536 (*ACO* 3:116.53). In Byz. sources Panion appears either as a *polis* or *kastron* (e.g., *TheophCont* 615.2; Attal. 249.4). In 813, when Krum ravaged Thracian towns, Panion was one of the few that the Bulgarians were unable to conquer (I. Ševčenko, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 573). The people of Panion participated in the revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV and did not surrender even after Thomas's death; the city was captured only after an earthquake destroyed its walls. In 1064/5 Panion again suffered from an earthquake (Attal. 90.1). Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 621.1–2) relates that Venetian ships plundered Panion in 1205. In the PARTITIO ROMANIAE the *civitas* Panido was ascribed, together with Rhaidestos, to the district of Chalkidike and handed over to the Venetians. In 1206 Kalojan destroyed Panion and resettled its inhabitants on the banks of the Danube (Akrop. 23.10–14).

LIT. J. Schmidt, *RE* 18 (1949) 601. Lemerle, *Philippe* 171. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1 (1918) 275f; 3 (1940) 241f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:222–29. —A.K.

**PANKALEIA** (Παγκάλεια), a plain northeast of AMORION, scene of one or two battles (978–79) during the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS. Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 169f) says Bardas PHOKAS first encountered Skleros's army at Pankaleia, a "plain fit for cavalry." Phokas was defeated, but in a subsequent conflict he triumphed (locale unspecified). Skleros was forced to flee to the Arabs.

Psellos (*Chron.* 1:5–7) describes a battle with a single combat that resulted in Skleros's flight. Skylitzes (Skyl. 324–27) reports a first defeat for Phokas near Amorion and a subsequent one at Basilika Therma. Then, with Georgian forces supplied by DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO, Phokas overcame Skleros at Pankaleia, which Skylitzes wrongly places near the Halys. The battle featured a duel between the generals in which Skleros was wounded; his bloody horse, dashing through his own men, so alarmed them that they took flight. Skleros withdrew to the Arabs. P.M. Tarnichvili (*BK* 17–18 [1964] 95–97) has shown that contemporary Georgian sources located the decisive battle at Sarvenis (which he identifies as Aquae Saravenae or Basilika Therma, north of Kaisareia). Skylitzes' final battle at Pankaleia (duel included), he argues, is a fictionalized duplication of the first one. But Aquae Saravenae (mod. Kırşehir, northwest of Kaisareia and near the Halys) must be distinguished from Basilika Therma (mod. Sarıkaya) (F. Hild, M. Restle, *TIB* 2:143f, 156f). YAHYĀ (ed. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev, *PO* 23.3:375, 399) gives the date of the first battle as 19 June 978 and of the second as 24 Mar. 979.

LIT. K. Belke, *TIB* 4:212. S.A. Kemer, "Emperors and Aristocrats in Byzantium, 976–1081" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1983) 549–52. —C.M.B.

**PANKRATIOS OF TAORMINA**, a legendary disciple of St. Peter, the first bishop of Taormina; martyr and saint; feastdays 9 Feb. and 9 July. The existence of his cult in Sicily is attested by GREGORY I THE GREAT, who relates that in 591 a church in Messina was dedicated to "Pancratius." According to the vita of Pankratios (Παγκράτιος), written by a certain Evagrius (otherwise unknown), Pankratios was originally from the Antioch region, lived in a village in Pontos, accompanied St. Peter on his journeys, and came to Sicily, where he converted the governor of the province to Christianity and was eventually murdered by pagans. Evagrius describes an episode that seems to reflect the struggle over icon veneration: the apostle Peter reportedly summoned a painter, Joseph by name, and ordered him to make icons of Christ, Peter himself, and Pankratios; Pankratios then used these icons in his mission. The episode with the painter Joseph was known to THEODORE OF STODIOS (PG 99:1135A) and employed in his defense of icons. Whereas Patlagean



(*Structure*, pt.XIII [1964], 587–89) dates the “romance of Pankratios” to the second half of the 8th C., Ševčenko (*Ideology*, pt.V [1975], 28, n.2) prefers the second period of Iconoclasm. The text of the vita is published only in excerpts.

LIT. BHG 1410–12. V. Veselovskij, “Iz istorii romana i povesti, I,” *Sbornik Otdelenija Russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* 40.2 (1886) 65–128. H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* 4 (Leipzig-Berlin 1913) 417–21. —A.K.

**PANNONIA** (Παννώνια), Roman territory south of the Middle Danube that was divided between 293 and 296, under Diocletian, into four provinces: Pannonia I (capital, Savaria), Pannonia II (capital, SIRMUM), Savia (capital, Siscia), and Valeria (capital, Sopianae). Archaeological data indicate that the 4th C. was a period of flourishing estates, when large-scale grain production began; from the end of the 3rd C. onward wine was also produced. The uniformity of the construction of new villas prompts the hypothesis that they were imperial properties (M. Biró, *ActaArchHung* 26 [1974] 52–54). Building activity, predominantly of military character, continued through the time of Valentinian I, although the political role of the Pannonians in the empire seems to have decreased (J. Fitz, *L'administration des provinces pan-noniennes* [Brussels 1983] 91).

Starting at the end of the 4th C., Pannonia lay open to barbarian invasions. A part of the Roman population emigrated southward. The minting of coins stopped after 395. The cities were in decline, as shown by systematic excavations carried out in ancient Gorsium: already some 4th-C. graves were located on the site of older houses. Sopianae has a church with a fresco painted probably after 380, but traces of the 5th–6th-C. settlement are insignificant (Gy. Székely, *ActaAntHung* 21 [1973] 340–42). The first waves of invasion merely passed through Pannonia en route to Italy, but the Huns lingered in the region a while, according to the treaties of 425 and 433 as FOEDERATI. In 434–41 ATTILA occupied Pannonia. In 455 EPARCHIUS AVITUS restored Roman power in Pannonia II. Excavations show that Roman customs still continued in some parts of the province until the 6th C., when the AVARS settled in Pannonia. Eventually, the territory formed a part of MORAVIA and finally was occupied by the HUNGARIANS.

LIT. L. Várady, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens* (Amsterdam 1969), rev. by J. Harmatta, *ActaAntHung* 18 (1970)

361–69 and T. Nagy, *ActaAntHung* 19 (1971) 299–345. A. Alföldi, *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien*, 2 vols. (Berlin-Leipzig 1924–26). Ja. Tejral, *Morava na sklonku antiky* (Prague 1982). S. Soproni, *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des pannonischen Limes* (Munich 1985). E. Tóth, “Bemerkungen zur Kontinuität der römischen Provinzialbevölkerung in Transdanubien (Nordpannonien),” in *VölkSüdost* 251–64. —A.K.

**PANOPOLIS.** See AKHMİM.

**PANSELINOS, MANUEL**, wall-painter sometimes associated with the decoration of various monasteries on Mt. Athos and esp. with that of the PROTATON, ca.1300. This tradition is no older than the 17th C.; in the 18th C., Dionysios of Phourna claimed that Panselinos (Πανσέληνος) was from Thessalonike and that rules for the proportions of figures in his *Hermeneia* (see MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS) derived from Panselinos. Panselinos has recently been tentatively identified with MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) or a member of his family, but there is no substantive evidence for the artist's existence.

LIT. A. Embiricos, “Manuel Panselinos,” in *Mill. Mont Athos* 2:263–66. P. Miljković-Peppek, “L'atelier artistique proéminent de la famille thessalonicienne d'Astrapas,” *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 491–94. —A.C.

**PANTECHNES, CONSTANTINE**, metropolitan of Philippopolis; fl. ca.1191. He was the author of an EKPHRASIS in which he vividly described HUNTING with hounds, falcons, and tame leopards.

ED. E. Miller, “Description d'une chasse à l'once par un écrivain byzantin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère,” *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques* 6 (1872) 47–52; 7 (1873) 133f. K. Horna, “Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon,” *WS* 25 (1903) 209.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:186.

—A.K.

**PANTELEEMON** (originally Pantoleon or Pantaleon), saint, one of the ANARGYROI; born Nikomedeia, died ca.305; feastday 27 July. Theodoret of Cyrillus first mentions a feast in honor of Panteleemon, though not all MSS preserved Panteleemon's name (PG 83:1033B). According to a later *passio*, Pantoleon was the son of a pagan senator, Eustorgios, and studied medicine with a famous physician, Euphrosynos. A Christian priest, Hermolaos, persuaded him that neither Asklepios nor Hippocrates nor Galen nor “other gods worshipped by the emperor Maximian” (Latyšev, *infra*

41.16–17) had ever existed; Pantoleon was taught to heal the sick by invoking Christ's name. Pantoleon's miraculous cures brought him fame as well as Maximian's anger. Supernaturally aided, he endured tortures: when he stepped into a vat of boiling lead the fire was immediately extinguished and the lead cooled; wild beasts in the arena knelt at his feet, and the executioners' swords melted like wax. Because he prayed for his torturers, he received a new name (Παντελεήμων), “all-merciful.” When he was finally beheaded, milk, not blood, gushed from his neck, and the olive tree under which he was murdered became covered with fruit “from the roots to the crown.” Panteleemon's cult was popular in both West and East: his *passio* was translated into Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian; in Byz. ANDREW OF CRETE (or NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON), JOHN GEOMETRES, SYMEON METAPHRASTES, and Constantine AKROPOLITES eulogized Panteleemon.

**Representation in Art.** Portraits of Panteleemon abound in church decoration; his adolescent features recall those of St. GEORGE, but he holds a little pyramidal PHYSICIAN'S BOX and a scalpel instead of a lance (e.g., at NEREZI). Various cycles of scenes from his life have been preserved (at Nerezi, on a Sinai vita icon, and in MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes), but the choice of scenes and their iconography differs from monument to monument, so that it seems unlikely that any widespread iconographic tradition was ever in existence.

SOURCES. V.V. Latyšev, *Neizdannnye grečeskie agiografičeskie teksty* (St. Petersburg 1914) 40–75. L. Sternbach, “Ioannes Geometrae carmen de S. Panteleemone,” *Dissertationes classis philologicae Academiae litterarum Cracoviensis* 16 (1892) 218–303 (corr. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem* 6 [1899] 156–63). PG 115:448–77.

LIT. BHG 14122–1418c. J.-M. Sauget, A.M. Raggi, *Bibl. Sanct.* 10 (1968) 108–18. K. Welker, *LCI* 8:112–15. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 151f. —A.K., N.P.Š.

**PANTELEEMON** (painter). See PANTOLEON.

**PANTELEEMON MONASTERY**, also called Rossikon, a Rus' establishment on Mt. Athos. The present large complex of the Rossikon, situated north of Daphne on the southwest shore of the Athonite peninsula, is of modern construction. Rossikon had its origins in two Byz. monasteries, the Theotokos of Xylourgou and St. Panteleemon (Παντελεήμων), also called “of the Thessaloni-

can,” which merged in the 12th C. The Xylourgou monastery (present-day SKETE of Bogoridica or Theotokos) was located in the northwest part of the peninsula and inhabited in the 11th C. by monks from Rus'. The monastery of St. Panteleemon (present-day Palaionastero), located halfway between modern Rossikon and KARYES, was founded in the late 10th C., probably by Leontios of Thessalonike. It owned a dock and tower (*pyrgos*) at the site of modern Rossikon. St. Panteleemon fell into decline in the 12th C. and was virtually deserted by 1169, when it was occupied by the Rus' monks of Xylourgou. The *protos* of Athos gave St. Panteleemon to the Rus' on condition that they restore and fortify the complex. The Rus' *hegoumenos* assumed the leadership of both St. Panteleemon and of Xylourgou, which was designated an annex (*paramonasterion*). The reorganized monastery took the name of “the monastery of the Rus' honored with the name of St. Panteleemon” (*mone ton Rhoson eis onoma timomene tou hagiou Panteleemonos*). Panteleemon prospered, esp. during the period of Serbian domination over Athos, receiving substantial estates from Serbian princes (cf. M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 23 [1984] 167–69). Many of these properties were lost, however, after the Turkish conquest of Macedonia in the 15th C.

The archives contain 20 Byz. acts (dating between 1030 and 1430), 15 Serbian documents (1349–1429), as well as later Russian and Moldavian acts. The acts include a detailed inventory of 1142 listing the movable properties, for example, sacred vessels, of the Xylourgou monastery (*Pantel.*, no.7.44–59); a chrysobull of Andronikos II (1311) confirming the Panteleemon monastery's title to properties in Thessalonike and Chalkidike, and guaranteeing certain fiscal immunities; and a chrysobull of John V (1353) granting the monastery properties in the Strymon region. Panteleemon also owned lands on Lemnos. Approximately 169 Greek MSS of Byz. date are preserved in the library (Lampros, *Athos* 2:280–461), most notably cod. 6, a richly illustrated copy of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. The church formerly possessed a steatite PANAGIARION inscribed with the name of Alexios III of Trebizond (Kalavrezou, *Steatite*, no.132).

SOURCES. *Actes de Saint-Pantéléemon*, ed. P. Lemerle, G. Dagron, S. Ćirković (Paris 1982).

LIT. A. Soloviev, “Histoire du monastère russe au Mont-Athos,” *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 213–38. V. Mošin, “Russkie na



Afone i rusko-vizantijskie otnošenija v XI–XII vv.," *BS* 9 (1947) 55–85; 11 (1950) 32–60. P. Nastase, "Russes et Bulgares à l'Athos," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 284–97. *Treasures* 2:144–97, 347–59. A.E.N. Tachiaos, *The Slavonic Manuscripts of St. Panteleimon Monastery (Rossikon) on Mt. Athos* (Thessalonike 1981). —A.M.T., A.C.

**PANTELLERIA.** See **PATELLARIA.**

**PANTEOPTES MONASTERY**, located on the fourth hill of Constantinople overlooking the Golden Horn. Founded before 1087 by Anna DALASSENE, the Pantepoptes (Παντεπόπτης, "all-seeing") was dedicated to Christ. Although it was a male establishment, the founder retired to private apartments there shortly before her death. Patr. THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES was confined there temporarily in 1181 after the revolt of RENIER OF MONTFERRAT. In 1204, during the final Crusader attack on Constantinople, Alexios V Mourtzouphlos used the Pantepoptes as his headquarters because of its useful vantage point. In 1206 the monastery was taken over by Benedictine monks, but Greeks returned after 1261. The Pantepoptes continued to function until at least 1453, although it is apparently not mentioned by Russian pilgrims in the Palaiologan period; after the Turkish conquest its church became the still-extant mosque of Eski Imaret Camii. The church has a cross-in-square plan and an unusual U-shaped gallery over the narthex. An outer narthex was added probably in the Palaiologan period. The exterior brickwork includes such decorative features as maeander patterns and sunbursts.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 513–15. Mathews, *Byz. Churches* 59–70. —A.M.T.

**PANTEUGENOS, SOTERICHS**, 12th-C. theologian. A deacon of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, then patriarch-elect of Antioch, Panteugenos (Παντεγενός) became the major figure in theological debates on the nature of Christ's sacrifice. A statement (*semeioma*) by a synod meeting on 26 Jan. 1156 directed a condemnation against those who affirmed that the sacrifice of Christ was offered to the Father alone, and not to the other two persons of the Trinity (PG 140:153C). Dissatisfied with the decision, Panteugenos published a *Dialogue* defending the views condemned in 1156; he faced, however, a refutation by NICHOLAS OF METHONE.

A new synod, presided by Emp. MANUEL I, was

held at the Blachernai Palace on 12 May 1157. The earlier decision was confirmed (PG 140:192A), and Panteugenos renounced his previous position. The SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY included five anathemas against the condemned doctrines. The synod affirmed that the hypostasis of the incarnate Logos "offered" the sacrifice according to the humanity assumed by him and "received" it according to his divinity, together with the Father and the Spirit. The decision referred to a prayer of the Byz. liturgy addressed to Christ as "the one who offers and the one who is offered."

ED. PG 140:140–48. I. Sakkelion, *Patmiae Bibliothekē* (Athens 1890) 328–31.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1038, 1041–43. Gouillard, "Synodikon," 210–15. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 40.

—J.M.

**PANTOKRATOR** (παντοκράτωρ, lit. "all-sovereign"), an epithet of God. Used in the Apocalypse of John and by some early theologians (F. Bergamelli, *Salesianum* 46 [1984] 439–72), it was employed by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria in his polemics against the Arians, who considered the Son of God as a DYNAMIS and denied him the title of Pantokrator (PG 25:472B, 26:80AB). In Byz. the term was applied both to God in general and separately to the individual persons of the Trinity, esp. to the Father; the epithet emphasized rule over the whole, in contrast to the *kosmokrator* or "world-ruler," the title of the DEVIL. When applied to Christ, the concept of Pantokrator was closely interwoven with the image of the kingship of Christ who was Pantokrator both by nature, as the Son, and—against the Arians—by his role as redeemer. The term is often used in symbols of the CREED (PG 28:1581B, 1589A) and in liturgical texts. Strangely enough, the term is lacking in the list of divine names compiled by Theodore II Laskaris (PG 140:764–70) that includes almost 700 epithets, but there are many synonyms. (For the Pantokrator in art, see CHRIST: Types of Christ.)

LIT. F. Buri, *Der Pantokrator: Ontologie und Eschatologie als Grundlage der Lehre von Gott* (Hamburg 1969). C. Capizzi, *Pantokrator: Saggio d'esegesi letterario-iconografica* (Rome 1964), rev. K. Wessel, *BZ* 58 (1965) 141–47. J. Myslivec, *BS* 27 (1966) 427–32. K. Wessel, "Das Bild des Pantokrator," in *Polychronion* 521–35. C.P. Charalampidis, "A propos de la signification trinitaire de la main gauche du Pantokrator," *OrChrP* 38 (1972) 260–65. —G.P.

**PANTOKRATOR, MONASTERIES OF.** Several Byz. monasteries were dedicated to Christ as Pan-

tokrator, the most important being in Constantinople and on Mt. Athos.

**PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY IN CONSTANTINOPLE**, a large monastic complex founded in Constantinople by Emp. JOHN II KOMNENOS east of the Church of the Holy Apostles on the slope of the fourth hill. The three parallel and contiguous church buildings survive to the present under the Turkish name Zeyrek Kilise Camii. One of the churches, dedicated to St. Michael (the Asomatos), was intended as a funerary chapel for members of the Komnenos family. John II and his wife Irene were buried there, as were his son MANUEL I and daughter-in-law BERTHA OF SULZBACH. In front of Manuel's tomb was the slab on which it was believed Jesus had lain after the Deposition from the Cross, brought by Manuel from Ephesus in 1169/70. Two Palaiologan emperors, MANUEL II and JOHN VIII, also found their final resting place at Pantokrator.

The south church, dedicated to the Pantokrator, is the most important four-column, cross-in-square church preserved in the capital. The huge columns of red marble, probably *spolia*, are lost today, as is most of the stained GLASS, which was supposedly in its east window; much of the figured OPUS SECTILE pavement remains. Panels in its templon screen came from the Constantinopolitan Church of St. POLYEUKTOS. The slightly smaller north church, where women were admitted, was dedicated to the Virgin Eleousa. Here faint traces of the original mosaic decoration are preserved.

John II's *typikon*, composed in Oct. 1136, provides explicit directions for the ceremonial in the three churches (e.g., ecclesiastical lighting, commemorations of the deceased), and the administration of the monastery (election of *hegoumenos*, diet and clothing of monks, etc.). It housed 80 monks, of whom 50 were choir brothers and 30 serving brothers. The complex included a 50-bed HOSPITAL and a GEROKOMEION for 24 elderly men. The emperor also constructed a leprosarium at some distance from the monastery. Pantokrator was richly endowed with estates in Thrace, Macedonia, the Peloponnesos, the Aegean and Anatolia, and six smaller monasteries in the Asiatic suburbs of the capital.

The monastery was occupied by the Venetians between 1204 and 1261; it was then restored to Orthodox monks and continued to function until

1453. Only a few of its *hegoumenoi* are known, including Makarios MAKRES.

SOURCE. P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974) 1–145.

LIT. A.H.S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 (1963) 335–64. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 289–95. Janin, *Églises CP* 515–23, 564–66. —A.M.T., A.C.

**PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY ON ATHOS.** Dedicated to the Transfiguration, this monastery is located on the northeast coast of the peninsula, halfway between Vatopedi and Iveron. Although its foundation has traditionally been attributed to the reign of Alexios I Komnenos or to the 13th-C. general Alexios STRATEGOPOULOS, the monastery is not mentioned in any sources until the second half of the 14th C. It was evidently founded in 1357 (Gones, *infra* 89f) by the brothers Alexios (a *megas primikerios* in 1357, who became *megas stratopedarches* in 1358) and John (*protosebastos* in 1357, promoted to *megas primikerios* in 1358); their family name is unknown, but they were related to the Palaiologoi. Ostrogorsky's (*Sabрана dela*, vol. 4 [Belgrade 1970] 615–24) identification of John with the *megas primikerios* John who was the son of Demetrios Palaiologos has now been rejected (*PLP*, no.21484). The huge icon of Christ that they presented to the monastery is now in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 3, no.947). By 1394 the monastery held 15th place in the Athonite hierarchy. Sometime before Jan. 1394 Pantokrator was destroyed by fire and subsequently rebuilt with the assistance of Emp. Manuel II. In 1396 Patr. Antony IV reconfirmed its status as a patriarchal monastery.

Pantokrator had properties on Thasos, Lemnos, and Chalkidike, and a *metochion* called Beltzistha near Serres. The 13 documents published by L. Petit range in date from 1357 to 1398 (plus an earlier act of 1107) and include the testament of the founder John (1384). The library of Pantokrator preserves 120 Byz. MSS, including the famous 9th-C. marginal psalter, Pantokr. 61 (Dufrenne, *L'Illustration* I). From this collection, too, came the Psalter and New Testament of ca.1084, now Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 3 (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, no.51). In the *katholikon* are some frescoes of the 14th C., including a Deesis, the Dormition, and some figures of saints.

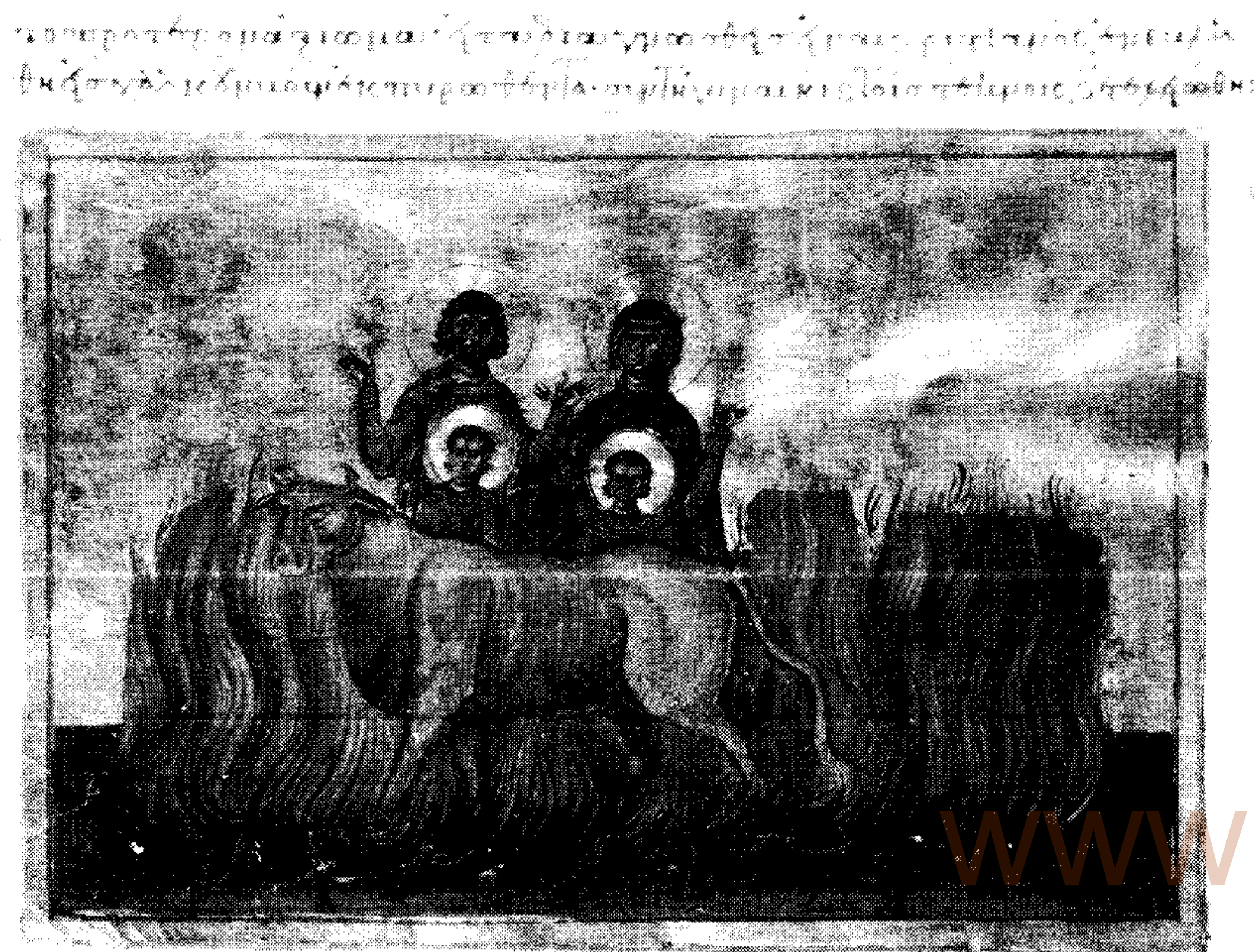
SOURCE. *Actes du Pantokrator*, ed. L. Petit, *VizVrem* 10 (1903) supp. 2.



LIT. D.B. Gones, "Ho chronos hidryseos tes mones Pantokratoros tou Hagiou Orous," *Antidoron Pneumatikon: Timetikos Tomos Gerasimou Io. Konidare* (Athens 1981) 80–95. Lampros, *Athos* 1:91–113. Polites, *Katalogoi* 139–77. *Treasuries* 3:120–57, 263–87. E. Tsigaridas, "Toichographies kai eikones tes mones Pantokratoros Hagiou Orous," *Makedonika* 18 (1978) 181–206. —A.M.T., A.C.

**PANTOLEON**, painter; fl. 1001–16. Pantoleon's name occurs more frequently than that of any other artist beside the miniatures in the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II*; he was perhaps head of the atelier that decorated this MS. Cutler suggested that Pantoleon's hand is also apparent in a Psalter (Venice, Marc. gr. Z 17) prepared for the same emperor. Pantoleon is mentioned in both versions of the Life of St. ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS (ed. Noret, A par.254.3–36; B par.78.24–33) as a resident of Constantinople who painted two icons of the saint probably for Antony, later *hegoumenos* of the Panagiou monastery. In this account, Pantoleon is said to have been at work on an imperial commission.

PANTOLEON. Miniature by Pantoleon in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.53). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The miniature depicts the martyrdom of St. Eustathios and his family.



LIT. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.XII (1972), 241–49. A. Cutler, "The Psalter of Basil II," *ArtVen* 30 (1976) 9–19. —A.C.

**PANTOLEON** (saint). See PANTELEEMON.

**PAP** (Lat. Para), ARSACID king of Armenia (368/9–374), son and successor of ARŠAK II/III. This is probably not the Papa mentioned in the *Letters of Basil the Great* as was once thought. Pap was educated under Roman auspices at NEOKAISAREIA, where he had taken refuge at the time of the Sasanian conquest of Armenia ca.363. Valens sent him back to Armenia with an army commanded by the *dux* and *comes rei militaris* Terentius. Once reestablished on the Armenian throne, Pap apparently continued to support the Romans against the Sasanians, whom his armies thrice defeated, but he quarreled with the powerful nobles of his own kingdom and esp. with the clergy, which opposed his arianizing policy. Pap contrived the murder of the patriarch NERSĒS I THE GREAT and was murdered in return, apparently with the con-

nivance of the Roman commander. Latin and Armenian sources disagree sharply on his character: he is praised by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS who bewails his murder as an unspeakable crime, while the Armenian sources portray him as dedicated from birth to the powers of evil.

LIT. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 300–11. Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pt.IV (1967), 297–320; pt.VII (1983), 145–69. Grousset, *Arménie* 143–52. —N.G.G.

**PAPACY**, bishopric of Rome. Early Christian communities used the term PAPAS (father) as a title of affectionate respect, esp. for priests and bishops; from the 4th to 7th C., the term was often used for the patriarch of Alexandria and other bishops. The title is on record in Rome from the 4th C.; from the 6th it was increasingly used specifically for the bishop of Rome.

By the 4th C., the papacy was the West's leading bishopric and the only one included among the five major sees that formed the PENTARCHY. The First Council of Constantinople, held in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), explicitly recognized the papacy's PRIMACY, and the popes took advantage of the struggle between Alexandria and Constantinople to gain supremacy within the church hierarchy. Pope LEO I, in particular, advanced Rome's claims to primacy throughout the empire in the 5th C.

With JUSTINIAN I's reconquest of Italy in the mid-6th C., Rome entered the Byz. political and cultural sphere, where it remained until the mid-8th C. While papal claims to ecclesiastical primacy continued, the ability of the papacy to thwart Constantinople's political and religious policies decreased. Byz. emperors deposed Pope Silverius in 537 and convicted MARTIN I of treason in Constantinople in 653/4; in the 6th C. the bishop of Constantinople assumed the title ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH. While the *apocrisiarius* represented the papacy in Constantinople, in Italy the EXARCH usually confirmed papal elections of the 7th and 8th C. (see LIBER DIURNUS).

Persian and Arab invasions of the early 7th C. triggered large-scale immigration of the Eastern ecclesiastical elite into Italy, causing a substantial hellenization of Rome's clergy, with the result that from 678 to 752, 11 of 13 popes were Greek-speaking. Theology (see LATERAN SYNOD), art (see ROME), liturgy (see SERGIUS I), and literature (see

ZACHARIAS) reflect the new Greek orientation, as the papacy developed a Byz.-style bureaucracy and court. In the 8th C., papal opposition to ICONOCLASM, combined with resistance to increased taxation, provoked Byz. confiscation of the papal estates in southern Italy and Sicily and subordination of ILLYRICUM to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Constantinople's grip on central Italy loosened, however, and increasing LOMBARD pressure forced the papacy to seek an alliance with the Carolingians. When Pope LEO III conferred the imperial crown upon CHARLEMAGNE in 800, it symbolized Rome's independence from Byz. control.

The LIBER PONTIFICALIS records imperial grants that contributed to the landed wealth of the papal patrimonies in the 4th to 8th C. (from CONSTANTINE I to CONSTANTINE V). Originally encompassing estates in Africa, Gaul, Sardinia, and Corsica as well as Italy, their administration became highly centralized under GREGORY I. Loss of the overseas territories and Lombard encroachment fostered concentration of papal lands in central Italy, expanded by Carolingian grants under HADRIAN I. By the 9th C., the papacy was one of Italy's most powerful princedoms and a major factor in international relations. NICHOLAS I effectively exploited the situation, trying to subordinate the newly baptized Slavs of Moravia and Bulgaria to Rome, to regain jurisdiction over Illyricum, and to establish control over the church of Constantinople.

This active policy of the 9th-C. popes was short-lived: Nicholas met an energetic opponent in Patr. PHOTIOS, while Arab incursions and the weakening of Frankish power again forced his successors to seek alliance with Byz. Involved with domestic difficulties, the 10th-C. papacy temporarily ceased efforts to claim primacy over the Eastern churches.

By the mid-11th C. the papacy believed itself strong enough to reassert universal claims, although the papacy and Constantinople were natural allies against the NORMANS. The first step in this papal expansion was the conflict between Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS and Cardinal HUMBERT in 1054; more dramatic than substantial, the conflict did not cause a real SCHISM, although the dispute highlighted essential theological, administrative, and ritual differences between the Eastern and Western churches.

Church reform, moral improvement of the



clergy, and the development of effective administration in the late 11th to 12th C. significantly enhanced the political influence and ideological authority of the papacy. The power of the German kings in Italy was curbed (partially with the help of the growing Italian communes), and in 1095 Pope URBAN II proclaimed a CRUSADE intended to unify Western Christianity against the infidel Muslims. Despite serious friction, Byz. was at first an ally of the Crusaders, and theological dialogue, frequently in a spirit of reconciliation, occurred. A definitive rupture came only in 1204 when the Fourth Crusade unexpectedly turned against Constantinople. The role of INNOCENT III in this event is uncertain, although the capture of Constantinople and the establishment of Latin rule was beneficial for the papacy, which had long sought to establish control over the Balkans.

This success, however, was undermined by various forces and did not last. On the one hand, papal power in the West was weakened after the 13th C., when it had to face not the universal aspirations of the German emperors, but the nascent national states, which were able to exploit the same elements that the papacy had used in its own behalf: the growing medieval towns and the local church. The external sign of papal defeat was the "Babylonian captivity" of 1309 to 1377, when the popes were exiled to Avignon, where they came under French control. Another factor was the growth of Turkish power: the Crusaders were losing their foothold in the Levant, and Byz. territory was drastically shrinking. The war against the infidel required enormous amounts of money and manpower, while the Crusading movement was declining. Finally, the papacy underestimated Byz. resistance to UNION OF THE CHURCHES and was not willing to yield any significant point to win the sympathy of the Greek people. The condition for union was the full subjugation of Byz. to papal jurisdiction, theology, and rite; a few emperors were willing to accept these terms, but failed to gain popular support for their policies. The Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE in 1439 brought only superficial unity and minimal assistance from the West: the papacy was not able, and did not seriously try, to save Constantinople in 1453.

LIT. E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, 2 vols. (Tübingen 1930-33). J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages* (London 1979). K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*,

vols. 1-4 (Philadelphia 1976-84). T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter* (Philadelphia 1984). W. de Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens* (Munich 1963) 7-73. W. Ullmann, *The Papacy and Political Ideas in the Middle Ages* (London 1976) pts. 1-5. —A.K., M.McC.

**PAPADIKE** (Παπαδική), a late Byz. anthology of musical settings, both simple and florid, for HYMNS, psalms, and other CHANTS used in the liturgy and the liturgical HOURS. John KOUKOUZELES is believed to have first edited this kind of volume, which also bears the name of *Akolouthia*, *Mousikon*, *Anthologion*, or *Psaltike*. Along with compositions by Palaiologan composers, the earliest 14th-C. *papadikai* preserve vestiges of 12th- and 13th-C. Constantinopolitan repertoires; a handful of these, both early and late, contain musical treatises. Fourteen MSS of the *Papadike* from the 14th C. and nearly three times that number from the 15th C. are extant. Chants in the kalophonic style predominate. This style is chiefly recognizable by its use of the meaningless TERETISMATA and by its demanding virtuosity.

In modern scholarship, the term *Papadike* usually refers to a short, elementary manual of musical NOTATION that introduces the musical anthologies of chant from the 14th C. onward. The text underwent many modifications; by the 15th C., at least four different versions of the *Papadike* existed, varying in completeness and order of contents. Typically, the manual consists of lists showing (1) the NEUMATA and their interval value; (2) the "great *hypostases*" (subsidiary ornamental signs); (3) the PHTHORAI; and (4) small musical examples describing the function and value of the *neumata*. Following this may be various diagrams undoubtedly intended for use when teachers introduced their students to the neumatic and modal systems. Many sources also include a varying number of short, ad hoc exercise melodies that served as a bridge between the theory and its application to actual singing.

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 284-310. Tardo, *Melurgia* 151-73. —D.E.C.

**PAPAS** (πάπας, παπᾶς, πάππας, "father"), used widely in the Byz. church as a title of respect and affection for the clerical rank of PRIEST (e.g., Malal. 361.8, 362.5). It emphasizes the spiritual relationship between priest and congregation. As early as the 3rd C., however, the word was also commonly

applied to bishops in both East and West (Gregory Thaumaturgus, PG 10:1020A). In Egypt the bishop of Alexandria was regularly styled *papas* (PG 20:648C), possibly as early as 231 (PG 111:982D-983A). Only gradually was the term applied solely to the bishop of Rome (see PAPACY). Although it is attested for the Roman bishop in the 4th C., only in the 6th C. does the custom become more general. Even then, however, *papas* was still occasionally used for other Western bishops as well (cf. Avitus of Vienne, PL 59:239). It was indeed not until the 11th C. that the title was for the first time restricted exclusively to the bishop of Rome by Pope Gregory VII.

LIT. P. de Labriolle, "Une esquisse de l'histoire du mot 'Papa,'" *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes* 1 (1911) 215-20. Idem, "Papa," *Bulletin du Cange* 4 (1928) 65-75. —A.P.

**PAPER**, writing material that gradually came to replace PARCHMENT. Considered inferior to parchment because it was less durable, paper came into wide use because it was cheaper. Palaeographers distinguish between two kinds of paper imported into Byz., oriental or bombycine (βαμβύκινον, βομβύκινον, βαγδατικόν, the names coming from the cities of Membij and Baghdad, respectively) and occidental. Both types of paper were made from rags or vegetable fibers. Oriental paper was smooth, brownish, glued with starch, and had no watermarks; Western paper was yellowish or white, thick, rough, glued with gelatin, and had WATERMARKS. The size of the two kinds of paper and the pattern of wires used in the manufacture also differed. The question of whether paper was manufactured in Byz. itself is still open; N. Oikonomides argues that papermakers are attested in Constantinople ca.800 (in *PGEB* 397f).

Paper was introduced to the Byz. world by the Arabs, who had learned the secret of its manufacture from Chinese prisoners of war captured at Samarkand in 751. The oldest preserved Greek MS written on oriental paper is Vat. gr. 2200, copied ca.800, probably in Damascus; this paper, however, did not come into common use in Byz. territory until the 11th C. The inventory of the library of the monastery of ATTALEIATES, for example, lists eight books on paper and six on parchment. The earliest surviving paper MS copied in Byz. is from 1105 (Vat. gr. 504). Paper was also used for documents; the earliest preserved

example is a chrysobull of 1052. The latest Byz. MSS on oriental paper date from ca.1350.

Occidental paper was first imported to Byz. in the 13th C. from Italy, where the oldest paper mill was at Fabriano (in Ancona). By the late 14th C. Italian paper had completely supplanted its oriental counterpart. The dimensions of a sheet of occidental paper average 290 × 450 mm. FOLIOS were formed by folding these sheets in two, four, eight, etc. Stocks of paper were used soon after purchase (3-5 years), which helps to date books on paper provided with watermarks. Modern technology (e.g., analysis by electron microscope, neutron activation, and betagraphy) can also assist in dating.

LIT. J. Irigoin, "Papiers orientaux et papiers occidentaux," in *PGEB* 45-54. Idem, "Les premiers manuscrits grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin," *Scriptorium* 4 (1950) 194-204, rp. in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 132-43. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 38-40. —E.G., A.M.T., I.Š.

**PAPHLAGONIA** (Παφλαγονία), region of northern Asia Minor between GALATIA and the Black Sea, consisting of a narrow coastal strip and isolated but rich interior valleys that produced timber and grain; its metropolis was GANGRA. Diocletian created a separate province of Paphlagonia. In 535, Justinian I merged Paphlagonia and the adjacent Honorias, assigning them to a praetor with civil and military powers. Persian, then Arab attacks reached Paphlagonia occasionally in the 7th-8th C. After being part of OPSIKION, Paphlagonia became a separate theme in the early 9th C. Its *strategos* commanded 5,000 men and five fortresses; he was paid 10 pounds of gold. A *katepano* was apparently in charge of the fleet. Most of Paphlagonia was lost to the Turks after Mantzikert in 1071; the Crusade of 1101 met disaster in Paphlagonia; the campaigns of John II, 1130-35, were more successful, but brought no lasting gains. The coast remained Byz.: in 1205, David Komnenos of Trebizond established a realm called Paphlagonia, which stretched from SINOPE to HERAKLEIA Pontike. Theodore I Laskaris seized the western parts as far as AMASTRIS in 1214; they became the Laskarid province of Paphlagonia. The region was lost to the Turks or Genoese by the late 14th C.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 136f.

—C.F.



**PAPHOS.** See CYPRUS.

**PAPIAS** (παπίας, word etymologically connected with παπᾱς, father, priest), eunuch in charge of the buildings of the palace. The first mention in narrative sources is for the year 780, when a certain Jacob, *protospatharios* and *papias*, was arrested by Leo IV (Theoph. 453.10–11; Bury, *Adm. System* 124f, however, treated this *papias* as a proper name). The seal of the *papias* Peter has been dated by the editors (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2821) to 550–650. The *papias* was primarily the janitor of the palace—his duty was to keep the keys and open the gates; he also kept the keys of the palace prison (Kinn. 234.10–12). The cooperation of the *papias* was important for any conspiracy: thus, the *papias* played a decisive role in the plot of Michael II against Leo V. When Basil I plotted Michael III's murder, the *hetaireiarches* Artabasdes snatched the keys from the *papias* and let in the conspirators.

The *papias* was responsible for the maintenance of the buildings. His staff consisted of *diaitarioi* or *hebdomarioi* (who served in weekly relays in charge of various rooms of the palace), *loustai*, *kandelaptai*, *kamenades*, and *horologoi*, who were responsible for the baths, lighting, heating, and *horologia*, respectively, and *zarabai* (functions not clear). To this personnel, presented in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, Oikonomides (*Listes* 306, n.100) adds the *minsourator*, who was in charge of the emperor's tent during military expeditions. The *papias* was assisted by the DEUTEROS. He also played a part in imperial ceremony, both inside and outside the palace; thus, on 1 Aug. he carried a cross (from the palace treasury) through the streets of Constantinople, visiting houses of the wealthy and collecting from them a fee of some sort (*De cer.* 723.17–19). In addition to the *papias* of the Great Palace there were *papiai* of the Magnaura and Daphne palaces; the latter was created by Michael III. From the 13th C. onward *meas papias* became an honorific title conferred on members of noble families, including the future emperor John VI Kantakouzenos.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 126–28. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:251–65. D. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1891) 145–63. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:659–61. —A.K.

**PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA**, mathematician and geographer; fl. Alexandria ca.320. His *Commentary*

on the *Almagest*, of which only books 5 and 6 survive, provides the only known date in Pappos's life: his computation of a partial solar ECLIPSE visible at Alexandria on 18 Oct. 320 (bk.6, ch.4). Another computation of the longitude of the sun on 5 Jan. 323, recorded by THEON (*Commentary on the Almagest*, bk.3, ch.8), may be derived from Pappos's lost commentary on *Almagest* 3.

Pappos's other work surviving in Greek, the *Collection*, is imperfectly preserved in a 10th-C. MS, Vat. gr. 218 (Jones, "Papal Manuscripts" 16–31); the first book and part of books 2 and 8 are now lost. Of varied contents, it included discussions and summaries of works and theorems of early Greek mathematicians such as Apollonios, ARCHIMEDES, Eratosthenes, EUCLID, Heron, Nikomedes, and Theodosios. After the 6th C. it was rarely cited by Byz. scholars.

Some of Pappos's works have been preserved only in Arabic translations: the *Mechanical Introductions*, perhaps based on book 8 of the *Collection* (D.E.P. Jackson, *Islamic Quarterly* 16 [1972] 96–103 and *CQ* n.s. 30 [1980] 523–33) and his commentary on book 10 of Euclid's *Elements*; part of a Latin version of this commentary is also extant. Fragments of Pappos's *Chorography of the Inhabited World* are preserved in an anonymous Armenian work on geography (R.H. Hewsen, *Isis* 62 [1971] 186–207).

ED. *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, ed. A. Rome, vol. 1 (Vatican 1931). *Pappi Alexandrini Collectionis quae supersunt*, ed. F. Hultsch, 3 vols. (Berlin 1875–78; rp. Amsterdam 1965), with Lat. tr. *Book 7 of the Collection*, ed. A. Jones, 2 vols. (New York 1986), with Eng. tr. *The Commentary of Pappus on Book X of Euclid's Elements*, ed. W. Thomson, G. Junge (Cambridge, Mass., 1930; rp. New York 1968).

LIT. Heath, *Mathematics* 2:355–439.

—D.P.

**PAPYRI.** See ANTINOÖPOLIS PAPYRI; APHRODITE PAPYRI; APOLLONOS ANO PAPYRI; ARABIC PAPYRI; NESSANA PAPYRI; OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI; RAVENNA PAPYRI.

**PAPYROLOGY**, an AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE dealing with texts written on PAPYRUS (and OSTRAKA), most often in Greek, Latin, and Coptic. (Hieroglyphic and demotic texts are usually dealt with by Egyptologists, as they come largely from periods earlier than the Greco-Roman; on the other hand, Syriac, Aramaic, Arabic, and Pahlavi papyri usually fall to specialists in Semitic, Christian Oriental, or

Persian philology.) As most papyri originate in Egypt, papyrology often becomes largely synonymous with study of the history and culture of late Roman Egypt.

In the 18th and much of the 19th C. the occasional papyri found by *sebakhs* (fertilizer) diggers or hunters for Pharaonic treasure in Egypt were regarded merely as curiosities. With the great Fayyūm finds of the late 1870s (brought to the Archduke Rainer collection in Vienna) interest in these documents arose. In the 1880s and 1890s papyrology really began, with excavations by Petrie and Grenfell and Hunt specifically intended to search for papyri. Their spectacular success brought to light classical literature, unknown sayings of Jesus (from the *Gospel of Thomas*), and countless administrative and taxation records, as well as documents of daily life. Nearly continual discovery of papyri since then has augmented the raw material of the field and sparked its growth into an international discipline, producing ongoing publications of source material and historical interpretation.

Papyrology is founded above all on the reading of papyrus texts. Often the papyrus needs conservation before its surface can be read: flattening sheets, unrolling rolls, even taking apart cartonnage (the "cardboard" that mummy cases are made of) by means of enzymes, or, as in the case of the Tebtunis papyri, unstuffing mummified crocodiles. The papyrologist acquires palaeographic skill through practical immersion in texts written in all sorts of hands. Papyrology has greatly enlarged our knowledge of Koine and biblical Greek, of the Latin used by Roman soldiers in the provinces, and of the several dialects of Coptic, both in everyday usage and in literature.

The types of papyrus document are as numerous and as varied as the activities that helped keep society functioning. They can be public documents, such as imperial rescripts, tax rolls, CADASTERS, registered property declarations, birth and death certificates, or transactions executed by a government official. Even more numerous are private documents, such as transactions of family law (marriage and divorce CONTRACTS, WILLS, inheritance arbitrations), sales, leases, loans, labor contracts, pledges and deposits, orders for payment, and of course letters. The great abundance of these documents provides an unparalleled depth and breadth of knowledge of late Roman Egypt. Both the factual content and the phraseology of

papyrus documents illuminate the historical milieu from which they came, providing material for both administrative and religious history. Bureaucracy, the differing legal systems, the interrelationship of city and countryside, and the preoccupations of both pagan and Christian religion are vividly alive in the papyri.

Literary papyri are likewise natural witnesses to the state of culture in Egypt at any given point. Classical authors, scriptural, liturgical, and patristic literature, practical science and magic—all fall within the domain of the literary papyrologist. The state of education can be gathered from school exercises, while the presence of literary papyri in the midst of documentary archives (e.g., the Cairo Menander codex) attests to the reading preferences of the literate bureaucrat and the ordinary citizen. Biblical papyri form a field all their own, being by far the earliest textual witnesses available to the critic, and reflecting the different families of texts and the early versions and lines of transmission. The Gnostic papyrus codices from NAG HAMMADI and the Manichaean literature from Egypt have given rise to specialties of their own.

Papyrology has by now its own working tools, including lexica, dictionaries of proper names, handbooks and standard collections, palaeographical albums, compilations of corrections to previously published texts, and specialized periodicals and monograph series. The data of papyrology are helping to revise our understanding of such fields as chronology, comparative Roman and Greek law, the economic history of the 4th–5th C., and the religious history of early Christianity, Gnosticism, and Manichaeism. There are still many more extant papyrus texts than there are editors to make them available to historians and students.

ED. J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*<sup>3</sup> (Atlanta 1985). R.A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (Ann Arbor 1965).

LIT. E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1980). O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Turin 1973). A. Bataille, *Les Papyrus* (Paris 1955). H.C. Youtie, *The Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri*<sup>2</sup> (London 1974). I.F. Fikhman, *Vvedenie v dokumental'nuju papirologiju* (Moscow 1987). —L.S.B.MacC.

**PAPYRUS**, the principal writing material of the ancient world and late antiquity, made from strips of the pith of an Egyptian reed plant (*Cyperus papyrus*). The manufacture and sale of papyrus was a large-scale industry in Egypt throughout its





PAPYRUS. The papyrus P. Leidensis Z, col. I. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

history, until well after the Arab conquest. Papyrus came in all grades and was used for every purpose, official and private, and in every format, from ROLL to CODEX. It provided a tough and long-lasting writing surface. Most extant texts, literary and documentary, on papyrus were preserved in Egypt (though not all were written there); other discoveries have been made at Dura Europos and in Israel. Some medieval papyrus was produced in Sicily. Papyrus was not superseded in the West by PARCHMENT until the later 9th C. or in the East by PAPER until about the 10th C. It continued to be used by the papal chancery until the 12th C. and by the imperial chancery at least until the mid-9th C. (F. Dölger, *BZ* 48 [1955] 467–70). The discipline that studies texts on papyrus is called PAPHROLOGY.

LIT. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1974).  
—L.S.B. MacC.

**PARABALANI** (παρὰβαλανεῖς, “bath attendants,” sometimes, incorrectly, παρὰβολάνοι, “those who disregard their lives”), hospital attendants and minor clerics who were often fanatically

loyal to their ecclesiastical superior. Because their work with the sick exposed them to constant danger, the *parabalani* were often drawn from desperate elements in society; they were occasionally used by bishops in violent encounters with their opponents. They are best known at Alexandria but appear to have been organized also at Constantinople and probably elsewhere. They were evidently involved in the murder of HYPATIA in 415 and provided much of the violence used by DIOSKOROS at the “Robber” Council of EPHEBUS in 449. Because of the danger they posed to public order, their numbers were limited by law, first to 500 and later to 600 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI 2.42 and 43 [anno 416, 418 = *Cod. Just.* I 3.18]).

LIT. A. Philipsborn, “La compagnie d’ambulanciers ‘parabalani’ d’Alexandrie,” *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 185–90. W. Schubart, “Parabalani,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 40 (1954) 97–101.  
—T.E.G.

**PARABLE** (παράβολή). In the theory of rhetoric, a comparison that differs from an example by including within its scope both animate and inanimate nature (Martin, *Rhetorik* 122). The term could designate a simple SIMILE as in Theodoret (PG 80:581 A-B): “He delivered a parable . . . calling himself a dead dog.” The word was applied to Christ’s fables, which were told to illustrate his teaching of the heavenly kingdom and were broadly interpreted by several church fathers, esp. Origen and John Chrysostom. According to Origen, Christ used parables of which the popular masses were apt to understand only the external form, whereas the disciples perceived the internal significance. Therefore, the parable acquired the sense of a spiritual truth expressed in the form of a riddle or a short story, esp. of a saying that contained a hidden meaning and required an interpretation.  
—A.K., E.M.J.

**PARADISE** (παράδεισος, lit. “garden”), Eden, a place created by God for ADAM AND EVE from which they were later expelled. According to Byz. legends, it was situated in the east, far beyond India and even beyond the Ocean. Pseudo-Basil the Great (PG 30:64B) describes it as a place of marvelous beauty, brilliance, and security, knowing neither winds nor hail, free from humidity, heat, and cold. Hagiography and related texts preserve numerous VISIONS of paradise, which

variously appears as a garden surrounded by a high gilded wall with marvelous gates (vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, ed. Veselovskij, 1.46.5–9) or as a palace full of light and fragrance (vita of Andrew the Fool, PG 111:736C), with traditional Byz. court ceremonial (Mango, *Byzantium* 151–53). In art, paradise was represented as a garden set against a starry sky, with flowers, animals, and sometimes a jeweled cross at its center. Although the Bible presumes that Adam and Eve, before the Fall, dwelt naked in paradise, some 12th-C. Octateuch MSS show the ancestors of mankind clothed before the Fall, for example, in the scene of the naming of the animals (H.R. Broderick, *Byzantium* 55 [1985] 250–54). Paradise is also termed (and depicted in painting) as the heavenly Jerusalem, and, as a component of the LAST JUDGMENT, as a site in which sit the Virgin and Abraham with the souls of the elect around him. Admission, through a gate guarded by a seraph, was granted by St. Peter.

A traditional view, represented by, among others, ANASTASIOS OF SINAI and PHOTIOS, depicts paradise as a happy and blessed place where the pious live in the expectation of the realm of heaven, which will be established after the Second Coming of Christ (PAROUSIA). Some church writers, however, distinguished paradise from the earth and located it either in heaven or between earth and heaven. Niketas STETHATOS in a special treatise titled *On Paradise* and in related letters (ed. J. Darrouzès, 154–291) asserted that after the Incarnation the earthly paradise ceased to exist, that Christ dwells not in paradise but in heaven, and that we can speak only of an intelligible paradise whose spiritual plants give us the sensation of delight.

LIT. E. Patlagean, “Byzance et son autre monde,” in *Faire croire* (Rome 1981) 201–21. J. Daniélou, “Terre et Paradis chez les Pères de l’Église,” *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953) 433–72. A. Wenger, “Ciel ou Paradis,” *BZ* 44 (1951) 560–69. A. Grabar, “L’iconographie du Ciel dans l’art chrétien de l’Antiquité et du haut Moyen âge,” *CahArch* 30 (1982) 5–24.  
—G.P., A.K., A.C.

**PARADISE, RIVERS OF.** Genesis 2:10–14 describes four rivers in Paradise: Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel (or Tigris), and Euphrates. Flowing from a verdant landscape, the four appear frequently in 4th- through 6th-C. art, serving to situate in Paradise such symbolic images of Christ’s kingship as

the TRADITIO LEGIS, Christ appearing in Glory (apse mosaic, S. Vitale, RAVENNA), and Majestas Domini (HOSIOS DAVID, Thessalonike). As life-giving streams, they flow from the foot of the Cross on some MONZA AMPULLAE (nos. 9, 11) and from the FOUNTAIN OF LIFE in a floor mosaic in North Africa (Iunca, Tunisia). Represented more rarely after the passing of Early Christian eschatological compositions, the rivers recur occasionally in later Byz. miniatures of Paradise: illustrations for Genesis in the OCTATEUCHS, maps of the cosmos in MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, and images of Paradise adorning the homilies of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAFOS. Though a widespread scribal colophon refers to the Evangelists as the four rivers of the Word, this literary image was not given visual form.

LIT. P.A. Underwood, “The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospel,” *DOP* 5 (1950) 47, 71–74, 106–07, 114–16, 118–31. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*, Index, s.v. “Paradies Vierstromberg,” “Paradiesflüsse.”  
—A.W.C.

**PARADOUNAVON.** See PARISTRION.

**PARADOXOGRAPHY**, an ancient literary genre devoted to descriptions of *mirabilia*, marvelous or miraculous objects. The word *paradoxographos* was invented by TZETZES (*Hist.* 2.154), who placed the *paradoxographos* ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES (6th C.) on a par with scientists such as Archimedes and Heron. The genre of *mirabilia* existed in antiquity and continued into the 4th or 5th C. Philo of Byzantium wrote a short rhetorical tract on the seven wonders of the world (W. Kroll, *RE* 20 [1941] 54f).

From the 7th C. onward the Byz. maintained an interest in paradoxography. Claudius AELIANUS was often quoted, and several collections of ancient paradoxographers were made, such as Vat. Palat. gr. 398 (10th C.) and the compilations of several anonymous paradoxographers, conventionally called *Paradoxographos Vaticanus*, *Paradoxographos Florentinus*, and *Paradoxographos Palatinus*. Original Byz. works of this genre are not numerous: Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES produced a dialogue entitled *On Various Problems of Nature*, in which he discussed some memorable phenomena of zoology and alchemy; similar questions were treated in his collection of letters. The *Paradoxical Readings* by Psellos is related to paradoxography



only by its title, being rather a collection of prescriptions against pain, conception, theft, and snakes.

Elements of paradoxography can be found in different genres: hagiography (esp. the vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME), historiography (e.g., the description of exotic ANIMALS, such as that of the ELEPHANT and giraffe by Attaleiates), treatises on geography (A. Delatte, *BacBelg* 18 [1932] 189–222), and commentaries such as one on Gregory of Nazianzos ascribed to KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER. The Byz. developed a negative attitude toward famous ancient marvels; thus, Eustathios of Thessalonike asserted that piety is more precious than the foolishness of the Colossus of Rhodes and the pyramids that only cast long shadows (Eust.Thess., *Opuscula* 193.38–50).

LIT. A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum graecorum reliquiae* (Milan 1966) 7–10. K. Ziegler, *RE* 18 (1949) 1137–66.  
—A.K.

**PARADYNASTEUON** (παραδυναστεύων), semi-official term derived from antiquity (probably Thucydides) and designating an imperial favorite placed at the head of an administrative unit. Used in late Roman texts in a vague sense of “having great authority” (e.g., Philostorg., *HE* 3.12; THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *HE* 2.12.1), it preserved the same meaning in Theophanes the Confessor (e.g., Theoph. 76.23). It is not found in the TAKTIKA of the 9th–10th C. but is applied by 10th-C. chroniclers to such men as Stylianos ZAOUTZES or John Mystikos ca.913. The term is common during the Komnenian period and continued to be used by antiquarian writers such as Constantine Akropolis and Nikephoros Gregoras, but was then replaced by MESAZON.

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XIII (1955), 330–32. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr* I 442f.  
—A.K.

**PARAKOIMOMENOS** (παρακοιμώμενος, lit. “sleeping at the side [of the emperor]”), the guardian of the emperor’s bedchamber, the highest office conferred on EUNUCHS; he probably replaced the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI. The origin of the office is obscure: the story of the *parakoimomenos* EUPHRATAS, an adviser of Constantine I, is legendary. A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 285.17) mentions a *parakoimomenos* of Maurice, but this may be anachronistic. It is also

uncertain whether Stephen, *sakellarios* and “the first eunuch” under Justinian II (not Maurice, as in Guiland, *infra* 204), was *parakoimomenos*. The first secure reference is Theophanes’ mention of KOUBIKOULARIOI and *parakoimomenoi* in 780 (Theoph. 453.11–12); at that time there were several *parakoimomenoi* simultaneously and their position was not very elevated. Under Theophilos, the *parakoimomenos* Scholastikos also held the modest title of OSTIARIOS. Some seals (earliest, 650–750, Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1395) show that the duties of the *parakoimomenos* were usually combined with those of the EPI TES TRAPEZES (no.2394) or *koubikoularios* (nos. 2379, 2529; Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.52); at least one of these *parakoimomenoi-koubikoularioi* was appointed *strategos* (of Sicily).

The situation began to change in the mid-9th C., and in the 10th C. the office acquired enormous significance, when men such as SAMONAS, Joseph BRINGAS, and BASIL THE NOTHOS were *parakoimomenoi*. The post continued to be important in the 11th C., when the eunuch Nicholas was *parakoimomenos* and DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON. The office seems to have declined in the 12th C. The position was entrusted primarily to eunuchs, though there were some exceptions in all periods: the future emperor Basil I held this post and in the 12th C. some *parakoimomenoi* were bearded. In the 14th C. the office was divided: the *parakoimomenos* of the *koiton* preserved the old functions of the emperor’s bodyguard, while the *parakoimomenos* of the SPHENDONE controlled the state seal. The latter played an important administrative role; among others, Alexios APOKAUKOS held the post. There is no information about *parakoimomenoi* in the 15th C. A seal (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1699) attests a female *parakoimomene*, evidently a servant of the empress.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:202–15. Boak-Dunlop, *Two Studies* 242f.  
—A.K.

**PARAKOLOUTHEMATA** (παρακολουθήματα), generic term indicating the surtaxes that were added to the KANON. Their amounts varied with time; all started as exceptional contributions and were later incorporated in the main tax. (1) *Dikeraton*, i.e., an increase of two keratia (1/12) for every nomisma of *kanon*; this surtax, first invented by Leo III in order to repair the walls of Constantinople, was regularized by Nikephoros I. (2)

*Hexafollon*, a surtax of six folleis per nomisma (an increase of about 1/48, liable to variation depending on the amount of the basic tax), may have been initiated under Leo VI. (3) SYNETHEIA, a *sportula* initially imposed for the benefit of the tax collector: it was 1/12 of the *kanon*, but the percentage decreased when the tax grew. (4) ELATIKON, a flat and relatively low contribution destined to cover the expenses of the tax collector’s suite. The last two were incorporated in the tax in the early 12th C. Moreover, the tax collector and his suite received from each taxpayer a “basket” (KANISKION) in kind (one loaf of bread, one *modios* of barley, one chicken, 1/2 measure of wine—or multiples of the above—according to 11th-C. rates).

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 81–83.

—N.O.

**PARAKYPTIKON** (παρακν(μ)πτικόν, lit. “fit for peeping through”), an imperial loge, a place from which the emperor could observe the area beneath him. In the *De ceremoniis*, the term “*parakymptikon* of the altar” (*De cer.* 88.5) of the Church of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos refers to a vantage point in the gallery from which the emperor could observe the service; in the plural, *parakypatika* (342.2–3, 364.19–20), it designated a loggia in the KATHISMA of the HIPPODROME from which the emperor watched the games.

LIT. Strube, *West. Eingangsseite* 81–86.

—A.K.

**PARALYTIC, HEALING OF THE.** See MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

**PARAMONARIOS.** See PROSMONARIOS.

**PARAMYTHETIKOS** (παραμυθητικός λόγος), a speech of consolation, intended to comfort the bereaved by praising the dead (see EPITAPHIOS).  
—E.M.J.

**PARAPHYLAX** (παραφύλαξ), “chief guardian” (cf. Theodore of Studios, PG 99:1232B). The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 161.15) mentions *paraphylakes* of *kastra* among officers of low rank. They also appear in 11th-C. lists of exemptions as functionaries of the fisc or of the commonwealth (*koinon*), either among low-

ranking military officers (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.61) or those involved in provisioning the army (?), such as *synonarioi* and *oreiarioi* (e.g., *Lavra* 1, nos. 33.97–98, 36.32–33). *Paraphylakes* are mentioned on numerous seals of the 7th–9th C., e.g., *paraphylakes* of Crete, Thessalonike, Nicaea, of the “Theologian” (probably Ephesus), and esp. Abydos. A functionary of low rank (titled *apo eparchon* on earlier seals, and then *hypatos*, *strator*, or *spatharios*), he combined his function with that of the *kommerkiarios*, less frequently with the *chartoularios* of the *genikon* and with *archon*. There is no reason to identify the *paraphylax* as a *kommerkiarios* or *abydikos*—his duty was probably to command irregular forces in provincial towns and to supervise public order.

LIT. Zacos, *Seals* 1:1199–1201, 1205. Treadgold, *Byz. State Finances* 34.  
—A.K.

**PARASKEVE OF EPIBATAI**, or Paraskeve the Younger, Slavic name Petka; saint; feastdays 13, 14 Oct. She is believed to have lived in the 10th C. Her Life, written by a peasant, possibly in the vernacular, was ordered burned by Patr. NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON; he commissioned a certain deacon Basilikos to create an official version of the saint’s Life. Church Slavonic texts, including the vita by EVTIMIJ OF TŪRNOVO, may preserve traces of this official version. Using Evtimij’s text, Matthew of Myra wrote the Greek Life of Paraskeve in 1605–20. The legend’s central episode concerns a certain George who saw a vision of Paraskeve as an enthroned queen and was ordered to bring her relics from the Church of the Apostles in Epibatai to a new location in Tŭrnovo, a mission that he fulfilled ca.1230. An inscription with the name of Paraskeve found in Carevac, Tŭrnovo, makes it possible to locate a church dedicated to her.

LIT. BHG 14202–1421. E. Kałuzniacki, *Zur älteren Paraskevaliteratur der Griechen, Slaven und Rumänen* (Vienna 1899). R. Janin, I. Dujčev, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:331–33. U. Knoen, *LCl* 8:120f.  
—A.K.

**PARASKEVE OF IKONION**, the “great martyr”; feastday 28 Oct. She was a predominantly Russian saint, the patron of brides and family life. The origin of her cult remains obscure.

LIT. K. Onasch, “Paraskeva-Studien,” *OstSt* 6 (1957) 121–41.  
—A.K.



**PARASKEVE THE ELDER**, saint; feastdays 26 July, 8 and 9 Nov. Paraskeve (lit. "Friday") supposedly lived in the 2nd C., propagating Christianity and even converting the emperor Antoninus. JOHN OF EUBOEIA wrote a *passio* of Paraskeve, and later Constantine AKROPOLITES composed her eulogy. She is represented in a miniature accompanying an Easter homily in the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY (fol.285r; S. Der Nersessian, *DOP* 16 [1962] 202, pl.3), standing alongside HELENA; she carries symbols of the Passion of Christ (lance, sponge, nails, and a container for the vinegar), an early reference to GOOD FRIDAY and the cult of the cross.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "La passion de sainte Parascève par Jean d'Eubée," in *Polychronion* 226-37.

LIT. BHG 1419z-1420x. R. Janin, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:328-31. U. Knochen, *LCI* 8:118-120. —A.K., N.P.S.

**PARASPONDYLOS, LEO**, high-ranking official; died after 1057. The name Paraspodylos (Παρασπόνδυλος, or, in Skyl. 479.16, *Strabospodylos*, "a crook") is probably a sobriquet. Seemingly, Leo sprang from the family of the Spondyloi, one of whom, Michael, served as *doux* of Antioch and participated in the campaign of George MANIAKES in Sicily (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 74). An official under Michael IV, Paraspodylos became the chief of civil administration with the titles of *synkellos* and *protosynkellos* during the reigns of Theodora and Michael VI. When Paraspodylos rejected the demands of the leading generals in 1057, a rebellion developed that led to the deposition of Michael VI and accession of Isaac I. Paraspodylos was dismissed and probably tonsured. Attaleiates (Attal. 52.1-10) lauds him as an excellent administrator who contributed greatly to the establishment of good government. PSELLOS (*Chron.* 2:74, ch.6.15-19) was more restrained in his judgment of Paraspodylos, emphasizing primarily his uncourtly speech yet eloquent gestures. While Paraspodylos was in disfavor, Psellos supported him and on his behalf addressed Paraspodylos's principal enemies—Isaac I and Patr. Michael I Keroularios.

LIT. Ljubarskij, *Psell* 90-97. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973) 90. —A.K., C.M.B.

**PARASTAS** (παραστάς, lit. "standing beside"), term usually meaning PILASTER, anta, or jamb. Eusebios (VC 3:37) uses the term *parastades*, how-

ever, to describe the twin aisles on each side of the nave of the Golgotha basilica in JERUSALEM (H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem* 2.1-2 [Paris 1914] 160f). —N.E.L.

**PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI** (lit. "Brief Historical Notes"), an anonymous work describing the monuments of Constantinople. The work is preserved in a single MS (Paris, B.N. gr. 1336) of the 11th C. The text is often corrupt and hard to understand. *Parastaseis* has traditionally been dated between Leo III (717-41), who is named in the text, and 829; the text, however, mentions an "emperor of our day" who must be one of Leo's successors, and 829 is based only on an *argumentum ex silentio*. Cameron and Herrin date the work to the beginning of the 8th C. and consider it as a kind of scholarly work; both conclusions are questionable. The book is a collection of grotesque anecdotes with references to non-existent or anachronistic sources (e.g., Herodotus as the source for the story that Constantine I murdered his son Constantine—instead of Crispus, who was actually killed). *Parastaseis* should rather be interpreted as a political pamphlet directed against the cult of Constantine I that was being developed under the Iconoclast emperors and their successors; at the same time it reflected the dispute over icons, telling numerous stories about the miraculous power of pagan statues (occasionally called "icons"), which—unlike Orthodox icons—did not work beneficial miracles but brought injury and death.

ED. Av. Cameron, J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century* (Leiden 1984).

LIT. Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 29-48. —A.K.

**PARATHALASSITES** (παρθαλασσίτης, lit. "by the sea"), a judge in control of those sailing on the sea (*Peira* 51.29); the *parathalassites* was in charge of the seashore and the port of Constantinople, esp. of the import of goods and the payment of tolls. According to the obscure evidence of an anonymous chronicle (F. Cumont, *Anecdota Bruxellensia* [Ghent 1894] 27.11-12), Justinian I introduced the KOMMERKION of the straits and the office of *parathalassites*. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 113.22) the *parathalassites* appears as a low-ranking functionary in the bureau of the EPARCH OF THE CITY.

LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (*Antapodosis* 3.26) mentions a *parathalassites* among the offices filled by Romanos I after his victory over Leo PHOKAS—*parathalassites* is last in the list, below *spatharioi* and *spatharokandidatoi*. The seals of the 11th-12th C. confer on the *parathalassites* higher ranks—up to *protoproedros* and *kouropalates*—probably indicating the increasing importance of the office. Ahrweiler surmised that the *parathalassites* disengaged himself from the control of the eparch of the city and in the 11th C. attained equality with the eparch and the *logothetes* of the GENIKON, while Laurent (*Corpus* 2:625) was very cautious on this point. By the end of the 12th C. the office became collegial. The *parathalassites* is not mentioned in the 14th-C. ceremonial book of pseudo-Kodinos. In addition to the *parathalassites* of Constantinople there were also provincial *parathalassitai* (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 133, n. 44).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.II (1961), 246-51. —A.K.

**PARCHMENT** (μεμβράνα, περγαμνή, σωματίον, διφθέρα, δέρμα, χάρτης), writing material prepared from the skin of animals such as the cow, sheep, goat, or donkey. The skin was washed in lime, cleaned, stretched in a form, and scraped. The hair side and flesh side of the skin had different colors. The kind of animal skin used and the various techniques of treatment explain the divergent appearance of various parchments. A coarse parchment distinguishes southern Italian MSS. Maximus PLANOUEDES preferred parchment that was thin and very white, but not treated with egg white (eps. 100, 106). Parchment dyed with purple was reserved for the emperor.

Expensive and scarce, parchment was sometimes unavailable. An animal skin yielded only two *bifolia* (i.e., eight pages), and the supply of parchment was seasonal, being more abundant in spring when lambs were slaughtered. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA paid between 6 and 8 nomismata for sufficient parchment to produce a volume of about 400 folios (N. Wilson in *Books & Bookmen* 1-4). This scarcity prompted the reuse of parchment MSS as PALIMPSESTS.

The oldest preserved large Greek parchment codices are dated to the 4th C.; they are Gospel and Old Testament MSS, the Codex Sinaiticus (London, B.L. Add. 43725), and the Codex Vaticanus (Vat. gr. 1209). From the 13th C. onward, PAPER increasingly replaced parchment as writing

material, but parchment MSS continued to be produced for rich patrons.

LIT. K.J. Lüthi, *Das Pergament: Seine Geschichte, seine Anwendung* (Bern 1938). Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 34-37. P. Schreiner, "Zur Pergamentherstellung im byzantinischen Osten," *Codices manuscripti* 9 (1983) 122-27. E.E. Granstrom, "Diphthera-differa-malaja rizica" ili "kniga?" *ADSV* 10 (1973) 158-60. —E.G., A.M.T.

**PARDOS, GREGORY**, writer, metropolitan of Corinth after 1092 (V. Laurent, *REB* 21 [1963] 290f); baptismal name probably George; born ca.1070, died 1156 (but cf. U. Begares, *BZ* 81 [1988] 247f). Pardos compiled several works on rhetoric and grammar: *On Dialects*, *Commentary on Hermogenes*, *On Speech Construction*, *Introduction to Speechwriting* (D. Donnet, *Bulletin de l'institut historique Belge de Rome* 37 [1966] 81-97). The treatise *On Tropes*, published under his name, should be attributed rather to the 1st-C. B.C. Tryphon (M.L. West, *CQ* n.s. 15 [1965] 230-48). The traditional view that Pardos lacked originality is now to be rejected (J. Glucker, *Mnemosyne* 23 [1970] 137f). Pardos applied the technique of SCHEDOGRAPHIA, using a section of a "set text" progressively for examples, as he explained the principles of grammar; he referred to contemporary poets such as KALLIKLES, PRODROMOS, and TZETZES. Pardos also produced commentaries on religious poetry as well as his own religious epigrams.

ED. G. Schäfer, *Gregorii Corinthii et aliorum grammaticorum libri De dialectis linguae graecae* (Leipzig 1811). *RhetGr*, ed. Walz 7:1090-1352, 8:761-78. D. Donnet, *Le traité "Peri syntaxeos logou" de Grégoire de Corinthe* (Brussels 1967). H. Hunger, "Gregorios von Korinth, Epigramme auf die Feste des Dodekaorton," *AB* 100 (1982) 637-51.

LIT. A. Kominis, *Gregorios Pardos metropolitites Korinthou kai to ergon autou* (Rome-Athens 1960). G. Bolognesi, "Sul peri dialekton di Gregorio di Corinto," *Aevum* 27 (1953) 97-120. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 19f. Beck, *Kirche* 606. —A.K.

**PAREKKLESION** (παρεκκλήσιον), generic name for a subsidiary CHAPEL. Such chapels appear in ecclesiastical architecture of the 4th-5th C. with a great variety of forms, functions, and dispositions. From the 10th to 12th C., the number of chapels in churches increased. These have a variety of plans, usually occur in symmetrically disposed pairs, and are carefully integrated into the overall architectural scheme. From the 13th to 15th C., *parekklesia* were not as elegantly planned and were often no more than large rooms attached to the flanks of existing churches. Such is



the case at the church of the CHORA MONASTERY, a long, apsed rectangular structure built for funerary purposes. Another important example of the period, also sepulchral in nature, was built in the form of a small cross-in-square church on the south flank of Hagia Maria PAMMAKARISTOS.

—M.J.

**PARENZO.** See POREČ.

**PARIS**, son of Priam, Greek mythological hero famous for his judgment of three goddesses—Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite—and his subsequent abduction of Helen, which led to the TROJAN WAR. This mythological episode was completely reinterpreted by MALALAS (or, more probably, his source), who presented Paris as a young man of proper upbringing who wrote a hymn praising Aphrodite as an allegory of *epithymia*, "desire." Desire, says Malalas, produces everything—children, wisdom, prudence, and the arts. This allegorical interpretation of the Judgment of Paris was developed by TZETZES, who treated the mythological episode as utter nonsense. MANASSES, however, knew the allegorical version, although he did not care for it. The poem of HERMONIAKOS on the Trojan War reflects the attitudes of both Tzetzes and Manasses to this episode.

LIT. E.M. Jeffreys, "The Judgement of Paris in Later Byzantine Literature," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 112–31. C. Bevegni, "Anonymi Declaratio Paridis ad Senatum Troianum," *StilfCl* 3.4 (1986) 274–92.

—A.K.

**PARIS GREGORY** (Paris, B.N. gr. 510), an illustrated MS containing the *Homilies* of St. GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS plus some of his letters, a few miscellaneous writings, and Gregory the Presbyter's vita of the saint. It was produced between late 879 and 883 in Constantinople for Basil I, probably as a gift from PHOTIOS. Five miniatures preface the volume; of its 52 texts most were originally preceded by miniatures, and all by elaborate headpieces. In addition, the MS has over 1,600 gold or decorated letters, the oldest surviving examples of Byz. painted INITIALS.

The miniatures, often composed of three or four rows of images, incorporate over 400 different scenes. Few illustrate Gregory's sermons literally; most provide commentaries on the text,

either pictorial exegesis (mostly typological) or visual polemic connecting the theme of the sermon with contemporary events (the textually unmotivated image of the First Council of Constantinople [381] buttressed the Greek position in the *filioque* debate with Rome during the patriarchate of Photios). Some miniatures flatter the imperial recipient of the MS (the Joseph page should be read as an analogy of Basil's ascent to the throne), while others echo specific interests of Photios and his circle.

Though the exegetical role for the images was one favored in this period, the Paris Gregory provides unusually sophisticated examples. The iconography of the individual scenes, on the other hand, remains generally conservative, and there was no attempt to make the miniatures stylistically homogenous.

LIT. Omont, *Miniatures*, pls. XV–LXbis. S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510," *DOP* 16 (1962) 195–228. L. Brubaker, "Politics, Patronage, and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (B.N. gr. 510)," *DOP* 39 (1985) 1–13.

—L.Br.

**PARIS PSALTER** (Paris, B.N. gr. 139), the best-known example of Byz. PSALTER illustration, long supposed to be typical of the genre but now recognized as being exceptional in size (approximately 37 × 26.5 cm) and in the beauty of its script and wealth of full-page illumination. Beyond the text and CATENAE, it now contains eight miniatures devoted to the life and person of DAVID and six (originally nine?) illustrations of the ODES. The David pictures emphasize the virtues of the ideal emperor, often through the presence of PERSONIFICATIONS, both classical and Christian: H. Buchthal (*JWarb* 37 [1974] 330–33) proposes that the book was made for the future emperor Romanos II at the behest of his father, Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos. The hypothesis that it is a copy remains unproven, but there is no doubt that the MS stands at the head of a long line of smaller and later books that emulate its body of illustration. The Psalter's ornament is most closely related to a MS in Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 60 (= Vladimir 140), of the year 975. The long-standing thesis that its miniatures are later insertions has recently been challenged (J. Lowden, *ArtB* 70 [1988] 250f). Certainly the book as we now have it was available ca. 1300 when some of its minia-

tures were adapted for Psalters now at the Vatican and Mt. Sinai (H. Belting, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 17–38). It was acquired by the French ambassador in Constantinople in 1557–59.

LIT. H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London 1938). Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, no.39. Weitzmann, *Grundlagen*.

—A.C.

**PARISTRION** (Παρίστριον), a designation of the territory south of the Lower Danube, used in narrative texts of the 11th and early 12th C. Skylitzes (Skyl. 457.32) relates that a certain Michael was *archon* of the *Paristriai poleis*; the Continuator of Skylitzes (*SkylCont* 166.16–17) speaks of a *vestarches* Nestor "who was called *doux* of Paristria," and Anna Komnene mentions Paristrion four times in connection with invasions of the Pechenegs and Cumans in DOBRUDJA. Official documents, however, use the term *Paradounabis*, as on the seals of the *vestes* Symeon (V. Zlatarski in *Šišičev zbornik* [Zagreb 1929] 143–48) and of Katakalon (N. Bănescu, *EO* 35 [1936] 405–08) and the will of Eustathios BOILAS of 1059 (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 41), while Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:155.8) gives the title *doux* of Paradounabon to Leo Nikerites.

The origin of the administrative unit (*katepanaton* or *doukaton*) of Paristrion-Paradounavis is obscure. Bănescu was inclined to think that Paristrion existed from the time of John I Tzimiskes, whereas Zlatarski thought that it was created only in the mid-11th C. In any event, it did not exist at the end of the 12th C., when Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 127.89) applied the name *Paristrion* to the region of BRANIČEVO and Belgrade.

LIT. Litavrin, *Bolgaria i Vizantijska* 250–88. V. Zlatarski, "Ustrojstvo Bolgarii i položenie bolgarskogo naroda," *SemKond* 4 (1931) 61–67. N. Bănescu, "La question du Paristrion ou Conclusion d'un long débat," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 277–308. T. Wasilewski, "Le katepanikion et le duché de Paristrion au XI<sup>e</sup> s.," 14 *CEB* 2 (Bucharest 1975) 641–45.

—A.K.

**PARODY.** In the sense of a humorous mimicking of serious actions, parody is represented by burlesque performances in the Hippodrome and elsewhere. Examples are a scene staged by some clowns, with a ship on wheels, before the emperor's box in the Hippodrome in imitation of the ceremony celebrating the anniversary of the foundation of Constantinople (*Patria of Constantinople*, ed. Pre-

ger, *Scriptores* 232f), or the comic imitation of horse races presented by young aristocrats at the court of Alexios III (Nik.Chon. 508f).

In the more usual and narrower sense of a humorous imitation of a serious literary work, parody is not uncommon in later Byz. literature. Examples are a 12th-C. parody of a court decision involving a case of cannibalism (R. Macrides in *Cupido legum* 137–168), a 14th-C. invective against a certain Diplovatatzes in the form of a decree of the *boule* and *demos* of an ancient city (Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XXII [1969], 96.10), the 12th-C. *Katomyomachia* (probably by Theodore Prodromos) in the form of a scene from classical tragedy, and various parodies of parts of the liturgy. A special case is the presentation for mnemonic purposes of lists of ancient gods, grammatical terms, and so forth, in the form of liturgical hymns (Krumbacher, *GBL* 681f). Much Byz. SATIRE is in the form of parody.

—A.K., R.B.

**PAROIKIA** (παροιμία), a "local" church and its district, under the authority of a BISHOP. The term was in use from the 3rd C. to designate both an episcopal district and a parish of the Western type.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 83.

—P.M.

**PAROIKOS** (παροικος, lit. "one who lives nearby," "stranger" in the Septuagint), the general name for the dependent PEASANT in Byz. from the 10th C. through the end of the empire, analogous, but not identical, to the serf (see SERFDOM) of medieval western Europe. While the word *paroikos* is of classical origin, it appears only infrequently in Byz. sources before the 10th C., thus rendering the word's evolution far from clear. The New Testament employs *paroikos* to mean a temporary resident or foreigner, and consequently, through the 11th C., the word often implied a recent settler. Since a constitution of Anastasios I (*Cod. Just.* I 34.1) speaks of *georgoi* (see COLONI), *paroikoi*, and *emphyteutai* (see EMPHYTEUSIS), while a novel of Justin II (Zepos, *Jus* 1:2.8–9) speaks of *georgoi*, *misthotai*, and *emphyteutai*, there is perhaps an equivalence between *paroikos* and *misthotes* (see MISTHIOS). Anastasios (*Cod. Just.* I 2.4) forbade application of the *paroikikon dikaion* ("law of the *paroikoi*") to church property; in the Latin version



of Justinian I's novel 7.1, this is rendered as *colonnarium jus*. The reference in Theophanes (Theoph. 486.30) to the *paroikoi* of charitable foundations, churches, and imperial monasteries suggests that *paroikoi* were settlers on the properties of large landowners.

From the mid-10th C. onward, references to *paroikoi* become very common, with *paroikoi* appearing as a growing section of the peasantry, gradually overtaking the previously dominant independent peasant of the VILLAGE COMMUNITY. According to a decision of KOSMAS MAGISTROS and the PEIRA (15.2-3), *paroikoi* were peasants who received land to cultivate based on an agreement with the proprietor; they could neither alienate the land, nor make any claim on it should they leave or should the proprietor ask them to leave; after 30 (or 40) years they could not be removed from the STASIS, though this heralded no change in their status or obligations to the proprietor. On the other hand, evidence from the 11th C. onward indicates that the status of *paroikoi* was becoming hereditary, and the obligation of *paroikoi* to their lords usually appears less as a simple rent, than as a collection of state charges and CORVÉES required by the lord instead of by the fisc. The nature of the dependent status of *paroikoi* remains ambiguous. During the 13th and 14th C., when almost all peasants appear to have been *paroikoi*, there is still evidence of communities of *paroikoi* acting as a corporate entity and of individual *paroikoi* often acquiring and alienating GONIKON land.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 41-74. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 142-58. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 166-88, 232-48. V. Smetanin, "O statuse nekotorykh kategorij parikov v pozdnej Vizantii," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 7-11. N. Oikonomides, "He Peira peri paroikon," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:232-41. —M.B.

**PARORIA** (Παρόρια, lit. "borderlands"), site of a group of monastic communities that flourished in the 14th C. on the frontier between Byz. and Bulgaria. The location of Paroria has been much disputed; the tendency of recent scholarship is to identify Paroria with the Strandža mountain range on the border between present-day Turkey and Bulgaria, although F. Halkin (*Byzantion* 31 [1961] 119, n.1) argues that it is impossible to specify a precise site. GREGORY SINAITES moved to Paroria ca.1330 and founded four lavras, the largest on

Mt. Katakekryomene. Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER became the patron of this lavra, providing funds to build a church, cells, and tower. Gregory brought with him the Athonite tradition of HESYCHASM, which he transmitted to both the Greek and Slavic monks who flocked to the region (A.-E.N. Tachiaos, *Cyrrillomethodianum* 7 [1983] 118-22). Among the distinguished monks who had their spiritual formation at Paroria were David DISHYPATOS, THEODOSIOS OF TŪRNOVO, ROMYLOS of Vidin, and the future patriarch KALLISTOS I.

LIT. G. Gorov, "Mestonachozdenieto na srednovekovnata Parorija i Sinaitovija manastir," *IstPreg* 28.1 (1972) 64-75. —A.M.T.

**PAROS** (Πάρος), island in the Cyclades, west of NAXOS, separated from the small island of Antiparos by a narrow strait. Under Diocletian Paros formed part of the province of the Islands. It was famous for its marble (K. Fiehn, *RE* 2.R. 3 [1929] 2263). Inscriptions of the late 3rd and 4th C. describe Paros as a "splendid polis" and mention city officials such as the *protos* of the polis and the *gymnasiarchos* (O. Rubensohn, *RE* 18 [1949] 1830f). The bishop of Paros was suffragan of RHODES; seals of its 11th-C. bishop Constantine have been published (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 710-11). At the end of the 11th C. a combined metropolis of Paronaxia (Paros and Naxos), without suffragans, was established (*Notitiae CP* 11.84).

Paros suffered from Arab attacks in the 9th C., and in the early 10th C., according to the vita of THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS, it was deserted and visited only by hunters. There seems to have been revival by the 12th C.—at least a hoard of Byz. copper coins from Manuel I to Alexios IV was found at Naoussa (S.McA. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* [New York 1935] 57). After 1204 the island fell to the Venetian Marco I Sannudo and became part of the duchy of Naxos; despite an attack by the fleet of Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS in 1263, Paros remained part of the duchy until its dissolution ca.1579.

Abundant remains testify to the prosperity of the island in late antiquity (e.g., A.K. Orlandos, *PraktArchEt* [1960] 245-57); the most important church is the Virgin Hekatontapyliane in Paroikia, perhaps built in the 4th C. with four free-standing cross-arms and rebuilt in the 6th C. with a dome (A.K. Orlandos, 6 *IntCongChrArch* [Vati-

can 1965] 159-68). Frankish castles are preserved at Naoussa and Paroikia and on Antiparos.

LIT. H.H. Jewell, F.W. Hasluck, *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates in Paros* (London 1920). Ph. Apostolou, *To kastro tes Antiparou* (Athens 1978). W. Hoefner, H. Schmidt, "Mesaionikoi oikismoi Kykladon neson Antiparou-Kimolou," *Kimoliaka* 8 (1978) 3-45. —T.E.G.

**PAROUSIA** (παρουσία, lit. "advent," sometimes *δεντέρα παρουσία*), Christ's Second Coming, presented (and described) in connection with Matthew 24 by CYRIL of Jerusalem (PG 33:869-916) and others. Although parallel to the first advent (the INCARNATION), the Second Parousia differs from it in that it will be Christ's coming in glory, a victory over the ANTICHRIST, the "restoration" of the cosmos, and resurrection of the dead. Special signs will distinguish Christ from the Antichrist, esp. "the brilliant sign of the cross" that was formerly the instrument of the crucifixion, while angels with trumpets serve as heralds, ceremonial attendants, and escorts. The main event of the Parousia will be the LAST JUDGMENT.

In his sermon, Cyril criticized MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA, who denied that Christ would reign "after the end of the world," since the Logos who had proceeded from the Father and then had returned to him ceased to exist as an individual being. Accordingly, the First Council of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) added to the Confession of Faith a sentence—directed against Markellos—that "the kingdom of Christ will have no end." Later homilies combined the theme of the Parousia with a portrayal of the Last Judgment and/or HELL or with exhortations to do good works.

In artistic representations Parousia found its expression in the image of the HETOIMASIA, or the throne prepared for Christ's coming.

LIT. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung* 55-75. E. Peterson, "Die Einholung des Kyrios," *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 7 (1929) 682-702. V. Christie, *La vision de Matthieu* (Matth. XXIV-XXV): *Origine et développement d'un image de la seconde Parousie* (Paris 1973). —G.P.

**PARRHESIA** (παρρησία), literally, "freedom of speech." In a secular context this came to mean (from the 4th C. onward) the license allowed a privileged official or orator to offer cautious advice or reproof to an emperor, and so, by extension, the right to have access to the emperor (cf.

MIRROR OF PRINCES). In a religious context the term comes to mean a confidence in dealing with God and men that is drawn from faith and a righteous life, and that belongs in particular to saints.

LIT. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich 1980) 376f. G. Scarpata, *Parresia, storia del termine* (Brescia 1982). —E.M.J.

**PARTHENOPHTHORIA** (παρθενοφθορία, lit. "corruption of virgins"), a judicial fine, considered a part of AERIKON, ostensibly imposed for RAPE, probably of unmarried girls, and perhaps for related crimes (abduction, etc.). The term appears almost exclusively in the exemption clauses of chrysobulls from the second half of the 13th through the 14th C. as one of a very small number of rights and privileges (sometimes called *demosiaka kephalaia* ["public chapters"]) and including PHONIKON and the TREASURE TROVE) that the state usually reserved for itself and did not grant to landowners.

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 477-79. —M.B.

**PARTITIO ROMANIAE**, one of the fundamental documents of the LATIN EMPIRE, published Sept.-early Oct. 1204 (Heyd, Zakythinos, Carile) or 12 Apr.-9 May 1204 (Oikonomides). After the Fourth Crusade's conquest of Constantinople, a committee of 24 (12 Venetians, 12 non-Venetians) apportioned lands to the Latin emperor, the Venetians, and other Crusaders. The emperor was to have a quarter of the empire, the others three-eighths each. Each party received territory in both Thrace and more remote lands. The list of places and districts in the *Partitio Romaniae* derives from Byz. documents, esp. tax registers, as is demonstrated by its use of Byz. technical terms. The *Partitio* lists separately the lands of some great landowners: the Kontostephanoi and Kamytzai in the Meander valley, the Raoul near the Kallipolis peninsula, and the Branas and Kantakouzenos families in the Peloponnesos. Lands belonging to Empress Euphrosyne Doukaina Kamatera (in Thessaly) and to her daughter Irene (in the Peloponnesos) are also mentioned. Oikonomides argues that the *Partitio* was created on the basis of the final tax levies received by Alexios IV (Sept. 1203) and that the areas omitted in the text were already outside imperial control in 1203.



ED. "Partitio terrarum Imperii Romanie," ed. A. Carile, *StVen* 7 (1965) 125-305.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "La décomposition de l'Empire byzantin . . . A propos de la 'Partitio Romaniae,'" 15 *CEB, Rapports et co-rapports*, 1.1 (Athens 1976). —C.M.B.

**PARTNERSHIP** (*κοινωνία*). In Roman and Justinianic law (*Digest* 17.2) *societas* or *koinonia* referred to the partnership of two or more people entered into by private CONTRACT, founded for the realization of common profits and for division of losses. It is carefully distinguished (*Digest* 17.2.31) from *communio* (common ownership, *Digest* 10.3), which could come into being through a *societas* (when there was newly acquired property or profit) or without it (e.g., where there were several survivors after a death who shared the inheritance). Later law did not introduce a Greek term to correspond to *communio* and spoke only of *to koinon pragma* (cf. *Basil.* 12.1.2). In spite of the risk of confusion—since the individual partner as well as the individual owner of common property was called a *socius* (*koinonos*)—later law appears to have maintained consistently the difference between partnership and common ownership (cf. *Ecloga* 16.2; *Nov. Leo VI* 103; *Peira* 21). In particular, various other forms of common ownership such as the VILLAGE COMMUNITY, guild community, or monastic community (e.g., the *koinotes tou Hagiou Orous*) were not treated according to the rules of the law of partnership or common ownership, indicating that the norms cited for the *koinonia* were important mainly for partnerships for commercial gain, while the old proscriptions on sharing remained in force for common ownership. A formula for the division of pieces of land has survived (Sathas, *MB* 6:631f). In monastic documents *koinonia* and its derivatives appear only in the sense of "togetherness."

**Examples of Partnerships.** Some evidence for Byz. partnership is preserved in several papyri of the 6th C. and in various later documents, some of them Italian. A contract between two carpenters of 568 establishes a partnership of labor, not capital; the partners had to share the profits equally after deducting their expenses; they also agreed to work with the efficiency expected of craftsmen of Antioch. Partnerships of the 14th–15th C. involved a workshop, a boat, salt-pans (in Thessalonike); these partnerships were of limited character and of relatively short duration; the partners

kept separate accounting books. Textbooks of MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS often deal with the foundation and dissolution (*dialysis*) of trade associations.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:409–15 (§267). Fikhman, *Egipet* 110–14. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 68–83. A. Steinwenter, "Aus dem Gesellschaftsrechte der Papyri," in *Studi in onore di S. Riccobono*, vol. 1 (Palermo 1936; rp. Aalen 1974) 502–04. M. Ja. Sjuzumov, "Ekonomičeskie vozzrenija L'va VI," *VizVrem* 15 (1959) 41f. —A.K.

**PASCHAL II** (Rainerius), pope (from 13/14 Aug. 1099); born Bieda di Galeata, Romagna, died Rome 21 Jan. 1118. The main problem during Paschal's pontificate was the struggle against the German kings Henry IV and Henry V. The pope was taken prisoner in 1111 and was forced to submit; he later repudiated his decision and was compelled to leave Rome, to which he returned to die a week later. When Paschal fought for papal primacy, it was against the Western emperor and the councils (U.-R. Blumenthal, *ArchHistPont* 16 [1978] 67–92) rather than Constantinople.

The evidence concerning Paschal's relations with Alexios I is preserved in Western chronicles in a legendary form. According to them, Paschal supported BOHEMUND of Antioch against Byz.—whether he acted consciously or was deceived by Bohemund remains unclear. ALBERT OF AACHEN reports that in 1102 a certain Manasses, bishop of an unknown Barzenona, denounced Alexios before the pope. This prepared the way for Bohemund's arrival in 1105, when his desire to start a new crusade met with enthusiastic response from Paschal. Bohemund's expedition directed against Byz. failed in 1108. The *Chronicle* of MONTECASSINO reports that in 1112 the Byz. emperor suggested UNION OF THE CHURCHES to Paschal in exchange for his coronation with the crown of the Western Empire, for which he was ready to enter Rome. P. Classen (*JMedHist* 3 [1977] 207–12) denies the historicity of the *Chronicle*. Some negotiations did occur, however, and Paschal's utter humiliation by Henry V and his negotiations were followed by the mission of Peter GROSSOLANO to Constantinople.

LIT. C. Servatius, *Paschalis II*. (Stuttgart 1979). J.G. Rowe, "Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire," *BullJ RylandsLib* 49 (1966–67) 165–202. Idem, "Paschal II and the Relation between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Speculum* 32 (1957) 470–501. —A.K.

**PASCHAL CHRONICLE.** See CHRONICON PASCHALE.

**PASSIO.** See MARTYRIQN.

**PASSION OF CHRIST**, a term encompassing the last episodes of his life from the AGONY IN THE GARDEN of Gethsemane to the CRUCIFIXION. The Passion (*πάθος*, "suffering") was a sacrifice that Christ accepted voluntarily, and it resulted in the redemption of mankind from the damnation of ORIGINAL SIN. Having rejected at an early period the docetic teaching that the Passion was only an appearance of suffering, Christian thought encountered the problem of whether it was the human or divine nature of Christ that experienced the Passion. Pseudo-Athanasios of Alexandria, in his *Dialogue on the Holy Trinity* (PG 28:1253D–1256A), refuted the views of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia that it was the Logos who had suffered and proclaimed the concept that Christ (Logos) had borne the Passion "not by his nature but by *oikonomia*," or because of his sympathy with mankind. Some Old Testament images—the paschal lamb, the sacrifice of Isaac, Daniel in the lions' den, Jonah and the whale—served as PREFIGURATIONS of the Passion, and ritual FASTING was perceived as a preparation for the Passion. The cult of the CROSS emphasized the liberating role of the Passion, and martyrdoms were construed as imitations of Christ so that it is often difficult to distinguish the historical event of martyrs' deaths from hagiographical interpretation of the acts of MARTYRS as a repetition of Christ's suffering. Christ's Passion incited manifold literary works (P. Pseutonkas, *Hai peri staurou kai pathous tou Kyriou homiliai* [Thessalonike 1975]), e.g., CHRISTOS PASCHON.

**Representation in Art.** The events of Christ's Passion—including all of Holy Week (ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM through ANASTASIS) or only Holy Thursday through Easter (Last Supper through Anastasis)—were depicted less frequently in Early Christian art than either the INFANCY OF CHRIST or his MIRACLES, but they constitute the very heart of post-Iconoclastic imagery. Initially, Passion scenes emphasized Christ's triumph over death and entry into kingship, as on 4th-C. "Passion" sarcophagi, where scenes of his betrayal, arrest,

and trial accompany triumphal motifs like the cross flanked by birds, the Entry into Jerusalem, or the TRADITIO LEGIS. Sacrificial scenes, esp. the Crucifixion, appear only in the 5th C., and then sparingly. Passion cycles of the 6th C. (ROSSANO GOSPELS; Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in RAVENNA), though dwelling on Christ's humanity, omit the Crucifixion, and the Monza AMPULLAE show the crucified Christ in the triumphal form of an *imago clipeata*. The fully developed Crucifixion scene appears late in the 6th C. (RABBULA GOSPELS, fol. 13r). Three icons at Sinai dated to the 7th–8th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B32, B36, B50) isolate Christ, Mary, and John in a composition thereafter standard for Crucifixion icons. Christ is shown dead, emphasizing his sacrifice.

The theme of God's human death dominates post-Iconoclastic Passion imagery, generating compositions of great physical and emotional poignancy. Monumental cycles of the 10th and 11th C. focus on the GREAT FEASTS, but MSS, ivories, and panel paintings develop a rich vocabulary of satellite images. The marginal PSALTERS are esp. interesting, showing already in the 9th C. the elevation of the cross, Christ receiving the vinegar, the lance-thrust, and—in the 11th C.—Christ ascending the cross. Other powerful compositions created in the 10th–11th C. were inspired by sermons and hymns: the DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS, the Holy Women mourning Christ's body (see MYRROPHOROI), the Virgin's lament over it (the Threnos), its anointment on the stone of unction, Mary fainting beneath the cross. Such imagery was incorporated in the 11th-C. monastic liturgies, which in turn generated the great Komnenian Passion icons: the VIRGIN ELEOUSA, the MAN OF SORROWS, the VIRGIN OF THE PASSION. During the 12th C., emotionally charged scenes like the Deposition, Threnos, and Entombment penetrated the liturgically focused monumental cycles (see NEREZI), and late 12th-C. Gospel books assembled extensive Passion cycles. Yet lengthier cycles emerged in Palaiologan mural painting, esp. in Serbian churches, where the Passion unfolds in some 20 scenes.

LIT. D. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz* (Munich 1965). I. Hausherr, "L'imitation de Jésus-Christ dans la spiritualité byzantine," in *Études de spiritualité orientale* (Rome 1969) 217–45. Millet, *Recherches* 255–554. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow." —G.P., A.W.C.



**PASTOPHORIA** (παστοφόρια). In the singular form, in the Old Testament, the term denoted the treasury and the priests' quarters in the temple of Solomon. Pastophoria are first mentioned in the 4th-C. *Apostolic Constitutions* (2.57.3) and described as a sacristy consisting of two parts located at the eastern part of the church building.

In scholarly literature the term is used to designate two auxiliary chambers within a church building used as sacristies, the *diakonikon* (or *skeuophylakion*) and the *PROTHESIS*. They commonly flank the apse and sometimes form with it the tripartite sanctuary. This arrangement appears to have had its origins in northern Syria. The term *diakonikon*, found in authors from the 4th C. onward, designated the sacristy where sacred vessels were kept; it was used by deacons, thus explaining its name. In the early period it could be a separate building, as in the *vita* of Sabas by CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (102.4). The term *skeuophylakion* (lit. "place to keep the vessels") appears by the 7th C.; it may also have originally been a separate building. The *prothesis* was the eucharistic bread, the table on which the offertory was performed, and the sacristy on the north side of the bema where the eucharistic elements were prepared. The name *diakonikon* came to be restricted to the corresponding sacristy south of the apse, used for purposes that varied from place to place. Liturgical commentaries interpreted the *prothesis* rite as representing the self-emptying of Jesus (*kenosis*: Phil 2:5–11) in his birth and death, and the *prothesis* chamber as an analogue of Bethlehem and Calvary (PG 140:429C–432A; 155:348AC). In Palaiologan art, accordingly, it was sometimes decorated with an image of the dead Christ or MAN OF SORROWS. Pastophoria were accessible from the aisles of the church and communicated directly with the apse or bema. They account for the triple apses typical of Byz. churches from the 9th C. onward.

LIT. G. Descoedres, *Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten* (Wiesbaden 1983). Mathews, *Early Churches* 105–07, 155–62. Taft, *Great Entrance* 178–91, 200–203. Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 61–65. —R.F.T., W.L., M.J.

**PATELLARIA** (Πατελλάρια, mod. Pantelleria), volcanic island about 100 km southwest of Sicily. Between the late 7th and the 8th C. the classical name Cossyra was changed to Patellaria, a word

probably derived from *patella*, a concave dish used for the production of salt. During the 8th and early 9th C. Patellaria served the Byz. government as a place of exile. In that period, a Byz. monk, John, perhaps a refugee from Iconoclasm, founded a Greek monastery on Patellaria. The monastery's *typikon*, only part of which is preserved in Church Slavonic translation (I. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav' [tipik]* [Moscow 1885] 442–45), is mainly based on the monastic rule of Pachomios. John and his successor Basil were locally venerated as saints. The Arabs conquered the island between 836 and 864, and Byz. never recovered it.

LIT. G. Scalia, "Le Kuriate e Pantelleria," *Bulletin du Cange* 43 (1984) 65–100. A. Acconcia Longo, *Analecta hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris, x: Canones Iunii* (Rome 1972) 163–76, 375–81. —V.v.F.

**PATEN AND ASTERISKOS** (δίσκος, ἀστερίσκος, lit. "little star") were essential LITURGICAL VESSELS: the first was a flat plate with high sides, which held the bread of the EUCHARIST, while the second was a raised metal "star," which stood on the plate and supported a protective veil (*diskokalymma*) over the sacrament. The author of the church history ascribed to GERMANOS I compared the paten to the hands of Joseph of Arimathea and Nikodemos who removed Christ's body from the cross and to "the circle of heaven . . . enclosing Christ the intelligible sun" (ed. N. Borgia, ch.38, p.31.11–16). The earliest extant example of the paten is in the 4th-C. Durobrivae Treasure, of the *asteriskos* in the 6th-C. SION TREASURE. Many silver patens bearing prominent dedicatory inscriptions and large engraved crosses survive in the BETH MISONA TREASURE, the KAPER KORAON TREASURE (which also has two patens showing the Communion of the Apostles), and other treasures. The paten also functioned with the CHALICE with which it was verbally linked—as a *diskopoterion*—from at least the 7th C., when an archdeacon is known to have obtained such a set in Constantinople for the monastery of St. THEODORE OF SYKEON (*vita*, ch.42.1–5).

Patens from the 10th C. onward often display a lobed border reminiscent of early Christian offering TABLES (*Treasures* 3:20) and a eucharistic inscription quoted from the Liturgy of St. Basil. A gold paten found in Preslav is decorated with a cross, while others depict Christ, the Last Sup-

per, the Crucifixion, the Man of Sorrows, or a church's patron saint. An elaborate example in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.18) is carved in alabaster and mounted in gilded silver with enamel, rock crystals, and pearls. A superb paten in Halberstadt Cathedral is made of repoussé silver (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, no.136), while ordinary examples were of beaten bronze with engraved decoration. Gold or silver gilded *asteriskoi* are recorded together with patens in INVENTORIES. Other *asteriskoi* were of bronze.

LIT. Mango, *Silver* 78–86, 159–76, 253. *DOCat* 1, nos. 89–90. A. Grabar in H.R. Hahnloser, *Il Tesoro di San Marco* (Florence 1971) nos. 67, 69, 70. —M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

**PATERIK** (from Gr. PATERIKA), Slavonic name for any of various hagiographic and apophthegmatic collections. The translated *pateriki* include versions of the *Spiritual Meadow* of John MOSCHOS (*Sinajskij Paterik*), the *Lausiac History* of PALLADIOS of Galatia (*Egipetskij Paterik*), and anonymous APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM (*Skitskij Paterik* and *Azbučno-Ierusalimskij Paterik*; see M. Capaldo, W. Veder in *Polata künigopis'naja* 4 [March 1981] 26–78). In the literature of Rus' (see *RUS'*, LITERATURE OF) the *Paterik* of the Kievan Caves monastery contains tales of the monastery's history and inhabitants; it was ostensibly compiled as a correspondence between Bp. Simon of Vladimir and the monk Polikarp in the mid-1220s. Polikarp cited *Sinajskij Paterik* and *Skitskij Paterik*, and the work also echoes motifs of other translated *pateriki*, as well as EPHREM THE SYRIAN and perhaps some pseudepigrapha (G. Lenhoff, *Russian History* 10 [1983] 141–53). The Kievan *Paterik* gives some information on Greeks in Kiev, esp. those hired from Constantinople to build and decorate the monastery's Church of the Dormition (founded 1073); it also refers occasionally to Byz. internal affairs (e.g., on Jews in the empire). Despite its reliance on Byz. literary models, the Kievan *Paterik* contains substantial quasi-historical narratives dealing with specifically Kievan society.

ED. Kyjevo-Pečers'kij *Paterik*, ed. D.I. Abramovyč (Kiev 1931); rp. with introd. by D. Čiževskij, *Das Paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters* (Munich 1964). *The 'Paterik' of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, tr. M. Heppell (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

LIT. F. Bubner, *Das Kiever Paterikon: Eine Untersuchung zu seiner Struktur und den literarischen Quellen* (Heidelberg

1969). W. Gesemann, "Vergleichende Analyse der Originalität des Kievo-Pečersker Paterikons," in *Slavistische Studien zum IX. internationalen Slavenkongress in Kiev 1983*, ed. R. Olesch (Cologne-Vienna 1983) 129–43. —S.C.F.

**PATERIKA** (πατερικά, usually as an adjective with βιβλία, "[the books about] the fathers"), a designation of hagiographical texts often of apophthegmatic type without special differentiation; the term was in use by the 7th C., when LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS related that John Eleemon "read many *paterika*." According to Theophanes the Confessor, Constantine V burned many monastic books and *paterika*, as well as relics. The *Typikon* of St. Sabas mentions *paterika* for the whole year. The term was taken over by Church Slavonic as PATERIK.

LIT. H. Gelzer, *Leontios von Neapolis* (Freiburg-Leipzig 1893) 184f. —A.K.

**PATER PNEUMATIKOS** (πατήρ πνευματικός), spiritual father or confessor. In principle, only priests and HIEROMONACHOI were permitted to hear CONFESSION, but in fact simple monks also served as confessors, as is emphasized in the *Letter on Confession* of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN (ed. K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* [Leipzig 1898] 110–27). Thus in the mid-10th C. PAUL OF LATROS heard a peasant's confession and imposed on him a penitence of three years (*vita*, ch.32, pp.142f). It was customary for the HEGOUMENOS of a male monastery to serve as confessor to his monastic community, even if he was not a priest (although this latter practice was contrary to canon law). At nunneries, on the other hand, the *hegoumene* was prohibited from hearing confession (even though in the *typikon* for the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY [ed. Gautier, 53.600] she is termed *meter pneumatike*), and a priest came from outside to hear the nuns' confessions. The Kecharitomene *typikon* (p.59.721–26) specified that all the nuns were to have the same confessor and that he should be a EUNUCH. He was also responsible for conducting the election of a new *hegoumene*. At the LIPS nunnery the confessor (who could be either a solitary or a cenobitic monk) usually came once a month for three days, but would make extra visits if the need arose (*Typikon*, ed. Delehaye, chs. 11–13). At this



convent the spiritual father was also charged with the investigation of an incompetent or unworthy mother superior. The relationship between a highborn nun and her *pater pneumatikos* is well illustrated by the correspondence between Irene CHOUMNAINA and her two successive spiritual directors in the 14th C.

Symeon the Theologian strongly emphasized the role of the *pater pneumatikos* and promoted the veneration of his spiritual father, Symeon the Eulabes. This cult of individual, personal, extra-hierarchical relations between the spiritual father and son elicited criticism from the patriarch of Constantinople, and Symeon the Theologian was temporarily sent into retirement. Some monks served as the spiritual advisers of secular dignitaries and emperors, for example, Ioannikios in the case of Alexios I Komnenos (An.Komn. 1:32.3–5).

LIT. J. van Rossum, "Priesthood and Confession in St. Symeon the New Theologian," *SVThQ* 20 (1976) 220–28. H. Delehay, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* (Brussels 1966) 101f. —A.M.T., A.K.

**PATIR** (τοῦ Πατρός; cf. W. Holtzmann, *BZ* 26 [1926] 341.32), site in Italy of the Greek monastery of S. Maria, about 8 km west of ROSSANO; usually called the New Hodegetria of Rossano. It was founded during the early years of the 12th C. by the Calabrian monk Bartholomew of Simeri, whose vita (*BHG* 235) describes the life of anchorites in the mountains near Rossano and the establishment of Patir. The patron of the monastery was the admiral Christodoulos, a high official of Greek descent at the Norman court of Sicily who was titled *protonobelissimos*. Despite the resistance of the Greek archbishop of Rossano, Nicholas Maleinos, Bartholomew placed the new foundation under the protection of Rome and was granted privileges by Pope PASCHAL II (in 1105) as well as by Norman authorities. Nevertheless Bartholomew did not sever all ties with Byz.; his hagiographer relates that he visited Alexios I in Constantinople and received there gifts—icons, MSS, and sacred vessels. The hagiographer also reports that a rich *patrikios* donated the monastery of St. Basil on Mt. Athos to Bartholomew.

Throughout the 12th C. Patir had an important Greek scriptorium. Many MSS from the monastery are now in the Vatican Library. The docu-

ments from Patir's archive (the earliest is of 1083) are scattered through various collections. The monastery functioned until 1806.

**Art and Architecture.** The church of Bartholomew's monastery survives. It is characteristically Norman, with three basilicas. A 16th-C. description mentions frescoes in the central cupola, which seems to have been since replaced. The fragmentary mosaic pavement is dated by the inscription of the mid-12th-C. Abbot Blasius.

SOURCE. AASS Sept. 8:810–26.

LIT. P. Batiffol, *L'abbaye de Rossano* (Paris 1891). L.R. Ménager, "Notes et documents sur quelques monastères de Calabre à l'époque normande," *BZ* 50 (1957) 333–53. S. Lucà, "Rossano, il Patir e lo stile rossanese," *RSDN* 22–23 (1985–86) 93–170. C.A. Willemsen, D. Odenthal, *Kalabriën: Schicksal einer Landbrücke* (Cologne 1966) 101–06.

—V.v.F., D.K.

**PATMOS** (Πάτμος), island in the Dodekanese, near the coast of Asia Minor. Little known in antiquity, Patmos was reputedly the place where the exiled St. John the Apostle (also called the Theologian) wrote the APOCALYPSE (Rev 1:9–10) and, according to one tradition, the Fourth Gospel (N. Ševčenko, in *I. Mone Hagiou Ioannou tou Theologou—900 Chronia istorikes martyrias* [Athens 1989] 169–78). In the 10th C. (?) John KAMINIATES (57.10–13) described Patmos as a waterless island where the Arab fleet stopped on its way back from Thessalonike. In 1088 Alexios I gave Patmos to CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS, who founded the monastery of St. John the Theologian there (see below). A land survey of the late 11th C. calculates the area of Patmos as 3,860 *modioi* (an incredibly low figure), of which only 627 *modioi* were arable and only 160 could be plowed by oxen (Dölger, *Beiträge* 86f).

From the end of the 11th C. onward Patmos was the object of many attacks, e.g., of TZACHAS ca.1090 and of Spanish Arabs during the reign of Manuel I. The *Diegesis* of a Patmian monk, Theodosios, relates that Philip II of France stopped at Patmos in 1191 and offered 30 golden Arabic coins as a gift to the monks. Patmos was taken by the Venetians in 1207. Following the fall of Constantinople, the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II in Aug.–Sept. 1454 granted privileges to "Matyos" (Matthew), metropolitan of Myra and *kathegoumenos* of Patmos, delegating him to collect the island's taxes. In 1461 the monastery came under papal patronage (G. Hofmann, *OC* 11 [1928] 48f).

**Monastery of St. John the Theologian.** Despite the official encouragement and privileges granted to Christodoulos by Emp. Alexios I, the initial settlement of monks on the uninhabited and waterless island in 1088 was troubled. Christodoulos immediately began the construction of the monastery and its high defensive walls on a mountain peak dominating a view of the harbor. He composed three sets of rules for his new foundation: the *Hypotyposis* (1091), the *Diatheke* (Testament), and the *Kodikellos* (1093). Discontent among his followers, however, led him to abandon the island in 1092 and move to Euboea. Only after his death in 1093 did monks return with his body and resume work on the monastery. The earliest structures, the domed cross-in-square *katholikon* and the refectory, are unpretentious in design and masonry and use a considerable amount of early Christian *spolia*; none shows any signs of imperial involvement. The monastery, which had become stauropegial by 1132, began to flourish in the 12th C., aided by the customs exemptions granted to its boats, the revenues from its properties in Asia Minor, Crete, and nearby islands, and the growing fame of St. Christodoulos's relics, which reportedly possessed healing power. Its *hegoumenoi* went on to high posts elsewhere (Leontios became patriarch of Jerusalem between 1174 and 1176). The monastery's increased connection with larger metropolitan centers in this period is confirmed by the sophisticated style and program of the fresco decoration of the refectory and of the chapel that was built ca.1185 onto the south flank of the church and dedicated not to the Virgin but to Leontios (D. Mouriki, *DChAE* 14 [1987–88] 205–63). Around this time the refectory was vaulted and repainted (still other frescoes there belong to the late 13th C.), the exonarthex of the church was built, and possibly also the exonarthex and the tomb chapel of St. Christodoulos off its south end. An INVENTORY drawn up in 1200 attests to the existence of the monastic library in this period: about 330 MSS are listed, along with numerous icons, metalwork objects, and ecclesiastical vestments (ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 [1981] 15–30). Other catalogs also survive, from 1355 and 1382. The monastery apparently had its own scriptorium. The rich archive of the acts of Patmos contains many imperial privileges, land surveys, and private acts revealing the economic growth of the monastery in the 12th–13th C.

A cave located down the hillside from the monastery came to be associated with the writings of St. John and gradually emerged as a second focus of interest on the island. A fresco in the cave showing John dictating to Prochoros dates from the late 12th C.

Though the wealth of the monastery and the fame of Christodoulos's relics drew the attacks of pirates, Arabs, Turks, and various Westerners, and though the monastery underwent hard times in the late 13th–15th C., it was never taken by force; this, plus its renewed prosperity in Ottoman times, has meant that its rich archives, dating back to the 11th C., and its collections of relics, icons, church treasures, and MSS have been preserved to a remarkable degree.

SOURCE. *Patmou Engrapha*, vols. 1–2.

LIT. T. Stone, *Patmos* (Athens 1984). J. Schmidt, *RE* 18 (1949) 2174–91. E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin. VIII<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, vol. 2 (Paris 1988) 446–53. A. Komines, ed., *Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery* (Athens 1988). Idem, *Patmiae Bibliothekae* (Athens 1988). S. Papadopoulos, *The Monastery of Saint John the Theologian* (Patmos 1987). A. Orlandos, *He architektonike kai hai byzantinai toichographiai tes mones tou Theologou Patmou* (Athens 1970). M. Chatzidakis, *Eikones tes Patmou* (Athens 1977). —T.E.G., N.P.S.

**PATRAS** (Πάτρα), city in the northwestern Peloponnesos, at the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth. Its location, astride important east-west commercial routes, and the cult of St. ANDREW gave it significance. It apparently survived the Slavic invasions, remaining in Byz. hands; ca.805 the city was saved from an attack by Arabs and Slavs, reputedly through the intervention of St. Andrew; thereafter the Slavs were obliged to maintain officials and envoys passing through Patras so that the metropolis was exempted from this burden (*De adm. imp.* 49.65–75). The noble widow DANELIS accumulated a considerable fortune there and possessed numerous slaves. She greeted Basil (I) as the future emperor when he was sent to Patras by Michael III on state business (*Theoph-cont* 226–28).

The bishop of Patras, originally suffragan of Corinth, was elevated to metropolitan rank, perhaps ca.805; from that time he is identified as metropolitan of ACHAIA (*Notitiae CP* 2.39) and he was able to contest control of the Peloponnesos with his former superior. By the early 10th C. the bishops of Sparta, Methone, Korone, and Bolaine



were subject to Patras (7.549–55). The bishop also had unusual political and economic power.

The Crusaders took Patras in 1205 and created a barony there under the jurisdiction of the principality of Achaia. The Latin archbishopric of Patras was established ca. 1207. In 1267 the last baron, William II Aleman, sold his fief to the Latin archbishop of Patras for 16,000 hyperpers. From then until the early 15th C. the bishop was effectively an independent prince. At that time Venetian influence grew and they temporarily held the city; Constantine (XI) Palaiologos took Patras in 1430, but in 1460 it fell to the Turks.

Near the modern Church of St. Andrew is a subterranean fountain decorated with polychrome marbles; coins of the 4th C. and a tomb were found associated with it. Also known in Patras are a *hagiasma* of the 15th C. and an Early Christian basilica. The fortification of the citadel was probably carried out by the 6th C., although there was considerable rebuilding in the 13th and 15th C.

LIT. H. Saranti-Mendelovici, "A propos de la ville de Patras aux 13e–15e siècles," *REB* 38 (1980) 219–32. V. Laurent, "La date de l'érection des métropoles de Patras et de Lacédémone," *REB* 21 (1963) 130–36. K.N. Triantaphyllou, "Hellenes monachoi tes N. Italias kataphygontes eis Patras ton ennatou aionos," *La Chiesa greca in Italia*, vol. 3 (Padua 1973) 1085–94. E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig 1903). Andrews, *Castles* 116–29. —T.E.G.

**PATRIA** (πάτριά), the name of a literary genre devoted to local topography, monuments, history, and legends. The term appears first in Kallinikos of Petra, who lived under Diocletian and wrote *On the Patria of Rome*, fragments of which have survived. The 5th–6th-C. *patria* of Tarsos, Anazarbos, Berytus, and Nicaea (by a certain Claudian), those of Thessalonike, Miletos, Tralles, Aphrodisias, and Nakle in Syria (by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS), *patria* of Hermoupolis and of Alexandria by Hermias of Hermoupolis and Horapollon, respectively, are mentioned in various sources (Photios, the *Souda*) but lost. Several *Isaurika* were composed by Pampreprios, Kandidos, Christodoros, and Kapiton. Traces of works of this genre can be found in Agathias, Malalas, and some other writers. After the 6th C. the genre of provincial *patria* disappeared, but the local chronicle of the capital seems to be represented by the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

LIT. Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 9–13. Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:802f, 960. —A.K.

**PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE**, or *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, conventional titles of a collection of texts devoted to the history and the monuments of Constantinople. It contains the PATRIA of Constantinople by the "illustris" HESYCHIOS of Miletos, revised in the 10th C.; the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI; the *Patria* of ca. 995; the *Story of the Construction of Hagia Sophia*, written between the reign of Justin II and 995, probably in the 9th C.; and a topographical survey dedicated to Alexios I. To this group is related a post-Byz. text called "A Miraculous Story," probably by John Malaxos, about the column of Xerolophos in Constantinople (J. Paramelle, G. Dagron, *TM* 7 [1979] 491–523). The *Patria* contains unique information about the origins of Constantinople and about its monuments, but sometimes fact is difficult to distinguish from Constantinopolitan legend. According to Dagron, the political purpose of the *Patria* was to glorify the city and to debase the emperor, who does not appear in these texts either as the master of the Hippodrome or of Hagia Sophia, two major imperial strongholds according to *De ceremoniis*. In the *Patria* the emperor is portrayed not in the midst of sumptuous ceremonial but as a private, "domesticated" individual whose main function is as a chronological indicator.

ED. *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. Preger, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1901–07; rp. New York 1975). *Vizantijsko-slavjanskije skazanija o sozdanii chrama Sv. Sofii Ca-regradskoj*, ed. S.G. Vilinskij (Odessa 1900).

LIT. G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire* (Paris 1984). E. Vitti, *Die Erzählung über den Bau der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel* (Amsterdam 1986). R. Marichal, "La construction de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople dans l'Anonyme grec (Xe siècle?) et les versions vieux-russes," *BS* 21 (1960) 238–59. —A.K.

**PATRIA POTESTAS** (ἐξουσία). Under Roman law, the descendants of a *pater familias*, even if of age, remained under his authority until the father died or until he emancipated them. In the Byz. period, the personal aspect of the *patria potestas* was essentially reduced to the principle that an *hypexousios* (i.e., someone subject to authority) can marry only with the father's consent (cf., e.g., *Peira* 1.1), but when it came to property rights, the principle was maintained that those subject to

authority could not acquire their own property except for a part of the *PECULIUM* (cf. *Ecloga* 16, *Epanagoge* 31, *Prochiron* 22, *Tractatus de peculiiis*). The post-Justinianic sources provide no certain information on the manner, the reason, and time of the release from *patria potestas*, though they suggest that the *patria potestas* ends with the attainment of majority. Whether marriage brought with it the release from *patria potestas* remains controversial: the *Prochiron* (26.7) repeats the old law, by which even a married (minor?) son was still subject to the *patria potestas*, but novel 25 of Leo VI defines a son of the house as already emancipated if he lives an independent life with the (tacit) agreement of the person in authority; this should hold even when he is not married. At marriage a daughter is transferred from the *patria potestas* of her father (cf. *Peira* 49.9) to that of her husband, from which she is released if her husband goes bankrupt (cf. *Peira* 25.9 and 38.6) or if the marriage is terminated (cf. *Peira* 38.9 and 45.8).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 106–15.

—M.Th.F.

**PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL**, sometimes called the "Patriarchal Academy," modern term for an academic institution organized in Constantinople in the 12th C. Its foundation was laid in 1107 by Alexios I, who established three positions for DIDASKALOI: the teachers of the Gospel, of the Apostle, and of the Psalter. These presumably taught theology, mainly to future clergy or monks. Probably by the mid-12th C. the office of the MAISTOR TON RHETORON was added. The Patriarchal School was located in Hagia Sophia; it is not clear whether some adjacent church schools, in which grammar *inter alia* was taught, were connected with it. The *didaskaloi*, who belonged to the corps of deacons of Hagia Sophia, often ended their careers as bishops in the provinces.

The question of the existence of the Patriarchal School prior to 1107 has been hotly debated. Some scholars (e.g., Dvornik) assume the uninterrupted existence of a theological academy from the days of Constantine I to 1453. As Lemerle (*Humanism* 105–07, 211–14) has demonstrated, however, the evidence for an earlier foundation of the Patriarchal School, such as the use of the term *oikoumenikos didaskalos*, is questionable; so too is Dvornik's hypothesis of a Photian reorganiza-

tion of a previously established Patriarchal School (AB 68 [1950] 108–25). Moreover, the story of Leo III's execution of 12 *didaskaloi* has been shown to be an iconodule legend. Darrouzès thinks that the Patriarchal School flourished in the 12th C., but that some didascalical offices were previously in existence. Clearly the patriarchate must have had some institution for training clergy, though its nature may have changed through time.

LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School." Darrouzès, *Offikia* 66–79. Beck, *Ideen*, pt. III (1966), 69–81. Speck, *Univ. von KP* 74–91. F. Dvornik, "Photius' Career in Teaching and Diplomacy," *BS* 34 (1973) 211–18. —A.K., R.B.

**PATRIARCHATES**. The term and its cognate "patriarch" were originally used to designate prominent and respected members of the episcopate (PG 36:485B). In the 6th C., the title of "patriarch" acquired its precise canonical sense by being applied particularly to the incumbents of the five major sees (JUSTINIAN I, NOV. 123.3). The term *patriarchate* (πατριαρχειον) designated in the 6th C. the residence of a patriarch (Malal. 468.7) and, thereafter, patriarchal see (e.g., pseudo-John of Damascus, PG 95:332C-D).

A general trend toward ecclesiastical centralization—the practice of grouping several provinces under one central authority—began in the 4th C. The bishops of ROME, ALEXANDRIA, and ANTIOCH were in fact exercising supra-METROPOLITAN jurisdiction beyond the limits of their own frontiers or adjoining provinces before 300. The status of these sees, however, was first recognized *de jure canonico* by NICAIA I (canon 6). In 381, at Constantinople I (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) this list was modified to include the DIOCESES of Thrace (Herakleia), Pontus (Caesarea in Cappadocia), and Asia (Ephesus) headed by "exarchs of dioceses." Likewise, the council decided to place Constantinople, as the newly emerging capital of the empire, second after Rome in order of precedence (but without extending its jurisdiction), while Alexandria was given third place (canon 3). In effect, the church was modeling its own organization on the civil diocesan division of the empire—the principle of political accommodation sanctioned earlier by Nicaea (canon 4). In the words of the church historian SOKRATES, the council had "constituted patriarchs" (Sokr. HE 5.8). This terminology was premature, since the primates of these dioceses were



in fact called EXARCHS. Besides, even though the canonical foundations for the erection of patriarchates had been laid, the system was not yet fully in place. This was achieved at the Council of CHALCEDON (451) when Thrace, Pontus, and Asia were placed under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, while JERUSALEM was added to the list (canon 28). The number of patriarchates was thus restricted to five and a precise order of precedence established: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.

The decision of 451 resolved the bitter struggle for hegemony among the sees; nonetheless, it also created a new rivalry. Alexandria had not in fact abandoned its claims to preeminence in the East. Hence its repeated and often successful attempts to thwart the rise of Constantinople. Therefore, canon 28, confirming Constantinople's jurisdiction over its neighboring territories, was a *de facto* challenge to Egypt's pretensions. Scholars are equally agreed (Dvornik, Hermann, Jugie, Meyendorff) that the canon was not intended to deny Rome's honorary PRIMACY among the patriarchates. Even so, a new rivalry, between Rome and Constantinople, was now generated. Fearing that Constantinople's new status might undermine its own position, Rome refused to ratify the canon. The Roman position emphasized that the "Petrine" criterion of apostolicity alone, that is, the founding of a see by Peter, was to determine patriarchal status. The idea of hierarchy of patriarchates was accepted by the secular authority, and Justinian I (nov. 131.2) placed Rome at the first place and Constantinople at the second, without mentioning other patriarchal sees. The struggle for primacy between Rome and Constantinople grew stronger, when the bishop of Constantinople claimed the epithet of the ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH. Political independence of Rome from Byz. contributed to its success in the struggle for primacy, however; therefore, by the 11th C. Byz. theoreticians elaborated the theory of PENTARCHY—the nominal equality of five patriarchates—even though by this time oriental patriarchates (Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem) had lost their significance and could not compete with Rome and Constantinople.

Besides the five traditional patriarchates, some new ones were created. In the West the title of patriarch was only a solemn epithet, and the patriarch of AQUILEIA/GRADO (since the 6th C.) was not the pope's rival. In the East new patriarchates

emerged either in non-Orthodox churches (e.g., Armenian) or in Orthodox lands as a symbol of their political independence from Constantinople, as in Bulgaria (mid-13th C.) and Serbia under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan.

LIT. F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York 1966). J. Meyendorff, "La primauté romaine dans la tradition canonique jusqu'au Concile de Chalcédoine," *Isis* 4 (1957) 463–82. T.A. Kane, *The Jurisdiction of the Patriarchs of the Major Sees in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C., 1949). W. de Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens* (Freiburg-Munich 1963). —A.P., A.K.

**PATRIKIA ZOSTE.** See ZOSTE PATRIKIA.

**PATRIKIOS** (πατρίκιος), high-ranking DIGNITY etymologically connected with the Roman status of *patricius*. The dignity of *patrikios* was introduced by Constantine I as an honorific title without specific administrative functions; according to a 5th-C. historian (Zosim., bk.2.40.2), the *patrikios* was placed above the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. The importance of the *patrikios* increased in the West, where the title was bestowed in the 5th C. on powerful MAGISTRI MILITUM and in the 8th C. on Frankish kings. It had less importance in the East, where Justinian I made it available to all ILLUSTRES. In the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. it occupies the place between *anthypatos* and *protospatharios*; in the 8th–10th C. this dignity was granted to the most important governors and generals. Depreciated thereafter, *patrikios* disappeared after the beginning of the 12th C.

Theodosios II tried to disqualify eunuchs from this title but in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 137.18) eunuch *patrikioi* hold a high place, before the *strategoi*. The insignia of the *patrikios* was an inscribed ivory tablet. The title of *protopatrikios* is attested between 364 and 711 (A. Karamaloude, *Symmeikta* 5 [1983] 161–68). The title *patrikia* designated the spouse or widow of a *patrikios* (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 258–60), with the exception of ZOSTE PATRIKIA, which was a specific female dignity.

LIT. W. Heil, *Der konstantinische Patriziat* (Basel-Stuttgart 1966). Guiland, *Institutions* 2:132–69. Guiland, *Titres*, pts. VII–XIV. —A.K.

**PATRIOTISM** (φιλοπατρία). Local patriotism was inherited from the Roman Empire, persisted in hagiography's literary conventions (*vitae* sometimes praise a saint's birthplace), and spurred

rhetorical *ekphrasis* early and late in the empire's history, for example, Prokopios of Gaza and the *Nika* of Theodore Metochites. It possibly nourished the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE, which may be a local Constantinopolitan reaction to imperial power (Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 17–19), and may underlie geographic family names. Awareness of ROMANIA, a new cultural-political identity, fostered a second, transregional patriotism that drew on loyalty to the emperor, antibarbarism, a sense of Byz.'s atemporal universality closely connected with its christianizing mission, and shared cultural traditions. While the emperor's primordial role remained constant—the dialogue PHILOPATRIS (The Patriot) is mostly concerned with loyalty to an emperor, not to Byz.—the contribution of the other elements changed; for example, the Christian component merged with antibarbarism and became a militant hatred of "infidels" like Jews and Muslims (e.g., the "Christ-loving *tagmata*" of Constantine VII, ed. R. Vári, *BZ* 17 [1908] 75–85) and later of Latin or Armenian Christians.

The West perceived Byz. "Greekness" from the 8th C. and, refurbished by the Macedonian revival, HELLENISM slowly gained strength in Byz. patriotism. Sheer survival against overwhelming odds added a providential dimension: Byz. was "the only empire God has fixed indissoluble on earth" (Nicholas I Mystikos, ep.25.105–07). This combined with a sense of divine election and cultural superiority—theirs was the language of the Apostles and Homer—to swell Byz. arrogance toward the *barbaroi* (see BARBARIANS), even Orthodox ones. Expressions of patriotism peaked during crises (e.g., after Alaric's sack of Rome or the Latin sack of Constantinople), but late Byz. decline provoked a crisis in patriotism—how could the chosen people of an eternal empire be so maltreated by God (C.J.G. Turner, *BZ* 57 [1964] 346–73)? The response came in Plethon's relativizing the destiny of the empire (limited for Plethon to Greece and the capital, according to Beck, *Ideen*, pt.VI [1960], 91f) and the more traditional view of catastrophe as chastisement for sin. The latter reinforced Orthodoxy as a kind of surrogate patriotism allied with Greek culture, which, by its anti-Latin hatred, undermined the emperors' diplomatic efforts to seek union with the West in order to halt the Turkish advance.

LIT. K. Lechner, "Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner," (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1954). F. Paschoud, *Roma aeterna: Études*

sur le patriotisme romain dans l'Occident latin à l'époque des grandes invasions (Rome 1967). H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1975). —M.McC.

**PATROCINIUM VICORUM** (lit. "protection of estates"), a specific type of social PATRONAGE whereby a rural cultivator placed himself under the protection of a powerful patron (*patronus*), who received in exchange cash or (more commonly) possession of his client's land. It developed out of (and by the 4th C. largely displaced) the urban *patrocinium civitatis*. Patrons included military officials, civil bureaucrats, large landowners, and CURIALES; clients generally comprised free peasants or free COLONI (*Cod.Theod.* XI 24.1), although ADSCRIPTICI and even slaves are also attested (*Cod.Just.* XI 54.1). Clients enjoyed patrons' influence in law courts, and *coloni* invoked their protection in disputes with landlords (Libanios, *On Patronage* [ed. Harmand 17–20]). Above all, patrons could reduce their clients' tax liabilities by pressuring officials of the fisc or—in the case of *curiales*—by controlling local assessment. The exact nature of the *patrocinium vicorum* remains the subject of considerable discussion, in particular whether it led to the transformation of free peasants into serfs of their patron or simply signified the transfer of properties that had been under the control of *curiales* to great landowners not restricted by urban organization (A. Kazhdan, *VDI* [1953] no.3, 102f).

The central government initially refused to accept the legality of *patrocinium vicorum*, instead prohibiting it as a form of tax evasion (*Cod.Theod.* XI 24.4). Consequently, ties of patronage often assumed the guise of a (nominal) sale of land to the patron who, in turn, leased it back to his client; after the client's death, however, his holding normally reverted to the patron, while his heirs became *coloni* (Salvian, *De gubernatione dei* in *MGH AuctAnt* 1:62f). Emp. Honorius legalized possession of lands acquired *sub patrocinio* prior to 397 and made patrons responsible for their clients' CAPITATIO. They were barred, however, from obtaining new lands in rural villages, and this prohibition was periodically renewed as late as Justinian I (nov.17).

LIT. P. Petit, *Libanios et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 1955) 372–82. I. Hahn, "Das bäuerliche Patrocinium in Ost und West," *Klio* 50 (1968) 261–76. A.R. Korsunskij, "Byli li *patrocinia vicorum* v Zapadnoj Rimskoj imperii?" *VDI* (1959) no.2, 167–73. —A.J.C.



**PATRONAGE, SOCIAL** (προστασία, Lat. *patrocinium*). A system of patron-client relationships developed in the late Roman Empire; Libanios delivered a special oration *On Patronage*, while imperial legislation vainly endeavored to prohibit the practice (see PATROCINIUM VICORUM). The word *prostasia* was also employed with the non-technical meaning of support and protection (e.g., the vita of Patr. Eutychios, PG 86:2349D) and, metaphorically, for the protection of ANGELS.

In later centuries there is evidence for the existence of various forms of patronage (usually not designated by the term *prostasia*), such as the dependency of ANTHROPOI, FRIENDSHIP (*philia*), and esp. bureaucratic and imperial favoritism: thus Eustathios BOILAS calls the local governor and his family "patrons or lords" (*authentai*); Psellos considered a man without influential patrons to be insignificant and boasted of the patronage he exercised for his friends. Clienteles might also form a private "army" or HETAIREIA, although Byz. retinues seem to have been looser and less stable than their Western counterparts. The terminology of patronage was largely modeled on servile (DOULOI) or household (OIKEIOI) relations. The term *prostasia* itself survived into the late Byz. period, being applied primarily to the supervision of ecclesiastical and monastic institutions (*Dochear.*, no.6.72, after 1118; *Lavra* 3, no.138.16, a.1360).

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XI (1965), 1–32. H. Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur la société byzantine au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *TM* 6 (1976) 108–10. Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 23–53. —A.J.C., A.K.

**PATRONS AND PATRONAGE.** No Byz. equivalent existed for these terms, although epithets such as donor (*doter*) and entrepreneur (*entalmatikos*) are occasionally found; in modern usage, the concept of patron implies much more than the legal status of the term ΚΤΕΤΟΡ. The provision of funds to build or decorate a monument, to construct a charitable institution, or copy a MS may have been a gesture little different from a grant of land, but this in no way disqualifies patronage as an activity considered significant in its own time and as a field of modern study. Patrons made major contributions to ART, ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE, and social welfare (PHILANTHROPY) throughout the history of the empire. The term *patron* is used here to denote an individual who

conceived of a work, paid for its manufacture, or fundamentally affected its design. Yet founder and funder were by no means always the same person, so that the term patron may apply to one or more of the stages of creation.

**Patronage of Art and Architecture.** Beyond the expense of a monument and thus its degree of elaboration, it is often hard to identify the nature of the patron's intervention. Reflecting a cultural attitude toward production, literary sources attribute the creation of a work not to the architect or artist, but to an individual in political or monastic authority (THEODORE PSALTER) or to the purveyor of funds necessary to its undertaking. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II credits the emperor, rather than its scribe or painters, with "having created a book truly like unto heaven." Similarly, in an inscription at KASTORIA, the patron Theodore Lemnites, addressing the *anargyroi* to whom his church was dedicated, declares "I paint the pictures of your miracles."

The patron was not always the source of ideas, much less of the details in a work. A donor's wishes were more likely to be expressed in its content than in its manner of fabrication. BASIL THE NOTHOS sponsored MSS in radically different "styles." Particularly in small communities, where commissions were insufficient to justify a resident artist, a patron would have to rely on distant craftsmen or itinerant artists who, albeit ready to adapt schemes of decoration to his wishes, brought with them their own manners of working. Even on objects for personal use, subject matter did not always reflect an individual's choice. The iconography of lead seals—the most "private" of commissioned objects—could be and was dictated in part by the tradition of a family and social group. In monumental painting, the presence of locally revered saints might indicate regional rather than personal devotion. Images containing the PORTRAIT of the patron—a favorite means of advertising an act of donation, veneration, or supplication—were as much determined by social convention as by the taste of an individual. Communal and cooperative patronage, phenomena observed in 6th-C. Palestine, 11th-C. Cappadocia and southern Italy, and 14th-C. Crete, might efface all but a donor's name from the work that resulted.

Nonetheless, the wishes of a mighty patron could carry great weight. The size and splendor of Jus-

tinian's Hagia Sophia, it has been suggested, were a response to ANICIA JULIANA's Church of St. Polyeuktos, while the Persian-looking sculpture found at the latter site might as well be an expression of personal taste as proof of the influx of foreign craftsmen.

The PERSONIFICATIONS of Megalopsychia ("magnanimity") and Love of Foundation (*pothos tes philoktistou*) in Anicia's DIOSKORIDES MS reflect Aristotelian ideas of VIRTUE, in which acts of patronage are duties required of the powerful. Similar attitudes are found in Gregory of Nazianzos's funeral oration on his father, a builder. But, progressively, Christian notions of philanthropy supplemented and then replaced classical impulses. By the 6th C., when the perpetuation of one's name was recognized as a main incentive to church building (proem to Justinian, nov.67), visions and miracles (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.6.6) were as likely to impel creation of a building as love of earthly renown.

Whatever its cause, widespread construction of churches and monasteries stimulated employment and the circulation of goods (Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 196–203). Professed motives for patronage—penance for a sin, thanksgiving for a cure, the desire for saintly intercession, or hope of one's own and one's relatives' salvation—display remarkable consistency whatever the medium, place, or period in which they were expressed. Widely as well as personally felt, such sentiments led to buildings and objects in which, material value aside, social distinctions are virtually invisible. Whether a man was a member of the civil or military aristocracy, whether a dignitary came from the eastern provinces or the capital, his rank and origin were revealed not in the work that he sponsored, but in the inscriptions that it might bear. Conventionally these subscribe to the topos of MODESTY and often show that a sponsor was content to be identified as a "restorer" or "second founder" (*anakainistes*). On the other hand, Eumathios Philokales and others were proud to confess responsibility for building a church "from the very foundations."

Patronage ran in families. Between ca.540 and 640 the lineal descendants of four or five clans continued to offer silver to their church at KAPER KORAON. From the 10th C. onward, deceased family members were assembled in mausoleums (in Constantinople, for example) as they had foregath-

ered in life. In 12th-C. Kastoria successive generations of Lemniotai beautified the foundations of their predecessors. Beyond these microstructures, ethnic and other narrow groupings focused patronage at a particular site: Gregory PAKOURIANOS excluded Greeks from his foundation; Andronikos PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Thessalonike, supported the cloister of DIONYSIOU on Mt. Athos because he saw it as "a monastery of our kindred." Since conspicuous veneration was a socially approved habit, such displays entailed both ethical and paradigmatic consequences. Local priests seem always to have emulated their metropolitan superiors in this respect; from the 11th C. onward provincial magnates did likewise. When, in the 14th C., imperial sponsorship of art and architecture all but disappeared, its place was taken by commissions of aristocrats, bureaucrats, and monks. From the 12th C. onward, women, usually of noble birth, emerged in number as patrons.

The donations that funded construction or embellishment varied widely in scale. "Even the poorest" member of a congregation was expected to offer at least one pound of silver, according to SEVEROS of Antioch (PO 22:247). Almost contemporaneously, JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS" spent 26,000 solidi on S. Vitale in Ravenna. The exceptional sum of 288,000 solidi expended on Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, in 532 is put into perspective by the fact that his first consulship (521) cost Justinian the same amount and by the supposition that a "normal church" was built for 14,400 solidi (Hendy, *Studies* 201); a small provincial church might cost much less (100 solidi: AASS Mai. III:9\*B). By no means were all offerings monetary: the people of Sparta collected building materials for a church for NIKON HO "METANOEITE," while local *archontes* hired masons and gave him land and two antique columns. Some founders actually supervised the construction of their buildings, a scruple that led to the death of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

The role of most patrons in their commissions is usually undetectable and, where recorded, often mythical. Direct complicity is probable in the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, where the man's verses as well as his likeness are prominent. Yet the degree to which PHOTIOS or LEO OF OHRID participated in the works associated with their names remains problematic. The desire of Khan BORIS I for a hunting scene is plausible; his change of mind



and the picture of the Second Coming that ensued are best explained by Theophanes Continuatus (*TheophCont* 163.19–164.17) as the result of divine intervention. Part of the obscurity attaching to the creation of works of art, as against those of literature, lies in the nature of the medium: unlike writers, painters left no author's dedications or expressions of gratitude.

**Patronage of Literature.** The role of the patron of literary texts is relatively well known, thanks to their dedications and *COLOPHONS*. The emperor is often supposed to have played a leading role; in hagiographical texts there are many hints that they were commissioned by *hegoumenoi* of monasteries dedicated to particular saints. A change in the nature of patronage is evident in the 9th and 10th C.: patrons such as ARETHAS were more concerned with copying of MSS than with original creativity. In the 11th and esp. the 12th C., with the shift from the author-functionary (both secular and ecclesiastical) to the professional but begging author, the question of patronage acquired special significance: the uppermost echelon of the aristocracy assumed this role, alongside the emperor. It remains uncertain whether patrons of the 12th C. (many of them noblewomen, such as Anna KOMNENE or the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE) were surrounded by circles of literati or acted strictly as individuals (Mullett, *infra*); at any rate, relations between a poet and his patron often lasted for years and reveal an enduring fealty, as in the case of Manganeios PRODRAMOS. In the 14th C. the emperor's and court's monopoly of patronage was challenged by provincial aristocrats (Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.I [1971], 69–92).

LIT. R. Cormack, "Patronage and New Programs of Byzantine Iconography," 17 *CEB*, *Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 609–38. A. Cutler, "Art in Byzantine Society: Motive Forces of Byzantine Patronage," *JÖB* 31 (1981) 759–87. M. Mullett, "Aristocracy and Patronage in the Literary Circles of Comnenian Constantinople," in *Byz. Aristocracy* 173–201. —A.C., A.K.

**PAUL** (Παῦλος, Lat. Paulus), a cognomen primarily in the Roman *gens Aemilia*, later a personal name. The transformation of the persecutor Saul into the apostle Paul in the New Testament signified the christianization of the name. It was widely used in the 4th (*PLRE* 1:683–85) and esp. 5th C. (*PLRE* 2:849–56); *PLRE* 2 includes 40 instances of this name, to which several known

clergymen and monks should be added. Four early patriarchs of Constantinople (4th–8th C.) were called Paul, but no emperor. Sozomenos has nine Pauls (third only to EUSEBIOS [14] and JOHN [11]) and Prokopios lists ten Pauls, following John (32) and THEODORE (11). In Theophanes the Confessor, Paul retains only seventh place with the same number of individuals (19) as STEPHEN. Thereafter, the name quickly lost its earlier popularity, and Niketas Choniates mentions only one Paul, the apostle. In the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Paul plunges to thirteenth place (16 cases), equal to Athanasios and Euthymios, while the later acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), list a tiny number of Pauls, only five. The acts of Esphigmenou contain three or four Pauls of the 11th C. and only one peasant, Paul Sgouros, of ca.1300; the acts of Xeropotamou include five Pauls of the 10th–11th C. and only two of the later period (14th–15th C.). —A.K.

**PAUL**, formerly named Saul; apostle and saint; feastday 29 June. He was considered in Byz. as the author of 14 epistles included in the NEW TESTAMENT. These epistles were broadly commented on by John Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (their texts survive in full) and by many writers whose exegeses of Paul are known only from catenae (Didymos of Alexandria, Eusebios of Emesa, Apollinaris of Laodikeia, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Severianos of Gabala, etc.). The eventful life of Paul—his execution of Stephen the First Martyr, conversion on the road to Damascus, travels, martyrdom—inspired various apocryphal works: forged correspondence with Seneca, acts, and homilies. The major problem concerning Paul's reputation in Byz. was his relationship with PETER, who early became a symbol of Rome and the papacy. The Byz. insisted on their equality, called them both *koryphaioi* (princes of the apostles), and celebrated their feasts together; in addition to their common feastdays, Paul was celebrated on 1 Sept., in honor of his vision and conversion. On the other hand, Paul was esp. respected by sectarians, such as the Marcionites and PAULICIANS. Niketas Choniates stressed that Andronikos I was particularly fond of Paul's epistles and quoted them often.

Hagiographical tradition presents Paul as a bald man, three cubits tall, with gentle eyes and a white

complexion. John Chrysostom devoted several homilies to him to show that he was more significant than the heroes of the Old Testament: unlike NOAH, he built his ark not of planks but epistles and saved not his family but the whole *oikoumene*. Other eulogies of Paul were compiled by Proklos of Constantinople, Leo VI, Niketas Paphlagon, etc.

**Representation in Art.** Bearded, brown-haired, and balding, Paul joins Peter as the first of the APOSTLES to exhibit a distinct iconographic type. He appears with Peter *en buste* on 4th-C. commemorative medals and gold glass as well as in scenes of his arrest and of the TRADITIO LEGIS on "Passion" sarcophagi. Scenes involving Paul but not Peter first appear in the 5th C.: Florence, Carrand Diptych (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.108); murals in San Paolo fuori le Mura (ROME). His presence among the apostles, esp. in depictions of episodes preceding his conversion (e.g., APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION, ASCENSION, PENTECOST), signals the symbolic rather than historical function of the apostles as an image of the church. Paul figures extensively in Byz. ACTS cycles. These canonical scenes often recur in other contexts: his presence at the stoning of Stephen, his conversion and baptism, his preaching, the episodes at Lystra. He also appears alone or with Timothy in New Testament MSS before the texts of his epistles and occasionally in evangelist portraits of LUKE. Noncanonical scenes are rare, although his beheading occurs in cycles of the apostles' martyrdoms, and his ecstatic meeting with Peter seems to have become an image of brotherly accord, appearing independently of other Pauline scenes. Monumental cycles of Paul's life are known only in Norman Sicily (Cappella Palatina, PALERMO; MONREALE), where Western influence is strong.

ED. and SOURCES. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*<sup>2</sup> (Münster in Westfalen 1984). Jean Chrysostom, *Panegyriques de S. Paul*, ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris 1982). A. Vogt, *Panegyrique de St. Pierre, Panegyrique de St. Paul* (Rome 1931).

LIT. BHG 1451–1465x. J.M. Huskinson, *Concordia apostolorum* (Oxford 1982). P. Gorday, *Principles of Patristic Exegesis* (New York 1983). E. Dassmann, "Zum Paulusverständnis in der östlichen Kirche," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 27–39. K. Shelton, "Roman Aristocrats, Christian Commissions: The Carrand Diptych," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 166–80. L. Eleen, *The Illustrations of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford 1982) 1–31. K. Kreidl-Papadopoulos, "Die Ikone mit Petrus und

Paulus in Wien: Neue Aspekte zur Entwicklung dieser Rundkomposition," *DChAE*<sup>4</sup> 10 (1980–81) 339–56. —J.L., A.K., A.W.C.

**PAUL I**, bishop of Constantinople (ca.337–39; end of 341–beginning of 342; and beginning of 346–Sept. 351) and saint; born Thessalonike ca.300, died Koukousos 351?; feastday 6 Nov. Scholars differ in their evaluation of Paul: for Telfer, he is a figure equal in significance to AMBROSE of Milan, whereas Dagron attributes to Paul a minor role in events that was subsequently magnified by hagiographical legend. Paul was elected to the see of Constantinople ca.337, but soon replaced by the Arian EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDIEIA. After the death of Eusebios, Paul was reelected but ran into resistance from the Arians; the conflict resulted in a popular rebellion in 342 during which the *magister equitum* Hermogenes, the representative of Emp. Constantius II, was killed in a skirmish. Consequently, Paul was exiled to Pontos, as ATHANASIOS of Alexandria testifies, or to Thessalonike, as Dagron suggests. Thereafter Paul went to Italy in search of the support of Pope Julius, Athanasios of Alexandria, and the Western emperor Constans I. Under pressure from the West, Paul was reinstated but could not get along with the Arian government. It was probably after the death of Constans that Paul was accused of complicity in the usurpation of MAGNENTIUS (350–53) and exiled to Koukousos; Dagron hypothesizes that it was the same exile as his deportations to Singara and Emesa mentioned in Athanasios. In exile Paul was strangled—as the legend has it, by Arians. The cult of Paul had developed already by the 5th C., as a Constantinopolitan counterpart of Athanasios. A summary of his vita is included in Photios's *Bibliotheca* (cod. 257); it was reworked by Symeon Metaphrastes.

LIT. BHG 1472–1473h. W. Telfer, "Paul of Constantinople," *HThR* 43 (1950) 30–92. D. Suernon, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:286–93. Dagron, *Naissance* 422–35. —A.K.

**PAUL I**, pope (29 May 757–28 June 767); born and died in Rome. Brother and successor to Pope Stephen II (752–57), Paul completed his brother's attempt to reduce Rome's dependence on Byz. and establish a system of Frankish protection. His consecration was delayed because of the opposition of a faction supporting the Byz. alliance, but Paul immediately notified Pippin III, king of the



Franks (751–68), about his election and pledged his loyalty to the pact that Pippin had concluded with Pope Stephen. In Italy, Desiderius, king of the Lombards (757–74), subjugated Spoleto and Benevento and was the major threat to the papacy. Paul tried to convince Pippin to intervene; the Franks, however, avoided military confrontation but by diplomatic means forced Desiderius to return to the pope some lands he had conquered. The threat of a Byz.-Lombard alliance was also real: Emp. Constantine V hoped to attract to this coalition a pro-Byz. party in Rome and some elements in the church of Ravenna, and he started negotiations with Pippin as well. The conflict between Rome and Constantinople focused on the question of ICONOCLASM. Paul was an unyielding opponent of Iconoclasm; he supported eastern Iconophiles who emigrated to Rome, and he accommodated Greek monks in the monastery of Sts. Stephen and Silvester, founded in 761. The Byz. attempt to attract the Franks to Iconoclasm failed in 767 when the local synod of Gentilly approved of the Roman concept of the image.

LIT. M. Baumont, "Le pontificat de Paul I<sup>er</sup> (757–767)," *MEFR* 47 (1930) 7–24. D.H. Miller, "Byzantine-Papal Relations during the Pontificate of Paul I," *BZ* 68 (1975) 47–62. —A.K.

**PAUL II.** See under PYRRHOS.

**PAULICIANS** (Παυλικιάνοι, Arm. Pawlikeank'), sect of Armenian origin that threatened the eastern provinces of Byz. between ca.843 and 879. At this time, the Paulicians had a separate state, with TEPHRIKE as its capital. Under KARBEAS and then CHRYSOCHEIR, they collaborated with the Muslims, raided as far afield as Nicaea, and sacked Ephesus in 869/70. The later history of the Paulicians from the establishment of the state to its destruction by Emp. Basil I and the migration of many Paulicians to Syria, southern Italy, and the Balkans (where they were still found in the reign of Emp. Alexios I) is reasonably well known. In contrast, their earlier history, dates, leaders, and the details of their doctrine remain unclear and highly controversial; some documents are suspect and Byz. and Armenian sources differ. Scholars agree that the sect was Armenian in origin, that it was the probable precursor of the TONDRA-

KITES, that it was violently iconoclastic, and that it rejected the authority and sacraments of the official clergy to follow its own leaders and practices; everything beyond this is still disputed.

On the basis of the Greek sources, Runciman, Lemerle, and a number of others have traced the Paulicians to a succession of leaders who first appeared in Asia Minor in the 7th C. and established a number of communities and churches and ultimately an independent state. These scholars see the Paulicians as DUALISTS, heirs of MANICHAEANISM, adherents to a Docetic Christology in which the Incarnation was thought to be illusory. As such, they were accepted as a link in the transmission of these beliefs from the ancient Near East to the BOGOMILS of the Balkans and the CATHARS of southern France.

The Armenian sources do not, however, sustain these conclusions, although they do confirm the Iconoclastic beliefs of the Paulicians. These sources know nothing of later Paulician history under Byz. According to them the Paulicians, who are considered followers of Bp. Paul of Samosata (condemned in 280), should be traced back to at least the 5th C. and were "Old Believers" following early Syrian traditions that preceded the hellenization of the ARMENIAN CHURCH in the 4th C. In no way Dualists, they were adherents of an Adoptianist Christology (see ADOPTIANISM), which claimed Jesus had been adopted as son of God at baptism; their leaders, none of whom bore the same names as those listed in Greek sources, were thought to have been adopted in the same way and were worshiped as Christs. This original Adoptianist Paulicianism is shown to have survived in Armenia to the 19th C. Byz. Docetic and Dualist "Neo-Paulicianism" was thus a secondary, divergent form developed in the 9th C., probably under Sergios/Tychikos and under the influence of Byz. ICONOCLASM.

LIT. S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge 1947; rp. 1955). Lemerle, "Pauliciens." F.C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth* (Oxford 1898). Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*. —N.G.G.

**PAULINUS**, more fully Meropius Pontius Paulinus, bishop of Nola (near Naples) from 409, Latin writer and saint; born Bordeaux 353?, died Nola 22 June 431. Paulinus being of a rich and noble family, his first career was secular, rising from (seemingly) advocate to governor of Campania

(ca.380). He then retired, first to Bordeaux, where he was baptized in 390, then to Spain, where he married Therasia. Personal conviction allied to the grief occasioned by the deaths of his son and brother led him into a fully religious life. After disbursing his and Therasia's fortunes for charity, he was ordained in Barcelona in 394—a sensation according to AMBROSE of Milan—and subsequently migrated to Nola, where he served as bishop until his death.

His letters are mainly on religious topics, such as correspondence with several Christian luminaries, including JEROME, AUGUSTINE, and Ausonius. In his poems, various in meter and themes, including a series on the festival of St. Felix, he helped pioneer the distinction between form and content in classical literature, jettisoning mythology for biblical matter, but adopting and adapting the old style. His language can be difficult, but an affecting individualism and seriousness shine through.

ED. *Opera*, ed. W. Hartel, 2 vols. (Vienna 1894). *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, tr. P.G. Walsh, 2 vols. (Westminster, Md., 1966–67). *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola*, tr. P.G. Walsh (New York 1975).

LIT. W. Friend, "Paulinus of Nola and the Last Century of the Western Empire," *JRS* 59 (1969) 1–11. J.T. Lienhard, *Paulinus of Nola and Early Western Monasticism* (Cologne 1977). R.P.H. Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola* (Brussels 1971). P. Fabre, *Saint Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne* (Paris 1949). A. Lipinsky, "Le decorazioni per la basilica di S. Felice negli scritti di Paolino da Nola," *VetChr* 13 (1976) 65–80. —B.B.

**PAULINUS OF PELLA**, Latin poet; born Pella (in Macedonia) 376/7, died ca.460. Of consular family and a grandson of Ausonius, Paulinus moved as a young child to Carthage, Rome, and Bordeaux in the wake of his father's career. He was educated at Bordeaux in both the Greek and Latin classical authors. After the Visigothic sack of Bordeaux (406 or 414?), he went to Bazas, where he (by now married to a rich heiress) negotiated the lifting of an Alanic siege. Under Attalus, Paulinus was *comes privatarum largitionum* (414–15), a sinecure. Baptized at the age of 45, he was discouraged by his wife from becoming a monk. Paulinus lived many years in reduced circumstances near both Marseilles and Bordeaux. In 459, at age 83, he summed up his own life and times in the *Eucharisticon*, or *Thanksgiving to God in the Form of My Memoirs*. This hexameter poem

is a philosophic acceptance of life's vicissitudes in an uneasy fusion of Vergilianisms and the new Christian style of self-revelation. This distinctive autobiography comports the aristocratic philosophy of the time, lamenting the collapse of traditional values, but without blaming God or the Germans.

ED. *Poème d'action de grâces et prière*, ed. C. Moussy (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. in *Ausonius*, ed. H.G. Evelyn White, vol. 2 (London–New York 1921) 293–351.

LIT. J. Lindsay, *Song of a Falling World* (London 1948; rp. Westport, Conn., 1979) 190–99. P. Courcelle, "Un nouveau poème de Paulin de Pella," *VigChr* 1 (1947) 101–13. J. Vogt, "Der Lebensbericht des Paulinus von Pella," *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift für F. Vittinghoff* (Cologne–Vienna 1980) 527–72. P. Tordeur, *Concordance de Paulin de Pella* (Brussels 1973). —B.B.

**PAUL OF AEGINA**, physician; born Aegina, died after 642. Paul spent much of his life in Alexandria, remaining there to teach and practice after the Arab invasion (642). Islamic sources ascribe to Paul three works on gynecology, toxicology, and medical practices and procedures. Only the third, a seven-book summary, has survived, usually called the *Epitome of Medicine*. Paul intended his *Epitome* as a general encyclopedia of medicine, borrowing liberally from ORIBASIOS and GALEN; in his preface, Paul outlines the important parts of medicine: hygiene and dietetics, the lore of fevers, diseases arranged in a "head-to-toe" manner, diseases that afflict various parts of the body, wounds and bites of poisonous creatures, antidotes for poisons, surgery, and simple and compound drugs. The *Epitome's* pharmacy and PHARMACOLOGY (bk.7), derived mainly from DIOSKORIDES, presents precise synopses of 90 minerals and metals, about 600 botanicals, and approximately 170 animal products employed as pharmaceuticals (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 228–32). Greatly valued in Islamic medicine, the *Epitome* was rendered into Arabic by Hunayn ibn Ishāq in the 9th C. Book 6 on SURGERY (Bliquez, "Surgical Instruments") had esp. widespread influence and is embedded in a similar summary by al-Zahrāwī (Albucasis) in the 11th C. Book 3 was translated into Latin in northern Italy ca.800.

ED. *Paulus Aegineta*, ed. I.L. Heiberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig–Berlin 1921–24). *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, 3 vols., tr. F. Adams (London 1844–47).

LIT. I. Brotses, *Ho byzantinos iatros Paulos ho Aiginetes* (Athens 1977). M. Tabanelli, *Studia sulla chirurgia bizantina. Paolo di Egina* (Florence 1964). I. Bloch, *HGM* 1:548–56.



Hunger, *Lit.* 2:302. K. Dimitriadis, "Ein siebenbändiger Paulos von Aegina *Peri ouron* und wie er zustande kam," *Fachprosa-Studien. Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Wissenschafts- und Geistesgeschichte* (Berlin 1982) 313–17. —J.S., A.M.T.

**PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA**, astrologer; fl. Alexandria 378. Paul was the author of an elementary handbook of ASTROLOGY entitled *Introduction*, which he addressed to his son Cronamon. The surviving version appears to be the first edition of the treatise to which has been attached the preface of a second edition. In chapter 20 he gives an example for "today, 20 Mecheir 94 Diocletian," or 14 Feb. 378. Because of its brevity Paul's work was a favorite introduction to astrology for Byz. A course of lectures was delivered on it at Alexandria in the summer of 564, almost certainly by OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA (L.G. Westerink, *BZ* 64 [1971] 6–21). LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN studied the *Introduction* in the 9th C., and numerous scholia on it exist, some of which were compiled in the 12th C. Chapter 28 was translated into Syriac in the early 6th C. by SERGIOS OF REŠ'AINA (*Inedita Syriaca*, ed. E. Sachau [Vienna 1870] 125f), and chapters 1–2 into Armenian by ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK in the late 7th C. (A.G. Abrahamyan, *Anania Širakac'u Matenagrut'june* [Erevan 1944] 327–30).

Several scholars have contended that there is a relation of direct dependence between the geographical list in Acts 2:9–11 and Paul's astrological geography; this view has been refuted by B.M. Metzger (in *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, ed. W.W. Gasque, R.P. Martin [Exeter 1970] 123–33). Another Paul of Alexandria of the 5th C. was known as an astrologer by Abū Ma'shar (D. Pin-gree, *Centaurus* 14 [1969] 172).

ED. *Elementa apotelesmatica*, ed. E. Boer (Leipzig 1958). *Heliiodori, ut dicitur: In Paulum Alexandrinum Commentarium*, ed. E. Boer (Leipzig 1962). —D.P.

**PAUL OF KALLINIKOS**, early 6th-C. Monophysite bishop of Kallinikos in Osrhoene. He actively advanced the cause of the Jacobite churches by translating a number of the most important works of SEVEROS of Antioch into Syriac. The one specific date known from Paul's life is the notice at the end of his translation of Severos's *Against Julian of Halicarnassus*, to the effect that Paul completed the translation in the year 528 at Edessa

(Vat. Syr. 140, fol.146). Other works of Severos that Paul translated into Syriac are the *Philalethes* (Lover of Truth), *Against the Impious Grammarian*, and some homilies and epistles, esp. correspondence with Sergios the Grammarian.

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 160.

—S.H.G.

**PAUL OF LATROS**, or Paul the Younger, saint; born Elaia, near Pergamon, died LATROS 15 Dec. 955. Paul was the younger son of Antiochos, *komes* of the fleet. After his parents' death, he suffered from poverty and worked as a swineherd. After receiving the tonsure he lived in solitude in a cave on Mt. Latros; for a brief period he retired to Samos. Paul gained the respect of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and PETER OF BULGARIA (r. 927–69), who both sent him letters; he was supposedly famous among the "Cretans, Scythians (the Rus'), and Romans." Paul struggled against the "Manichaeans" active in Miletos and the area of Kibyrrhaiotai, and imposed strict discipline upon his disciples, slapping their faces if necessary. Before his death, Paul wrote a monastic rule (a will) for his community.

A vita compiled soon after his death cites numerous eyewitnesses; it also mentions Paul's "diary," *biblos ton praxeon* (Delehay, *infra* 58.6–7). A charter of 1196 (MM 4:306.24–27) ascribes this Life to SYMEON METAPHRASTES and reveals that it was used as evidence during a trial. The anonymous author of the Life emphasizes the theme of food and starvation: Paul is constantly presented as suffering from hunger, eating acorns, or mixing milk with other foods to mask their pleasant taste. The Life also has rich information on cattle breeding, provincial administration, and local lords such as Theophanes of Samos.

SOURCE. [H. Delehay,] "Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in Monte Latro," *AB* 11 (1892) 5–74, 136–82, with Lat. tr. Also in T. Wiegand, *Milet* 3.1 (Berlin 1913) 105–57.

LIT. BHG 1474–1474h. F. Halkin, "Une vie prétendue de saint Athanase l'Athonite," *Makedonika* 5 (1961–63) 242f. —A.K.

**PAUL OF MONEMVASIA**, bishop of Monemvasia in the second half of the 10th C., the author of a series of brief edifying stories, conventionally titled NARRATIONES. They are modeled on JOHN

KLIMAX (to whom Paul specifically refers). The particularity of their form consists in their structure: they are stories within a story (similar, e.g., to the vita of THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS), and the narrator of each appears only as a vehicle for reporting the tale of his hero or heroine. The chronological framework of the novelettes is contemporaneous with the author, the emperors Leo VI, Alexander, and Constantine VII being mentioned; the action takes place primarily in Constantinople, rarely in provincial towns (Monemvasia, Larissa in Thessaly); typical characters are monks and nuns, as well as imperial functionaries, foreigners (e.g., an unbaptized Scythian), slaves, and the poor. The stories frequently feature miracles, from resurrection to marvelous birds carrying fruit to a convent. The themes of sexual chastity and of honesty in commercial transactions also occur, and confession of sinful intentions plays an important role.

ED. J. Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie et d'autres auteurs* (Paris 1987).

LIT. J. Wortley, "Paul of Monembasia and his Stories," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley 1988) 303–15. A. Kominis, "Paolo de Monembasia," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 231–48.

—A.K.

**PAUL SILENTIARIOS**, 6th-C. poet and courtier (SILENTIARIOS). AGATHIAS, his friend and admirer (and perhaps his son-in-law), reports that Paul was from a noble and immensely wealthy family. His most important poem is the description of HAGIA SOPHIA, a lengthy hexameter poem with a rare double iambic prologue celebrating Justinian's restoration of the church, both most probably delivered on 6 Jan. 563 (M. Whitby, *CQ* n.s. 35 [1985] 215–28). Our fullest account of the decoration of the church in his time, it provides unique information on its LIGHTING, TEMPLON, figured ENTABLATURE, and ENDYTE, all now lost. Even more detailed is Paul's description of the AMBO of the Great Church, also in hexameters with iambic preface. This poem, filled with compound adjectives, is invaluable for its account of materials and techniques employed in the construction.

In a very different vein are his 80 or so EPIGRAMS preserved via the *Cycle* of Agathias in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY. Paul's generic range is wide, but the erotic predominates, with many critics

regarding him as the most sensual of Agathias's contributors. These poems are fantasies rather than autobiographic fact, but Paul's combination of Christian and pagan themes is a salutary warning against inferring a poet's faith from his poems. His possible use of Roman poetry is of interest in tracing Byz. awareness of Latin literature (J.C. Yardley, *CQ* 30 [1980] 239–43).

ED. Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreib.* 227–65; rp. with Germ. tr. in appendix to *Prokop/Bauten*, ed. O. Veh, W. Pulhorn (Munich 1977) 306–75. Partial Eng. tr. in Mango, *Art* 80–96. *Epigrammi*, ed. G. Viansino (Turin 1963) with It. tr.

LIT. R. Macrides, P. Magdalino, "The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentary's Ekphrasis of Hagia Sophia," *BMGS* 12 (1988) 47–82.

—B.B., A.C.

**PAUSANIAS**, Greek geographer of the 2nd C., originating perhaps from Lydia or Damascus. His *Periegesis* (Description) of Greece encompasses Attica, the Peloponnesos, Boeotia, and Phokis; in addition to historical and geographical data, it contains some elements of myth and PARADOXOGRAPHY. According to Diller (*infra* [1956]), he was not popular in antiquity. Circa 535 STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM discovered an early apograph of his text, which he transcribed and used. The uncial text made by Stephen was in turn found centuries later by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA and ca.900 copied in minuscule (this suggestion has been challenged by Lemerle [*Humanism* 268, n.111]); it is also possible that Arethas compiled some scholia to Pausanias. Some excerpts from Pausanias are included in the *Souda*, and a citation of Pausanias, possibly an interpolation, is found in Aelianus. The source of the *Souda* and Aelianus fragments remains unclear. In the Palaiologan period the codex commissioned by Arethas was known to Planoudes and also read by Nikephoros Gregoras in the library of the Chora monastery. Circa 1400 the codex was brought to Italy and eventually deposited in the San Marco library in Venice. It served as the base for four or five apographs, none of which is earlier than 1450 (A. Diller, *TAPA* 88 [1957] 169–88).

ED. Scholia—*Graeciae descriptio*, ed. F. Spiro, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1903; rp. Stuttgart 1959) 218–22.

LIT. A. Diller, "Pausanias in the Middle Ages," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 84–97. —A.K.



**PAVEMENT** (λιθόστρωτον, ἑδάφος). Byz. paving materials vary in size: marble slabs more than 70 cm in length set in MORTAR or fresh cement; terracotta tiles, a few cm thick, ranging from 10 to 70 cm on a side and set in a masonry bed; or nearly cubic paving blocks ranging from 10 to 25 sq. cm at the surface. The term FLOOR MOSAIC is reserved for pavements whose elements measure less than 10 cm on a side. Types of pavement popular around the Mediterranean from Hellenistic times continued to appear in Byz. buildings: OPUS SECTILE; *opus tessellatum*, in which the tesserae are cut to uniform shape and size (5–10 sq. cm) and desired patterns are achieved by color and by delineating the contours of figures with courses of tesserae; the so-called *opus vermiculatum* in which tesserae are cut to varied shapes, very small in size (often less than 5 mm), which allows pictorial decoration similar to fresco painting. An edict of Theodosios II of 427 (*Cod. Just.* 1 8) forbade use of the image of the cross on floors. The white Prokonnesian marble pavement of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, was interpreted as representing Earth, the green porphyry as the rivers (G. Majeska, *DOP* 32 [1978] 299–308). –W.L.

**PAVLOVKA**, village in the region of Rostov, U.S.S.R., where a rich, late 4th-C. tomb was discovered in 1898. It contained an iron sword, a gold buckle, gold ornaments from a belt or harness, and a silver bowl with a stamp depicting a Tyche holding a scepter and orb (Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, no.82). These objects are now in the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

LIT. V. Kropotkin, *Rimskie importnye izdelija v Vostočnoj Evrope* (Moscow 1970), no.733. –A.K.

**PAWN**. See PIGNUS.

**P'AWSTOS BUZAND, PSEUDO-**, also Faustus of Byzantium, Faustus Buzanta/Podandos, traditional names for the putative author to whom a *History of Armenia* of the second half of the 5th C. was attributed. Controversies over the identity and date of the author and the original language of the work have now led to the conclusion that neither the name of the author nor the traditional title of his work is correct. Malxasyanc' and Perikhanian's analyses (*infra*) of the actual title, *Buz-*

*andaran Patmut'iwnk'* (Epic Histories), later altered to *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (History of Armenia), have shown that the first term, *buzand-aran*, does not contain the toponyms Byzantium or Buzanta at all, but is rather a term of Iranian origin referring to bardic recitations, followed by the suffix of place *-aran*. The name of the author is not given. The work is then an anonymous compilation originally composed in Armenian on the basis of local oral tradition, entitled *Epic Histories*. It dates most probably from the 470s. This compilation, the first attempt to relate Armenian history, covers the period of the later ARSACID dynasty and its relations to Byz. and the Sasanians (from ca.330 to the partition of Armenia between these two powers in ca.387). The work is epic rather than strictly historical in character but has preserved otherwise unknown material on the iranized social structure of early medieval Armenia, on the ARMENIAN CHURCH, and on the all but lost oral literary tradition. Despite its value, the *Epic Histories* was not adopted as part of the Armenian received tradition and has been largely ignored until recent times.

ED. [Pseudo] P'awstosi Buzandac'woy Patmut'iwn Hayoc' ie č'ors dprut'iwns<sup>4</sup> (Venice 1933).

LIT. St. Malxasyanc', *P'awstos Buzand*<sup>3</sup> (Erevan 1968) 5–61. A. Perikhanian, "Sur Arménien *būzand*," in *Armenian Studies in Memoriam of Haig Berberian* (Lisbon 1986) 653–57. Garsoian, *Epic Histories* 1–55. –N.G.G.

**PBOW**, cenobitic monastery east of the Nile, about 60 km north of Luxor. Established in 330, Pbow was the second monastery founded by PACHOMIOS (*Life of Pachomius*, ch.54) and became the administrative center of the order. The Pachomian monks gathered there twice a year: to celebrate Easter and, in Aug., to review business at the individual monasteries (*ibid.*, chs. 78, 83). It has recently been hypothesized that the library of Pbow was the place of origin of many Greek and Coptic biblical, Gnostic, and literary MSS.

Excavations at Pbow have revealed the remains of a large 5th-C. basilica (36 × 72 m). The five aisles were separated by rose granite columns, the floor paved with uneven limestone slabs. Underneath, the remains of a 4th-C. basilica were discovered. The basilicas are the oldest and the largest in Egypt (J.E. Goehring in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 252–57).

LIT. H.E. Winlock, W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, vol. 1 (New York 1926) 120. B. van Elderen, "The Nag Hammadi Excavation," *Biblical Archaeologist* 42 (1979) 225–31. –J.T., A.K.

**PČELA** (The Bee), the name for three separate Slavonic translations of the Byz. MELISSA. The first and most influential translation was produced in Rus', most likely in Kiev or Galitza in the late 12th or early 13th C. Widely copied and cited, it spread to Serbia by the 14th C. and remained popular in Muscovy until the 17th C. The text derives from an interpolated and abbreviated version of the *Melissa*, shorter than that attributed to Antony (PG 136:765–1244) and arranged in 71 chapters (cf. the *Capita theologica* ascribed to Maximus the Confessor, PG 91:719–1018). The closest Greek parallels to this redaction are found in comparatively late MSS. Each chapter of *Pčela* consists of a string of citations on a particular topic (e.g., virtue, wisdom, rulers, women). The citations are arranged in hierarchical order: first the Gospels, then Acts and Epistles, next the wisdom books of the Old Testament, then patristics, and finally sayings of the "external philosophers" of the ancient world. These meager and corrupt extracts from the classics were virtually the only classical writings to reach medieval Rus'. *Pčela* also survives in a Bulgarian translation (probably 14th C.) and in a second eastern Slavic translation dated 1599.

ED. *Drevnjaja russkaja Pčela po pergamenomu spisku*, ed. V. Semenov (St. Petersburg 1893); rp. with introd. by D. Čiževskij, *Melissa* (Munich 1968).

LIT. M.N. Speranskij, "Perevodnye sborniki izrečenij v slavjano-russkoj literature," *Čtenija v Imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskich* (1905) no.1:155–392. –S.C.F.

**PEACE AND WAR**. To the Byz., peace and non-violence were ideals rooted in the teachings of the New Testament and church fathers (esp. St. Basil), but in reality they rarely knew prolonged periods of peace. The Byz. considered war evil, but their attitude was tempered by the recognition of its necessity in defending their Christian empire and brethren; thus courage, prowess in arms, and good generalship were praiseworthy attributes in historical figures such as Herakleios and Basil II, or in such legendary figures as Digenes Akritas. The Byz. also bestowed praise, however, on em-

perors such as Alexios I Komnenos, who avoided unnecessary bloodshed by sparing conquered enemies and using diplomacy to resolve conflicts. Although divine favor in war was sought through MILITARY RELIGIOUS SERVICES, the cults of warrior saints (see MILITARY SAINTS), and prayers for the success of imperial expeditions (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 146, 149), Byz. churchmen deplored war, esp. between Christians, and refused to sanction killing; Patriarch Polyuktos countered the petition of Nikephoros II Phokas to have his slain soldiers declared martyrs with St. Basil's ruling that soldiers who had killed in battle could not receive communion for three years. The concept of holy war, as practiced by their Muslim enemies and the Crusaders, remained largely foreign to the Byz.; only once was a plenary remission of sin granted to a Byz. army (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 25 [1967] 115–20, 131–35).

LIT. L.J. Swift, *The Early Fathers on War and Military Service* (Wilmington, Del., 1983). R. Daly, "Military Service and Early Christianity: A Methodological Approach," *StP* 18.1 (Kalamazoo 1985) 1–8. V. Laurent, "L'idée de guerre sainte et la tradition byzantine," *RHSEE* 23 (1946) 71–98. –E.M.

**PEACOCKS** (sing. *παῶς, παῶς*), splendidly feathered birds considered Oriental ("Persian") or Hungarian ("Paeonian") and used for food (Koukoules, *Bios* 5:70, 408f) or to adorn rich gardens. Represented in the earliest Christian funerary art, the peacock brought multiple connotations from antiquity: of splendid, even paradisiac gardens; of springtime and renewal, since their feathers regenerate in the spring; and of the imperial, as peacocks had been Juno's bird and bore empresses' souls to their APOTHEOSIS. Used at first simply to give tombs the aura of paradisiac gardens, peacocks were accorded stricter symbolic meanings in 4th-C. art (as spring, paradise, redemption). In the 5th C. they flanked imperial triumphal symbols like the CHRISTOGRAM to create a Christian imperial imagery of eternal triumph in heaven. As images of heavenly splendor, peacocks strut in ornament in every medium of Byz. art; that they continued to carry aulic connotations is shown by the peacock represented in Ioakim's garden in a CHORA mosaic, which signals the regal as well as the saving role of Mary. Peacock feathers were also used to represent the many-eyed wings of SERAPHIM and often CHERU-