

quires. Each of these mistakes results in a different type of disturbance of the text.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscripts* 9, 20f. J. Irigoin, "Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins," *Scriptorium* 12 (1958) 220–23. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 50f. J. Leroy, "La description codicologique des manuscrits grecs de parchemin," in *PGEB* 27–44. L. Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la codicologie* (Ghent 1977) 14–41. —E.G., R.B.

QUR'ĀN, the Islamic scripture, recited (610–32) by MUHAMMAD and preserved since ca.650 as a fixed Arabic text of 114 chapters (*sūras*) of unequal length. A few loan words from Byz. usage and allusions to the story of the SEVEN SLEEPERS and ALEXANDER ROMANCE (Qur'ān 18:9–26, 84–98) may indicate aspects of Byz. impact upon Arabia on the eve of Islam.

A Qur'ānic allusion to potential adversaries (48:16) was taken by some commentators to include Byz., but the typically referential and apocalyptic opening of *sūra* 30 on al-Rūm (see RŪM) documents the interest and affinity of the early Muslims towards Byz. during the last Byz.-Persian war: "The Byz. have been defeated in the nearer

land, and after their defeat they shall be victorious in a few years; on that day the believers shall rejoice in God's victory . . ." (30:1–6). These and other verses sympathetic to Christians (e.g., 5:85; 57:27), with extensive historical exegesis, modified the otherwise negative image of Byz. in Arab eyes; they were often evoked in later official letters to Byz.

Refutation of the Qur'ān preoccupied Byz. theologians in their polemic against Islam (see ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST). JOHN OF DAMASCUS already showed some knowledge of the Qur'ānic text in the 8th C., and NIKETAS BYZANTIOS composed a systematic, if pedantic, *Refutation (Anatrophe)* against it, comparing it unfavorably with the Bible; this tradition continued to the end of Byz. and influenced Europe's anti-Islamic polemic.

TR. *The Koran Interpreted*, tr. A.J. Arberry (New York 1955).

LIT. W.M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Edinburgh 1970). A. Welch, R. Paret, J. Pearson, *ET*² 5:400–32. A.-T. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam (VIIIe-XIIIe S.)* (Louvain-Paris 1969). Idem, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIIIe-XIIIe S.)* (Leiden 1972) 143–218. A. Nour, *To Koranion kai to Byzantion* (Athens 1970). —A.Sh.

R

RABBULA, bishop of Edessa (from 412), Syrian churchman and translator; born Qenneshrin (Chalkis), near Berroia in Syria, died Edessa 7 Aug. 436. According to his anonymous Syrian biographer, Rabbula was a son of a pagan priest and Christian mother and converted to Christianity as an adult. During the Council of Ephesus (431), at first he supported the party of JOHN OF ANTIOCH, but even before that, in 428, he delivered a speech against THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA and attacked Nestorios as a "new Jew." In the course of the council or a little later Rabbula joined John's adversary, CYRIL of Alexandria, whose ally he remained for the rest of his career, translating Cyril's *On the Correct Faith* into Syriac. Rabbula's hagiographer presents him as a reformer of church life in Edessa who introduced austerity for the clergy and ordered that the silver dishes being used by clerics should be sold for the benefit of the poor and replaced with ceramic wares. The hagiographer's affirmation that Rabbula was responsible for the translation of the New Testament part of the *Peshitta*, the Syriac Bible, has been questioned by A. Vööbus and other scholars, who demonstrated that Rabbula's quotations of the Bible do not coincide with the *Peshitta*. Of his oeuvre, three treatises on the ecclesiastical organization of Edessa have survived as well as a few sermons. His hagiographer mentions 46 letters in Greek sent by Rabbula to priests, princes, nobles, and monks; some of these letters—mostly in fragments—are known, including his correspondence with Cyril.

ED. S. Ephraemi Syri, *Rabulae episcopi Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque opera selecta*, ed. J.J. Overbeck (Oxford 1865) 159–248, 362–78. *Canons* in A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents* (Stockholm 1960) 24–50, with Eng. tr.

LIT. G.G. Blum, *Rabbula von Edessa: Der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe* (Louvain 1969). A. Vööbus, *Investigations into the Text of the New Testament Used by Rabbula of Edessa* (Pinneberg 1947). P. Peeters, "La vie de Rabboula, évêque d'Edesse," *RechScRel* 18 (1928) 170–204. —A.K., B.B.

RABBULA GOSPELS (Florence, Laur. Plut. I, 56), a Syriac MS completed on 6 Feb. 586 by the

calligrapher Rabbula at the monastery of Beth Mar John of Beth Zagba, located north of Apameia (M. Mango in *Okeanos* 405–30). Rabbula, not to be confused with RABBULA OF EDESSA, may have been the head of the scriptorium, for, according to the colophon, others worked on the MS. The decoration is clustered at the beginning of the MS (fols. 1–14) in and around its extensive CANON TABLES. Accompanying the tables are prophets, evangelists, various plants and animals, and a New Testament cycle. Three full-page miniatures precede the tables and four follow. Miniatures of the Virgin and Child and of Christ with four unidentified figures have analogies in later Greek Gospel books. More unusual is the attention paid to the scenes of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, and Election of Matthias.

LIT. J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures* (Paris 1964) 139–97. D.H. Wright, "The Date and Arrangement of the Illustrations in the Rabbula Gospels," *DOP* 27 (1973) 197–208. —R.S.N.

RADOLIBOS (Ῥαδολίβους, Slav. Radoljubo, mod. Rodolibos), Macedonian village northwest of Mt. Pangaion in the katepanate of Zabaltia that in the 14th C. belonged to the theme of BOLERON, Mosynopolis, Serres, and Strymon. Archaeological findings indicate the existence here of a modest late Roman village, the name of which remains unknown; nothing is known about Radolibos in the 7th–10th C. The area evidently was settled by Slavs, who gave their own name to the site, and many peasants in the later Radolibos bore Slavic names. At the end of the 11th C. the *proasteion* of Radolibos was in the hands of the Pakourianos family (G. Litavrin in *VizOč* [Moscow 1971] 158, 165); Lefort distinguishes it from the *koinotes* (community) of the *chorion* of Radolibos. In 1098 the nun Maria, widow of the *kouropalates* Symbarios Pakourianos, conferred the *proasteion* on the Athonite monastery of IVERON.

PRAKTIKA of 1103, 1316, and 1341 make possible a reconstruction of the character and history of Radolibos. The village possessed arable lands

located not far from its nucleus and abundant vineyards (about 126 hectares, according to Lefort); it was surrounded by pastures and forests. Its population grew significantly—from 122 households in 1103 to 226 in 1316; by 1341, however, the economic situation in Radolibos had deteriorated: total income from the village fell from 350 nomismata in 1316 to 270 in 1341; the *praktika* record decreases in the number of oxen and vineyards as well. Wars and the plague probably accelerated economic and demographic decline: in 1464/5 Radolibos contained only 146 households. In 1346 STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN exempted Iveron from the tax imposed on Radolibos (which, by this time, had grown to 400 nomismata), and both John VI (in 1351) and John V (in 1357) confirmed this privilege.

LIT. J. Lefort, "Radolibos: Population et paysage," *TM* 9 (1985) 195–234. Idem, "Le cadastre de Radolibos (1103)," *TM* 8 (1981) 269–313. G. Ostrogorsky, *Sabrana dela* 4 (Belgrade 1970) 197–215. H. Lowry, "Changes in 15th-C. Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radolifo," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham 1986) 23–37. —A.K.

RADULF OF CAEN, Norman Crusader and writer; born ca.1080?, died after 1131. Radulf joined the contingent of BOHEMUND and later entered the service of TANCRED OF LECCE. He mixed prose and verse in the *Gesta Tancredi* (Deeds of Tancred), a highly rhetorical and uncritical glorification of his master, which he dedicated to Arnulf, his teacher in Normandy who had become Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1112–18); the text breaks off after the capture of Apameia. Radulf is hostile to the treacherous, cowardly, and corrupt Byz. (J.-C. Payen in *Images et signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident médiéval* [Marseille 1982] 269–80), who appear frequently in his account, for example in his descriptions of Tancred's battle at the Vardar (pp. 607–10), Alexios I's splendid tent (pp. 619f), relations between Alexios and Bohemund (pp. 612–15, including a version of Alexios's letter of Feb. 1097), the siege of Nicaea (pp. 615–18), Alexios's failure to relieve Antioch (pp. 658f), the destruction of the city's churches (p.661), and the Byz. garrison at Laodikeia (pp. 649, 706–09).

ED. RHC *Occid.* vol. 3 (1866) 603–716.
LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 2:786f, 3:210. J.-C. Payen, "Une légende épique en gestation: les 'Gesta Tancredi' de Raoul de Caen,"

in *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien: Mélanges René Louis*, vol. 2 (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay 1982) 1051–62. —M.McC.

RAETIA, a Roman province in the middle and eastern Alps, west of NORICUM. At the beginning of the 4th C., it was divided into Raetia I (capital, Curia or Chur) and Raetia II (capital, Augusta Vindelicorum); civil administration was in the hands of two *praesides*, but the military command was entrusted to one officer, the *dux* of both Raetias. The economic situation of Raetia in the 4th C. can be studied only on the basis of archaeological data: Overbeck (*infra*) emphasizes the impoverishment of the province, systematically plundered by barbarians, esp. Alemanni; Henning (*infra*) gives a more complicated picture—villas continued to exist, sometimes far from any fortified refuge, and luxury objects (even from Africa) were imported; urban life continued although some ancient cities (such as Chur) underwent ruralization. After 389 the northern flatland was ceded to the Alemanni; temporarily recovered ca.430, it was lost after the death of the *magister militum* AETIUS. Some loose links, however, connected Raetia with Ostrogothic Italy as late as the beginning of the 6th C.; for example, CASSIODORUS (*Variae* 1.4) mentions a *dux Rhetiarum* as a subordinate of Theodoric. The episcopal seat of Chur is known from 451 onward.

LIT. R. Heuberger, *Rätien im Altertum und Mittelalter* (Innsbruck 1932; rp. Aalen 1971). B. Overbeck, *Geschichte des Alpenrheintals im römischen Zeit*, vol. 1 (Munich 1982). J. Henning, "Ökonomie und Gesellschaft Rätien zwischen Antike und Mittelalter," *Klio* 67 (1985) 625–29. —A.K.

RAGUSA. See DUBROVNIK.

RAITHOU, monastic site on the southwestern coast of the SINAI peninsula (identified with El Tor or possibly Abu Zenima: I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 20 [1966] 255f, n.2), first inhabited in the 4th–5th C. by *anachoretai*, who were harassed by nomad raids and either martyred or dispersed to Palestine and Egypt. Some, however, survived to send a representative to the Synod of Jerusalem in 536, prompting Justinian I to rebuild their lavra. Its late 6th-C. abbot, Daniel of Raithou, wrote the biography of his friend JOHN KLIMAX.

THEODORE OF RAITHOUS was a Chalcedonian theologian of the early 7th C. The Arab governor of Egypt is recorded as having requisitioned supplies from Raithou in the early 8th C. (*P. Lond.* IV 1433.16, 92, 276).

The martyrdom of the 33 monks of Raithou was celebrated annually on 14 Jan. SYMEON METAPHRASTES assumed the account by NEILOS OF ANKYRA into his *menologion*, and several illustrated MSS of this text contain scenes of their beheading. This text, as incorporated into the "imperial" *MENOLOGION* (F. Halkin in *Mémorial A.-J. Festugière: Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, eds. E. Luchesi, H.D. Saffrey [Geneva 1984] 267–73), is accompanied in a MS in Baltimore (Walters 521, fol.92v) by an unusually brutal image of the slaughter: the head of a seated monk has been split in two by the axe of a dark-skinned attacker. The image derives from that in the *MENOLOGION* OF BASIL II (p.317), where, however, the miniature has been overpainted as a monk with two heads.

LIT. R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans," *RevBibl* 49 (1940) 205–23. B. Köting, *LThK* 8:981. —L.S.B.McC., N.P.Š.

RALLES. See RAOUL.

RAOUL (Ῥαούλ, fem. Ῥαουλαίνα), from the 14th C. also Ralles, an aristocratic family of Norman origin; perhaps founded by Rudolfus Peel de Lan (called Raoul by Anna Komnene), Norman ambassador to Nikephoros III, who later fled from ROBERT GUISCARD to BOHEMUND; no source, however, mentions Rudolfus's shift to Byz. Even less valid is the hypothesis that Raoul was brother of Roger, Dagobert's son, another Norman ambassador; Albert of Aix, who describes this embassy (PL 166:415C), does not refer to the envoys as brothers and calls Roger alone *filium Dagoberti*. In 1108 Humbert, Graoul's (Raoul's) son and Alexios I's councilor, signed the treaty of Devol. Fassoulakis's hypothesis that Leo, the scribe of two MSS of 1139, was Humbert's brother cannot be proved.

Despite scanty evidence for the Raoul family in the 12th C., its members probably belonged to the social elite: they possessed large estates in Thrace (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 219), and the *sebastos* Constantine Raoul actively supported Alexios III's usurpation (1195). The *protovestiaros*

Alexios Raoul was influential at John III's court and his sons supported Michael VIII Palaiologos: John was appointed *protovestiaros* and Manuel *pinkernes*. Manuel and another brother, Isaac, sided with the ARSENITES; they lost imperial favor, however, and were arrested and blinded. The family recovered under Andronikos II, when another Alexios Raoul was *megas domestikos* and one of his sons *megas stratopedarches*. The Raouls married into the families of PALAIOLOGOS, KANTAKOUZENOS, SYNADENOS, ASAN, and others. Yet another Alexios was *megas domestikos* after 1333 and later emigrated to Serres. Thereafter the Raouls lost significance, except for the Peloponnesian branch of the family, which played an important role in resisting the Turks. The family also produced such literati as Theodora RAOULAINA and Manuel Raoul (see RAOUL, MANUEL). Some Raouls accompanied Sophia Palaiologina to Moscow, where they served as diplomats.

LIT. S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens 1973), corr. and add. R. Walther, *JÖB* 25 (1976) 314–19. G. Ostrogorsky, "Alexios Raul, Grossdomestikos von Serbien," in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, ed. P. Clasen, P. Scheibert, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1964) 340–52. E.Č. Skrzinskaja, "Kto byli Ralevy, posly Ivana III v Italiju," *Problemy istorii mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenij* (Leningrad 1972) 267–81. —A.K.

RAOUL, MANUEL, also known as Manuel Rhales, writer; born Mistra?, fl. ca.1355–ca.1369. Educated in Thessalonike, he spent at least part of his life in the Morea during the reign of *despotes* MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS (1349–80). He evidently held a bureaucratic position as *grammatikos*, until forced to resign by failing eyesight. Three of his 12 surviving letters are addressed to the former emperor, JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, the others to government officials, literati, and an abbot. He makes frequent allusions to classical literature as well as to Scripture. Most of the letters are quite conventional in subject matter, but they do provide some prosopographical data and interesting details of everyday life in the 14th-C. Peloponnesos, including the plague of 1361–62, the capture of a friend by bandits, and a fall from a horse that made him lame and prevented him from paying his respects to the emperor.

ED. R.-J. Loenertz, "Emmanuelis Raul Epistulae XII," *EEBS* 26 (1956) 130–63.

LIT. S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens 1973) 51f. —A.M.T.

RAOULAINA, THEODORA, more fully Theodora Palaiologina Kantakouzene Raoulaina, anti-Unionist and bibliophile; born ca.1240, died Constantinople 1300. Niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos and third daughter of Irene-Eulogia and John KANTAKOUZENOS, she married George MOUZALON in 1256 and John Raoul Petraliphas, the *protovestiaris*, in 1261. Widowed a second time in 1274, Raoulaina actively opposed her uncle's Unionist policies and was exiled with her mother. During her imprisonment she wrote a vita of the Iconoclast confessors, Sts. THEODORE GRAPTOS and THEOPHANES GRAPTOS. After Michael VIII's death, she restored the Constantinopolitan convent of St. Andrew in Krisei, where she took monastic vows. A staunch supporter of the ARSENITES, she arranged for the transfer of the relics of Patr. ARSENIOS from Hagia Sophia to this convent. She also built the small monastery of Aristine to house Patr. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS following his resignation.

Raoulaina was well read in classical literature and possessed an important library. She herself copied a MS of the *Orations* of Ailios ARISTEIDES (Vat. gr. 1899). Her literary circle included Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, Maximos PLANOUES, and the patriarch Gregory. Buchthal and Belting (*infra*) suggested that she may have commissioned a group of 15 deluxe liturgical codices, which they assigned to an "atelier of the Palaiologina."

ED. Vita of Graptoi—ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:185–223, 5:397–99.

LIT. A.-M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," in *Okeanos* 604–18. Buchthal-Belting, *Patronage* 100–21, rev. G. Vikan, *ArtB* 63 (1981) 325–28. —A.M.T.

RAOUL OF CAEN. See RADULF OF CAEN.

RAPE (*βιασμός*, Lat. *raptus*) was conceived in Roman law as the abduction of a woman against the will of her parents (A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* [Philadelphia 1953] 667). Legislators of the 4th and 5th C. did not draw a clear line between rape and ADULTERY, and Constantine I in 320 esp. underscored that the consent of the girl should be of no advantage to the rapist (*Cod.Theod.* IX 24.1 pr.). The punishment of the *raptor* (and of the girl if she consented) was death by burning; if she did not consent the girl was nevertheless disinherited. Justinian I intro-

duced a major distinction (*Cod.Just.* IX 13.1), retaining execution as the penalty for the *raptor* whereas the violated girl was no longer subject to a fine. Justinian's ruling was developed in novels 143 and 150, which emphasized that marriage after abduction was not considered as an amelioration of the crime, a position that remained typical of canon law. *Ecloga* 17.30 punished the ravisher with a milder penalty, cutting off his nose. Leo VI, in novel 35, drew a distinction between armed rape (*harpage*) of a woman and unarmed violence; the first case required capital punishment, the second mutilation (the loss of a hand or arm). Michael Psellos, in commenting on novel 35, introduced a new principle—the violated girl should be compensated by the entire property of the rapist (G. Weiss, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 91)—an opinion probably based on *Basil.* 60.58.1.

The theme of rape appears in literature and art: the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, fol.208) depicts a woman killing a Varangian rapist; John Moschos (PG 87:2892AC) tells the story of a monk incited by the devil—he tried to rape the daughter of a peasant, but she deterred him by saying that "for the sake of a brief pleasure" he would negate all his monastic achievements and drive her to SUICIDE. Digenes Akritas's rape of the daughter of Haplorrabdes was followed by no penalty except his remorse.

Byz. law distinguished the deflowering (*phthora*) of a girl from rape/abduction; the penalty for *phthora* depended on the girl's consent or lack thereof and on the age of the virgin (before 13 or after); in such cases marriage was recommended. Fines for *phthora* were probably transformed into PARTHENOPHTHORIA.

LIT. M. Tourtoglou, *Parthenophthoria kai heuresis thesaurou* (Athens 1963) 15–92. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 153f. O. Efer, *RE* 2.R. 1 (1920) 250f. —J.H., A.K.

RAPHAEL. See ARCHANGEL.

RAŠKA, the name of the main part of the territory of medieval SERBIA. In Latin sources, beginning with Ansbert (see HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI), Rassa or Raxia was a designation of Serbia, and in Slavic documents of the 13th C. the expression "the land of Raška" was used, but it disappeared after STEFAN UROŠ I. Greek texts

avoided this term. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, however (*De adm. imp.* 32.53), mentions a site (a town?) called Rase between Serbia and Bulgaria; by 1020 a bishopric of Ras (a town on the river Raška) was established as a suffragan of Ohrid. The stronghold (*phrourion*) Rason of the 12th C. appears in Kinnamos (Kinn. 12.10, cf. 103.8).

LIT. K. Jireček, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*², vol. 2 (Belgrade 1978) 3. M. Dinić, *Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku* (Belgrade 1978) 37–41. J. Kalić, "La région du ras à l'époque byzantine," *Géographie historique du monde Méditerranéen* (Paris 1988) 127–40. —A.K.

RASTISLAV, prince of MORAVIA (846–70); died Bavaria after Nov. 870. Rastislav became ruler with help from the king of the Eastern Franks, Louis the German (843–76), but thereafter resisted Frankish encroachments, esp. in the ecclesiastical sphere. He broke with the archbishop of Passau in the late 850s and sought Italian and Byz. clergy for his subjects. Failing to receive a bishop from Pope NICHOLAS I, in 862 Rastislav asked Michael III for clerics to organize an independent church using the local Slavic language rather than Latin; he may also have been seeking to counteract an impending Frankish-Bulgarian alliance. Michael sent CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS, who arrived in Moravia in 863 with their disciples (including KLIMENT OF OHRID). It may have been at Rastislav's request that Constantine and Methodios journeyed to Rome in 867 to seek papal approval for ordinations and use of the Church Slavonic liturgy in Moravia. Dethroned by his nephew Svjatopluk in Nov. 870, Rastislav was condemned to death at an imperial diet in Regensburg, blinded, and imprisoned in a Bavarian monastery, where he died.

LIT. Z.R. Dittrich, *Christianity in Great-Moravia* (Groningen 1962) 82–108, 174–92. —P.A.H.

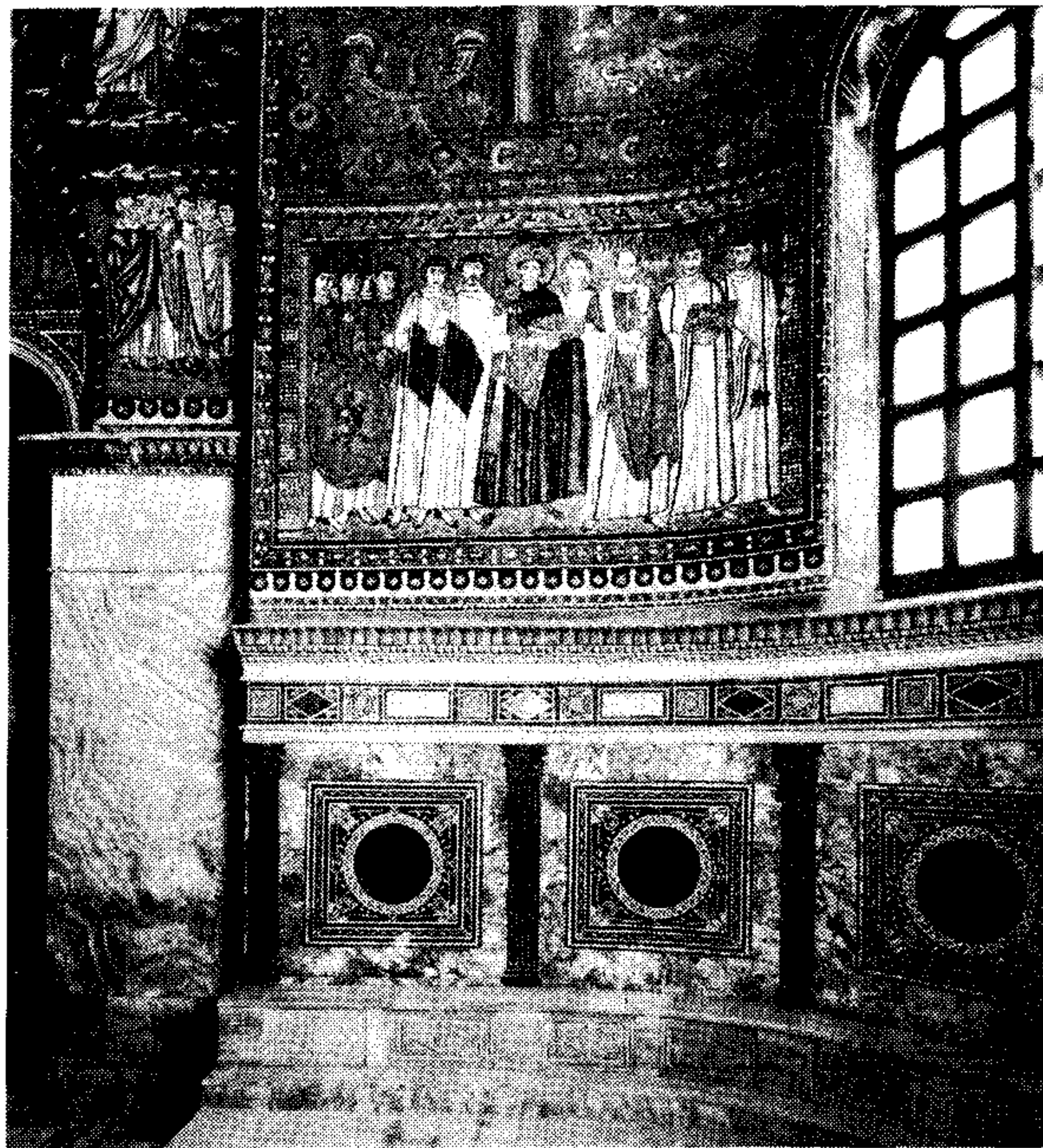
RATS. See MICE.

RAVENNA (*Ῥάβεννα*), with its harbor suburb of Classe, a cosmopolitan naval and commercial center, capital of the Italian province of Flaminia et Picenum in the 4th C. HONORIUS moved the imperial court there from MILAN in 402 because of its secure position (surrounded by marsh) and its easy access by river channels to the Adriatic Sea and the River Po. As capital of the Western Em-

pire and residence of the praetorian prefect of Italy, it expanded in size in the 5th C. and saw the building of palaces and churches, esp. during the reign of Valentinian III. Its cathedral was built at the end of the 4th C. by Bp. Ursus, possibly replacing one in Classe, and during the episcopate of Peter Chrysologus (ca.432–50) six sees in Emilia were transferred to Ravenna from the jurisdiction of Milan.

Ravenna's importance declined in the confused last years of the Western Empire (455–76), but it recovered the role of capital of Italy under ODOACER and the OSTROGOTH kings. The court attracted senators and scholars, such as BOETHIUS and CASSIODORUS, and Ravenna emerged as an important center of MS copying and literary production. Its church became increasingly rich, with patrimonies as distant as Sicily, and its bishops influential spokesmen for the Roman population. In addition to restoring aqueducts and building a new palace, THEODORIC THE GREAT undertook construction of several Arian churches (e.g., S. Apollinare Nuovo). Few catholic churches were built in his reign, but several major ones were begun by his successors.

Justinian I's general, BELISARIOS, took control of Ravenna in 540 and throughout the Gothic War it served as a bridgehead for Byz. forces as well as capital of Italy. Bp. MAXIMIAN (546–56), well known because of his mosaic portrait at S. Vitale and his ivory throne, was an energetic scholar-prelate appointed by Justinian I to promote his ecclesiastical policies in the West; he was also the first bishop of Ravenna to receive the title of archbishop. The see supported the imperial position in the THREE CHAPTERS affair against Milan and AQUILEIA, for which Archbp. Agnellus (557–70) was rewarded with the buildings and property of the Arian church. After the late 6th C. Ravenna remained a center for luxury manufacture and trade, esp. with the Lombard kingdom. Latin literary activity continued in fields such as liturgy, geography, medicine, and hagiography (e.g., the *Passio* of its legendary patron St. Apollinaris), but the Greek monastic presence was small and no Greek works survive. The 6th–7th-C. RAVENNA PAPYRI reveal the increasing importance of soldiers and officials, many of Eastern origin. In response to the eclipse of the civilian hierarchy following the Lombard invasion of Italy in 568 the EXARCHATE of Ravenna was created



RAVENNA. Mosaic panel in the Church of San Vitale, north wall of the apse, above a dado of *opus sectile*. The central figure is the emperor Justinian I; to his right, members of his court and palace guard; to his left, Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna, and members of the clergy.

(first recorded in 584). A major social role was played by its garrison (*exercitus*), which gradually merged with local Latin elements. Ravenna's culture and outlook became more exclusively Latin and local, as reflected in the work of its historian AGNELLUS.

Close ties between the Byz. administration and the church of Ravenna were reinforced by privileges. One, a grant of autocephaly by Constans II in 666, was soon revoked by Constantine IV, but the increased claims and independent-mindedness of its archbishops led to a deterioration of relations with the papacy. The see's links with members of the military elite were cemented by granting them lands throughout the exarchate and PENTAPOLIS, which were rented back to officials in EMPHYTEUSIS.

The increasingly local interests of the officials were at the root of several obscure revolts in the 7th–8th C., although the immediate causes were Byz. religious and fiscal policies. Some exarchs were murdered (e.g., John I in 616, John Rizonkopos in 710, and Paul in 726), while others attempted usurpations (e.g., Eleutherios in 619,

Olympios ca.651–52). Separatist feeling became esp. strong from the late 7th C. (opposition to the arrest of Pope Sergius in 693, resistance to the exarch Theophylaktos ca.701) and led to the brutal punishment of leading citizens by Justinian II ca.709. This provoked the establishment of a citizen militia and the election of an independent duke. In the 720s renewed Lombard expansions, increased taxation, and the beginnings of Iconoclasm in Constantinople under Leo III caused further discontent, leading Ravenna to participate in the general Italian revolt of 727. In 732 Ravenna was captured by the Lombard king Liutprande, but was soon recovered for the Byz. by the Venetians. Lombard pressure on the exarchate continued, and Ravenna fell to the Lombard King Aistulf in 751. It was shortly thereafter incorporated in the papal patrimony and its commercial role declined with the silting up of its harbor and the rise of VENICE; it remained important, however, as the seat of a powerful archbishop and its society retained features distinct from those of Lombard and Frankish Italy for centuries.

Monuments of Ravenna. Ravenna's monuments of the late antique and Byz. period can be divided into three epochs—Late Roman (402–76), Gothic (493–540), and Byz. (to the end of the exarchate)—with a resurgence in the early 12th C. The late Roman buildings include the Baptistry of the Orthodox, with spectacular figural mosaics of ca.450, and the so-called Mausoleum of GALLA PLACIDIA, a cruciform oratory probably founded by the empress, who almost certainly was buried not there, but in Rome.

Sixth-century buildings include S. Vitale, S. Apollinare in Classe, and the destroyed Church of S. Michele in Africisco (orig. *ad Frigiscus*), the apse of which is preserved (much restored) in Berlin. S. Vitale is octagonal, with a dome on eight masonry piers that are connected by two-storied curved colonnades. In design it is the nearest known relative of Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS in Constantinople; nevertheless, Krautheimer and Deichmann (*infra*) suggest that the architect was Italian. Mosaics in the apse depict Bp. Ecclesius (522–32) as donor in the conch and Justinian I (see ill. above) and Theodora on the lower wall (for ill., see THEODORA). Archbp. Maximian consecrated S. Vitale in 547.

S. Apollinare in Classe, erected on or near the

tomb of Ravenna's first bishop, Apollinaris, was consecrated by the same Maximian in 549. It is a longitudinal basilica with colonnades of imported Greek and Prokonnesian marbles; the unusual apse mosaic shows a symbolic Transfiguration attended by St. Apollinaris. On the wall below are two panels inserted in the 7th C. to commemorate a privilege granted by Constantine IV, whose portrait appears. The mosaic program of the Arian Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, with its long procession of saints down the nave, was partially redesigned ca.550 when the church came into Orthodox hands.

In the absence of surviving monumental imagery from 6th-C. Constantinople, scholars have taken the mosaics of Ravenna as paradigms of Justinianic style, even attributing them to Constantinopolitan craftsmen (Kitzinger, *infra*). Inscriptions attest that S. Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe were paid for by JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS," who also contributed to S. Michele in Africisco.

Ravenna enjoyed an artistic resurgence in the 11th and 12th C. In 1112 the apse of the cathedral (Basilica Ursiana) was redecorated with mosaics by a master who, according to Demus (*infra*), also worked in the apse of S. Marco in VENICE. Only fragments of this mosaic survive, as the Basilica Ursiana was demolished in 1733.

LIT. T.S. Brown, "The Interplay between Roman and Byzantine Traditions and Local Sentiment in the Exarchate of Ravenna," *SettStu* (1988) 127–60. Idem, "The Aristocracy of Ravenna from Justinian to Charlemagne," *CorsiRav* 33 (1986) 135–49. A. Guillou, "Ravenna e Giustiniano," *CorsiRav* 30 (1983) 333–43. R.A. Markus, "Ravenna and Rome, 554–604," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 566–78. F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna* 2.2 (Wiesbaden 1976). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 176–78, 181–87, 232–37, 277f. Kitzinger, *Making* 81–107. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1.1:281f.

—T.S.B., D.K.

RAVENNA PAPYRI, a general designation for the Latin nonliterary archival material originating in the archiepiscopal chancery of RAVENNA or sent there from other chanceries of Italy (Rome, Syracuse) in late antiquity. Since they were written in Latin and, unusually, on papyrus, they attracted the attention of early humanists and palaeographers. The documents' contents relate to church privileges and the management of ecclesiastical estates, wills, and donations benefiting churches and monasteries, and heritable leases and sales

pertaining to the landed properties of the see of Ravenna. The earlier group of them (about 60 pieces) is dated between 445 and 700, the last certain date being 642/3 or 665/6; then after a gap come the papyri of the 9th–10th C. These later papyri have been less well studied. The Ravenna, or better, Italian papyri are of great importance as sources for legal procedure in late antique society, esp. in dealings with the church, and as illustrating Latin linguistic evolutions in their later stages. They also illustrate the development of the late Roman cursive script as it was used for writing Latin in the West.

ED. J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, 2 vols. (Lund-Stockholm 1955–82).
—L.S.B.McC.

RAYMOND OF AGUILERS, Crusader historian; fl. ca.1100. Canon of Le Puy and chaplain of Count RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, Raymond participated in the First Crusade and composed a *Liber* [or *Historia*] *Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* (History of the Franks Who Captured Jerusalem) addressed to the bishop of Viviers; he began writing the book with Pons of Balazun, who was killed at 'Arqah. His perspective on events from 1095 to 1099 reflects his relations with the count Raymond and Ademar, bishop of Le Puy. Raymond describes his Provençal contingent's crossing of the Byz. Empire and their difficulties with the PECHENECS (ed. Hill et al., pp. 36–47). Raymond complains about Alexios I's duplicity (p.41) and reports Byz. ships' victualing of the Crusaders (p.108) and the Crusaders' later relations with Alexios (pp. 125f).

ED. *Le "Liber,"* ed. J. Hill et al. (Paris 1969). *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, Eng. tr. J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill (Philadelphia 1968).

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 2:792. Karayannopoulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:415f. C. Klein, *Raymund von Aguilers* (Berlin 1899) 7a-borov, *Krest. poch.* 64–66.
—M.McC.

RAYMOND OF POITIERS (Πετεβίβος), prince of Antioch; born ca.1098 or 1099, died near Inab (southeast of Antioch) 29 June 1149. Younger son of the count of Poitiers, Raymond became prince by marrying Constance, heiress of Antioch, in 1136. John II, who had hoped to fulfill the Komnenian goal of regaining Antioch by marrying Constance to the future Manuel I, attacked

Raymond in Aug. 1137, then made peace on condition that Raymond become his vassal. A joint Byz.-Antiochene expedition in Apr.–May 1138 took Buzā'ah, Ma'arat al-Nu'mān, and Kafartāb in northern Syria, but failed at Shayzar. When John entered Antioch and demanded the citadel, rioting townsmen forced him to withdraw. In 1142 John again threatened Antioch, but his death prevented an attack. Manuel's forces ravaged the region in 1144. The danger to Antioch caused by the fall of Edessa compelled Raymond to visit Constantinople (ca. 1145), humiliate himself at John II's tomb, and become Manuel's vassal, but he gained little direct aid. Because his daughter MARIA OF ANTIOCH subsequently wed Manuel, Raymond was very favorably treated by the historian John KINNAMOS.

LIT. C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la Principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris 1940) 357–84.
—C.M.B.

RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, called Raymond of Saint-Gilles (hence Ἰσαγγέλης in Anna Komnene); born ca. 1041/2, died Mont-Pèlerin near Tripoli ca. 28 Feb. 1105. Leading the Provençal contingent of the First Crusade, Raymond reached Constantinople on 21 Apr. 1097. While declining to become vassal to Alexios I, he swore to uphold Alexios's rights, respect his territories, and aid him against opponents (J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill, *AHR* 58 [1952–53] 322–27). At the capture of Antioch (June 1098), he gained possession of a gate and a portion of the city. Until dispossessed by BOHEMUND (Jan. 1099), he asserted the emperor's right to the city as a means of safeguarding his own position (J. France, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 291f). Following the capture of Jerusalem, Raymond sailed to Constantinople (May/June 1100). With Alexios's support, he joined the Crusade of 1101. When it was destroyed in Anatolia, he escaped with the survivors to Constantinople. Returning to Syria in early 1102, he devoted himself to capturing towns near TRIPOLI, although the latter remained unconquered at his death. Anna Komnene praises his high character in comparison with the greed and treachery of other crusading leaders.

LIT. J.H. & L.L. Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse 1962).
—C.M.B.

REBELLION (ἐπανάστασις) was considered in Roman law as a grave crime (T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* [Leipzig 1899; rp. Graz 1955] 554f), to be punished by execution unless a special agreement was reached by both parties. The church usually assumed a neutral position toward USURPATION, but tended to attribute the success of a rebellion to the emperor's fall from God's grace (S. Elbern, *RQ* 81 [1986] 31–35). A negative attitude toward insurrection pervades Byz. literature: KEKAUMENOS, although he was surely aware of the defeat of numerous emperors by usurpers, emphasized that the ruler of Constantinople always would prevail; he gave his readers advice about how to remain safe during a rebellion and recommended supporting (openly or clandestinely) the legitimate emperor. Niketas Choniates accused his contemporaries of frequent rebellions, contrasting them with Westerners who remained loyal to their kings.

The driving force behind insurrection could be the urban masses (e.g., circus FACTIONS in the 6th C.), a mutinous army, the population of a certain province (esp. in the frontier areas), or a dissident religious group. A usurper might be motivated not only by his desire for power, but also by fear of punishment; foreign alliances and support offered by neighboring tribes or rulers played a substantial role. The goal of a rebellion could be USURPATION of the throne, defense of an emperor and the concept of dynastic legitimacy, political secession, the removal of an unpopular official, satisfaction of economic demands (alleviation of taxation, grain supply), or religious convictions. The term *epanastasis* could also be applied to enemy attacks on the empire.
—A.K.

RECENSION THEORY, conventional term for an art historical method that seeks to identify genealogical affinities among disparate narrative picture CYCLES ultimately derived from the same text. Corresponding iconographic episodes are analyzed with the aim of determining which shows greater fidelity to the text and therefore may be assumed to be the more "original." The goal is to establish stemmatic relationships among all extant witnesses (including all artistic media) and to reconstruct from them as full and accurate an archetype as possible. Ultimately based on 19th-C.

text-critical practice, this approach was modified and adapted to the analysis of narrative picture cycles by Weitzmann. He distinguished, for example, four distinct recensional traditions for the illustration of GENESIS. They are identified by their most famous surviving representatives: the Cotton Genesis, the Vienna Genesis, the illustrated OCTATEUCHS, and the Joseph page (fol. 69v) in the PARIS GREGORY.

LIT. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*² (Princeton 1970). J. Białostocki, "Problem oryginalności i kryteria wartościowania w studiach nad ikonografią starożytności malarstwa miniatury," in *Interpretacja dzieła sztuki* (Warsaw 1978) 5–22.
—G.V.

RECIPES survive mainly in treatises describing the nutritious properties of food (see DIET) and the monthly regimen necessary for good health. Some of these recipe collections were produced by known writers, such as Symeon SETH or Nicholas MYREPSOS; some were by anonymous or obscure persons whose identification is hardly possible, for example, the treatise of the 11th–14th C. (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 249–301) that was falsely ascribed to empress ZOE. The content of recipes is varied, including formulas for cooking, COSMETICS, PHARMACOLOGY, or even MAGIC. The advice ranges from sound observations to fantastic qualities ascribed to real products. Thus, Seth (*De alim. fac.* 26f) says that beef, in comparison with mutton, is "cold" and brings forth blood like black bile; therefore it can be recommended only to those who have a "warm" stomach and exercise continually. Pseudo-Zoe's treatise distinguishes eight kinds of food: sweet, bitter, salty, fat, sour, scalding, astringent, and neutral, and in accordance with this scale recommends them before or after the main course or to people of differing temperament or to the sick. It also provides recipes for growing hair and relieving headaches, and advises writing words on bay leaves to avoid insomnia.
—A.K., Ap.K.

RECLUSE. See ENKLEISTOS.

RECORDS (sing. θέσις or παρασημείωσις) of outgoing (and, eventually, incoming) ACTS were kept by most CHANCERIES. The sources mention

the imperial record (*thesis*), in which the PROTONOTARIOS copied all documents signed by the emperor (14th–15th C.). Actual records (Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 47 and 48) survive for the patriarchate (14th C.), which always possessed archives kept by the CHARTOPHYLAX. Similar records (*hypomnemata*, *codices*, *tomaria*, *chartia*, *thesis*) were kept by the central and provincial administration, which also registered pertinent documents (*katastrosis*). In the later Roman Empire, private deeds underwent registration (*insinuatio*) by the city authorities, but this practice had disappeared well before the end of the 9th C. In later centuries evidence for the existence of recognized notarial minutes or drafts is very scarce and uncertain (cf. *Peira* 38 and the "notarial minutes" of Vat. gr. 952 in G. Ferrari, *SBN* 4 [1935] 249–67). Records were usually kept in roughly chronological order (this is partly true for CADASTERS).

LIT. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 187. J. Darrouzès, *Le registre synodal du patriarchat byzantin au XIVe siècle* (Paris 1971). Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP*. H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Le notariat byzantin du IXe au XVe siècle" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Montreal, 1985).
—N.O.

RECRUITMENT was both voluntary and compulsory throughout the Byz. period. Volunteers, Byz. and foreign, were attracted to the imperial units (TAGMATA) by cash bounties, salaries, and the prospect of advancement offered by a military career; the state issued their equipment and rations or allowances for their purchase. By contrast, a system of hereditary conscription, the STRATEIA, supplied the manpower for the provincial armies (*themata*); these soldiers (STRATIOTAI) equipped themselves but were eligible for salaries (ROGA) and state-supplied provisions (OPSONION) when their forces were mobilized for campaigns. Following the fiscalization of the *strateia* after the 11th C., the state issued grants of land (fiscal PRONOIA) in return for military service. The hiring of MERCENARIES and the settlement of warlike foreign peoples in Byz. territory were also common means of recruitment.

Men were eligible for army service between the ages of 18 and 40 with length of service spanning 30 years. The STRATEGIKA specify youth, size, and strength as the qualities required of soldiers; various nationalities were recommended for particular roles, such as Armenians for heavy infantry

and Rus' as skirmishers in the 10th C. (Oikonomides, *Listes* 336).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 614–19. J.F. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c.550–950* (Vienna 1979). N. Oikonomides, "Middle-Byzantine Provincial Recruits: Salary and Armament," in *Gonimos* 121–36. —E.M.

REDEMPTION (λύτρωσις, from *lytron*, "ransom"), the mystery of Christ's death, which was instrumental for the SALVATION of mankind. In the Old Testament the concept of redemption, or liberation, had a political tinge—the liberation of the chosen people from the Egyptian captivity. Christianity ascribed to it a cosmic character; although the church fathers considered Christ as typified by Moses, the deliverer from Egypt (e.g., pseudo-MAKARIOS/SYMEON, hom. 11.6, ed. H. Dörries, 99.82–83), he was more often contrasted with ADAM—Christ's death was to redeem mankind from the state of sin created by Adam's fall.

Patristic doctrine did not evolve a systematic concept of redemption. The creed of both the First Council of Nicaea and the First Council of Constantinople is limited to the statement that Christ was crucified "for us," "for our salvation." The implication is that redemption is both a preconceived act of God the Father who sacrificed his Son because of his love for mankind, and a free act of the Son who underwent the CRUCIFIXION to destroy the power of SATAN over the world and, in so doing, became the "new Adam," leading humanity to eternal life. Maximos the Confessor, while emphasizing the existence of human will in Christ, stressed in fact the personal and free commitment of every man in the search for salvation: human persons are called to participate in the human nature of the incarnate Logos, and thus share in deification (THEOSIS). (See also SOTERIOLOGY.)

LIT. H.E.W. Turner, *The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption* (London 1952). J. Rivière, *DTC* 13 (1937) 1912–2004. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 159–65. Kelly, *Doctrines* 163–88. —A.K.

RED SEA. See CROSSING OF THE RED SEA; PERIPLUS.

REFECTORY. See TRAPEZA.

REFERENDARIOS (ῥεφερενδάριος, from Lat. *referendarius*), term used to denote both a state and an ecclesiastical official.

1. The *secular referendarios*, an office created by Julian, was the emperor's secretary. Under Justinian I the *referendarios* acquired considerable importance; the number of active *referendarioi* decreased from 14 to 2 (plus one for the empress). The major duty of the *referendarios* was to transmit the emperor's orders to the MAGISTROI and to submit the petitions and complaints of subjects to the emperor. General scholarly opinion holds that the *referendarios* disappeared after 600; however, both Laurent (*Corpus* 2, no. 1174) and Zacos and Veglery (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 2051) date the seal of John, "the imperial *referendarios* and *διοικητες* of provinces," to the 8th C. Two other seals of 8th-C. imperial *referendarioi* were published by Seibt (*Bleisiegel*, nos. 83–84).

2. The *ecclesiastical referendarios* was a cleric, normally a DEACON, who acted as the liaison officer of the patriarch of Constantinople with the imperial court; one of his major functions was to transmit patriarchal documents to the palace. He also played a key role in all ceremonial occasions involving both emperor and patriarch and was responsible for presenting newly appointed metropolitans and *hegoumenoi* to the emperor. Herakleios's novel of 612 fixed at 12 the number of *referendarioi* on the staff of the Great Church (ed. I. Konidaris, *FM* 5 [1982] 70.111–12); as in the case of the SKEUOPHYLAX, however, later sources mention only one incumbent, and it is doubtful whether his subordinates—if he had any—continued to hold the same title. This development may have been connected with the appointment of *referendarioi* in provincial sees, which is well attested by the 13th C., and, by the 15th C., seems to have extended to the humblest of bishoprics (see, e.g., N.A. Bees, *Byzantis* 2 [1911] 52.26).

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:4f (with add. in Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 418, 533, 1048A). Guiland, *Institutions* 2:92–98. Beck, *Kirche* 103. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 119, 373f. —A.K., P.M.

REGALIA. See INSIGNIA.

REGENCY, a political arrangement intended to ensure a family's hold on the throne when a senior

emperor was precluded from exercising his office. Regency usually arose when a senior emperor died leaving a minor co-emperor. It took two main forms: formal co-rulership by an EMPRESS, whether mother (e.g., Martina, Theodora [wife of Theophilos], Anna of Savoy) or older sister (e.g., Pulcheria), or the appointment of one or more guardians (*epitropoi*). Both options might be combined; in fact, multimember regencies predominated after Martina and Irene, such as during the minority of Michael III or Constantine VII. Co-ruling regents were officially acknowledged on coins, in acclamations, and dating formulas, although empresses usually yielded precedence to the young emperor: Anna of Savoy was an exception (Dölger, *Paraspora* 208–11).

The makeup of a regency reflected the contemporary POLITICAL STRUCTURE, for example, STILICHO, *magister militum*, as regent for Honorius or Patr. NICHOLAS I as one of Constantine VII's regents. The precise arrangement might be spelled out in an emperor's will (e.g., *Reg* 1, no. 216) or a decree (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no. 1120). The regent empress's ability to remarry and thereby upset the arrangement could be limited by her oath (e.g., Eudokia [1067]) or nunhood (e.g., Maria of Antioch [1171: N. Oikonomides, *REB* 21 (1963) 101–28]). Other circumstances led to *de facto* regency: for example, Justin II's mental illness resulted in the actual exercise of power by Sophia and Tiberios Caesar (the future Tiberios I). Similarly, the senior emperor's long absence on campaign explains, for example, the role of Bonos (or Bonosos) the *patrikios* and Patr. Sergios I under Herakleios or the decree of Alexios I granting administrative power to Anna Dalassene (*Reg* 2, no. 1073).

Regencies generally spawned political tensions and conflict involving competing regents (e.g., Theoktistos's murder with the connivance of Bardas during Theodora and Thekla's regency for Michael III) or contenders for the throne, such as Romanos I or John VI Kantakouzenos. When the young emperor reached majority—usually at age 16—he sometimes found it difficult to dislodge the empress (e.g., Constantine VI and Irene) or effective regent (e.g., BASIL II and BASIL THE NOTHOS).

LIT. Aik. Christophilopoulou, "He antibasileia eis to Byzantion," *Symmeikta* 2 (1970) 1–144. —M.McC.

REGGIO-CALABRIA (Ῥήγιον), a port city at the southwestern tip of Italy, the administrative and ecclesiastical center of CALABRIA. Calabria was considered part of ILLYRICUM and during the Iconoclast controversy remained under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople. The metropolitan see of Reggio was created probably soon after 800, since archbishops of Calabria are known from the 7th and 8th C. Reggio was captured by Robert Guiscard in 1060. The last Greek metropolitan of Reggio, Basil, was deposed in 1078 (F. Russo, *BollBadGr* 7 [1953] 163–78).

LIT. F. Russo, *Storia della archidiocesi di Reggio-Calabria*, vol. 1 (Naples 1961). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:709–16, 3:146. —A.K.

RELATIONSHIP, DEGREES OF. The closeness of relationship between two individuals is designated by the term *bathmos* (degree, corresponding to the Lat. *gradus*). The degree of relationship is determined by the number of intermediate generations or births ("quot generationes, tot gradus"). For example, father and son are related to one another in the first degree, grandfather and grandson in the second, great-grandfather and great-grandson in the third, that is, in a "direct line" in which the one person (descendant, *kation*) is directly descended from the other (ascendant, *anion*). Two people who are related to one another collaterally (*ek plagiou*) go back to a common progenitor, starting from whom the degrees are calculated; for example, sisters are related in the second degree, an aunt and a niece in the third, cousins in the fourth. The degrees of relationship were of legal importance esp. in the area of inheritance law where those who had a more distant degree of relationship were excluded from inheriting by those who had a less distant degree of relationship to the deceased (see INTESATE SUCCESSION) and in the area of marriage law, which forbade marriage between certain persons closely related in degree (see MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS).

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 217–23.

—A.S.

RELICS (τὰ λείψανα), the mortal remains of holy persons, or objects sanctified by contact with them. The first relics venerated by Christians were those of the MARTYRS. After persecution ended in 312,

ἡ ἀνάγλυφος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστῆς
 ἡ ἀνάγλυφος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστῆς
 ἡ ἀνάγλυφος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστῆς



RELICS. Translation of the relics of John Chrysostom. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.353). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The relics were translated to the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople, in 438. At the right, Emp. Theodosios II.

this veneration was extended to those of CONFES-SORS, great bishops, "the Fathers," ascetics, etc. Veneration quickly went beyond "primary relics" or mortal remains to "secondary relics," such as the instruments of the martyr's passion, and, with the discovery of the holy places in Jerusalem (see LOCUS SANCTUS), to instruments of Jesus' Passion, articles of the Virgin's clothing, etc.

Primary relics were venerated as signs of the victory of Christ's sacrifice repeated in his saints. MARTYRIA with ALTARS on which the sacrament of that sacrifice (see EUCHARIST) was renewed were built over martyrs' graves, and relics were actually enclosed inside the altars. Secondary relics, first opposed, were eventually accepted as

instruments through which God had chosen to work. Especially significant was the role of relics in HEALING.

From the 4th C. onward, holy bodies were ex-humed, dismembered, and distributed by solemn "translation" to various local churches, esp. Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople. Constantinople, a newcomer with few native martyrs' remains from the pre-Constantinian persecutions, worked hard at gathering relics, esp. the instruments of the Passion (two pieces of the TRUE CROSS, one brought from Apameia; the pillar on which Jesus was scourged; the crown of thorns; the sponge and Sacred Lance used to pierce Christ's side). Other relics in Constantinople included the

Virgin's robe, girdle, and shroud (M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge* [Vatican 1944] 688–707) and other spurious New Testament relics such as one of the several reputed heads of John the Baptist, the remains of the Holy Innocents and of St. Stephen the protomartyr, plus other miracle-working objects (icons, the columns of Hagia Sophia, etc.). Many of these relics were kept in the Great Palace. They figure predominantly in descriptions of Constantinople and travelers' accounts and were a major attraction for pilgrims (K.N. Ciggaar, *REB* 34 [1976] 245f).

According to O. Meinardus (*OrChr* 54 [1970] 130–33), about 3,600 relics of 476 Greek saints are recorded as having reposed in 427 Byz. churches and monasteries and 37 non-Byz. institutions; this figure represents only 12.5 percent of all known saints. Five saints (Charalampos, PANTELEEMON, Tryphon, PARASKEVE THE ELDER, and GEORGE) left more than 100 relics each, or 24.1 percent of all recorded relics.

The translation of relics was sumptuously celebrated and gave birth to a special literary genre: the sermon on translation. Constantine VII wrote one on the translation of the MANDYLION to Constantinople, Theodore DAPHNOPATES delivered another in 957 on the translation of the hand of John the Baptist to Constantinople from Antioch, and KOSMAS VESTITOR dedicated at least five to the translation of the relics of John Chrysostom. The translation itself often became a FEAST that found its way into the church CALENDAR and was marked by annual processions (LITE) to the appropriate shrine (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 48 [1982] 159–70).

The attitude of the Iconoclasts toward relics is still under discussion. It is possible that they rejected the veneration of icons and relics alike (Gero, *Constantine V* 152–65). Their opponents accused them of hating relics, and John of Damascus found himself compelled to provide a justification for the cult of relics. J. Wortley (*ByzF* 8 [1982] 253–79) has questioned, however, the idea of Constantine V being an active persecutor of relics.

The collection of relics became fashionable and increasingly competitive. Sermons on translations often emphasize how strongly the population resisted the removal of relics, so that supernatural signs were often necessary to reconcile the people to the loss of their holy protector. Trade in stolen

relics flourished (P.J. Geary, *Furta Sacra* [Princeton 1978]). The most notorious thefts were those of the bodies of St. MARK, taken from Alexandria to Venice in 827 (to replace the "Byz." patron of the city, St. Theodore), and of St. NICHOLAS, taken from Myra to Bari in 1087. The excesses that characterized relic collection were upbraided by CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (no.114), who ridiculed a naive monk Andrew who had collected 10 hands of Prokopios, 15 jaws of Theodore, 8 legs of Nestor, and even the beards of the Holy Innocents murdered in Bethlehem.

During the Crusades, Latin armies despoiled Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Edessa of their relics and the RELIQUARIES that housed them and shipped them home to the West. ROBERT DE CLARI gives a list of those seized in Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade.

LIT. S.G. Mercati, "Santuari e reliquie Costantinopolitane," *Rendiconti: Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 12 (1937) 133–56. P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* (Paris 1985). Walter, *Art & Ritual* 144–58. —R.F.T., A.K.

RELIEF (ἀναγλυφή), the carving of materials in such a way that depicted phenomena appear in successive zones of SPACE AND DEPTH between the surface plane and the background. Notably on SARCOPHAGI and imperial monuments of the 4th and 5th C., relief SCULPTURE is largely figural, even when displaying the anticlassical rigidity and repetitiveness of the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome and much carving in PORPHYRY. By the end of the 4th C., as on the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS I in the Hippodrome at Constantinople and numerous IVORIES, official art displayed an interest in idealized human form in a style sometimes described as that of the "Theodosian Renaissance" (Kitzinger, *Making* 32–34). From the 6th C. onward, relief was increasingly limited to an architectural role. Already in use in the Church of St. POLYEUKTOS, relief in Justinianic monuments established a new *koine* characterized by antiplastic techniques and a preference for stylized floral ornament.

After the end of Iconoclasm, the sculpture of the Church of the Panagia at Skripou (873–74) still displayed a nonfigurative repertory carved in two-dimensional low relief (A. Megaw, *BSA* 61 [1966] 25–27). Greater technical ability is evident in the mélange of revived Late Antique themes

and orientalizing floral ornament in the sculptures of the church of Constantine LIPS (908) in Constantinople, where preserved reliefs still exhibit traces of gilding and polychrome. The same church marks the appearance of a new type of sculpture, the relief icon. Stone and esp. ivory icons of the 10th C. widely employed relief to represent saints and the Great Feasts; thereafter the technique was applied to enrich the content of sculpture with ORNAMENT, heraldic imagery (see COATS OF ARMS), ANIMAL COMBATS, and mythological subjects. These are accompanied by a rising interest in PLASTICITY and carving virtuosity. The last phase of relief sculpture, in Palaiologan Constantinople (H. Belting, *MünchJb*³ 23 [1972] 63–100), shows a return to concern with representations of the human figure.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IV^e–X^e siècle)* (Paris 1963). Idem, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge, II (XI^e–XIV^e siècle)* (Paris 1976). T. Ulbert, *Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes* (Munich 1969). R. Lange, *Die byzantinische Reliefkone* (Recklinghausen 1964). —L.Ph.B.

RELIQUARY (λάβραξ, κιβωτίδιον, θήκη), a receptacle for RELICS. The rise of the cult of MARTYRS led to the division and distribution of the supposed earthly residue of the saints, a multiplication which, in turn, necessitated the manufacture of containers for these relics' protection and display. From the 4th C. onward, such vessels were placed within or under ALTARS; their proximity to sacred remains suggested that reliquaries be made of precious materials—above all, gold, silver, and ivory—a sentiment abetted by the desire to honor relics; Leo I placed a garment said to have belonged to the Virgin in a gem-encrusted reliquary casket called a SOROS. Lavish containers were also requisite when relics were sent as diplomatic gifts: Alexios I is described as having sent such a box, with the respective saints identified by labels, to Henry IV of Germany (An.Komn. 1:135.23–25). At the same time some containers, esp. for souvenirs of a holy site (LOCUS SANCTUS), might be made of humbler materials: the painted wood of the SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY or the lead pilgrimage AMPULLAE. Relics could be enclosed in ENKOLPIA or inserted into much larger receptacles like the 6th-C. throne-reliquary known as the “sedia di S. Marco” (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.7).

While never attaining the variety of shapes

known in the medieval West, Byz. examples included skull-reliquaries (Rückert, *infra*, figs. 1–7) and containers in the form of ciboria, like one in Moscow bearing the portraits of Constantine X and Eudokia (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 2, no.547). This last may have been a receptacle for a relic of St. Demetrios, a genre that is characterized by esp. intricate and often diminutive constructions, decorated with ENAMEL, that include images of the bodies and tombs of Demetrios and his companions (A. Grabar, *DOP* 5 [1950] 1–28). These are, however, exceptions to a fairly straightforward pattern of development from simple metal CASKETS AND BOXES to ever more elaborate types. Their size varied not as a function of time but of these reliquaries' contents—from the small gabled box depicted in the hands of a bishop on an ivory plaque in Trier (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.143)—itself perhaps part of such a container—to the coffinlike chests, requiring at least two men to carry them, that are represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (pp. 344, 353). Such caskets had locks and their presence in monastic treasuries is regularly signaled in INVENTORIES. (Most texts refer, nonetheless, to the contents rather than to the container).

Among the preserved reliquaries, examples down to the 10th C. often reproduce the form of SARCOPHAGI. Some have donor portraits and a precious few, such as the Brescia LIPSANOTHEK (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107), represent miracles of Christ and typologically related Old Testament scenes. Toward the end of this period a special type, the so-called *staurotheke*, was developed for fragments of the TRUE CROSS; more than 1,000 relics of this sort are known (Frolow, *infra*). Normally these involved an inner receptacle, with a cruciform compartment housing the holy particle, inserted into a rectangular, often jeweled casing inscribed with the donor's name (LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY). The uses of such *staurothekai* are suggested by inscriptions on the back of a cross-reliquary at Cortona (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.77); these inscriptions describe the ivory as having been presented by a *skeuophylax* named Stephen to the monastery where he was raised and note its (later) role as a victory token carried into battle by an emperor named Nikephoros. Customarily such reliquaries bear the images of Constantine I and Helena.

Both functionally and formally, by the 12th C. some reliquaries had coalesced with icons. A diptych containing the relics of saints as well as their portraits is mentioned in the Patmos inventory of 1200. Just such an object—with the portraits of 28 saints and slots for their remains—is preserved in a diptych of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ. In the case of the BESSARION RELIQUARY, a *staurotheke* is actually incorporated into the icon.

LIT. R. Rückert, “Zur Form der byzantinischen Reliquiare,” *MünchJb*³ 8 (1957) 7–36. A. Frolow, *Les Reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris 1965). —M.E.F., A.C.

REMARRIAGE (διγαμία) was accepted by the early church, but reluctantly; while the NOVA-TIANISTS condemned it, METHODIOS of Olympos (*Symposium* 3.12, ed. N. Bonwetsch [Leipzig 1917] 41.7–8), quoting St. Paul, stated that *digamia* was not a good action, but preferable to “sexual burning” (*ekpyrosis*). EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion* 59.6) granted a widow the right to remarry as many times as she lost her husband; opinion differs as to whether he permitted remarriage after a divorce resulting from ADULTERY or serious crime (P. Nautin, *VigChr* 37 [1983] 157–73, rejected by H. Crouzel, *VigChr* 38 [1984] 271–80). Justinian I permitted remarriage with provision for the protection of surviving children and their inheritance (*Cod.Just.* V 9.9). Canon law recognized the legality of *digamia* for widowers and widows, prescribing a year or two of penance as punishment (Rhalles-Potles, *Synagma* 4:106–30); *digamia* after a DIVORCE was not completely prohibited but condemned by rigorists, as indicated by the MOECHAN CONTROVERSY provoked by the second marriage of Constantine VI. The negative attitude of Byz. moralists toward second marriages is reflected, for example, in Kekaumenos's advice to avoid marrying a widow; he held that tensions with a stepmother were a major problem in remarriage.

The third and fourth marriage of widowers was hotly debated. Irene legislated against a third marriage; Basil I and Leo VI against a fourth. After the dispute over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, the TOMOS OF UNION (920) recognized the lawfulness of second marriages, but restricted third and prohibited fourth marriages; canonists recommended a five-year *epitimion* for the third marriage. Basil the Great (canon 50) branded a third

marriage as *porneia* (prostitution or fornication), but 12th-C. canonists referred to civil law, which permitted the third marriage (Rhalles-Potles, *Synagma* 4:203–05). Balsamon (ibid. 481.14–18) emphasized that childlessness could justify remarriage. The empress EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA in 1067, just before the death of Constantine X, vowed not to remarry in order to protect the rights of her children and assure the continuity of the Doukas dynasty (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 21 [1963] 101–28), but then changed her mind. Widowers might circumvent MATRIMONIAL LEGISLATION by taking CONCUBINES, a socially valid way of avoiding prohibited unions, but some widows allegedly resorted to murdering their children in order to remarry (John Moschos, PG 87:2929BC).

LIT. Ritzer, *Marriage* 209–11. J. Beaucamp, “La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance,” *CahCM* 20 (1977) 159–61. A. Laiou, “Consensus facit nuptias—et non,” *RJ* 4 (1985) 189–201. —J.H., A.K.

RENAISSANCE. The existence of a genuine renaissance in Byz. was denied by A. Heisenberg (*HistZ* 133 [1926] 393–412), but since then the concept has become popular, esp. with art historians. Some scholars argue that the following renaissances are properly so termed: Macedonian, Komnenian, and Late or Palaiologan. P. Speck (*Poikila Byzantina* 4 [Bonn 1984] 175–210) introduced the idea of a pre-Macedonian renaissance, and sometimes the terms “Late Roman” (or Theodosian) renaissance and a “renaissance of Justinian” are used. Thus, the label “renaissance” has been applied to practically the entire Byz. millennium, with very insignificant exceptions (we still have no renaissance of the 7th C.). The concept of a perpetual renaissance is contradictory in itself, since a substantial gap is necessary for a renaissance to occur; Heisenberg used this argument of cultural continuity for rejecting a Byz. renaissance. Furthermore, there is always a danger of confusing a simple interest in antiquity (whether we call it continuity or revival) with renaissance.

However one understands this phenomenon of renaissance (the “autumn of the Middle Ages” or the beginning of a new era), one would presuppose in it some cardinal changes that go beyond the mere imitation of ancient models. A genuine renaissance requires a particular intellectual milieu, and it is debatable whether such a Florentine-

style milieu existed in Constantinople or Mistra. A genuine renaissance requires a radical shift in both the social position and self-estimation of the master (painter, architect, writer, or scientist) and, again, it is questionable whether such a shift ever took place in Byz. Finally, a genuine renaissance "divinizes" man in his practical activity and in his practical goals, whereas Byz. did not go far beyond the traditional perception of man as a pawn in the hands of God or Fate. It might be more appropriate to apply the term "prerenaissance" to the period of the 11th–12th C., when some significant cultural innovations emerged (A. Kazhdan, *Bisanzio e la sua civiltà* [Rome-Bari 1983] 161–81), while recognizing that these innovations were not followed by full-fledged renaissance phenomena similar to those in Italy.

LIT. W. Treadgold, I. Ševčenko, in *Renaissances before the Renaissance* (Stanford, Calif., 1984) 1–22, 75–98, 144–76. S. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge 1970). I. Medvedev, *Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1976). P. Schreiner, "'Renaissance' in Byzanz?" in *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter*, ed. W. Erzgräber (Sigmaringen 1989) 389f. —A.K.

RENIER OF MONTFERRAT, youngest son of William, marquis of Montferrat; born ca.1163, died Constantinople ca.1182/early 1183. William chose Renier as bridegroom for Maria Komnene, Manuel's daughter, to confirm an alliance between the Montferrats and Manuel against FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. Renier reached Constantinople in Aug./Sept. 1179, and the wedding took place in Feb. 1180. In accordance with Byz. custom, Renier was renamed "John" and given the title CAESAR. He joined his wife (see KOMNENE, MARIA) in her conspiracy against the regents for ALEXIOS II. Renier and his Italian supporters distinguished themselves in the defense of Hagia Sophia (Mar.–May 1181). Renier returned to the palace with Maria, and they were executed by Andronikos (I) Komnenos.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 34–37. K.N. Juzbašjan, *Klassovaja bor'ba v Vizantii v 1180–1204 gg. i Četvortyj krestovyj pocho* (Erevan 1957) 11–17. —C.M.B.

RENT. In common usage, rent is a periodic payment to a landlord or owner for use of land, buildings, etc. A varied terminology (e.g., PAKTON, MORTE, EMPHYTEUSIS) attests to manifold forms of renting, most of which are still somewhat obscure.

For agricultural land, rent was paid in the form of cash or as a portion of the harvest. As for rates of rent, while the Farmer's Law (par.10) states that the owner received 1/10 of the harvest, numerous documents from the 11th–14th C. state, with few exceptions, that the rent for cereal-producing land was 1/3 the harvest or 1 hyperpyron for 10 *modioi* of land. For vineyards, there are few figures; according to a 13th–14th-C. LAND LEASE formulary (Sathas, *MB* 6:621.10–11), the owner and renter split equally the wine produced. A theoretical average rent may be calculated as 1 hyperpyron per *modios* of vineyard. The attested rates of the *pakton* of vineyards, however, are much lower, fluctuating at 1 hyperpyron for 6–8 *modioi* of vineyards—therefore N. Svoronos (in *Lavra* 4:162) suggested that the *ampelopakton* (*pakton* for vineyards) was not the base rental charge on vineyards but a state surcharge levied on vineyards cultivated by *xenoparoi*. In practice, rates of rent varied depending on the nature of the renter, whether the state or a private individual, on the social status of the tenant, on local customs, and other noneconomic factors.

In a broader conceptual sense, the word rent is used in two distinct ways by some scholars to designate taxes: (1) "feudal rent" is sometimes used to mean the taxes a PAROIKOS paid to his lord; (2) other scholars (e.g., A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 10 [1956] 48–65) suggest that taxes levied from STATE PROPERTY can be characterized as "centralized rent." (For rents paid on houses, rooms, and workshops, see ENOIKION.)

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 216–21. M. Sjužumov, "Suverenitet, nalog i zemel'naja renta v Vizantii," *ADSV* 9 (1973) 57–65. —M.B.

REPENTANCE. See PENANCE.

RESCRIPTUM (Lat.) or *lysis* (λύσις), a document issued by the imperial or patriarchal CHANCERY in order to answer a (initially legal) question or request. The *rescriptum*, on which the emperor wrote the word *(re)scripsi* ("I have written"), is a late Roman term. The *lysis*, with the emperor's red autograph MENOLOGEM and his wax seal, often written on the back of the original request, was not limited to legal questions. It is attested from the 10th–12th C. and was replaced, already in the 12th C., by ordinary PROTAGMATA.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 80–87. P. Classen, *Kaiserreskript und Königsurkunde* (Thessalonike 1977). —N.O.

RESPONSA NICOLAI PAPAE, the answers of Pope NICHOLAS I to 106 (Heiser, *infra* 79–89) or 115 (Dujčev, *infra* 3:145) questions posed in 866 by BORIS I of Bulgaria. In his responses the pope argued that Roman practices were more suitable for the newly converted barbarians than the strict rules of Constantinople. The *Responsa* contain unique information concerning both Bulgarian and Byz. customary law, including marriage customs (A. Laiou, *RJ* 4 [1985] 189–201). G. Dennis (*OrChrP* 24 [1958] 165–74) asserts that the *Responsa* had no anti-Byz. features, apart from the fact that the pope disapproved of married clergy and refused to recognize Constantinople's second rank among the patriarchates; F. Dvornik (*BS* 34 [1973] 41), however, rejects this thesis.

ED. E. Perels, *MGH Epist.* 6:568–600.
LIT. L. Heiser, *Die responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum des Papstes Nikolaus I. (858–867)* (Trier 1979). Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:125–48, 3:143–73. —A.K.

RESURRECTION (ἀνάστασις). The resurrection of Christ from the dead and the resurrection of all who have died prior to the LAST JUDGMENT are essential components of the Christian faith and are included in all CREEDS and confessions of faith. From the 4th C. onward, the resurrection of Christ was subordinate in theological reflection to the INCARNATION as the decisive "salvific event," although it continued to be central in the church year (see EASTER), and in liturgy and art.

The struggle with ORIGENISM, esp. in Palestine, concerned primarily the constitution of the resurrected body. The individuality of the latter, that is, its identity with the earthly body, and the idea of the soul's wandering, which is thereby excluded, was at the center of discussion.

In Byz. statements on the resurrection, the immortal SOUL is once again united to its own individual BODY which is now no longer corruptible, but neither is it an astral body, that is, it does not journey to the heavenly spheres as 6th-C. Origenism taught.

To guard against APHTHARTODOCETISM and to maintain the full reality of Christ's human nature, it was stressed that even Christ's human body became incorruptible only in his resurrection. This

emphasis was also opposed to those theologians from Palestine who took up the doctrines of JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS and taught that while corruptibility is the result of Adam's sin, involving the capacity to suffer and to die, human nature in itself is incorruptible as it is in Paradise: if Christ did save us from death as corruptibility (*phthora*), he had to be incorruptible (*aphthartos*).

Finally, the resurrection of the dead was challenged because of the belief in the eternality of the cosmos and the spherical shape of the world; at least, this is how the matter was viewed by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES (*Topographia christiana*, 7:1–3.23). Whether or not his attack was intended to answer *On the Resurrection* of JOHN PHILOPONOS must, in view of the state of the texts, remain open to discussion. The question of the resurrection and the corruptibility of the world was also treated by JOHN ITALOS. (For the Resurrection in art, see ANASTASIS.)

LIT. R. Cadiou, *La jeunesse d'Origène* (Paris 1935) 117–29. F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert* (Münster 1899). A. Guillaumont, *Les "Kephalaia gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique* (Paris 1962) 113–17. W. Wolska, *La Topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès* (Paris 1962) 23f, 89–92, 188–91. E. Stéphanou, "Jean Italos, L'immortalité de l'âme et la résurrection," *EO* 32 (1933) 413–28. —K.-H.U.

REVELATION (ἀποκάλυψις), God's partial communication to created beings of knowledge he possesses, including his intimate self-knowledge. Andrew of Caesarea (PG 106:220D) defines it as "a disclosure of concealed mysteries" either through divine DREAMS (*oneirata*) or, if one is in a waking state, through divine enlightenment. Origen (ed. C. Jenkins, *JThSt* 10 [1909] 36.13–15) indicates that at the moment of revelation the human mind is above earthly matters and sets aside all carnal concerns through the power of God. The great revelations were conferred upon ABRAHAM, MOSES, and the apostles and formulated in two great collections of divinely inspired books, the Old and the New Testament. The last book of the New Testament was specifically titled the Book of Revelation (APOCALYPSE). The church repeatedly defended the Old Testament as revealing salutary doctrine to mankind in contrast to the Manichaean teaching that rejected its claim to be a text of revelation. Gradually, the church was led to distinguish between written revelation ("Scripture") and the unwritten "holy tradition" (see par-

ticularly Basil of Caesarea, *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, ch.27, ed. B. Pruche [Paris 1945] 231–38). This implied discernment between authentic revelation and arbitrary claims by “heretics.”

Related to revelation was *epiphaneia*, in which the image more than the word or command was the subject of manifestation. The term encompasses such phenomena as the manifestation of God in the Old Testament, Christ’s Incarnation and Second Coming; the appearance of the Holy Ghost at Christ’s baptism; appearances of angels, saints, and, by extension, demons. The vision of the divine light in Symeon the Theologian or of the light of Tabor in Hesychasm belongs to the same category of phenomena.

LIT. R. Latourelle, *Théologie de la révélation* (Bruges 1963). P. Stockmeier in *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte* 1.1a (Freiburg im Breisgau 1971) 27–87. A. Dulles, “The Theology of Revelation,” *Theological Studies* 25 (1964) 43–58. W. Wiegand, *Offenbarung bei Augustinus* (Mainz 1978). –A.K.

REVELATION, BOOK OF. See APOCALYPSE.

REVTMENT, a facing of thin MARBLE slabs covering the rough masonry of walls and piers; it is usually carried up to the springing point of major arches and vaults, where the painted or mosaic decoration begins. Expensive marbles were often used to frame larger, rectangular sheets of Prokonnesian marble, whose gray veining created symmetrical abstract patterns when slabs cut from the same block were juxtaposed in mirror reversal. Marble revetment brought piers and walls into harmony with marble columns and entablatures, brightened interiors with reflected light, and transformed load-bearing structure into colorful ornament; similar functions were performed by OPUS SECTILE. Widespread in architecture from the 2nd C. onward, revetment was used in the most elaborate churches of Justinian I and later in the inner narthex and naos at the CHORA. Some of these materials may have been SPOLIA: Choniates (Nik.Chon. 442.49–51) reports that Isaac II took revetment slabs from palaces in Constantinople when he restored the Church of St. Michael at Anaplous. –W.L., K.M.K., A.C.

REVTMENT, METAL. The Romans sheathed furniture in metal, and the Byz. continued to cover both household (see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD

FITTINGS) and church furniture in gold, silver, and bronze. While gold revetment largely served imperial circles (vita of PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA, ch.39; Sozom., *HE* 9.1, 4), SILVER was widely used for this purpose, particularly in churches. Starting with the gifts made by Constantine I to the Lateran Basilica in Rome, it became standard practice to cover the ALTAR, CIBORIUM, chancel barrier or TEMPLON, AMBO, shrines, saints’ TOMBS, COLUMNS, CAPITALS, and DOORS in sheets of silver. While only one such set of revetment survives—in the 6th-C. SION TREASURE—numerous written references testify to its use in cathedral, pilgrimage, parochial, and other types of churches, in both villages and cities, throughout the empire. The weight of revetment could be considerable, with one ciborium requiring about 2,000 pounds of silver. After the 7th C. references to revetment are fewer, for example, the ciborium of St. DEMETRIOS at Thessalonike described as “silver” in a text of the 7th C. (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:66.24) is characterized in a text of the 11th C. (?) as made entirely of marble (A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 12 [1936] 332.30). Examples of such revetment are often restricted to imperial patronage, for example, in the palatine chapel described by Photios (*Homily* 10, ch.5)—possibly the Church of the Pharos; in the Great Palace by Theophilos (*TheophCont* 140.8–9), by Basil I (*TheophCont* 325.21), by Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 450.21, 456.9); and in the Blachernai church by Romanos III in 1031 (Skyl. 384.21), whose tomb in the PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY, Constantinople, was covered in gold revetment in 1034 (CLAVIJO, 38); the joint tomb of Sophia-Sosanne, the daughter of Isaac KOMNENOS the *sebastokrator*, and her daughter Irene (12th C.) had a silver *periphoreion* or border (Lampros, “Mark. kod.” 47, no.85, title). Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, still had extensive silver revetment in the mid-12th C. (C. Mango, J. Parker, *DOP* 14 (1960) 237, 239f, 243f).

Revetment was used for ICON FRAMES and for certain details on icons themselves, for example, the NIMBUS. –M.M.M.

RHABDAS, NICHOLAS ARTABASDOS (Ραβδᾶς Ἀρτάβασδος), mathematician and grammarian; born Smyrna, fl. Constantinople mid-14th C. He was a contemporary of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, who dedicated to him a treatise on magic

squares. In 1341 Rhabdas addressed to Theodore Tzabouches of Klazomenai his more elaborate letter on arithmetical computation (on fractions, square roots of nonsquare numbers, the date of EASTER, and business and other MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS). He sent to George Chatzykes a more elementary letter on the value of the Greek alphabetical NUMBERS, on finger-reckoning, on the four arithmetical procedures, and on the order of numbers in a base-10 system. In this second letter Rhabdas refers to the *Great Indian Calculation*, which is the *So-called Great Calculation According to the Indians* of Maximos PLANOUDS. In fact, several MSS of this work by Planoudes contain two additions attributed to Rhabdas, one on finger-reckoning and the other on the method of nines. Rhabdas also wrote on the COMPUTUS (O. Schissel, *BNJbb* 14 [1937–38] 43–59) and compiled a small treatise on grammar for his son, Paul Artabasdos.

ED. P. Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques*, vol. 4 (Toulouse-Paris 1920) 61–198. A. Allard, *Maxime Planude: Le grand calcul selon les indiens* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1981) 203, 207f. LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:247. PLP, no.1437. –D.P.

RHAIDESTINOS, DAVID (baptismal name Daniel), musician, composer, DOMESTIKOS, and scribe; born Rhaidestos, fl. early 15th C. The real surname of Rhaidestinos (Ραιδεστινός) was probably GABALAS (as noted in a number of MSS) and he spent the major part of his life at the Pantokrator monastery on Mt. Athos, where he sang, composed, directed the right-hand choir, and copied both musical and nonmusical MSS. Three of his musical autographs (1431–36) are known, all at Athos: Iveron 544, Pantok.214, and Lavra E.173. The Iveron MS is one of the first attempts to combine in one volume an entire anthology of kalophonic chants (see TERETISMATA) by various composers, including Rhaidestinos himself. It preserves florid verses for vespers, the POLYELEOS of *orthros*, the antiphons of the *oktoechos*, the Magnificat, etc. Rhaidestinos’s own compositions are few, yet they were widely copied in 15th- through 19th-C. collections. They include STICHERA for the MENAION, KOINONIKA, and kalophonic CHANTS.

LIT. S. Eustratiades, “Thrakes mousikoi,” *EEBS* 12 (1936) 54–56. A. Jakovlevič, “David Redestinos i Jovan Kukuzel u srpskoslovenskim prevodima,” *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 179–91. Idem, “David Raidestinos, Monk and Musician,” *SEC* 3 (1973) 91–97. –D.E.C.

RHAIDESTOS (Ραιδεστός, also Rodosto, anc. Bisanthe, mod. Tekirdağ), city on the north shore of the Sea of MARMARA. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.9.17–20) calls it a “littoral *chorion*,” and a similar epithet, *parathalattidios*, is found in Niketas Choniates (e.g., Nik.Chon. 448.15). According to Prokopios, Rhaidestos was fortified by Justinian I. In 813 the *kastron* of Rhaidestos, with its houses and churches, was burned by the Bulgarians (*TheophCont* 614.24). By the 9th C., Rhaidestos was probably functioning as a port connected with Adrianople; this is suggested by the seals of a certain George, *dioiketes* of Rhaidestos (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.1915). It was an important center of grain trade in the 11th C., controlled by an imperial PHOUNDAX. Michael ATTALEIATES owned properties in Rhaidestos, and he certainly was not the only great landowner in the area; at the end of the 11th C., a noble widow of a certain Batatzes was influential there (Attal. 244.19–21). Rhaidestos was among the Thracian and Macedonian cities that joined the revolt of Leo TORNİKIOS. The city was plundered by Kalojan in 1206 and by the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1307 and was heavily damaged during the civil wars of the 14th C. Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 1:436.2–6) reports on his victory over Turkish troops who were pillaging the lands around Rhaidestos. In 1382 John V ceded Rhaidestos to Andronikos IV. Rhaidestos was a bishopric under the jurisdiction of Thracian HERAKLEIA and, from the 14th C. onward, a metropolis.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 3 (1899) 500f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:218–22; 5.3:61f. Ph. Manoulides, “Rhaidestos,” *Thra-kika* 24 (1955) 13. –A.K.

RHAIKTOR (ραίκτωρ), or rector, high-ranking courtier whose functions were probably to administer the imperial palace; Liutprand of Cremona calls him *rector domus*. Bury (*Adm. System* 115) assumes that the post was introduced by Basil I or Leo VI, but Oikonomides (*Listes* 47.9) restores the title in the text of the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij. The *rhaiktor* could be a eunuch or a cleric, even a priest; on the other hand, some high officials combined the title with the functions of *stratopedarches* or important civil posts, such as *logothetes* of the *genikon* (Lavra 1, nos. 10.29, 11.15; Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.912) or *sakellarios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 772–73). The exact meaning of the title was not clear to PHILOTHEOS, who included

the *rhaiktor* along with special *axiai* in his *Kletorologion* of 899. The use of the title after the 11th C. is not known. The term was employed in a specific sense on seals of the 7th–8th C., sometimes as *rhaiktor* of Calabria (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1477, 2635); it designated the administrator of the *patrimonium* of the Roman church.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:212–19. Oikonomides, *Listes* 308. —A.K.

RHAKENDYTES, JOSEPH. See JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES.

RHEA, a Greek goddess, early identified with Kybele, the mother of the gods, who was worshiped in Asia Minor. A myth made her the wife of Kronos and mother of Zeus, whom she saved from his father who had eaten his older children. The Christian church rejected this legend as particularly distasteful. In the *Dionysiaka* by NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, Rhea is assigned by Hermes to nurse the baby DIONYSOS; Hermes calls her “nurse of lions” (9:147). Later Rhea the “Allmother” summons the army for Dionysos’s expedition to India (13:35–42). TZETZES (*Hist.* 13:251–56) relates that in antiquity beggars would place an idol of Rhea on a donkey and walk around the countryside, singing and beating on drums, to solicit alms.

The story of Rhea and Kronos was illustrated in MSS of pseudo-Nonnos, Gregory of Nazianzos, and pseudo-Oppian. Rhea is sometimes depicted with her right breast bare (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.36).

LIT. Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 38–41, 78f, 127–29. —A.K., A.M.T.

RHEGION (Ῥήγιον, now the village of Küçük Çekmece in Turkish Thrace [Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1 (1918) 275, n.2]), suburb west of Constantinople; it was on a lake connected by the narrow Myrmex Canal to the Sea of Marmara. Gregoras notes Constantinopolitan *proaulia* and *proasteia* located in Rhegion (Greg. 1:321.3–4). Prokopios (*Buildings* 4:8.5–17) describes in detail a paved road for carriages and a stone bridge over the Myrmex, both constructed by Justinian I. By the 15th C. the bridge had become dilapidated and the roads to Constantinople swampy (Kritob. 101.1–6).

Rhegion had a port (*epineion*), which was damaged in the earthquake of 557 (Agath. 167.25), as was a Church of Sts. Stratonikos and Kallinikos (Theoph. 231.23–24). Ships could moor at Rhegion in the 14th C. (Greg. 1:540.5–7).

Because of its proximity to Constantinople, Rhegion was often involved in the political strife of the capital: thus the Green faction welcomed Phokas in Rhegion and invited him to HEBDOMON (Theoph. 289.8–10), Maurice came to Rhegion to distribute silver coins among the poor (268.8–9), and in 1329 people gathered in Rhegion to meet Andronikos II (Kantak. 1:426.22–427.4). Rhegion was frequently subject to hostile attacks: Krum burned it in 813, Kalojan pillaged it in 1206. In 1261 Alexios STRATEGOPOULOS camped in Rhegion before capturing Constantinople (Greg. 1:83.18–19). One of the gates in the west wall of Constantinople was called that of Rhegion (or Rhesion, or Polyandros [vernacular Koliandros]; Janin, *CP byz.* 277f). (For Rhegion in Italy, see REGGIO-CALABRIA.)

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 1 (1920) 476f. —A.K.

RHETORIC (ῥητορικὴ), the technique of persuasion through the art of public speaking. It strongly influenced not only orations but other literary genres that often included full speeches—genuine or invented—and used RHETORICAL FIGURES of speech, descriptive passages (EKPHRASIS), etc. Rhetorical technique left its imprint on historiography, hagiography, poetry, and epistolography. Ancient rhetoric greatly affected Byz.; the major types of classical oratory were retained, and the teaching of rhetoric was based on ancient handbooks. Especially popular were the corpus of HERMOGENES (particularly on forms of styles and classes of arguments) and treatises ascribed to MENANDER RHETOR, as well as their continuators such as APHTHONIOS (on PROGYMNASMATA). Collections of Byz. speeches, preserved in Byz. MSS such as Escorial Y II 10 and Vienna, ÖNB, philol. gr. 321, probably also served educational purposes.

The establishment of the Roman Empire and the later crisis of urban life caused substantial changes in rhetoric. Ancient society was oriented primarily toward oral forms of communication, whereas Byz., while remaining essentially oral, placed more emphasis on the book (Averincev, *Poetika* 183–209). The 4th-C. church fathers pes-

simistically expressed their wariness of the spoken word (H.G. Beck, *Rede als Kunstwerk und Bekenntnis* [Munich 1977] 29–32). Judicial and deliberative oratory lost importance, and of three major genres of ancient rhetoric only EPIDEICTIC oratory (esp. the ENKOMION) seems to have flourished; accordingly, the SECOND SOPHISTIC first lost its political function and then disappeared, leaving its trace only in the system of exercises. Theological oratory, esp. POLEMIC, developed quickly: its principles, often differing from those of ancient rhetoric, were not reflected in handbooks or later commentaries on them, even though Byz. commentators tried to equate some theological genres with epideictic ones, for example, homily (SERMON) with the traditional diatribe or *parainesis*. Patr. GERMANOS II (PG 140:713BC) distinguished two types of oratory: the judicial, intended to refute opponents’ views by means of ANTITHESIS; and the panegyric, to “set in order the desires of the soul” and to create a serene and untroubled state of mind. Such techniques, it has been suggested (Maguire, *Art & Eloquence*), likewise underlay compositions in religious art.

Stylistically, rhetoric was based on ancient models. DEMOSTHENES and AILIOS ARISTEIDES remained, at least in theory, the model for orators. Some later authors also became paradigms: among church orators, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos, and John Chrysostom; among the secular writers, Michael Psellos. IMITATION (*mimesis*) embraced both style and content and the subject matter for *progymnasmata*: rhetoric ignored developments in the morphology, syntax, and vocabulary of the spoken LANGUAGE and frequently referred to mythology or Greek and Roman history as well as traditional moral or satirical topics, thus producing a timeless quality and “deconcretization.” Nevertheless Byz. rhetoric, if not rhetorical theory, reveals some substantial changes in aim and method.

The classical ideal of rhetorical *sapheneia* (clarity) was underpinned by the relative simplicity of the language of the New Testament, and later theoreticians such as PHOTIOS praised the clarity of authors they had read. This classical virtue, however, was at odds with the perception of the cosmos as mystery, and commentators such as JOHN SIKELIOTES and JOHN DOXOPATRES used the term *mysterion* to define rhetoric. Obscurity (*asapheia*), as Kustas (*infra* 83–85, 91–93, 188–94) has

stressed, became the stylistic principle of rhetoric, which widely used RIDDLES, ALLEGORIES, and very long composite EPITHETS to represent how language overcomes the enigmatic ineffability of the world. The strength of logic gave way to the strength of emotion: the author’s role was to participate in events rather than explain them to the audience; indifferent to his individuality, he associated himself with his listeners under a faceless “we.” Syllogism ceased to be a powerful weapon; instead the orator turned to the authority of the Bible and church fathers and expected his assertions to be accepted without logical reservations. The fact was precious, not as a piece of reality, but as a vehicle for moral or theological generalizations, hence the accumulation of abstract statements and the lack of detail. On the other hand, J. Onians (*Art History* 3 [1980] 1–24) suggested that Late Antique rhetorical descriptions of works of art became more specific precisely at the time when artists were abandoning niceties of detail. In both art and literature fact itself was a *mimesis*, a repetition of past events, so that contemporaries were viewed as “new Josephs” or “new Alexanders.”

Probably to a lesser extent than in the medieval West, Byz. rhetoric was oriented toward disputation. Contests before the *logothetes tou dromou* formed an important element of rhetorical EDUCATION, and rhetoricians characterized a speech as an *agon* (“contest”), even though it was sometimes explained as a contest between the author and the subject of his praise.

Rhetoric together with PHILOSOPHY formed major disciplines of Byz. education; the MAISTOR TON RHETORON taught at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople. Eloquence, including knowledge of the rules of the school rhetoric, was essential for an administrative career: some youths of poor families, such as Psellos, climbed the social ladder primarily due to their mastery of words. Conversely, ineloquence in a high-ranking official aroused the contempt of his peers. Rhetorical performances had an established place in state and church ceremonial: John Chrysostom had to compete, by the power of his sermons, with such popular events as circus games; the sermon remained a potent tool of ideological propaganda; ceremonial speeches were delivered before the emperor (BASILIKOS LOGOS, PROSPHONETIKOS LOGOS) and patriarch at set feasts, and speeches

could be heard during the state ceremonies, in church councils, and even in the public places of Constantinople.

Despite the codification of rhetoric with written forms and rules, Byz., like all preindustrial societies, remained largely oral. LITERACY at more than a functional level was confined to a small, and chiefly male, segment of the population; silent reading was for a long time exceptional. The evidence is intermittent but persistent that literary compositions were performed orally before an audience up to the Palaiologan period. The rules for rhetoric were originally devised as an aid to fluent public speaking and persuasive communication and continued to be used for this purpose throughout the Byz. period. Nonetheless, rhetoric was equally influential on purely literary compositions. Paradoxically many of the features of Byz. literature that seem to a modern reader particularly redundant and artificial derive from rules developed for severely practical purposes of oral presentation.

LIT. W.J. Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance and Technology* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971). G.L. Kustas, *Studies in Byz. Rhetoric* (Thessalonike 1973). G.A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton 1983); rev. A. Kazhdan, *Speculum* 59 (1984) 662–64 and G. Kustas, *ClPhil* 80 (1985) 381–85. S. Averincev, "Vizantijskaja ritorika," in *Problemy literaturnoj teorii v Vizantii i latinskoy srednevekov'e*, ed. M. Gasparov (Moscow 1986) 19–90. R. Browning, *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 10 (1988) 349–51. W.E. Voss, *Recht und Rhetorik in den Kaiserzeiten der Spätantike* (Frankfurt am Main 1982). W. Hörandner, "Éléments de rhétorique dans les siècles obscurs," *Orpheus* n.s. 7 (1986) 293–305.

—A.K., E.M.J., A.C.

RHETORICAL FIGURES, figures of speech or techniques of verbal ornament; Greek rhetoricians divided them into two groups, **TROPES** and figures proper (*schemata*). The latter—whose number seemed infinite (Alexander in *RhetGr*, ed. Spengel 3:9.5–9)—were subdivided into figures of reason or speech (*logos*) and figures of expression or thought (*dianoia*). Figures of reason were related to the author's attitude toward his text: emphasis on what he will eventually say, anticipation of what his opponent will say, **PARRHESIA**, concession, *aporia*, **ETHOPIA**, etc. Figures of expression included individual grammatical features, omission of conjunctions and prepositions (asyndeton) and of verbs (ellipsis), pleonasm, repetition of the same word (anadiplosis), beginning or ending several clauses of a period with the same word (epanaphora or antistrophe), etc. Late

Roman theoreticians produced treatises on figures, following ancient tradition (e.g., Tiberios, 3rd–4th C., *On the Figures of Demosthenes*). The Byz. continued to use traditional figures, which served the role of creating intimacy between the orator/writer and listener/reader. A typical feature was the treatment of the speech as an arena of contest between the (weak) author and (excellent) hero of the *enkomion*. Epanaphora (e.g., *chair-etismos*, repetition of *chaire*, "welcome," at the beginning of the clauses) was popular in both prose discourses and in verses.

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 270–315. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 123–26. Kustas, *Studies* 136–38.

—A.K., E.M.J.

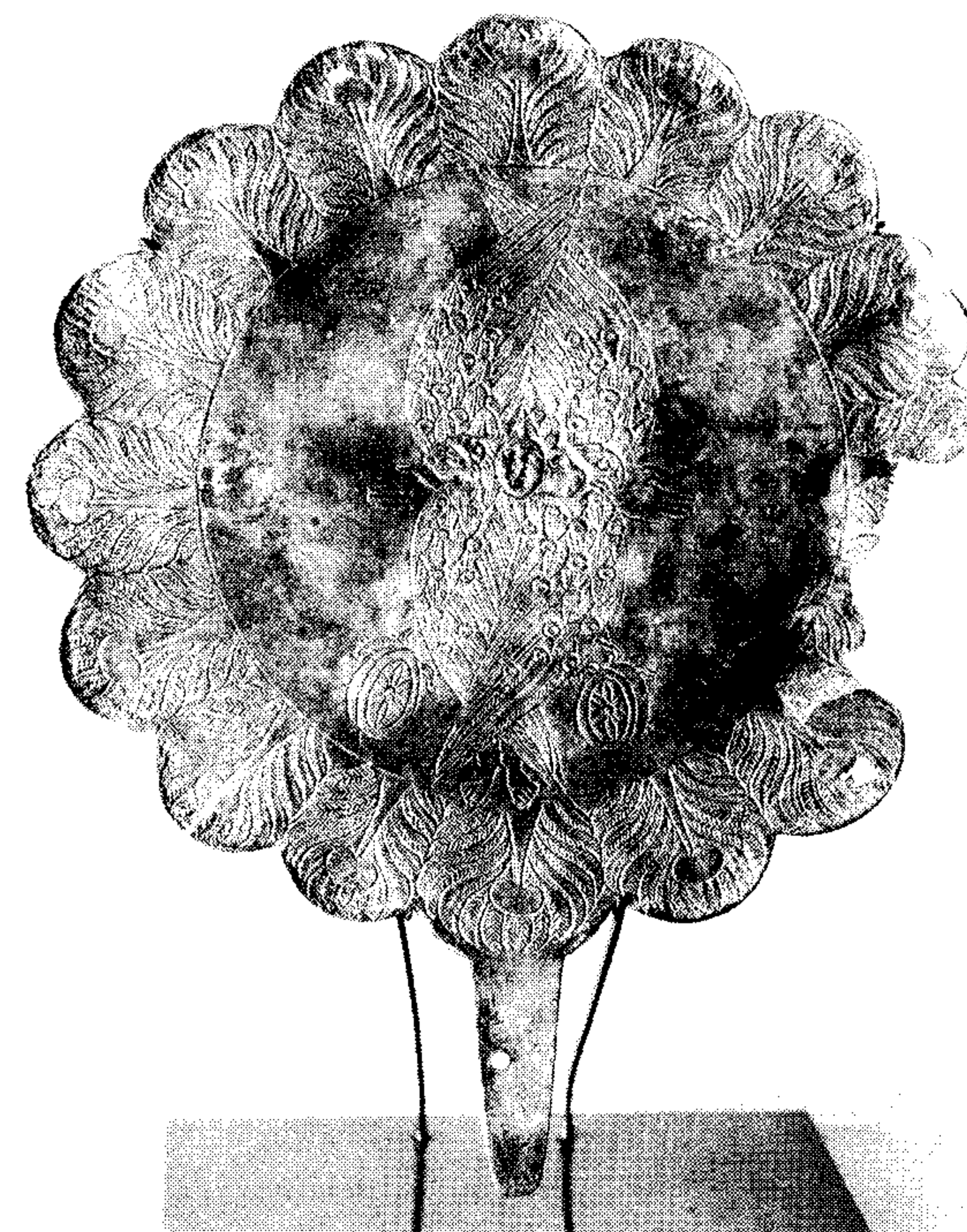
RHETORIOS OF EGYPT, astrologer; fl. early 7th C., probably at Alexandria. His biography is unknown. Rhetorios was the author of an extraordinary collection of excerpts from earlier Greek astrologers, based on what must have been a magnificent library. His date is determined by his inclusion of a **HOROSCOPE** that can be dated 24 Feb. 601 (D. Pingree, *Dorothei Sidonii Carmen astrologicum* [Leipzig 1976] xii), and the presumption that he wrote before the fall of Alexandria to the Arabs in 642. This date is consistent with the fact that his collection was available to **THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA** in the 8th C. We now possess of it only three epitomes and several sub-epitomes. The main epitomes date from the 9th and early 11th C., while the third is preserved only in a 13th-C. Latin translation.

Rhetorios's treatise shows acquaintance with the writings of numerous scientists and astrologers, including Balbillus (1st C.), Dorotheos of Sidon (ca.75), **PTOLEMY**, Vettius Valens (2nd C.), Antiochus of Athens (3rd C.), **PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA**, Julian of Laodikeia, and **EUTOKIOS**. Rhetorios's collection is one of the basic constituents of the compendium put together by Eleutherios Zebe-lenos, also called Elias, in 1388 under the false name of Palchos. It is also one of the main repositories of 5th- and 6th-C. Byz. horoscopes.

ED. CCAG 1:142–64; 5:3:124f; 5:4:123–54; 7:192–226; 8:1:220–48.

LIT. D. Pingree, "Antiochus and Rhetorius," *ClPhil* 72 (1977) 203–23.

RHIPIDION (ῥιπίδιον, Latin *flabellum*), a fan widely used in the Mediterranean. A consular diptych of the early 6th C. presents the consul



RHIPIDION. Silver *rhipidion* ("Riha" *rhipidion*) from the Kaper Koraon Treasure, 577. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The border of the *rhipidion* is a design of peacock feathers; and the central image is that of a cherub.

Philoxenos in official attire accompanied by a eunuch holding a *rhipidion* in both hands; the instrument consists of a staff and a square piece of tissue with a wreath of laurel depicted in its middle. Attested in liturgical use by the 4th C. (**APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS** 8.12.3), it is described as made of fine skin or peacock feathers or linen. The soft pennant of the fan was replaced by a metal disc. The earliest surviving *rhipidia* are from the **KAPER KORAON TREASURE**; they are made of silver, form a disc with scallop edges and a tang, and are decorated with seraphs or cherubs; the silver stamps date them to 577. Liturgical texts indicate that the fan was waved by the deacon over the sacramental elements to protect them from insects; at the same time they were considered to be heavenly powers hiding their faces in awe at the Passion. The name *hexapterygon* (see **SERAPHIM**) applied to liturgical fans stresses the symbolism of their function.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 5:1610–25. Brightman, *Liturgies* 1:577. Mango, *Silver* 147–54. D.I. Pallas, "Meletemata lei-

tourgika-archaiologika. II. To ekklesiastikon hexapterygon," *EEBS* 24 (1954) 184–93.

—M.M.M.

RHIZA CHORIOU (ρίζα χωρίου, lit. "root of a village"), the total gross tax burdening a village community. The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 114.22–30) defines it as the entire sum of taxes before subtracting the figures for reduced and/or abolished levies (**SYMPATHEIAI**, **KLASMATA**, **SOLEMNIA**, etc.). The problem is whether the *rhiza* was established on the basis of an actual line-by-line addition of individually calculated **STICHOI** (the principle of the **CAPITATIO-JUGATIO**) or was imposed upon the **CHORION** as a global sum by fiscal authorities. The *Treatise* seems to imply the latter since it juxtaposes the *hypotage* (the size of the village's land) with the *rhiza* and indicates that the **EPIBOLE** equalled the *hypotage* divided by the *rhiza* so that the quotient forms the *modismos*, or the village's official rate of taxation expressed as number of *modioi* per nomisma of taxes (Dölger, *Beiträge* 114.34–115.6).

The term is rare in later documents. In 1089 the monks of Docheiariou feared losing their land since they had no *rhiza* "on their small possession" at the site called Satoubla, although they had to pay a nomisma for this allotment (*Docheiar.*, no.2.3–5). According to their request, this payment was taken into account in the calculation of the whole *demosion* of the village of Perigardikeia. When, in 1152, the monastery of the Virgin Eleousa (**VELJUSA**) received a donation of 12 *zeugaratoi*, it became evident that the *modismos* in the area was uncertain, no *geometria* (proper measurement) was available, and the *rhiza* had to be established by the emperor's command (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 39.9–17).

LIT. K. Chvostova, "Rhiza choriou v XIV v.," *VizVrem* 26 (1965) 46–57. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 248f. Ostrogorsky, *Steuergemeinde* 26f, 78f.

—M.B.

RHODES (Ῥόδος), mountainous island in the Dodekanese, off the southwest coast of Asia Minor. Rhodes is also the name of a city (*civitas Rhodiorum*: *Cod. Just.* I 40.6, a.385) on this island; according to the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 686.1), it was the capital of the province of the Islands, administered by a *hegemon* and containing 20 *poleis*, including Kos, Samos, Chios, Mytilene, Andros, Naxos, and Paros. Rhodes was a metropolitan see of the Cyclades and had 11 suffragans

(Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:528–38). From the 7th C. the island served as a frontier station against the Arab fleet: in 654 Mu'awiya plundered Rhodes and carried away the remains of the Colossus; a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 345.9–11) relates that a Jewish merchant from Edessa loaded the bronze from the statue on 900 camels. In 715 the Greek navy revolted on Rhodes and sailed to Constantinople to depose Anastasios II; soon thereafter the Saracens captured the island, but their fleet was destroyed by a storm and by Greek fire. In 807 Hārūn al-Rashīd landed on Rhodes; he was, however, unable to take the fortress (*phrourion*: Theoph. 483.7).

Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 14.43, ed. Pertusi p.79) describes Rhodes as located in the middle of the theme of KIBYRRHAIOTAI. Al-Mas'ūdī (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:39) mentions, under the year 943/4, an arsenal and shipbuilding activity on Rhodes. A seal of 695/6 (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.189) refers to the *apothēke* of Asia, Caria, Lycia, Rhodes, and Cherronesos (in Caria?). The administration of the island, according to a seal of the 10th–11th C., was in the hands of an *archon* (G. Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, vol. 1 [Paris 1895] 207, no.16).

Rhodes was a naval station during the Crusades: from 1097 to 1099 Rhodian merchant ships carried supplies to the Crusaders' camp at Antioch, but then conflicts arose; in 1099 the Pisan fleet had to fight a Byz. naval squadron near Rhodes (HC 1:374). Some royal Crusaders stopped at the island on their way to Palestine (Richard I Lionheart) or on the return (Philip II of France). After 1204 Rhodes remained independent under Leo GABALAS and his descendants (A. Sabbides, *Byzantina* 12 [1983] 405–28). It was taken in 1232/3 by John III Vatatzes and ruled by a *komes* (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 317, 361) but was later controlled by the Genoese who, in 1306, received refugees from the HOSPITALLERS; in 1309 the latter took the island after a two-year siege. The Hospitallers built powerful fortifications and withstood the Turks until 1523 (A. Luttrell, V. von Falkenhau- sen, *RSBS* 22–23 [1985–86] 317–32); under the rule of the Hospitallers reasonably peaceful relations prevailed between Latins and Greeks (cf. Greg. 3:12f).

The ancient settlements of the town of Rhodes in the north and Lindos in the east survived into Byz. times. Several Early Christian basilicas have

been excavated, esp. in the town of Rhodes (Pal- las, *Monuments paléochrétiens* 236–39), and E. Dyggve (*Lindos* [Berlin 1960] 521–28) has argued for continuity of cult (Athena/Virgin) at Lindos. There are also many churches with frescoes of the 13th to 15th C., for example, St. George ho Bardas (1289/90) and St. Phanourios (before 1335/6).

LIT. C. Torr, *Rhodes under the Byzantines* (Cambridge 1886). H. von Gaertringer, *RE* supp. 5 (1931) 813–17. A.K. Orlandos, "Byzantina kai metabyzantina mnemeia tes Rodou," *ABME* 6 (1948) 55–215. A. Luttrell, "Greeks, Latins and Turks on Late-Medieval Rhodes," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 357–74. J.A. Ochoa Anadón, "Rodas y los caballeros de San Juan de Jerusalén en la embajada a Tamerlan," *Ery- theia* 7 (1986) 207–27.

—T.E.G.

RHODIAN SEA LAW (Νόμος ναυτικός), a three-part collection of regulations involving maritime law. The third and longest part deals with specific punishable offenses and regulates questions of liability and contribution (Ashburner, *infra* ccli-cclxxxv) in the area of shipping. The second part establishes, among other things, profit-sharing for the crew and shipboard regulations. The first part relates the ratification of the *Rhodian Sea Law* by the Roman emperors. This prologue, which is transmitted in but a few MSS from the 12th C. onward, is considered today a late addition that was inspired by the information—itsself rather dubious—contained in the often quite inconsistently transmitted headings. The designation of the collection as *Nomos Rhodios* or *Nomos Rhodion* (Rhodian Law or Law of the Rhodians) is an allusion to the Sea Law of Rhodes, which, though famous since antiquity, is hard to place historically (cf. *Digest* 14.2 rubric). Current opinion holds that the *Rhodian Sea Law* was compiled in the 7th or 8th C.; its relationship to the *ECLOGA* in content, language, and MS tradition (sometimes it forms a part of its Appendix) is less close than Zachariä had maintained. The idea of an official promul- gation of the collection is no longer generally accepted. The *Sea Law* (minus prologue) was re- ceived into the *BASILIKA*—if not from the very beginning, at least early on—as a supplement to book 53.

ED. W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-Law* (Oxford 1909; rp. Aalen 1976).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 313–19. M. Sjuzumov, "Mor- skoj zakon," *ADSV* 6 (1969) 3–54. I. Spatharakis, "The Text of Chapter 30 of the Lex Nautica," *Hellenika* 26 (1973) 207–15.

—L.B.

RHODOPE (Ροδόπη), name of several geo- graphical areas in the Balkans.

1. Mountain range separating the coastal plain of THRACE from the interior plain of PHILIPPO- POLIS. Asdracha (*infra*) uses the geographical term in a broader sense; in addition to the mountainous area (western Rhodope with the fortress of Tze- paina and eastern Rhodope—MARONEIA and MORA), it encompasses the system of valleys—the upper valley of the HEBROS (the region of Philip- popolis), the lower valley of the Hebrs with the port of AINOS—and the littoral, including Traianopolis.

2. Late Roman province along the Aegean coast of Thrace between MACEDONIA on the west and Europa on the east. It had seven cities, with Ainos as its capital. The province disappeared in the 7th C., and most of the area was later incorporated in the theme of BOLERON. The ecclesiastical prov- ince—often identified with Europa—survived at least until the 12th C. (*Notitiae CP* 13.772, al- though the see was then vacant); Traianopolis was the metropolis and Ainos, ANCHIALOS, KYPSELLA, Maroneia, and Maximianoupolis were archbish- oprics.

LIT. C. Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Athens 1976).

—T.E.G.

RHOMAIOS (Ῥωμαῖος), ancient Greek ethnic term for an inhabitant of ROME. When—from Themistios onward—Constantinople came to be called Second, Eastern, or New Rome (E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 32f), the population of the Eastern Empire became "Romans." Since the ancient meaning was also retained, terminological confusion sometimes re- sulted; for example, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS con- tinually referred to the pope as "the archpriest of the Rhomaioi" (*Letters*, no.28.26, etc.). To avoid this confusion, the Byz. called the Romans "Italoι" and accordingly termed Roman law "Italian knowledge" or "wisdom" (F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* [Leipzig- Berlin 1926] 27). The term *Rhomaioi* entered of- ficial formulas, such as the phrases "*basileus* of the Rhomaioi," used from the 7th C. onward (P. Clas- sen, *DA* 9 [1952] 115f), and "*krites katholikos* of the Rhomaioi" (e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.160.35–36).

While Muslim writers considered Byz. as Rome and used the name RŪM for the imperial territory

that was annexed by Arabs and Turks, Westerners consistently called the Byz. "Greci" and their em- peror "rex Grecorum" (A.D. v. den Brincken, *Die "Nationes Christianorum Orientalium"* [Cologne- Vienna 1973] 16–76); the same ethnic term is predominant in Slavic literature (V. Tāpkova- Zaimova, *EtBalk* no.1 [1984] 51–57), a usage that G. Litavrin interpreted as pejorative (17 *CEB*, *Major Papers* [Washington, D.C., 1986] 375–77). The Byz. themselves used the word *Graikos* and its derivatives; this term had had a pejorative connotation in antiquity, but the Byz. reluctantly accepted it while rejecting the term HELLENES that became synonymous with pagans; the term *Grai- kos* acquired primarily religious and cultural sig- nificance, whereas Rhomaioi was used predomi- nantly in connection with the state (G. Tsaras, *Byzantina* 1 [1969] 146–48).

LIT. T. Lounghis, "Le programme politique des 'Ro- mains orientaux' après 476," in *La nozione di "Romano" tra cittadinanza e universalità* (Naples 1984) 369–75. M. Man- touvalou, "Romaioi—Romios—Romiosyni. La notion de 'Romain' avant et après la chute de Constantinople," *EEPhSPA* 28 (1979–85) 169–98. P. Gounaridis, "'Grecs,' 'Hellenes' et 'Romains' dans l'état de Nicée," *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:248–57.

—A.K.

RHOMAIOS, EUSTATHIOS, judge at the im- perial court (ca.975–1034), as had been his grand- father. Rhomaioi (Ῥωμαῖος) began his career as a simple judge (*litos krites*) and rose to *magistros* and *droungarios tes viglas*. Of his writings—which seem to have consisted primarily of statements of verdict (*hypomnemata*), counsel's opinion, and special legal studies (*meletai*)—only a few pieces have survived in their entirety. A colleague took excerpts from some of his works and arranged them according to subject in a textbook called the PEIRA. Rhomaioi was held in high esteem in his own time, and even more so later, for his legal erudition and his skill in decision making.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "The Peira of Eustathios Ro- maios," *FM* 7 (1986) 169–92. G. Weiss, "Hohe Richter in Konstantinopel. Eustathios Rhomaioi und seine Kollegen," *JÖB* 22 (1973) 117–43.

—D.S.

RHOPAI (Ῥοπαί), an anonymous treatise on "the divisions of time," specifically, procedural and other legally significant time limits ranging from one hour to 100 years. Like the treatise DE ACTIONI- BUS, the work has its origin in the period of the

ANTECESSORES and was altered and enlarged over the course of later centuries.

LIT. F. Sitzia, *Le Rhopai* (Naples 1984).

—D.S.

RHOS. See **RUS'**.

RHOSIA (Ῥωσία). Rhosia was a term with a variety of meanings in Byz. texts.

1. In the most common Byz. usage Rhosia designates the land of the Rus'. The term is first used by Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 9.42; *De cer.* 594.18) and occurs frequently thereafter, esp. in documents and seals. In addition, Rhosia occurs with various adjectival modifiers: (a) "outer Rhosia": a term found only once (*De adm. imp.* 9.3), perhaps referring to the northern parts of the territory (V. Petruchin, F. Šelov-Kovedjaev, *VizVrem* 49 [1988] 184–190; for a different view see O. Pritsak in *Okeanos* 555–67); (b) "new Rhosia": a late 11th-C. term, probably referring to the titular metropolis of Černigov (A. Poppe, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 180f); (c) "little Rhosia": GALITZA and Volynia, esp. under LITHUANIA and POLAND; (d) "great Rhosia": first used in the 12th C. with reference to the metropolis of KIEV (*Notitiae CP*, no.13.754), then with reference to all the former lands of Rus' under the control of Moscow; and (e) "all Rhosia": from the mid-12th C. onward, usually in the title of the metropolitan to promote the principle of the unity of Rus'.

2. Rhosia is also the name of a town and harbor located, according to al-IDRISĪ, at a distance of 27 miles from TMUTOROKAN, on the western or possibly eastern shore of the Cimmerian BOSPOROS (A. Kazhdan, *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskich stran* [Moscow 1963] 93–95). N. Bănescu (*BShAcRoum* 22.2 [1941] 75f) erroneously located it in the estuary of the Don. In the 12th C. Rhosia was one of the Byz. bases in the area, and the administration tried to secure it from the penetration of Italian merchants (*Reg* 2, no.1488). It is debatable whether the title "archontissa of Rhosia" on the seal of Theophano of the MOUZALON family refers to the Byz. harbor town or to Kievan Rus'.

LIT. Ditten, *Russland-Excurs* 16–39, 85–153. A. Soloviev, *Byzance et la formation de l'état russe* (London 1979). M.V. Bibikov, "Vizantijskie istočniki po istorii Rusi, narodov severnogo Pričernomor'ja i severnogo Kavkaza (XII–XIII vv.)," in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR 1980* (Moscow 1981) 42–46.

—S.C.F., A.K.

RHYME, in its standard meaning, had no place in the archaizing classical meters of Byz. secular POETRY or the system of syllabic correspondences of ecclesiastical poetry. Once classical meters were replaced by verses based on word-accent, however, rhyme was used quite often to point a balance between two lines or two parts of one line, whether the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melode or the POLITICAL VERSE of Theodore Prodromos (W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* [Vienna 1974] 116f). Similar rhyming clauses also appear in prose, for rhetorical effect, from Proklos of Constantinople onward. Systematic rhyme in verse couplets is usually considered to have been introduced as a result of influence from French and Italian vernacular literatures, where rhyme is a prominent feature. Rhyme of this sort appears first in Byz. in the work of the Cretan writers Stephen SACHLIKES and Marinos FALIERI. Rhyme remained confined to vernacular texts and rare until the late 15th C., when romances such as BELISARIOS and IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA and satire such as the SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY were rewritten in rhyming couplets; many of these rewritings were later printed in Venice.

LIT. W.F. Bakker, "The Transition of Unrhymed to Rhymed: The Case of the *Belisariada*," in *Neograeca Medi Aevi*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986) 25–50. Averincev, *Poetika* 221–36.

—E.M.J.

RHYNDAKOS RIVER (Ῥυνδακός, modern Orhaneli in northwest Asia Minor), site of a battle (15 Oct. 1211) between troops of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and THEODORE I LASKARIS. HENRY OF HAINAULT, with perhaps 260 knights, camped on the Rhyndakos, probably near Lopadion. Theodore, who had a large army but only a few Latin knights, lured Henry's troops into an ambush. Leaving some to guard his camp, Henry charged the Byz. army, which yielded at the first onslaught; the rout and slaughter lasted until sunset. According to his letter of Jan. 1212 (Prinz-ing, "Brief Heinrichs" 415–17), Henry suffered no losses. The ensuing treaty with Theodore (Akrop. 1:27f) reestablished Crusader power in north-western Anatolia.

—C.M.B.

RICHARD I LIONHEART, king of England (1189–99); born Oxford 8 Sept. 1157, died Chalus near Limoges 6 Apr. 1199. While en route to the Holy Land to participate in the Third Crusade,

Richard learned that some of his fleet had been shipwrecked on Cyprus (Apr. 1191). The *basileus* ISAAC KOMNENOS held Crusaders captive and threatened the ship carrying Richard's affianced bride Berengaria. Arriving in early May, Richard forced a landing, defeated Isaac, and ultimately took him captive. He conquered the island and appropriated the large treasure accumulated by Isaac. Even before Isaac's capture, Richard married Berengaria at Limassol (12 May). Richard first appointed English justiciars to govern Cyprus, then sold it to the Templars. The latter, with Richard's consent, sold the island in 1192 to Guy of LUSIGNAN, who did homage to Richard.

LIT. J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (New York 1978). G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge 1940) 315–21, vol. 2 (1948) 31–38.

—C.M.B.

RICIMER, *patrikios*, *magister militum*, and consul (in 459); died 18? Aug. 472. Of mixed barbarian ancestry, he was an Arian. Successful in a campaign against the Vandals in Sicily (456), Ricimer revolted with MAJORIAN and defeated EPARCHIUS AVITUS at Placentia (7 Oct. 456). He agreed to Leo I's nomination of Majorian but had him executed in 461. Ricimer defended Italy against the Ostrogoths and Alemanni and named as emperor Libius Severus (461–65), who was not accepted in Constantinople; during this period Ricimer was the real ruler of the West. Threatened by the Vandals, Ricimer sought the support of Leo I and in 466 agreed to the elevation of ANTHEMIOS, indicating growing Eastern influence in Italy. Ricimer married Anthemios's daughter. This alliance led to the disastrous campaign of BASILISKOS against the Vandals in 468. Angered because his enemies were playing a large role in the project, Ricimer refused to take part and may even have conspired in the expedition's failure. He rebelled against Anthemios in 470 and had him killed in 472. He appointed Olybrius as emperor but died soon thereafter.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:327–41. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 104–28. *PLRE* 2:942–45.

—T.E.G.

RIDDLE (αἰνιγμα, γρίφος), word-game whose antecedents stretch back to the earliest phases of Greek literature; ancient rhetoricians treated riddles, a kind of TROPOS (Martin, *Rhetorik* 262), as an elaborate but foolish play on words that aimed

at obscuring the sense (*RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:193.14–16). This negative evaluation of the riddle as a stylistic tool evidently disappeared in the Byz. period: in any case John DOXOPATRES refers to those who accepted the riddle as a vehicle of expression as well as those presenting "clear objects" (Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 145.10–14).

Riddles were broadly used by various authors, such as pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE and NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, who were dissatisfied with the traditional *sapheneia* (clarity) and perceived the world in its complexity as an enigma slowly revealing its solution. The riddle was also a fashionable artistic device in the romance. Always popular in folklore, riddles became a specific genre in prose and verse, used by prominent literati (John Geometres, Psellos, Christopher of Mytilene, John Mauropous, Theodore Prodromos, Manuel Moschopoulos). Mainly intended as entertainment, riddles could contain political allusions; thus a riddle of Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES hints at the barbarous (?) people of Rhos. Apparently the composition of riddles was also regarded as an educational technique (perhaps akin to the EROTAPOKRISEIS): Nicholas MESARITES (G. Downey, *TAPhS* 47 [1957] 866, 899) mentions that students revised lessons by inventing riddles.

ED. *Byzantina Ainigmata*, ed. Č. Milovanović (Belgrade 1986), with Serbian tr.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:119. Kustas, *Studies* 167, 193. Averincev, *Poetika* 129–49. Poljakova, *Roman* 120–23. N. Bees, "Byzantina ainigmata," *Epeteris tou philologikou syllogou Parnassou* 6 (1902) 103–10.

—E.M.J., A.K.

RIHA TREASURE. See **KAPER KORAON TREASURE.**

RIHĀB (in Jordan), village in the province of Arabia, northeast of GERASA; its ancient name is unknown. Rihāb flourished particularly in the 6th–7th C. At least eight churches have been excavated there, one dated 533, the others 594–635. Two were built under Persian rule (614–28) and one in 635, the year before the battle of YARMUK. Seven dedicatory inscriptions name the archbishop of Bostra as eponymous authority; most name laymen and families as donors.

LIT. M. Avi-Yonah, "Greek Christian Inscriptions from Rihab," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 13 (1948) 68–72. M. Piccirillo, "Les antiquités de Rihab des Benê Hasan," *RevBibl* 88 (1981) 62–69.

—M.M.M.

RILA, a monastery in the mountains east of the Upper Strymon River in southwestern Bulgaria. It was founded in the 10th C. by the hermit St. JOHN OF RILA. During the 13th and 14th C., the monastery was endowed with lands and privileges by Bulgarian tsars and nobles, and the present site, which is approximately 3 km from the original one, was developed then. The sole remaining medieval structure at Rila is Hreljo's Tower, a defensive dwelling of a type seen in areas within the cultural orbit of Byz.; the tower (PYRGOS) at Hilandar offers a parallel. Hreljo's Tower is built of stone, with brick used for window arches and spandrels as well as for a long inscription dated 1334/5 naming the nobleman Hreljo, a semi-independent feudal lord (died 1343), as its patron. The lowest story of the tower served as a prison and hiding place; the middle four were used for storage, defense, and living quarters; and the uppermost story contained a vaulted chapel dedicated to the Transfiguration. This chapel is adorned with 14th-C. frescoes in a vigorous, local style; they depict Christ Emmanuel, the life of John of Rila, and illustrations of the last three Psalms, showing groups singing and dancing in praise. The monastery houses an important library and museums of ecclesiastical and secular art.

LIT. G. Chavrukov, *Bulgarian Monasteries* (Sofia 1974) 258–77. K. Hristov, G. Stojkov, K. Mijatev, *The Rila Monastery* (Sofia 1959). L. Praškov, *Chrel'ovata kula* (Sofia 1973). M. Margaritoff, *Das Rila-Kloster in Bulgarien* (Kaiserlautern 1979). —E.C.S.

RINCEAU, ORNAMENT consisting of a continuous foliate scroll with spirals alternately reversing direction, usually composed of elongated acanthus leaves that are sometimes supplemented by floral motifs. Vine-scroll rinceaux normally have fewer leaves, meager stems, and bear grape clusters. The scrolls may be “inhabited,” with figures, birds, or animals enclosed within the spirals, a formula apparently described in the Life of St. STEPHEN THE YOUNGER as “swirls of ivy leaves [enclosing] cranes, crows, and peacocks” (PG 100:1120C). Rinceaux functioned as border motifs, decorative fillers or, occasionally, as terminal ornaments. Byz. acquired the fully developed rinceau from the Romans and it remained popular until the 10th C. The elongated acanthus leaves are often interspersed with or replaced by calyxes, a stylized

form of the leaves at the base of a flower, with a flanged or polylobed end from which the next leaf or calyx emerges (as in the mosaics of 565–77 and the 870s at HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople); sometimes the calyxes are interspersed with smooth tubular shafts. Rinceaux appeared in all media and were esp. favored in mosaic and metalwork.

LIT. Frantz, “Byz. Illuminated Ornament” 60–62. K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1932) 173–81. —L.Br.

RING, FINGER (δακτύλιος, also δακτυλίδιον). Rings were the most prevalent object of personal adornment in Byz. society. Most showed incised devices on their bezels for the production of wax or clay sealings. While the Romans preferred gemstone intaglios with figural devices for this purpose, the Byz. leaned toward metal bezels with incised inscriptions. Early Byz. rings usually bear MONOGRAMS (*DOCat* 2, nos. 54–56), while those from the 9th C. onward often bear short invocations (“Lord, help . . .”). More luxurious examples, in gold, name the owner, while cheap bronze imitations end the invocation generically with “the wearer.” Titles, functions, and family names, so characteristic of lead SEALS, are rare, which suggests that ring signets were used privately, in and around the home. Some rings are incised with well-known iconic images (*ibid.*, no. 123) or even with multifigural biblical scenes; many, including the special category of marriage rings (see **RING, MARRIAGE**), seem to have been amuletic. This is indicated by the frequency (on early specimens) with which the octagonal hoop appears. For the treatment of colic, ALEXANDER OF TRALLES (Alex.Trall. 2:377) suggests, “Take an iron ring and make its hoop eight-sided and write thus on the octagon: ‘Flee, flee, O bile. . . .’” —G.V.

RING, MARRIAGE. Rings exchanged by spouses during the MARRIAGE RITE are a significant subgroup among finger rings. Many were not intended for sealing and only the most luxurious are inscribed with the name of the bridal couple. The marriage ceremony, as documented from the *Akolouthia of Betrothal and Marriage*, known from MSS of the 10th C. onward (P.N. Trempelas, *Theologia* 18 [1940] 134.2–4), describes the hus-



RING, MARRIAGE. Gold marriage ring; late 4th to 5th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. On the square bezel are the profile busts of a man and woman below a small cross, their names inscribed in Greek.

band as receiving a gold *daktylidion* and the wife one of iron. Many early Byz. gold marriage rings survive, as do occasional examples in bronze. The earliest specimens follow Roman practice, showing juxtaposed profile portraits of husband and wife (*DOCat* 2, nos. 50–52). Later (6th–7th C.) examples emphasize the ceremony itself, with either the *dextrarum junctio* (joining of right hands) or the marriage rite. In the former, Christ plays the role of officiating priest. Christ with or without the Virgin may crown the couple (*ibid.*, nos. 64–69) or the spouses may simply be shown *en buste*, at either side of a cross, with crowns above their heads. Inscribed good wishes are common, with “Concord,” “Grace,” and “Health” predominating. The octagonal hoop employed for some marriage rings further suggests a medico-amuletic role directed toward childbirth. (See also **LOCUS SANCTUS MARRIAGE RINGS**.) —G.V.

RING SIGNS (or “characters”), a modern term applied to magical characters developed and popularized on Greco-Egyptian amuletic intaglio gemstones and perpetuated on Byz. amulets (5th–7th C.). So named for the tiny rings with which they terminate, ring signs are most frequently encountered in Byz. on HOLY RIDER, EVIL EYE, and Medusa AMULETS, where they usually take the form of an N (or Z), a barred triple-S, or an eight-armed cross. The origin and significance of individual ring signs is uncertain, although generally they seem to have been valued for their putative healing powers, esp. for the abdominal area. Alex-

ander of Tralles (Alex.Trall. 2:377) describes the making of an amuletic ring with a ring sign on its bezel.

LIT. Bonner, *Studies* 58f. A.A. Barb, “*Diva Matrix*,” *JWarb* 16 (1953) 216, n.48. —G.V.

RISK, the element of uncertainty, inherent in most economic activities, either because of unpredictable occurrences, such as acts of nature, or because of changes in the conditions of economic activity, such as unexpected fluctuations in supply or demand. In the late Middle Ages, the merchants of Italian maritime cities developed mechanisms to deal with the second set of factors. In Byz., the element of risk was recognized and admitted primarily, though not only, in maritime trade, where the possibility existed of shipwreck or acts of PIRACY. To compensate for high risk, sea-loans carried a high interest rate, 12 percent in Justinianic legislation. A sea-loan contracted in 1363/4 shows an interest rate of 16.75 percent for one journey. In Thessalonike, in the early 15th C., an interest rate of 20 percent or 25 percent was usual. A merchant traveling with the goods or funds of others was liable for all losses and could be imprisoned. A way of spreading risk was through the formation of a PARTNERSHIP, whereby two or more persons could invest in a single venture, the investment consisting either entirely in assets or partly in assets and partly in labor. The profit or loss would be divided proportionately to the investment (*Ecloga* 10.4). This type of contract is equivalent to the Italian *colleganza* or *commenda*. The RHODIAN SEA LAW (e.g., 2.17) makes meticulous provisions regarding trading partnerships at sea. Contracts of the early 14th C. show the traveling partner investing about 30 percent of the capital, plus his labor, and expecting half the profits (or losses).

LIT. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, “The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System; Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries,” *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 198–201. —A.L.

RIVERS (sing. ποταμός). After the loss of Egypt and the NILE to the Arabs in the 7th C., the empire retained two stretches of major rivers—the Upper EUPHRATES and the Lower DANUBE. These formed its natural frontiers to the east and north, respectively, but offered no aid to unification. Other rivers (Vardar, STRYMON, HEBROS,

Meander, Sangarios, Halys, etc.) were navigable only in their lower reaches and were not very useful for purposes of communication and transport. Hence, major PORTS tended to be on the sea rather than along rivers. The Byz. used streams for FISHING, to provide water power for MILLS, and for IRRIGATION.

Most rivers in Greece and Asia Minor are torrents that dry up in summer and flood after heavy rain or snowmelt, not only disrupting roads but inundating fields. A documentary act of ca. 1344 mentions such a flood on the property of the Athonite monastery of Xenophon that the monks tried to stop by erecting a wall (*Xénoph.*, no. 27.24–28). An early 13th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 624.6–10) describes a disaster in 1205; the waters of the Hebros, swollen by heavy rains, deluged the Latin camp and carried off soldiers, horses, and war machinery.

Christianity rejected the pagan cult of rivers and imagined that rivers were the dwelling place of DEMONS. Gregory of Nyssa, however, observing the continuous flow of rivers, suggested (PG 45:161A) that their movement rather than that of the stars could be the cause of human fate (*heimarmene*). In Christian cosmology the rivers of PARADISE played an essential part, and a river of fire was given the function of punishing sinners and destroying all things at the end of the world.

The “rivers,” lines marked out on the floor pavement of churches, had the liturgical function of guiding the movements of the officiating priest. In Hagia Sophia they were represented by green marble bands; in ordinary churches they could be drawn with chalk (G. Majeska, *DOP* 32 [1978] 299–308).

LIT. Koder, *Lebensraum* 47f. E.C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region* (London 1932) 102–33.

—A.K.

ROADS (sing. *ódós*, also *drómos*, *στράτα*) are often mentioned in official acts or *praktika*, which distinguish different types of roads: imperial (*basilike*), state (*demosia* or *demosiake*), big (*megale*), general (*katholike*), for transport of wood (*xylophorike*), and for wagons (*hamaxege*). The distinctions between them are sometimes unclear: the combined term “state wagon road” is sometimes used, for example (*Lavra* 2, no. 108.199). A paved road (*plakote*) is mentioned in an inventory of perhaps 1044 (*Pantel.* no. 3.23). Other acts refer to old (*palaia*), small (*mikra*), or narrow (*estenomene*) roads or even

to a path (*monopation*). If this terminology can be taken at face value, it seems that the Byz. inherited the Roman distinction of public, local, and private roads, although the categories sometimes seem to have been confused.

Roman public roads or highways continued to function along major LAND ROUTES; among the most important were the Via EGNATIA and strategic highways in Asia Minor. Prokopios (*Wars* 5.14.6–11) praised the Via Appia, which led from Rome to Capua, a five days’ journey: it was wide enough to allow two wagons to pass each other and was made of polygonal basalt slabs snugly fitted together. Quite a different road (near Antioch) was described by Emp. Julian (ep. 98, ed. J. Bidez [Paris 1924] 180.3–11): built on marshy ground, it was rough and made of stones laid without any skill, unlike other highways whose materials were tightly assembled, as in walls. Roads were supplemented by accessory constructions such as BRIDGES and dikes, MILESTONES, military posts, changing stations, and INNS. In novel 24.3 Justinian I imposed on governors the duty to repair aqueducts, bridges, ramparts, and *hodoi*, but it is unclear from the text whether the legislator meant highways or city streets. Probably at a later date the maintenance of roads was assigned to the local population—at any rate, some 11th-C. chrysobulls grant exemption from *hodostrosia*, building roads, mentioned usually between exemptions from KASTROKTISIA and bridge repair or construction (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, nos. 3.37, 6.48; *Lavra* 1, no. 48.36). It is surprising that the manuals of military tactics ignore road construction. The frequent complaints about the bad condition of *hodoi* refer primarily to urban streets that were often in appalling state even from the viewpoint of Western travelers (e.g., Odo of Deuil).

In religious symbolism the *hodos* held an important place: the path of justice or of the Lord was contrasted to evil ways; Athanasios of Alexandria distinguished between the way of Adam and that of Christ (PG 26:285AB). Christ himself is the Way, and man is a traveler in life who finally returns home at the time of his death.

LIT. R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads*, tr. N.H. Field (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976) 82–106. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:318–36.

—A.K.

ROBBER COUNCIL. See EPHEBUS, COUNCILS OF: “Robber” Council.

ROBBERY (*ἀρπαγή*), THEFT marked by the application of force, was technically a private offense (DELICT) and brought with it a corresponding PENALTY (*Institutes* 4.2; *Basil.* 60.17). But when the aspect of violence was emphasized or when other factors were present, robbery was considered a public offense and severely punished. An esp. serious form of robbery was BRIGANDAGE; as a deterrent, brigands were to be brought to death by the *furca* (lit. “fork,” an instrument of execution related to the gibbet) at the place of their seizure (*Ecloga* 17.50; *Basil.* 60.51.26.15). To counter gang activity (as in the case of PIRACY), special paramilitary personnel (e.g., *lestodioktai* and *biokolytai*) were appointed, but the blurring of the distinction between pursuer and pursued frequently gave rise to complaints and imperial intervention. The RAPE or abduction of unmarried women (virgins at first, later also widows and nuns) was also designated as *harpage* and severely punished in Byz., where sexual offenses formed a special category only from the time of the ECLOGA. (See also GRAVE-ROBBING.)

LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios* 12–16, 23–29, 40–45. L. Burgmann, P. Magdalino, “Michael III on Maladministration,” *FM* 6 (1984) 377–90. G. Lanata, “Henkersbeil oder Chirurgenmesser?” *RJ* 6 (1987) 293–306.

—L.B.

ROBERT DE CLARI, French historian of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1203–04; born Clari (mod. Cléry-les-Pernois), died after 1216. Robert participated in the Fourth Crusade as a vassal of Peter of Amiens. He returned to France, probably in 1205 and, in 1206 and 1213, gave to Corbie relics taken from the Great Palace during the sack, including Passion and other relics in crystal reliquaries, an icon of the Virgin, and other objects (Riant, *Exuviae* 2:197–99). Robert, whose command of numbers and dates is shaky (Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 39, 220), offers a soldier’s vivid vision of the conquest. He includes descriptions of the Byz. emperor’s battle icon (ch. 66, pp. 66.49–67.77), the Boukoleon Palace and its relics (ch. 82, p. 82.19–35), Hagia Sophia (Greek for “Holy Trinity” according to Robert: ch. 85, p. 84.2–3), the triumphal column of Justinian I (identified as Herakleios, ch. 86, p. 86.1–18), the Golden Gate (ch. 89, p. 87.1–6), the Hippodrome, statuary (chs. 90–91, pp. 87–89), and so on. Robert agrees with VILLEHARDOUIN that the diversion of the Crusade to Constantinople was the result of a series of accidents, not a Venetian plot.

ED. Ph. Lauer, *La conquête de Constantinople* (Paris 1924); corr. P. Dembowski, *Romania* 82 (1961) 134–38. Tr. E.H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople* (New York 1936; rp. New York 1966). *Zavoevanie Konstantinopolja*, Russ. tr. M.A. Zaborov (Moscow 1986).

LIT. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:465. C.P. Bagley, “Robert de Clari’s *La Conquête de Constantinople*,” *Medium Aevum* 40 (1971) 109–15. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 278–86.

—M.McC.

ROBERT GUISCARD (Old Fr. “clever” or “wily”), duke of Apulia and Calabria; born Hauteville, Normandy, ca. 1015, died Kephallenia 17 July 1085. By 1057 Robert (*Ρομπέρτος*) commanded the NORMANS in southern Italy; in 1059 Pope Nicholas II (1058–61) recognized him as duke. His conquest of Byz. territory in Italy culminated in the capture of Bari in 1071. MICHAEL VII hoped to strengthen his position by a marriage alliance with Robert. Psellos (*Scripta min.* 1:329–34) composed a chrysobull for Michael addressed to Robert confirming these arrangements. Around 1078 Robert’s daughter Olympias (Helena) went to Constantinople to wed Michael’s son Constantine DOUKAS. Michael’s dethronement offered Robert an excuse to intervene in Byz. He produced a monk who pretended to be Michael and organized an expedition to install him (or probably himself) in Constantinople. In 1081 ALEXIOS I was defeated in several battles near Dyrrachion; Robert’s forces advanced into Macedonia and Thessaly. Alexios induced Henry IV of Germany to attack Rome, and Pope Gregory VII summoned Robert to his aid (1082). Robert’s son BOHEMUND, left behind in Greece, was outmaneuvered by Alexios. In 1084 Robert launched a fresh invasion, but died at its outset. Anna Komnene vividly depicts his great height, terrifying war cry, military skills, and overpowering ambition.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:115–284. G. Kolias, “Les raisons et le motif de l’invasion de Robert Guiscard à Byzance,” *Actes du I^{er} Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, 3 (Sofia 1969) 357–61. H. Bibicou, “Une page d’histoire diplomatique de Byzance au XI^e siècle: Michel VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard et la pension des dignitaires,” *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 43–75. R. Fiorentino, “Roberto il Guiscardo tra Europa, Oriente e Mezzogiorno,” *Nuova rivista storica* 70 (1986) 423–30.

—C.M.B.

ROBERT OF COURTENAY, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1221–28); second son of PETER OF COURTENAY; died Clarenza Jan. 1228. In the face of the growing threat from THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, Robert tried to maintain the un-

derstanding that his mother YOLANDE had built up with THEODORE I LASKARIS. Plans that Robert should marry one of Theodore's daughters foundered with the Nicaean emperor's death in 1221. Robert intervened in the ensuing succession crisis at Nicaea. The Latin army was, however, defeated, which cost the Latins of Constantinople virtually all their remaining territories in Asia Minor. This setback was immediately followed by the loss of Thessalonike in 1224 to Theodore Komnenos Doukas. Robert never recovered from these blows, inflicted in the space of a year. He lapsed into a life of indolence, which so frustrated the barons that they broke into the palace, murdered his mother-in-law, and disfigured his wife. Robert left Constantinople in humiliation and went to Rome to seek papal support. He never returned to Constantinople.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 159–68. HC 2:213–16.
—M.J.A.

ROBERT OF FLANDERS ("the Frisian"), count of Flanders (1071–93); born ca.1013, died 12/13 Oct. 1093. Robert made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem ca.1086 or 1087 to early 1090. Supposedly while returning, he met Alexios I. Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:105.19–26) places the site at Berroia (Thrace) in 1087, but a meeting in Constantinople or southern Thrace in late 1089/early 1090 seems more probable. Robert (perhaps in return for money) offered fealty to Alexios and pledged to send 500 knights to aid him. About 1090 the 500 arrived; after garrisoning Nikomedeia, they were transferred to Thrace to fight the Pechenegs (1091). K. Ciggaar (*Byzantion* 51 [1981] 44–74) asserts on the basis of an Old Norse tale that the Flemish knights took part in a campaign against Vlachs and Cumans in 1094 or 1095. Robert was the purported addressee of an alleged letter from Alexios I that urged the dispatch of Western knights to defend the empire against Turks and Pechenegs and to rescue Jerusalem (Eng. tr., E. Joranson, *AHR* 55 [1949–50] 812–15). The letter was probably forged shortly before 1108, but portions of its historical narrative describe the empire's situation in 1090–91 so accurately as to suggest that it was based on an actual letter of Alexios.

LIT. F.-L. Ganshof, "Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 57–74. M. de Waha, "La lettre d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert I le Frison: Une revision,"

Byzantion 47 (1977) 113–25. J.H. Pryor, "The Oaths of the Leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexios I Comnenus: Fealty, Homage—πίστις, δουλεία," *Parergon: Bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Renaissance Studies* n.s. 2 (1984) 113–15. —C.M.B.

ROBERT OF NORMANDY, son of William the Conqueror and leader of the First Crusade; born ca.1054, died Cardiff (Wales) Feb. 1134. Leading Crusaders from Normandy and adjacent regions, Robert crossed the Adriatic in Apr. 1097 and reached Constantinople in May. Stephen of Blois, who accompanied Robert, reports that Alexios I magnificently feasted them both, while providing markets for their followers. Both readily became Alexios's vassals and received rich gifts, then joined the other Crusaders in attacking Nicaea (early June). During the siege of Antioch, Robert spent Dec. 1097–early Feb. 1098 at Laodikeia, which a fleet of English Crusaders had occupied with Byz. support. After participating in the capture of JERUSALEM, Robert returned to the West via Laodikeia (Sept. 1099) and Constantinople.

LIT. C.W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920; rp. New York 1982) 89–119, 238–44. —C.M.B.

ROBERT OF TORIGNY, also Robert de Monte, Norman Benedictine historian; died 23/4 June 1186. Robert entered the monastery of Bec in Normandy in 1128, became prior there ca.1149, then abbot of Mont St. Michel (1154). Circa 1149 Robert revised William of Jumièges' *Deeds of Norman Dukes* (*Gesta Normannorum ducum*, cf. E.M.C. van Houts in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies* 1980 [1981] 106–18, 215–20); the new material on ROBERT GUISCARD comes from WILLIAM OF APULIA (M. Mathieu, *Sacris erudiri* 17 [1966] 66–70). Robert's universal chronicle continued Sigebert of Gembloux until 1186. His original contribution begins in 1147; its main focus is Normandy and England, but it includes information on Norman Italy and the Crusader states (e.g., a.1155–58, ed. Delisle, 1:295–316) and Byz., esp. Manuel I's marriage diplomacy (e.g., a.1162, 1:342; a.1167, 2:364). For the years 1179–82, he seems to receive more detailed information from Constantinople—possibly in connection with the marriage of AGNES OF FRANCE to Alexios II (a.1179, 2:78, 83f)—including the efforts of Andronikos I Komnenos to achieve power,

Andronikos's anti-Latin policy (a.1182, 2:114), and information on the Seljuk sultanate of Rüm (a.1182, 2:106f). Robert was also interested in translations from Greek (a.1152, 1:270; a.1182, 2:109 on BURGUNDIO OF PISA).

ED. L. Delisle, *Chronique de Robert de Torigni*, 2 vols. (Rouen 1872–73). L. Bethmann, MGH SS 6 (1844; rp. 1925) 475–535. Partial tr. (1100–86) J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, 4.2 (London 1856) 673–813. LIT. R. Foreville, "Robert de Torigni et 'Clio'," *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, vol. 2 (Paris 1967) 141–53. A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974) 261–63. —M.McC.

ROCK-CUT CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS.

Living and worshiping spaces carved from rock are found throughout the empire. Ascetics seem to have been particularly attracted to cave-dwelling. Most commonly these habitations are simply modified natural caves, though occasionally they are elaborately carved to resemble built structures. The process of the discovery and preparation of such spaces is described in the vitae of a number of saints, for example, SABAS (ed. Schwartz, ch.18) in Palestine and ELIAS SPELEOTES (AASS, Sept. 3:864f) in Italy. Large communities of cave dwellers, both lay and monastic, developed where the geology was particularly favorable. Best known of these areas is CAPPADOCIA, where towns as well as ecclesiastical structures were carved in the cliffs or below ground level. Other significant rock-cut conglomerations are found near Mount LATROS, in the Crimea, and in southern Italy, particularly APULIA.

LIT. L. Giovannini, "The Rock Settlements" in *Arts of Cappadocia* (London 1971). C.D. Fonseca, "La civiltà rupestre in Puglia," and C. D'Angela, "Archeologia ed insediamenti rupestri medievali," in *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente* (Milan 1980) 37–44, 45–116. L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985). —A.J.W.

ROGA (ρόγα), cash salary, esp. remunerations paid to members of the armed forces and civil service; the term already appears with this meaning in the early 7th C. (*Chron. Pasch.* 706.10). In the 10th C. STRATEGOI received 5, 10, or 20 pounds of gold annually according to which province they commanded; contemporary thematic soldiers received *roga* every fourth year on a rotating basis (*De cer.* 493.20–494.7), and special stipends were given to participants in expeditionary forces (*De*

cer. 651–60). Holders of court titles also received *roga*. A *protospatharios* was paid 1 pound of gold annually, while *rogai* for higher dignities doubled at successive levels: *hypatos* (2 pounds), *magistros* (16 pounds), *kouropalates* (32 pounds). The *roga* could be obtained through the purchase of an office or title (see TITLES, PURCHASE OF)—thus forming a kind of government annuity—and from the 11th C. regularly accompanied dignities bestowed upon foreign rulers. Most, although not all, *rogai* were presented to high officials and title holders in a ceremony held in Constantinople the week before Palm Sunday (*SkylCont* 133.18–21); Michael III ordered 200 pounds of gold objects melted down and coined for one such distribution (*TheophCont* 173.3–14). The term *roga* can also designate cash stipends allocated by the ecclesiastical hierarchy or founders of religious houses to monks or clergy (e.g., will of Eustathios BOILAS, 27.217, 223). (See also WAGES.)

LIT. P. Lemerle, "'Roga' et rente d'État au Xe–XIe siècles," *REB* 25 (1967) 77–100. J.-C. Cheynet, "Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 453–77. Hendy, *Economy* 187–95, 648–54. —A.J.C.

ROGER I (Ρογέριος), count of Sicily (from 1072); born Hauteville, Normandy, ca.1031, died Mileto, Calabria, 22 June 1101. Roger was the youngest brother of ROBERT GUISCARD, who aided his conquest of Sicily. There Roger maintained some Greek monasteries. In 1089 he assisted Pope URBAN II in his effort to heal the schism with Byz. Roger's support of his nephew Roger Borsa, count of Apulia, encouraged BOHEMUND to leave Italy and join the First Crusade.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:148–354. —C.M.B.

ROGER II, son of ROGER I, count (from 1105), then king of SICILY (1130–54); born 22 Dec. 1095, died Palermo 26 Feb. 1154. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of MANUEL I with the Second Crusade (1147), Roger dispatched a fleet that captured Kerkyra and plundered Thebes and Corinth as well as Euboea. His captives included numerous silk weavers (see SERIKARIOS), who established the industry in Sicily. The recapture of Kerkyra required lengthy sieges (1148–49) by Manuel and the Venetians. To distract the Byz., Roger sent a fleet (ca.1149) that reached Constan-

tinople. The Normans burned wharves at Skoutarion and in a defiant gesture shot arrows at the palace. Roger's successor, WILLIAM I, inherited the conflict.

Among Sicilian monuments sponsored by Roger, the mosaics of CEFALÙ and the Cappella Palatina in PALERMO draw heavily on Byz. sources and perhaps Byz. craftsmen. In the church of the Martorana at Palermo, Roger is depicted as a *basileus* crowned by Christ.

LIT. E. Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck 1904). Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:355–404, 2:1–166. P. Ras-sow, "Zum byzantinisch-normannischen Krieg, 1147–1149," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62 (1954) 213–18. Lamma, *Comneni* 1:85–147.

—C.M.B., A.C.

ROGER DE FLOR, commander of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY; born Brindisi ca.1267, died Adrianople 30 Apr. 1305. Of German extraction (his name Flor is apparently a translation of Germ. *Blum*), Roger began his career as a Templar but left the Order in disgrace after misconduct at the siege of Acre (1291). He was then entrusted by Frederick II of Sicily (1296–1337) with command of a company of Catalans and Aragonese who fought the Angevins in Italy. After the Peace of Caltabellotta (1302), Roger offered his services to the Byz. in exchange for the title of MEGAS DOUX and marriage to Maria, niece of Andronikos II. Roger arrived in Constantinople in 1303 with seven ships and about 8,000 mercenaries. After wintering in Kyzikos, he mounted a successful campaign against the Turks. In Aug. 1304, however, Andronikos recalled him because of Catalan looting of the local Greek population. Roger then seized control of KALLIPOLIS and made it his base of operations. In the spring of 1305, Roger was promoted to CAESAR and offered the position of *strategos autokrator* in Anatolia. Before leaving on campaign he visited MICHAEL IX at Adrianople where he was murdered by Alan mercenaries, probably at Michael's instigation.

SOURCES. Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:393–400, 415–51, 505–18, 521–28. R. Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. M. Gustà, vol. 2 (Barcelona 1979) 59–97. Eng. tr. Lady [A.] Goodenough, *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, vol. 2 (London 1921) 466–513.

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 131–47. —A.M.T.

ROGERIOS (Ρογέριος), a noble family of Norman origin. Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 1:55.15–18) relates that a magnate of ROBERT GUISCARD,

"Rogerios," who was a brother of Raoul, deserted to Byz. ca.1080; he is probably to be identified with the Roger (a son of Dagobert) who signed the treaty of Devol in 1108. KALLIKLES praised Rogerios the *sebastos* (probably the founder of the Byz. family) as an experienced military commander who fought against "Celts," the Danubian "Scythians," and "Persians." His son by a Dalassene, John Rogerios Dalassenos the caesar (see ROGERIOS, JOHN), married Maria, John II's daughter; their daughter Theodora married John KONTOSTEPHANOS. Several Rogerioi had the high title of *sebastos*: Constantine, John II's contemporary; Andronikos, "son of the caesar," and Alexios (his son?) in 1166; another (?) Andronikos in 1191. Leo Rogerios, "grandson of a *sebastos*," is mentioned in a 12th-C. epigram as a translator from Latin (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 129, no.113). In 1189 a certain Rogerios Sclavo acted as *dux* of Dalmatia and Croatia (T. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 2 [Zagreb 1904] nos. 163,165), but it remains unclear whether he was a Byz. governor or an independent ruler and whether he was related to the above-mentioned Rogerios. A poem entitled SPANEAS addresses the son of the caesar Rogerios. The identification of the caesar with Roger II of Sicily (e.g., by H. Schreiner, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 295f) and of his son with the *dux* of Dalmatia proves invalid. BALSAMON praised Andronikos Rogerios for the construction of the monastery of the Virgin Chrysokamariotissa.

LIT. L. Stiernon, "A propos de trois membres de la famille Rogerios (XIIe siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 184–98. V. Laurent, "Andronic Rogerios, fondateur du couvent de la Théotocos Chrysokamariotissa," *BShAcRoum* 27 (1946) 73–84. B. Ferjančić, "Apanažni posed kesara Jovana Rogerija," *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 193–201. —A.K.

ROGERIOS, JOHN, caesar; died after 1152, perhaps after 1166. Rogerios was son of Roger, a Norman deserter to Byz., and a Dalassene. On his seal (Laurent, *Bulles métr.*, no.724) and in a poem addressed to him (Lampros, "Mark. kod. 524" 21), he is called Dalassenos (and presumably preferred that name), but Kinnamos calls him Rogerios. Because of his marriage to Maria Komnene, eldest daughter of JOHN II KOMNENOS, Rogerios became caesar. Following John II's death, and before Manuel I occupied Constantinople, Rogerios plotted to make himself emperor. His many supporters included Prince Robert of Capua,

a Norman refugee then in Constantinople, and his knights. Preferring her brother to her husband, Maria reported the conspiracy to Manuel's agents. Rogerios was lured out of Constantinople and held in a suburb. Sometime (either before or shortly after his wife's death ca.1146) he recovered his position. In 1152 he held estates and administrative authority in the Strumica-Vardar region (B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 12 [1970] 193–201). About 1152 he was sent to Antioch to marry the widowed Constance, but because of his age she refused him. He returned to Byz. and died a monk. J. Schmitt's identification of John Rogerios as the addressee of the SPANEAS has not been proved (Beck, *Volksliteratur* 106f).

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:197f. J. Schmitt, "Über den Verfasser des Spaneas," *BZ* 1 (1892) 318–21. —C.M.B.

ROGER OF HOVEDEN (or Howden), Anglo-Norman historian; died 1201/2, but certainly before 29 Sept. 1202. He was a clerk at the English court (1174–1189/90) who participated in the Third Crusade (J.B. Gillingham in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D.O. Morgan [London 1982] 60–75) and was likely parson of Howden (by 1174; active there in the 1190s). He probably wrote the *Gesta regis Henrici II* (Deeds of King Henry II, 1169–92; revised in 1192 or 1193), ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough. Roger carefully reworked (1192/3–1201/2) the *Gesta's* account of 1169–92 into a *Chronica* and continued it to 1201 (D. Corner, *EHR* 98 [1983] 297–310). The revisions prompted by new data imply that each source's material on Byz. requires comparison. Thus the *Chronica* gives the text of Manuel I's letter to Henry II (2:102–04; *Reg* 2, no.1524), while the *Gesta* has only a résumé (ed. Stubbs, 1:128–30). Conversely, the day-by-day journal of Richard I's Crusade, including the conquest of Cyprus (7 Aug. 1190–22 Aug. 1191; *Gesta* 2:112–91) is, despite some additions (e.g., sailing time from Marseilles to Acre: *Chronica* 3:51), abridged in the *Chronica* (3:39–129). So too the document reporting the prophecy on the Golden Gate of a Latin emperor in Constantinople and the treaty of Isaac II Angelos with Saladin appears in *Gesta* (2:51–53), while *Chronica* only summarizes it (2:355–56). Particularly while at court, Roger acquired a wealth of information ranging from news of an earthquake at Catania (a.1164, *Chronica* 1:223) or the marriage of Agnes of France

to Alexios II (*Chronica* 2:192; *Gesta* 1:239) to detailed accounts of the marriage of William II of Sicily to Henry II's daughter (*Chronica* 2:94–97; cf. *Gesta* 1:115–17, 120, 157f, 169–72) and Conrad of Montferrat's cooperation with Manuel I (*Chronica* 2:194f; *Gesta* 1:243f, 250). Histories of Alexios II, Andronikos I Komnenos, and Isaac II Angelos also appear including an account of Isaac's alleged studies at Paris (*Gesta* 1:251–62; *Chronica* 2:201–08). The apparently eyewitness description of Philip Augustus's return from the Crusade across Byz. includes, for example, a description of Kerkyra, which supposedly provided the emperor with 1,400 pounds of gold annually (*Gesta* 2:194–205; abridged in the *Chronica* 3:157–66).

ED. *Gesta*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. [= *RBMAS* 49] (London 1867). *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols. [= *RBMAS* 51] (London 1868–71; rp. Wiesbaden 1964). Tr. H.T. Riley, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, 2 vols. (London 1853).

LIT. D. Corner, "The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, Parson of Howden," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 56 (1983) 126–44. —M.McC.

ROLL (εἰλητάριον, Lat. *rotulus*, *volumen*). In antiquity the BOOK was in the form of a roll made of sheets of PAPYRUS pasted together and rolled onto a rod. Writing, usually on only one side of the scroll, was parallel to the long axis. In the 4th C. the roll was generally supplanted by the more convenient CODEX, but continued to be used in the imperial chancery, for tax collectors' PRAKTIKA and for liturgical texts (see ROLLS, LITURGICAL). The only major example of a roll richly illustrated along its long axis is the JOSHUA ROLL. Artists continued to represent the book in the form of a roll in mosaics and MS illustration, even when the codex format had become preponderant. Most commonly the roll is shown unfurled, in the hands of bishops and esp. of prophets, displaying the incipits of biblical utterances.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscripts* 7–9. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 43–47. L. Santifaller, "Über späte Papyrusrollen und frühe Pergamentrollen," in *Speculum Historiale*, ed. C. Bauer et al. (Freiburg-Munich 1965) 117–33. E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll* (Brussels 1978). —E.G., A.M.T., A.C.

ROLLS, LITURGICAL. Written on sheets of PARCHMENT or PAPER that were glued together, liturgical rolls could reach 12 m in length; the text was copied parallel to the narrow side (i.e., at right angles to the long axis or *transversa charta*;

E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* [Brussels 1978] 26–51). Frequently the verso of liturgical rolls was also used. L.W. Daly (*GRBS* 14 [1973] 333–38) suggests that the format of liturgical rolls was inspired by imperial documents. The earliest surviving liturgical roll on parchment (the Ravenna roll) is probably of the 7th C.

Liturgical rolls survive in large numbers from the 11th C., but only a few have extensive figural decoration. Typically they open with author PORTRAITS of Sts. Basil and/or John Chrysostom and may contain floral and zoomorphic initials in the body of the text. Additional figural decoration is varied, each roll emphasizing different aspects of the text. One 11th-C. example in Jerusalem has historiated initials and marginal vignettes, including a representation of Constantinople that establishes the provenance; the imagery of another in Moscow pertains to the STOUDIOS MONASTERY in Constantinople. A 12th-C. roll in Athens, Nat. Lib. 2759, depicts Basil and John at the altar of a many-domed church; the illustration resembles the frontispieces of the MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAFOS, while the text's border is decorated in the manner of 12th-C. imperial scrolls. The numerous liturgical rolls of the Palaiologan period are seldom elaborately embellished, although one has an ornate border with monograms of the imperial family. Rolls figure prominently among the products of the HODEGON MONASTERY and constitute about one third of the signed works of its best known scribe, Ioasaph.

LIT. G. Cavallo, "La genesi dei rotoli liturgici Benaventani," in *Miscellanea in memoria di Giorgio Cencetti* (Turin 1973) 213–29. A. Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures," *DOP* 8 (1954) 161–99.

—R.S.N., E.G., A.M.T.

ROMANCE, or novel; a work of fiction that in the ancient and Byz. world narrates, with some attention to the characters' psychological states, the hazards that a pair of lovers successfully face. The ancient romances (e.g., those of ACHILLES TATIUS, CHARITON, HELIODOROS, Longus), composed between the 2nd and 4th C. by writers well versed in rhetorical techniques and read, it seems, by a broad spectrum of the literate public, maintained an intermittent readership in the Byz. period. Byz. readers interpreted ancient romances as metaphorical descriptions of the struggle for salvation (S. Poljakova, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 243–

48); accordingly Metaphrastes used romances to embellish hagiographic plots (S. Poljakova, *ADSV* 10 [1973] 267–69). In the 12th C. Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, Theodore PRODRAMOS, Constantine MANASSES, and Niketas EUGENEIANOS revived the genre, showing by direct quotation and use of shared motifs that they were well acquainted with their predecessors. Nevertheless, these works (Makrembolites' written in prose, the others in verse, and all in purist language with elaborate rhetorical devices, e.g., EKPHRASEIS of gardens and buildings) are not merely slavish imitations. Why the romance should reappear at this moment, after six centuries, is a question yet to be answered satisfactorily.

Some romances composed in the 14th C. (all in POLITICAL VERSE) show knowledge of the conventions of the 12th-C. works, esp. in their use of *ekphraseis* (e.g., the *Erotokastron* [Castle of Love] of BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA and similar scenes in KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOS, in LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE, and the ACHILLEIS). Others, however, are either close translations (e.g., WAR OF TROY and PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA) or free adaptations (e.g., IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA) of a Western original. Almost all 14th-C. romances reveal by their vocabulary and assumptions that they derive from a mixed Frankish-Greek society, such as that found in the Morea or Cyprus.

Characteristics of these later verse romances (cf. also BELISARIOS, ROMANCE OF, and DIGENES AKRITAS) include a language that, though closer to the spoken than the purist level, presents a range of forms drawn from all stages of the development of Greek; a loose MS tradition, with many variants that are hard to reconcile into one text, even when all MSS plainly descend from one archetype; and many lines and half-lines that are repeated both within one romance and also in others. Explanations for these phenomena have been sought in the incompetence of barely literate authors (Krumbacher, *GBL* 795f) or the imperfect attempts of educated aristocrats to use the vernacular (Beck). More recently comparisons have been made with similar features in the medieval vernacular literatures of western Europe. There has been postulated a background of orally disseminated traditional literature, which has been shown elsewhere to produce features such as those observed in the Greek context (Jeffreys). Counterarguments, however, maintain that the repetitions

between texts are due only to the normal literary processes of quotation and plagiarism (Spadaro). The question of the genesis of the 14th-C. romances, and thus also of the audience for whom they were intended, has yet to be fully resolved.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:119–42. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 117–47. E.M. and M.J. Jeffreys, "The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry," *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986) 504–47. G. Spadaro, "Edizioni critiche di testi greci medievali in lingua demotica: Difficoltà e prospettive," in *Neograeca Medii Aevi: Texte und Ausgabe*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986) 327–55. H.-G. Beck, F. Conca, C. Cupane, *Il romanzo tra cultura latina e cultura bizantina* (Palermo 1986). C. Cupane, "Byzantinisches Erotikon: Ansichten und Einsichten," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 213–33.

—E.M.J., M.J.J.

ROMANCE OF JULIAN, a fictional account of the reign of Emp. JULIAN surviving in two partial Syriac MSS of the 6th or 7th C., now in London (B.L. Add. MSS 14641, 7192). The work purports to be *Stories of the Kings of Romania* by a certain Aplōrīs, who appears in the work as an official of Emp. Jovian. The author composed the accounts, he says, to aid in the conversion of pagans. Internal criteria suggest that a single author wrote the *Romance* in Edessa between 502 and 532. In addition to the antipagan and anti-Julian character of the work, the author is at pains to put the Jews in a bad light, as supporters of the apostate emperor. This polemical note suggests that there were still influential pagans and Jews in the environs of Edessa in the first half of the 6th C. Later writers in Syriac and Arabic took the *Romance* to be a work of history and quoted from it in their accounts of Julian's reign.

ED. J.G.E. Hoffmann, *Julianos der Abtrünnige* (Leiden 1880). Eng. tr. H. Gollancz, *Julian the Apostate* (Oxford-London 1928).

LIT. T. Nöldeke, "Über den syrischen Roman von Kaiser Julian," *ZDMG* 28 (1874) 263–92. Idem, "Ein zweiter syrischer Julianusroman," *ibid.* 660–74. R. Asmus, "Julians autobiographischer Mythos als Quelle des Julianusromans," *ZDMG* 68 (1914) 701–04.

—S.H.G.

ROMANIA, Latin term that appeared in the 4th C. to designate the Roman Empire, esp. in contrast to the barbarian world (F. Clover in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1977/78* [Bonn 1980] 80f); the term may have originated in a popular and Christian milieu. In the East the Greek term is known from the 6th C.—in a chronicle (Malal. 408.11) and in a vernacular inscription from Sirmium that entreats God to save Romania from

the Avars (J. Brunšmid in *Eranos Vindobonensis* [Vienna 1893] 331–33). In Greek the term *Romania* also denoted the empire. This "universal" meaning was lost in the West, where it came to be applied to Romagna (the former exarchate of Ravenna). After 1080 Westerners used Romania for either the empire, in accordance with the Byz. tradition, or RŪM, in accordance with Muslim usage. In 1204 the name *Romania* was given to the Latin Empire of Constantinople. As a result, the Byz. virtually stopped using the term in official documents, although there are exceptions, such as a curious "chrysobull" (of 1326–28?) that a certain Komnenos Palaiologos gave to the church of the Virgin Pogoniatiane (in northern Epiros) at the request of "Andronikos, the emperor of Constantinople and all Romania" (D. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 14 [1938] 293.7–8). The term was adopted by Stefan Uroš IV Dušan who styled himself the "emperor and *autokrator* of Serbia and Romania" (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.25.22–23).

LIT. R.L. Wolff, "Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Speculum* 23 (1948) 1–34. A. Carile, "Impero romano e Romania," in *La nozione di "Romano" tra cittadinanza e universalità* (Naples 1984) 247–61. Idem, "Roma e Romania dagli Isaurici ai Comneni," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 531–92. Lj. Maksimović, "Grci i Romanija u Srpskoj vladarskoj tituli," *ZRVI* 12 [1970] 61–78. J. Zeiller, "L'apparition du mot *Romania* chez les écrivains latins," *Revue des études latines* 7 (1929) 194–98.

—A.K.

ROMANIA, ASSIZES OF, conventional name assigned (following the example of the Assizes of JERUSALEM) to a collection based purportedly on the "usages and statutes of the empire of Romania," but actually upon those of the principality of ACHAEA. The Assizes was a private compilation (between ca.1333 and 1346) written in Old French. Between 1375 and 1400 it was translated into the Venetian dialect, and an officially approved version was published by VENICE in 1452 or 1453 for use in Euboea and other Venetian possessions. The Assizes generally concerns the feudal relationships of the prince of Achaia and his vassals and draws on oral tradition, precedents from the prince's court, and the treatise of Jean d'Ibelin in the Assizes of Jerusalem. Some clauses deal with the Greek inhabitants and derive from Byz. usages. Thus properties belonging to both Greek landowners accepted into the Moreote hierarchy and peasants (successors of the PAROIKOI) were, in Byz. fashion, divisible among heirs, while Frankish fiefs

passed undivided. The peasants' conditions of tenure followed Byz. legal prescriptions. Among the Greeks, Byz. customs regarding dowry persisted.

ED. *Les Assises de Romanie*, ed. G. Recoura (Paris 1930). Eng. tr., P.W. Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania* (Philadelphia 1949) 15–99.

LIT. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les 'Assises de Romanie': sources, application, et diffusion* (Paris 1971). —C.M.B.

ROMANOS (Ῥωμανός), personal name (etym. "inhabitant of Rome"). Plutarch (*Romulus* 2.1) preserved a legend that reversed this etymology and presented Romanos as a son of Odysseus and Circe. Romanos allegedly colonized Rome, and was Rome's eponym. The name was common in Rome and was still popular in the 4th and 5th C. (*PLRE* 1:768–70, 2:946–49), primarily in the secular milieu, although some 5th-C. bishops named Romanos are known (B. Stech, *RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 1066) as well as an obscure martyr and an ascetic in Syria. ROMANOS THE MELODE is the only famous ecclesiastical writer of this name. The name, not very fashionable in later periods, had its peak in the 10th–11th C.: in Skylitzes, who lists 20 Romanoï, the name is in eighth place, right after NIKEPHOROS. It is perhaps no coincidence that the four emperors called Romanos all lived in the 10th–11th C. In the acts of *Lavra* the name occurs even less frequently than PETER. —A.K.

ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, emperor (920–44); born Lakape ca.870, died on island of Prote 15 June 948. The son of an Armenian peasant (see LEKAPENOS), Romanos made a career as a naval officer; he was *strategos* of Samos and eventually *droungarios* of the fleet. A legend attributes his rise to a successful single combat with a lion. During the regency of ZOE KARBONOPSINA, he managed to ruin his major rival Leo PHOKAS and married his daughter Helen to CONSTANTINE VII (May 919); he became *basileopator*, caesar, and was crowned on 17 Dec. 920. The actual ruler of the empire, he crowned his sons CHRISTOPHER, Stephen, and Constantine co-emperors in order to diminish Constantine VII's role. Acting as a representative of the officialdom of Constantinople, Romanos promulgated a series of laws (NOVELS) designed to protect small landowners against the DYNATOI; the date of the first novel, allegedly 922,

is questionable; the second one was issued in 934, soon after the great famine of 927/8 and immediately after the rebellion of BASIL THE COPPER HAND. Although Romanos restricted the *dynatoi's* opportunity to acquire peasants' land and introduced the right of PROTIMESIS, he also increased their taxes (*TheophCont* 443.13–18). He also subdued revolts that occurred in southern Italy, Chaldia, and the Peloponnesos, predominantly in 920–22. Romanos inherited a burdensome war against SYMEON OF BULGARIA, but after the latter's death the *patrikios* THEOPHANES concluded a treaty with PETER OF BULGARIA in 927.

Thereafter Byz. started gaining momentum: it increased its influence in Serbia, concluded a treaty with the Hungarians, defeated the fleet of IGOR in 941, and persuaded him to sign a treaty in 944. John KOURKOUAS led the offensive against the Arabs. Romanos also kept the church under control. The TOMOS OF UNION (920) brought peace to the church, and the promotion of Romanos's younger son THEOPHYLAKTOS to patriarch transformed the church administration into a sort of family affair. Notwithstanding all these successes, Romanos was dethroned by his sons Stephen and Constantine on 20 Dec. 944 and exiled to Prote. Constantine VII's victory over the Lekapenoi (27 Jan. 945) did not change Romanos's status; he died as a monk.

LIT. Runciman, *Romanus*. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 90–97. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 355–66. Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.XX. (1955), 204–11. —A.K.

ROMANOS II, emperor of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY (959–63); son of CONSTANTINE VII and Helen; born Constantinople 939, died Constantinople 15 Mar. 963. In Sept. 944 ROMANOS I married him to Bertha (Eudokia), a daughter of Hugo of Provence, king of Italy (927–47), but after her premature death Romanos married THEOPHANO, who exerted great influence on him. Crowned co-emperor on 6 Apr. 945 (G. de Jerphanion, *Or-ChrP* 1 [1935] 490–95), he succeeded Constantine on 9 Nov. 959. He retained Constantine's closest supporters, such as THEODORE OF DEKAPOLIS and NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS, but entrusted the entire administration to Joseph BRINGAS. In his agrarian legislation, Romanos continued the policies initiated by Constantine: in a departure from the principles of Romanos I, he tended to protect the buyer of peasants' and soldiers' holdings rather

than the poor person who was forced to sell his property for an unfair price (Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 409f). Under Romanos, Nikephoros Phokas led a successful offensive against the Arabs: he reconquered Crete in 960/1, defeated SAYF AL-DAWLA, recaptured Germanikeia, and besieged Aleppo.

LIT. Schlumberger, *Phocas* 1–308. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 98–100, 126–28. —A.K.

ROMANOS III ARGYROS or Argyropoulos, emperor (1028–34); born ca.968, died Constantinople 11/12 Apr. 1034. Coming from a noble family, Romanos was *oikonomos* of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, then EPARCH OF THE CITY. Constantine VIII, on his deathbed, married his daughter ZOE to Romanos, whose previous wife entered a convent. As emperor, Romanos sought popularity: he treated the church generously, released prisoners, recalled the blinded Romanos SKLEROS and the exiled Nikephoros Xiphias, and annulled the ALLELENGYON, which was hateful to ecclesiastics and probably to other great landowners. At enormous expense he constructed the monastery of the PERIBLEPTOS in Constantinople, gilded the capitals of the Great Church, and, in 1031, lavishly restored the church of BLACHERNAI. He levied heavy taxes in the provinces, but corrupt officials kept much of the revenue. Imagining himself a great general, Romanos forced a quarrel on the emir of Aleppo and in midsummer 1030 (against advice) marched on that city. A defeat brought a hasty retreat to Constantinople. In Syria only the early achievements of George MANIAKES illuminated the reign. In vain Romanos tried to continue Basil II's aggressive policy in Sicily and negotiated with the Western emperor Conrad II (1024–39). Constantine DIOGENES and other discontented aristocrats apparently developed plots around Zoe's sister THEODORA. Neglected by Romanos, Zoe favored the future MICHAEL IV and contrived Romanos's drowning.

LIT. Vannier, *Argyroi* 36–39. G. Litavrin in *Istoriia Vizantii*, vol. 2 (Moscow 1967) 263f. M. Canard, *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient* (London 1973) pt.XVII:300–11. —C.M.B., A.C.

ROMANOS IV DIOGENES, emperor (1068–71); died Prote 4 Aug. 1072. An Anatolian magnate, Romanos commanded on the Danubian frontier

under CONSTANTINE X. He had been convicted of conspiring with the Hungarians against EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA, when she suddenly decided to make him her husband and emperor, 1 Jan. 1068. Although Romanos ruled with Constantine X's sons MICHAEL VII, Andronikos, and Konstantios as co-emperors, their relatives, led by the caesar John DOUKAS, feared lest the princes be disinherited. Romanos constantly had to guard against Doukas plots. Bari, insufficiently supported by Romanos, fell to the Normans. Romanos attempted to reconstruct the Anatolian army from new recruits and foreign mercenaries. In 1068–69, he made two expeditions to eastern Anatolia, but the Turks sacked IKONION and CHONAI while Romanos was in the East. In 1071 Romanos encountered Alp Arslan at MANTZIKERT. He was taken captive through the treachery of the caesar's son, Andronikos. Released on condition he yield claims to Armenia, pay a ransom, and assist the sultan in the future, Romanos was treated as a rebel by the Doukas faction. Only the Armenian KHAČ'ATUR came to his aid. Romanos lost the ensuing civil war and, after surrendering, was blinded on the caesar's orders (29 June 1072—D. Polemis, *BZ* 58 [1965] 65f, 76); he soon died in a monastery.

An ivory panel (now in Paris) depicts an emperor Romanos and his wife Eudokia being crowned by Christ. Since both Romanos II and Romanos IV married Eudokias, the problem of identification and of dating this panel is complex. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann (*Elfenbeinskulpt.* II: 35) argued that the panel portrayed Romanos II, whereas I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (*DOP* 31 [1977] 305–25) assigns it to Romanos IV.

LIT. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 98–109. —C.M.B., A.C.

ROMANOS THE MELODE, hymnographer and saint; born Emesa, died after 555; feastday 1 Oct. A native (perhaps of Jewish background) of Syria, Romanos was deacon in a church in Berytus before coming to Constantinople in the reign of Anastasios I; there he served in the Church of the Virgin in the Kyrou district. Byz. legend has him divinely inspired by the Virgin, so much so that he composed 1,000 HYMNS; 85 actually survive in his name, of which 59 are probably genuine, though the debate over individual items is endless, there being no sure way of determining

authorship. In particular, the AKATHISTOS HYMN is variously attributed or denied to him. Romanos, while proclaimed a saint and highly honored by the Byz., was not imitated; the genre of KONTAKION that he developed soon waned in popularity and the church did not accept the hymns of Romanos in the liturgy (the Akathistos is the exception, but its authenticity as the work of Romanos is doubtful).

Romanos's hymns essentially recreate stories from the Old and New Testaments and from hagiography and are often linked with religious feasts; he did not avoid contemporary topics, however, and the hymn *On the Earthquake and Fire* depicts the NIKA REVOLT and praises "the new Solomon" (Justinian I) for the restoration of Hagia Sophia. Following the mainstream of Orthodox theology, Romanos does not eschew moderate Monophysitism, emphasizing the divine nature in "divided and undivided Christ." His language is simple, and the tonic system replaced the Hellenic meter. The composition is terse (in comparison with contemporary sermons), with refrains playing an important part and sometimes even expressing the main idea of the *kontakion*. His *oikonomia* comes not through contemplation but through action and drama, and accordingly the theme of the Descent into Hell (as the way of redemption) often attracts him; the dialogical structure of many *kontakia*, addressing pregnant questions to biblical figures, and broad use of irony add dramatic tension. The extent of his debt to Syriac religious poetry has been much debated.

ED. *Cantica Genuina*, ed. P. Maas, C.A. Trypanis (Oxford 1963). *Cantica Dubia*, ed. P. Maas, C.A. Trypanis (Berlin 1970). *Hymnes*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, 5 vols. (Paris 1964–81), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. M. Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos*, 2 vols. (Columbia, Mo., 1970–73), rev. A.C. Bandy *BS/EB* 3 (1976) 64–113; 7 (1980) 78–113.

LIT. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris 1977). S. Averincev in *Kul'tura Vizantii* 1 (Moscow 1984) 318–27. W.L. Petersen, "The Dependence of Romanos the Melodist upon the Syriac Ephrem," *VigChr* 39 (1985) 171–87. K. Mitsakis, *The Language of Romanos the Melodist* (Munich 1967). —B.B.

ROME (Ῥώμη). In the early Roman Empire of the 1st to 3rd C., Rome was the major city (*urbs*)—capital of the state, residence of the emperor, site of the SENATE and the administration, and an

economic and cultural center. This status of Rome was undermined by the barbarian invasions and civil disorders of the 3rd C., which required the frequent presence of the emperor near the frontiers, but it was not until CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT made his residence at MILAN in 312 and then founded CONSTANTINOPLE in 324 that Rome began to lose its unique and exclusive position. Nevertheless, Rome continued to be the first city of the empire with its probable population of just under one million and, more important, as the emergent seat of the PAPACY. In the 4th C. Rome contained an enormous number of private dwellings and civic buildings: a notitia of this date lists no fewer than 46,602 apartment houses, 1,797 private residences, 11 large and 856 small bath buildings, 1,352 cisterns, and 144 public lavatories.

Rome suffered from a severe earthquake in 422 and from sieges and plundering in the 5th and 6th C.: by ALARIC (in 410), GAISERIC (455), RICIMER (472), TOTILA (546 and 549), and NARSES (552). The conquest of Africa by the VANDALS in the second quarter of the 5th C. deprived Rome of its major granary and made the city increasingly dependent on Sicilian foodstuffs; as a result there was a decline in the population. At the end of the 6th C. Rome had only 30,000–40,000 inhabitants (Graffunder, *RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 1060).

A wealth of material is available for demographic studies of Rome in the 4th to 6th C.: thousands of funeral inscriptions, both pagan and Christian, mostly in Latin, although many Greek and Jewish texts are known. Social analysis of this evidence has only begun, and preliminary observations, such as the decrease in the number of tombs of slaves and freedmen from the 4th C. onward (L. Urdahl, *Classical Journal* 60 [1964–65] 276), need to be checked further on the basis of larger samples (e.g., G. Sanders, *Latomus* 30 [1971] 461). Changes within the ruling class are better documented. The senatorial aristocracy, gradually christianized (e.g., the family of ANICIUS), retained its position until the 6th C., when it still supported fashionable charioteers and dreamed of creating a university in Rome. By the 7th C., however, it was gradually replaced by military commanders based not in Rome (with its broad economic connections and cultural traditions) but on their estates. These administrators and the commanders of the urban militia eventually formed

a new Roman elite. The troops in Rome were organized along the lines of the Byz. army and exercised considerable influence through their control over offices and military arrangements and by means of the property they accrued.

During the 7th C. a new landholding class emerged that was closely tied to the church through its monasteries and distribution centers (*diaconiae*) for grain and other foodstuffs. Comprised of small landholders and their tenants and led by local notables, this group formed new local militias that eventually replaced regular Byz. military units. It was in these militias that opposition to Byz. rule was eventually centered. Accordingly, the administration of Rome changed: the senate lost its significance, the URBAN PREFECT was eliminated by the mid-6th C., and Rome was placed under the control of the praetorian prefect of Italy and then of the *dux* of Rome, who submitted in turn to the exarch of Ravenna. At the same time the role of church administration increased. After 554 the church became increasingly the upholder of civic traditions in Rome. The pope took over the collection of tolls and the repair of public works, while, with the decline of the grain supply, "deaconries" attached to churches took over the task of feeding the city's poor.

Despite lessening political control by Byz., cultural and ideological ties between Constantinople and Rome continued. From the mid-7th C. there was substantial migration of refugees from the eastern provinces, which were under attack by the Arabs. In 645 a group of monks from the Lavra of St. SABAS in the Judean Hills settled on the Little Aventine. A few years earlier (641), a monastic congregation from southeastern Asia Minor was established at Tre Fontane. Nestorians from Syria or Mesopotamia also immigrated to Rome. Refugees brought with them to Rome Eastern relics, feasts, and traditions, including the custom of transferring the bones of martyrs. Iconoclastic elements penetrated as well. A series of popes of Greek or Syrian background continued unbroken from Theodore I to ZACHARIAS in the mid-8th C. The activities of the Greek population, however, were restricted for the most part to the ecclesiastical sphere. Rome remained a Western city even as it assimilated and integrated Eastern influences. Nevertheless, ideology and ritual played a key part in binding Rome to the empire. Imperial documents and coins were seen as symbols of

authority. Wall paintings and portable portraits of the emperor were a common feature in late 7th- and early 8th-C. Rome.

During the 7th C. the Roman church came to dissociate itself from Constantinople, largely because of doctrinal differences, and to seek political control of Byz. possessions in Italy as heir of the exarch. Ground was prepared for a rupture with Byz. after the failure of a meeting in Constantinople between emperor and pope in 711, designed to restore theological and political unity. No more successful was the attempt to reorganize Rome and its territory into a Byz. *DOUKATON*. A major break came during the reign of Leo III because of his Iconoclastic policy. Eventually, the concept of a Roman *res publica* associated with the see of St. Peter was promoted and encouraged by circulation of the spurious DONATION OF CONSTANTINE, but until 772 the papacy continued to date all documents according to the regnal years of the Byz. emperor. Imperial coinage continued to be minted in Rome until at least 776 and probably 781. Although clerical control in the city was becoming steadily more pronounced, imperial titles among the laity, such as consul and *dux*, remained common, and the lay aristocracy retained a powerful role in Roman society for centuries. Local military officials, although their right to rule based on imperial commissions became less important as links with Byz. weakened, kept their traditional titles and a preference for Byz. culture and remained a powerful influence until the middle of the 11th C.

The Idea of Rome. After Rome lost its position of political leadership in the 4th C., the idea (or myth) that Rome remained the center of the empire survived, but from the Byz. viewpoint it was a Rome transferred to Constantinople. CASSIODORUS stated that Emp. Constantine I called Constantinople *secunda Roma* and placed this name on a marble column, but his report was evidently based on a post-Constantinian tradition; the Greek term New Rome (*Nea Roma*) is attested no earlier than 381, in canon 3 of the First Council of Constantinople (when Themistios, in 357, contrasted New Rome with ancient Rome it was only as a rhetorical expression and not an official formulation—J. Irmscher, *Klio* 65 [1983] 434f). In the late 4th C. Gregory of Nazianzos still applied the nonofficial epithets *hoploteros* ("younger") and *neourgios* ("new") to Rome-Constantinople (E.

Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 58). The designation "New Rome" or "Second Rome" in reference to Constantinople became common from the 6th C. onward (in Corippus, the *Chronicon Paschale*, etc.).

In the West the concept of the relocation of the capital to Constantinople was accepted, but the anonymous 9th-C. author of the *Versus Romae* complained that Rome yielded to the Greeks "nomen honosque tuus" (W. Hammer, *Speculum* 19 [1944] 54). Charlemagne entertained the idea of building a city in imitation of Rome (K. Hauck, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20 [1986] 518). In the 10th C. the Ottonian dynasty established a "Roman" empire, and later the Muscovite ideologists developed the notion of Moscow as the "Third Rome," after Constantinople.

SOURCE. *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 9 vols. in 13 (Rome 1922–85).

LIT. T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800* (Rome 1984). R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City 312–1308* (Princeton 1980). C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (London 1982). T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter* (Philadelphia 1982). F. Gregorovius, G. Hamilton, *History of the City of Rome*², vols. 1–2 (New York 1967). L. Homo, *Rome médiévale* (Paris 1934). P. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London 1970). Dölger, *Byzanz* 70–115. P. Bruun, "Byzantium—the Second Rome," *Byzantium and the North* (Helsinki 1985) 21–28. Roma, *Costantinopoli, Mosca* (Naples 1983). R.L. Wolff, "The Three Romes: The Migration of an Ideology and the Making of an Autocrat," *Daedalus* 88 (1959). —R.B.H., A.K.

ROME, MONUMENTS OF. As long as Rome remained part of the empire, the emperor was legally responsible for the city's public buildings, and the palace on the Palatine hill was maintained at least until the early 8th C. for possible imperial visits. During the 4th and early 5th C., the tradition of imperial sponsorship of public building was still active, albeit on a reduced scale: Diocletian built new baths; Maxentius, a circus on the Via Appia; the Basilica Nova was begun by Maxentius and completed by Constantine, who also constructed the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE near the Flavian amphitheater and Janus Quadrifons Arch in the Forum Boarium; Constantius II transported an obelisk from Egypt and erected it in the Circus Maximus; Valentinian I rebuilt two bridges and constructed two porticoes; Theodosios I rebuilt one bridge; and Honorius made substantial additions to the walls of Aurelius.

Many buildings were in decay, however, and spolia from them were frequently reused in new

buildings, including churches. Imperial legislation designed to curtail the despoiling of public monuments and encourage restoration and repair was largely ineffective, although until the end of the 5th C. some repairs were undertaken by the administration and, occasionally, private senatorial patrons. There is no evidence of a change in this situation under the OSTROGOTHS, and Justinian I, although encouraging the maintenance of public buildings in the SANCTIO PRAGMATICA of 554, does not seem to have made any financial contributions toward renovation of the city's monuments. By the time of Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT, the aqueducts were in a state of disrepair.

In the course of the late 6th through 7th C., responsibility for the repair and maintenance of civic buildings, historically the purview of the emperor and senate, fell increasingly under the authority of the pope. The only secular construction activity known in the period is the rebuilding of the Ponte Salaria in 565 and the dedication of the column of Phokas in the Forum in 608, both by Byz. exarchs. Constans II exemplified the policy of imperial neglect or even abuse by despoiling the city of its bronze ornaments and roof tiles on his visit in 667. The ultimate preservation of temples and government structures was mostly through their conversion into churches, beginning with the Pantheon, which was alienated to the pope by Phokas in 609.

The decline of civic building in late antique Rome was offset, to a large degree, by growth in ecclesiastical construction. Constantine I erected numerous Christian basilicas (for donation lists, see *Lib.pont.* 1:170–83), including one over a shrine believed to be the tomb of St. Peter, another at the tomb of St. Lawrence, and the cathedral (St. John Lateran) and its freestanding baptistery. Except for the baptistery none of these buildings survives, but S. Costanza, the mid-4th-C. mausoleum of Constantine's daughter Constantina, is well preserved. It is a domed rotunda with partly figural mosaics in a surrounding barrel vault; its "double-shell" design is thought to be an ancestor of Byz. edifices such as Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS in Constantinople.

After Constantine, imperial patronage of churches in Rome was infrequent. A large basilica over the tomb of St. Paul was begun by Valentinian II, Theodosios I, and Arkadios (S. Paolo fuori le mura, destroyed by fire in 1823); it was completed by Honorius, who also erected a dy-

nastic mausoleum at St. Peter's (later consecrated as the chapel of S. Petronilla). Theodosios II and his daughter Eudoxia sponsored the basilica of St. Peter in Chains (S. Pietro in Vincoli, extant but remodeled).

Nonimperial Byz. patronage is also little attested. Much has been made of the fact that there were 13 non-Italian popes between 642 and 772, but few can be associated with extant works of art. An exception is Pope JOHN VII, who sponsored paintings and mosaics, the surviving fragments of which are generally considered Byz. (i.e., Constantinopolitan) in facture and style. There were also numerous Greek and Palestinian monasteries in Rome, whose artistic record too is almost nil. Fragmentary paintings at S. Saba on the Aventine are dated by D.H. Wright (*BSC Abstracts* 10 [1984] 62–64) to two periods, before 726 and after 787; he attributes the later murals to a master from Constantinople. Pope Paschal I (817–24) established a Greek monastery at S. Prassede where, although the architecture of the extant church is strictly Roman, the mosaics are stylistically akin to the 9th-C. *Sacra Parallela* miniatures, now attributed by Weitzmann to Palestine (Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela* 14–25).

It is commonly thought that in the period from the Gothic wars to the so-called Carolingian revival (i.e., from the late 6th to the 8th C.) Rome was not a vital cultural milieu but an artistic province of Constantinople; much Roman painting of this period is defined as Byz., regardless of patronage, by its style. This is esp. true of the fragmentary murals in S. Maria Antiqua, where the so-called palimpsest wall, displaying four strata of superimposed decorations, provides a useful relative chronology. Kitzinger and others discern essentially two trends in these paintings: "Hellenistic" (loosely painted, naturalistic) and "hieratic" (linear, static, and flat), which occur in alternation. The "Hellenistic" style is universally attributed to Constantinople (where it is superbly represented in the floor mosaics of the GREAT PALACE), and paintings in this manner are considered Byz. or byzantinizing. Kitzinger believes that the "hieratic" style likewise emanated from Constantinople; other examples of the style in Rome are the mosaics in S. Agnese fuori le mura (625–38) and the chapel of S. Venziano at the Lateran (642–49).

Vitae of popes of the 8th and 9th C., beginning with Zacharias (741–52), record the donations to

Roman churches of thousands of TEXTILES, often qualified as *alexandrina*, *olosirica*, *de blatin bizantea*, etc. (for the terms, see F. Mosino, *BollBadGr* n.s. 37 [1983] 61–73). Many are described as having figured scenes (J. Croquison, *Byzantion* 34 [1964] 577–605), and these textiles (of which only paltry scraps survive) must have been an influential means of transmission of Byz. iconography to the West.

Presumably, icons also were imported, although the five pre-Iconoclastic icons extant in Rome are mostly considered local products: four are of the Virgin Mary, in S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Francesca Romana, S. Maria del Rosario, and the Pantheon; one, called *acheropsita* ([sic] see ACHEIROPOIETA) in the *Liber pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 1:443), is of Christ and is preserved in the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran. None is surely dated, although it is plausible that the Pantheon icon was made for the building's conversion in 609.

Unlike RAVENNA, Rome has no buildings of purely Byz. design, except perhaps the galleried basilicas of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura (579–90) and S. Agnese fuori le mura (625–38). Krautheimer has pointed to a number of churches erected just after the Gothic wars that have Byz. features or motifs, possibly reflecting Byz. military construction.

After the political split with Byz. ca.750, most of the monumental art in Rome reverted self-consciously to local prototypes, such as the Constantinian basilicas and the apse mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano (526–30). Nevertheless, Byz. traces appear in Roman mosaics. They have already been noted for the 9th C. (in S. Prassede, above). Many scholars believe that the revival of mosaic in 12th-C. Rome was due to descendants of the Byz.-founded workshop of MONTECASSINO. The influence of Montecassino may also be seen in the Byz. bronze DOOR donated in 1070 to S. Paolo fuori le mura, which was by then a Benedictine monastery.

LIT. Kitzinger, *Making* 99–122; rev. D. Kinney *BS/EB* 9 (1982) 316–33. P.J. Nordhagen, "Italo-Byzantine Painting of the Early Middle Ages," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 593–626.

—D.K., R.B.H.

ROMUALD II, archbishop of Salerno (1153–1 Apr. 1181); statesman at the Norman court of Sicily. A universal chronicle (from the time of Christ to 1178), which is esp. useful for southern Italy (1125–78), is attributed to him, although this ascription has been challenged by Matthew

(*infra*). The initial section was compiled from BEDE, OROSIUS, Paul the Deacon, LIBER PONTIFICALIS, Bonizo of Sutri, and other sources. The section from 839 to 1126 preserves some unique information on events and disasters (earthquakes, famines, etc.) in Apulia and Benevento; the emphasis on Troia suggests that this section could have been written there and then continued at Salerno. The long description (ed. Garufi, pp. 270.5–296.26) of negotiations for the treaty of Venice (1177) explicitly identifies itself, and possibly the entire chronicle, as the work of Romuald, who figures prominently in the later sections. Revisions concerning southern Italy and Antioch introduced into some MSS derive in part from Lupus Protospatharius (see ANNALS OF BARI). The chronicle treats Norman relations with Byz. (e.g., 227.4–16, 254.23–255.1, 261.16–22), Manuel I's operations against Italy (239.6–241.15), Byz. and Ikonion (267.13–268.6), and the Norman kings' artistic projects (e.g., Palermo: 252.21–253.2, 254.1–3).

ED. *Chronicon*, ed. C.A. Garufi [= RIS² 7.1] (Città di Castello 1914–35). Cf. C. Erdmann, *Neues Archiv* 48 (1930) 510–12 and H. Hoffmann, *DA* 23 (1967) 116–70.

LIT. D.J.A. Matthew, "The Chronicle of Romuald of Salerno," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to R.W. Southern* (Oxford 1981) 239–74.

–M.McC.

ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS (in texts) or Augustus (on coins), Western emperor (31 Oct. 475–after 4 Sept. 476); died probably after 507 or 511. Romulus (Ῥώμυλος) was proclaimed augustus by his father Orestes, who was the former secretary of Attila, and *magister militum* and patrician during the brief reign of JULIUS NEPOS, whom Orestes soon overthrew. The Eastern court never recognized Romulus. When the Germanic troops revolted and Orestes was killed, ODOACER became ruler of Italy and made Romulus formally abdicate. The life of Romulus was spared due to his youth and physical charm: he was given a substantial pension and sent to live in Campania with relatives. Odoacer sent a delegation to Zeno announcing that no new Western emperor was needed, but Constantinople continued to regard Julius Nepos as the official augustus of the West.

The events of 476 are often considered the end of the Western Empire and of antiquity. They did not, however, produce any real change in the

state of affairs and were not viewed by contemporaries as a major turning point.

LIT. A. Momigliano, "La caduta senza rumore di un impero nel 476 d.C.," in *Concetto, storia, miti e immagini del Medio Evo* (Florence 1973) 409–28. B. Croke, "A.D. 476: The Manufacture of a Turning Point," *Chiron* 13 (1983) 81–119. E. Demougeot, "Bedeutet das Jahr 476 das Ende des römischen Reichs im Okzident?" *Klio* 60 (1978) 371–81. J. Irmscher, "Das Ende des weströmischen Kaisertums in der byzantinischen Literatur," *Klio* 60 (1978) 397–401. –T.E.G.

ROMYLOS, hesychast monk; saint; born Vidin, Bulgaria, died Ravanica, Serbia, after 1381; feast-days 11 Jan., 1 Nov. Son of a Greek father and Bulgarian mother, he was given the baptismal name of Raikos (or Rousko). To avoid the marriage planned by his parents, he fled to the Hodegetria monastery at Tŭrnovo, where he took the monastic name of Romanos (later changed to Romylos). He preferred the solitary to the cenobitic life, however, and moved to PARORIA in southeastern Bulgaria, where he became a disciple of GREGORY SINAITES and helped him construct his monastery. On three occasions Romylos was forced to leave his beloved Paroria for the safety of Zagora (near Tŭrnovo) because of famine and the threat from brigands and Turks.

After a Turkish attack on Paroria, Romylos fled to Athos, where he lived as a solitary near the LAVRA. When Athos became endangered after the Serbian defeat at MARICA in 1371, Romylos moved on to Avlon. His final journey was to the Serbian monastery at Ravanica. Before 1391 Gregory, a Greek who had been Romylos's disciple on Athos, wrote his vita (*BHG* 2384); its contemporary Slavonic version also survives.

SOURCES. F. Halkin, "Un ermite des Balkans au XIV^e siècle. La vie grecque inédite de Saint Romylos," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 111–47. Eng. tr. M. Bartusis, K. Ben Nasser, A. Laiou, "Days and Deeds of a Hesychast Saint: A Translation of the Greek Life of Saint Romylos," *BS/EB* 9 (1982) 24–47. P. Devos, "La version slave de la Vie de S. Romylos," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 149–87. –A.M.T.

ROOF (στέγος, ὀροφή). In Byz., roofs were ordinarily flat for houses, trussed over palaces and the broad spans of the naves of basilicas (with shed roofs over the aisles), and conical or domical (in imitation of vaulted masonry domes) over centralized spaces. Roofing material—thatch, tile (ceramic, marble, copper), lead or bronze sheets—

was laid on masonry vaults or timber roofs to protect the structure from the elements. The earliest extant Byz. timber roof is at the monastery of St. CATHERINE on Sinai, a truss roof with a central vertical joggle post locked into the apex of the rafters at the top and notched at the bottom to support struts angled to meet the rafters at their midpoints. Horizontal tie beams keep the rafters from spreading; purlins laid horizontally on major rafters support lesser rafters on which the roof cover is laid. Eusebios notes the use of lead sheets on the Martyrion at Jerusalem and bronze tile instead of terracotta on the Holy Apostles (VC 3.36.2, 4.58). Thomas I, patriarch of JERUSALEM (807–20), restored Modestus's conical roof of the Anastasis, damaged by an earthquake, with 40 beams of pine or cedar from Cyprus (H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, vol. 2 [Paris 1914] 220, 244).

LIT. F. Deichmann, *RAC* 3:531–36. H. Hellenkemper, *LMA* 3:423f. Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:386–96.

–W.L.

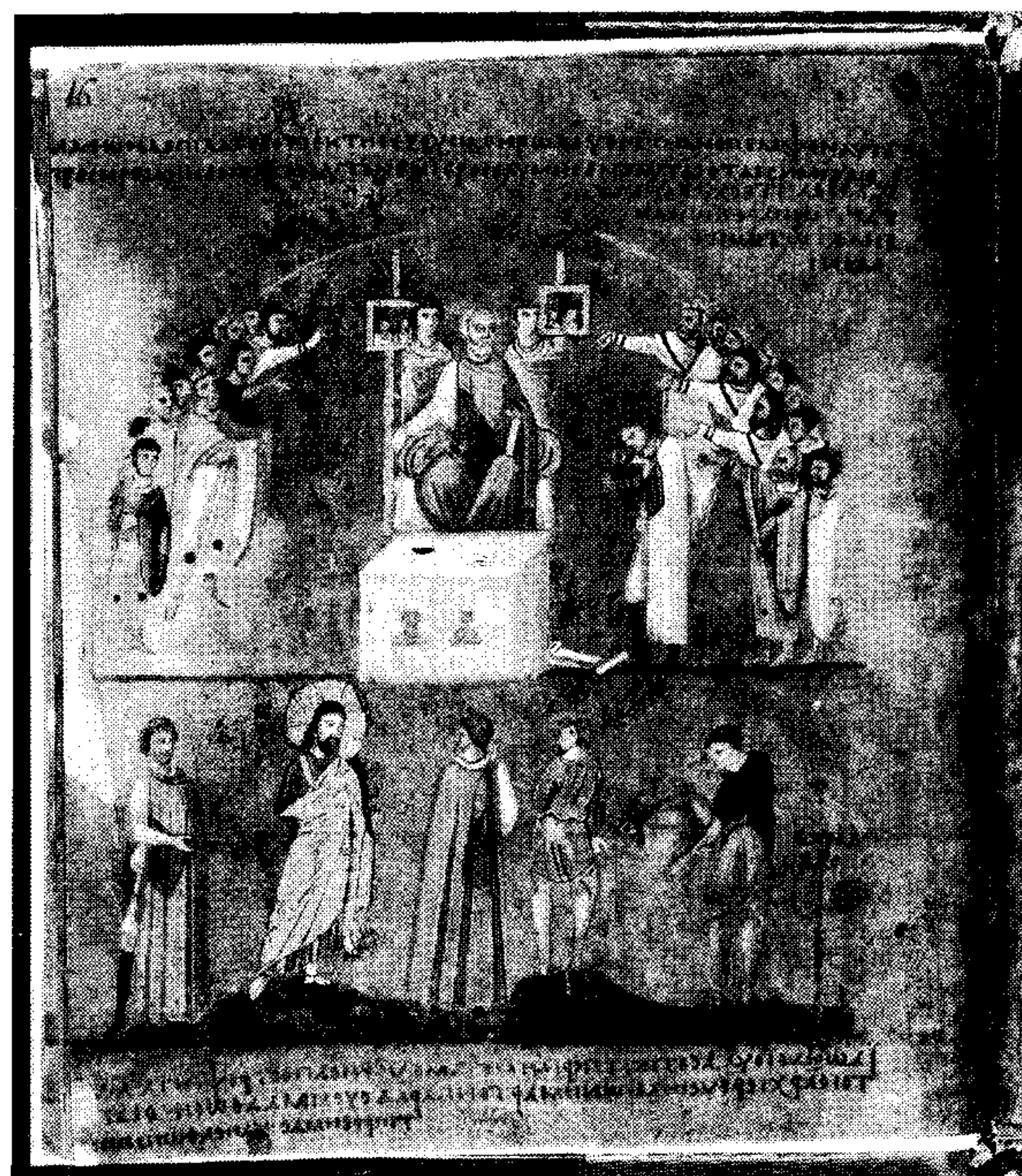
ROSSANO (Ῥουσιανόν, Ῥουσκιανή), port city in southern Italy. Prokopios (*Wars* 7.28.8) describes Rouskiane as the harbor of Thourioi, above which a fortress was built by "ancient Romans." In 548, during the Gothic war, Rouskiane surrendered to Totila after a long resistance. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 27.49) names Rousianon as one of the strongholds the Lombards were unable to take. Rossano probably served as the base of operations for Nikephoros Phokas the Elder in CALABRIA in 885/6. At the end of the 9th C. a bishopric was established at Rossano, replacing the see of Thourioi, which is still attested in the 7th C. The bishop of Rossano was a suffragan of REGGIO-CALABRIA. Rossano had a powerful fortress: in 982 Otto II, on campaign against the Arabs in Calabria, left his wife Theophano and the state treasure within the walls of the stronghold. After being defeated, Otto took refuge on a Byz. ship, but fearful of being taken prisoner jumped overboard at Rossano and swam ashore. In the 10th C. the Byz. controlled Rossano but frequently had to deal with local revolts, as in ca.965, when the city rebelled against the *magistros* Nikephoros. Rossano was one of the last fortresses captured by the NORMANS during their occupation of Calabria ca.1059.

There were many monasteries in the vicinity of Rossano, esp. at MERKOURION, where NEILOS of Rossano was active. After the Norman conquest the monastery of PATIR was founded. Monasteries of the Greek rite still existed in this region in the 15th C. (M. Adoriso Ambonio, *BollBadGr* 27 [1973] 91–96).

Monuments of Rossano. Cappelli (*infra*) counted five extant Byz. churches in Rossano, of which the most important are S. Marco and the Panaghia. The latter (12th-C.?) is a rectangular building on a terrace, with its original entrance in the long south wall; it has one apse and a longitudinal chapel on its north side. These features constitute a distinctive Calabrian type. S. Marco, by contrast, is a five-domed church, square with four masonry piers in the center: it is the same type as the Cattolica at STILO. Scholars have placed its date between the 9th and the 11th C. Cappelli proposed to identify S. Marco with the oratory of the convent of S. Anastasia mentioned in the vita of Neilos of Rossano. The ROSSANO GOSPELS, now in the Museo Arcivescovile, were not made in Rossano but may have been brought there as early as the 7th C.

LIT. A. Gradilone, *Storia di Rossano* (Rome 1926). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:719–21. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:308–10. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 402f. B. Cappelli, "Rossano bizantina minore," *AStCal* 24 (1955) 31–53. –A.K., D.K.

ROSSANO GOSPELS, the oldest surviving illustrated Greek Gospel book, now preserved in the cathedral museum at Rossano. A fragment, it contains the texts of Matthew and Mark (up to 16:14), although its illustration draws on all four Gospels. It is written in silver uncials on purple parchment, with incipits in gold, on 188 folios measuring 30.7 × 26 cm. Fourteen miniatures and the frontispiece to the (lost) CANON TABLES depict events in the life of Christ. The page devoted to St. Mark and a personification sometimes said to represent SOPHIA is painted on a *bifolium* that O. Kresten and G. Prato (*RömHistMitt* 27 [1985] 381–99) have argued is an insertion of the 11th–12th C., when purple parchment was used in southern Italy. In ten of the miniatures Old Testament prophets are shown holding scrolls inscribed with texts read in the liturgy and pointing to the Gospel scenes illustrated above them. The MS is generally agreed to be a work of the second half of the 6th C., although its place of origin (Syria?, Constantino-



ROSSANO GOSPELS. Page from the Rossano Gospels. Museo Arcivescovile, Rossano. Pilate offering the Jews the choice between Christ and Barabbas (fol.8v).

ple?) is far from certain. Loerke (*infra*) has argued that some miniatures depend directly on lost wall paintings in Jerusalem.

ED. and LIT. *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, ed. G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, W.C. Loerke, 2 vols. (Rome-Graz 1985–87). —A.C.

ROSSIA. See RHOSIA.

ROSSIKON. See PANTELEEMON MONASTERY.

ROTULUS. See JOSHUA ROLL; ROLLS, LITURGICAL.

ROUPHINIANAI (Ρουφινιαναι), or Rufiniana, Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, located on the Sea of Marmara southeast of Chalcedon. The area, formerly referred to as Drys ("the Oak"), took its name from the praetorian prefect RUFINUS, who undertook a building program there in the late 4th C. At the time of his conversion to Christianity, Rufinus constructed a church dedicated to Peter and Paul (the Apostoleion). In 393

he founded a separate monastery nearby where he installed Egyptian monks to serve as the clergy for the Apostoleion. This original phase of the monastery was very brief, since it was abandoned after Rufinus's murder in 395. The monastery quickly fell into disrepair but was restored ca.400 by HYPATIOS, who served as *hegoumenos* until his death in 446. The restored monastery bore the name of St. Hypatios after its second founder and housed 50 monks in the mid-5th C. In 403 the Apostoleion was the site of the Synod of the Oak that deposed Patr. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Circa 950 Patr. Theophylaktos restored the monastery once again. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the monastery was abandoned by its Greek monks for about ten years (ca.1215–25) and inhabited by Cistercians as a dependency of the monastery of St. Angelus of Pera (E.A.R. Brown, *Traditio* 14 [1958] 88–90). When the Greek monks returned, the monastery came under the direction of the *hegoumenos* of St. Paul of Latros. It does not appear in the sources after the 13th C.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 207. J. Pargoire, "Rufinians," *BZ* 8 (1899) 429–77. J.P. Meliopoulos, "Bounos Auxentiou: Rouphinianai," *BZ* 9 (1900) 63–71. Janin, *Églises centres* 36–40. —A.M.T.

ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL (Ρουσέλιος or Οὐρσέλιος), Norman mercenary; born Bailleul, Normandy, died Herakleia Perinthos 1078. Roussel fought in Sicily (1069), then led the Norman troops on Romanos IV's expedition to MANTZIKERT, but escaped the debacle. In 1073 he quarreled with his commander Isaac KOMNENOS and departed to establish a base in the Armeniakon. In 1074, at the Zompos Bridge over the Sangarios, he captured the caesar John DOUKAS. After advancing as far as Chrysopolis, Roussel proclaimed John emperor to give his revolt a legal pretext. Assisted by Artuk, Michael VII captured Roussel and John. Ransomed by his wife (probably late 1074), Roussel returned to the Armeniakon to create a state. He levied funds from the cities and fought the Turks. About 1075 the future ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS induced Roussel's Turkish ally Tutach (Τουτᾶχ—Bryen. 187.6) to betray him. When the people of Amaseia rioted against a levy to pay Tutach, Alexios pretended to have Roussel blinded; thereafter, the populace paid. Roussel was imprisoned in Constantinople until late 1077, when Michael VII released him

to oppose Nikephoros BRYENNIOS. Roussel garri-soned Thracian Herakleia. After Michael's fall, his minister NIKEPHORITZES fled there to join Roussel. When Roussel died suddenly, rumor blamed Nikephoritzes' poison. Schlumberger (*Sig.* 660–64) published Roussel's seal.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *Récits de Byzance et des Croisades*, vol. 2 (Paris 1922) 78–91. Polemis, "Chronology" 66–68. Vryonis, *Decline* 99, 103, 106–08. —C.M.B.

ROUTES. See LAND ROUTES; SEA ROUTES; SILK ROUTE.

ROVINE, BATTLE OF, a fierce but indecisive encounter between the armies of MIRCEA THE ELDER of Wallachia and the Ottoman ruler BAYEZID I, which took place on the plain of Rovine in western Rumania (20 km west of mod. Arad) on 17 May 1395 (G. Radojčić, *RHSEE* 5 [1928] 136–39). The outcome of the battle is not clear. Although Mircea apparently won, he still had to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty over Wallachia and pay tribute. Among those killed in the battle were two Serbian princes who were fighting for Bayezid as Ottoman vassals. They were MARKO KRALJEVIĆ and CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ.

LIT. D. Radojčić, "Jedna glava iz 'Života Stefana Lazarevića' od Konstantin Filozofa," *Hrišćanski život* 6 (1927) 138–44. M. Dinić, "Hronika sen-deniskog kaludjera kao izvor za bojeve na Kosovu i Rovinama," *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 17 (1937) 51–66. —A.M.T.

RUBENIDS (Ρουπένιοι), first dynasty to rule Armenian CILICIA (1073?–1226). The Rubenids descended from a certain Ruben, for whom Armenian sources claim royal descent, though he was more likely a henchman than a kinsman of the last Bagratid king, GAGIK II. The original strongholds of the Rubenids were Gobidar (Kopitar) and Vahka in the Anti-Taurus mountains, but Prince T'oros I (1100–29) moved down toward the plain to install himself at ANAZARBOS. The defeat and capture of his successor Prince Leo I (1129–1137/8) by Emp. John II Komnenos forced the Rubenids to return to the mountains. Leo's younger son T'oros II was able to control the plain again after his submission to Manuel I Komnenos in 1158. Finally, with the consent of Byz., Prince Leo II (see LEO II/I) was crowned as king of all of Cilicia in 1198 or 1199; he moved the

Rubenid capital to Sis in the foothills, where it remained. Subsequently, Rubenid rule in Cilicia was weakened by Leo's long struggles with the principality of ANTIOCH; when he died in 1219, the crown passed to the HET'UMIDS through the marriage of Leo's daughter Zabel to Het'um I.

LIT. Adontz, *Etudes* 177–95. Der Nersessian, "Cilician Armenia" 633–52. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 39–42. W. Hecht, "Byzanz und die Armenier nach dem Tode Kaiser Manuels I (1180–1196)," *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 66–74. V.P. Stepanenko, "Ravninnaja Kilikija vo vzaimootnošenijach Antiochijskogo knjažestva i knjažestva Rubenidov v 10–40-ch godach XII v.," *VizVrem* 49 (1988) 119–26. —N.G.G.

RUFINIANAE. See ROUPHINIANAI.

RUFINUS (Ρουφίνος), praetorian prefect and adviser of Theodosios I and Arkadios; born Elusa, Gaul, died outside Constantinople 27 Nov. 395. He was *magister officiorum* 388–92 and used his tenure to increase the importance of that office. In 390 he urged Theodosios to admit his error in the massacre of citizens in the hippodrome of Thessalonike. He was appointed consul for 392. Rufinus was an ambitious and ruthless politician; he hoped to marry his daughter to Arkadios. When Theodosios went to the West in 394, he left Rufinus as the principal adviser to Arkadios. After the death of Theodosios in Jan. 395 Rufinus served briefly as regent for the young emperor. He was accused of encouraging ALARIC to attack Greece. He was jealous of STILICHO because of his military power in the West. He was murdered by GAINAS on the instructions of Stilicho. A pious Christian, Rufinus founded a monastery on his estate of ROUPHINIANAI. Claudian's *In Rufinum* is a masterpiece of invective directed against him.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:107–13. *PLRE* 1:778–81. Demougeot, *Unité* 119–61. A.S. Kozlov, "Bor'ba meždu političeskoj opoziciej i pravitel'stvom Vizantii v 395–399 gg.," *ADSV* 13 (1976) 69–74. Matthews, *Aristocracies* 235–38, 249f. —T.E.G.

RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA, more fully Tyrannius Rufinus, Latin writer and translator; born at Concordia near Aquileia ca.345, died Messina 410. After studies in Rome, where he met JEROME, Rufinus went to Egypt ca.372, thence to Jerusalem, where a decade later he founded a monastery on the Mount of Olives with Melania the Elder. In the interim, he had studied at Alexandria,

where he was captivated by the Origenism of DIDYMOS THE BLIND. Returning to Aquileia in 397, he devoted his last years largely to Latin translations of the Greek fathers. The traditional date of his move south to Rome is 407; C.P. Hammond, however, argues that he left Aquileia as early as 403 (*JThSt* n.s. 28 [1977] 372–429) and went to Sicily ca.408.

Rufinus's condensed version of Eusebios's *Church History*, supplemented by two books covering the period 324–95, which are either his own work or drawn from the similar (lost) church history of GELASIOS OF CAESAREA, marks the introduction of this genre into Latin. His *On Principles* provides the only complete version of the *First Principles* of Origen, some of whose biblical commentaries he also translated. Rufinus's *History of Monks* is a collection of anecdotes of Egyptian monks designed to recommend their way of life.

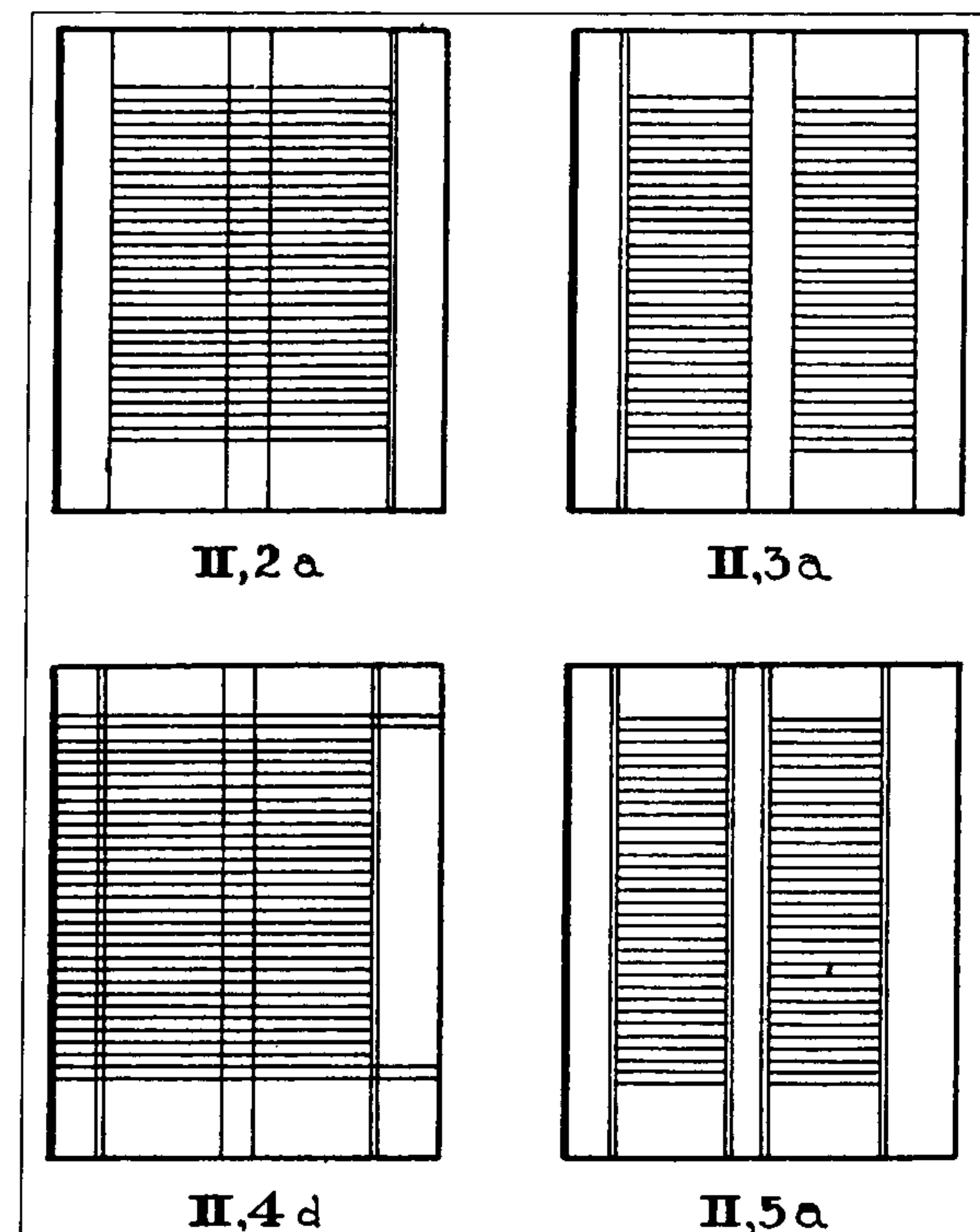
ED. *Opera*, ed. M. Simonetti (Turnhout 1961). *Les Bénédictions des Patriarches*, ed. M. Simonetti (Paris 1968), with Fr. tr.

LIT. F. Thelamon, *Païens et chrétiens au IV^e siècle: l'apport de l'"Histoire ecclésiastique" de Rufin d'Aquilée* (Paris 1981). F.X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia (345–411)* (Washington, D.C., 1945). H. Chadwick, "Rufinus and the Tura Papyrus of Origen's Commentary on Romans," *JThSt* n.s. 10 (1959) 10–42. —B.B.

RUFUS FESTUS. See FESTUS.

RULES, MONASTIC. See TYPIKON, MONASTIC.

RULING PATTERNS. Ruling determines the layout of each page of the CODEX (number of columns, width, and number of lines of main text, and, where applicable, of the commentary). The ruling was made by the SCRIBE or by a specialized member of the SCRIPTORIUM by pricking holes with a spiked lead wheel and a circle. Ruling was applied either separately on each folio or *bifolium* of the QUIRE or only once on and through the top folio to underlying folios. Classification of ruling patterns and ruling systems is important in CODICOLOGY for localization of scriptoria and dating. Inventories and classification of ruling patterns have been made by Lake (*infra*) and, more recently, A. Tselikas (*Thesaurismata* 13 [1976] 297–318) and Leroy (*infra*).



RULING PATTERNS. Sample ruling patterns.

LIT. K. & S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol. 1 (Boston 1934) pls. 1–6. *Indices* (Boston 1945) 121–34. J. Leroy, *Les types de régleure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1976). Idem, "La description codicologique des manuscrits grecs de parchemin," in *PGEB* 29–39. Idem, "Quelques systèmes de régleure des manuscrits grecs," in *Studia Codicologica*, ed. K. Treu et al. (Berlin 1977) 291–312. —E.G., I.Š.

RŪM, term in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish designating Byzantium (the empire of the RHOMAIOTI); it also referred to ancient Greece and the Roman Empire. After the SELJUK conquest of Asia Minor in the late 11th C., the conquered territory became the sultanate of Rūm. Under the Ottomans Rūm included the districts of Amasya (Amaseia) and Sivas (Sebasteia). Geographic names such as RUMELI and Erzurum were based on the root of Rūm.

LIT. Miquel, *Géographie* 2:381–481. M. Marín, "'Rūm' in the Works of the Three Spanish Muslim Geographers," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 109–17. J. Laurent, "Byzance et les origines du sultanat de Roum," in *Mél.Diehl* 1:177–82. A.G.C. Savvides, "A Note on the Terms Rūm and Anatolia in Seljuk and Early Ottoman Times," *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 5 (1984–85) 95–102. —A.K.

RUMANIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE. Architectural remains of the early medieval period in the territory of modern Rumania show a dependence on late Roman and Byz. types; 4th-C. Tropaeum had several three-aisled basilicas, as did HISTRIA (4th–6th C.). Treasures found at CONEȘTI and Apahida (ca.400) comprise silver repoussé vessels decorated with classical themes. Capitals from TOMIS (6th C.) belong to the Justinianic impost type.

One of the first dated ensembles is the fortress on the Danubian island of PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE, built by John I Tzimiskes around 972. Elsewhere churches show Byz. influence filtered through BULGARIA: the small church in the cemetery of DINOGETIA (11th–12th C.) has a central dome over a shallow cruciform space carved out of the thickness of the wall, similar to the east church at BOJANA. The narrow rows of rough stone alternating with tripled rows of brick is a crude version of a Byz. building technique. Ceramic finds from the period before the 14th C. include unglazed amphoras and tablewares of Byz. manufacture as well as copies they inspired.

In the 14th C., WALLACHIA and MOLDAVIA achieved political independence from Hungary and, with the appointment of an Orthodox metropolitan of Wallachia (1359), Byz. influence became even more pronounced. The royal church of St. Nicholas-Domneasca at Curtea de Argeș, built before 1352, exhibits a variation of the cross-in-square plan, with the dome resting on large square piers. The sober façade consists of courses of rough stone alternating with tripled bands of brick. The large, wide proportions of the church and the scarcity of windows allow the maximum surface for frescoes, which cover the interior in a continuous layer. In program and iconography, these paintings are astonishingly close to the narthex mosaics of the CHORA church.

Byz. influence transmitted via Serbia becomes dominant in the later 14th C. It is attributed to the Serbian monk Nikodemos, who came from Athos to Wallachia and founded several monasteries with churches of a trefoil plan. The monastic church of Cozia (1386) is a domed triconch built of ashlar masonry alternating with tripled bands of brick. The exterior is articulated by pilasters supporting an arcade; round windows in the arcade are filled with interlaced geometric and

floral sculpture designs. The frescoes date from the same time as the church. Churches at Cotmeana and Siret in Moldavia, related contemporary triconchs, are decorated with inset ceramic panels, circular and cross-shaped, as well as with dogtooth brick bands.

The Orthodox liturgy even had an impact on buildings of Western type: for example, the Church of St. Nicholas in Rădăuți, the earliest surviving church in Moldavia (1359–65), is a barrel-vaulted basilica, but the four piers in the naos are evidently inspired by the Byz. cross-in-square plan.

Other arts show similar influence from Byz. Sgraffito bowls of both imported and local manufacture are found everywhere by the 13th and 14th C. Jewelry finds likewise include both imported pieces and copies made locally following Byz. types.

Icons were not produced until the 16th C., but MSS were being copied and illuminated a full century earlier. A Slavonic Gospel book written by Nikodim (1404/5), preserved at Putna monastery, is illuminated with initials and simple headpieces reflecting Byz. ornamental motifs. Manuscripts by Gavril Uric from Neamț—the bilingual Greco-Slavonic *Gospels of Alexander the Good* (Oxford, Bodl. can. gr. 122) from 1429 and a Slavonic Gospels from 1435/6 (now at Neamț)—have pylon-shaped headpieces and initials decorated with interlace and vegetal designs. Both MSS contain evangelist portraits. The latter MS has its original silver repoussé covers; in the center the front cover is the Anastasis.

Carved wooden doors are preserved at several monasteries. Those of the Annunciation Chapel at Snagov (1453) have three registers of figures: the Annunciation with David and Solomon displaying scrolls on top, two pairs of church fathers framed by arches in the middle, and two equestrian saints under arches below. Slavonic inscriptions frame the doors and fill the arches, but the selection of these figures as well as their style and dress are Byz.

Many fine embroidered liturgical textiles have also been preserved in Rumania. The EPITAPHIOS of Neamț, ordered by the *hegoumenos* Silvan in 1437, was embellished with gold, silver, and pearls, probably in Constantinople. Greek inscriptions identify the figures, while the border inscription is in Slavonic. The EPITRACHELION of Antim at

Tismania (1370) is decorated with busts of saints in roundels that echo carved and painted motifs of the Morava school.

Art reached its zenith during the 15th and 16th C. Exterior church painting and MS illumination preserve Byz. iconography and the late Palaiologan style to such an extent that the culture has been described as "Byzance après Byzance."

LIT. G. Ionescu, *Histoire de l'architecture en Roumanie* (Bucharest 1972). V. Vătăşianu, *Istoria Artei Feudale în Țările Române*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1959). C. Nicolescu, *Moștenirea artei bizantine în România* (Bucharest 1971). R. Theodorescu, *Un mileniu de artă la Dunărea de jos (400-1400)* (Bucharest 1976). M.-A. Musicescu, "Relations artistiques entre Byzance et les pays roumains (IVe-XVe s.)," 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1974) 509-25. —E.C.S.

RUMANIANS. The origin of this people is enigmatic. Most probably they are descendants of romanized DACO-GETANS and hellenized THRACIANS, who absorbed some Slavic and other ethnic elements. Written sources are silent on Rumanian ethnogeny, however, and it can be established only on the basis of archaeological data; thus, the results remain tentative and hypothetical. By the 11th C. the VLACHS were mentioned in sources as existing throughout the whole northern Balkan peninsula, but not north of the Danube; there is no reason, however, to date the creation of the first Rumanian "state formations" to the 10th C., as does Ș. Ștefănescu (*Dacoromania* 1 [1973] 104-13). The hotly debated problem of whether or not the Second Bulgarian Empire was founded by the Proto-Rumanians depends on the interpretation of the term *Blachoi* in Niketas Choniates—did he mean the Vlachs proper or did he use the term inaccurately, applying it to Bulgarians? The first unquestionable testimonies to the Proto-Rumanian states belong to the 13th-14th C., when the principalities in DOBRUDJA, WALLACHIA, and MOLDAVIA were created; the Slavic ethnic substratum as well as Slavic linguistic elements were, at this time, strongly interwoven with "post-Roman" traditions. The young principalities were conquered by the Turks in the late 14th-15th C.

LIT. V. Arvinte, *Die Rumänen. Ursprung, Volks- und Landesnamen* (Tübingen 1980). I. Russu, *Etnogeneza Românilor* (Bucharest 1981). C. Giurescu, *Formarea poporului român* (Craiova 1973). G. Brătianu, *Une énigme et un miracle historique: le peuple roumain*² (Bucharest 1988). —A.K.

RUMELI (from Turk. Rûm-eli, the land of Rûm or of the Rhomaioi), the name of an Ottoman

province consisting of Macedonia, Thrace, Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, and Greece with the exception of its coastline and islands. The first governor (*beylerbey*) of Rumeli was the tutor (*lala*) of Murad I, Şahin-Paşa, with his seat at Philippopolis from ca.1362-65. Between 1370 and 1385 the capital of Rumeli was moved to Sofia.

LIT. F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14.-15. Jahrhundert)* (Munich 1944). H. İnalcık, *İA* 9:766-73. —A.K.

RUPERT OF DEUTZ, prolific Benedictine theologian; born between ca.1075 and 1080, died 4 Mar. 1129. Rupert entered St. Laurent, Liège, at an early age and became a priest ca.1106; from 1111 he sparked theological controversies; in 1120 he was made abbot of Deutz. The chronicle attributed to him is a 13th-C. forgery (H. Silvestre, *RHE* 77 [1982] 365-95). His theological treatises occasionally refer to the errors of "certain Greeks"; *De glorificatione Trinitatis* (On the Glorification of the Trinity) treats the *filioque* problem at a papal legate's request (PL 169:13-202; cf. J.H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* [Berkeley 1983] 362f). A sermon he preached at Cologne (sometime between 1125 and 1129) describes local travelers' familiarity with the reliquary of St. Pantoleon at Constantinople and an annual miracle that had announced the destruction of the Pechenegs (Rupert confuses Alexios I and Michael VII—ed. Coens, 262.3-264.7) as well as a miracle concerning prince Mstislav of Kiev (son of Vladimir Monomach), his mother the English princess Gyda's devotion to the Cologne shrine of St. Pantoleon, and her pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

ED. M. Coens, "Un sermon inconnu de Rupert, abbé de Deutz, sur S. Pantaléon," *AB* 55 (1937) 244-67.

LIT. M. McCormick, *Index scriptorum operumque latino-belgicorum medii aevi* 3.2 (Brussels 1979) 235-62. —M.McC.

RUS' (οἱ Ῥῶς, sometimes Ῥῶς), people from RHOSIA, first mentioned in the *Annales Bertiniani* for 839; the earliest reference in Greek is by PHOTIOS (*Homilies* 3 and 4), who describes their attack on Constantinople in 860. Mention of the Rus' in the vita of GEORGE OF AMASTRIS may be a later insertion (A. Markopoulos, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 75-82). The earliest Rus' were Scandinavians (Vikings or Varangians). Constantine VII, in his description of the Dnieper rapids (*De adm. imp.*

9.40-65), distinguishes toponyms of the Rus' from their Slavonic equivalents. In subsequent Byz. usage, however, the term was transferred to Slavic-speakers. Byz. writers also call the Rus' SCYTHIANS, TAUROSCYTHIANS, HYPERBOREAN SCYTHIANS, SARMATIANS, or Northerners, indicating a link with the ancient peoples of the steppes (M. Bibikov in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSR 1980* [Moscow 1981] 34-78). Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 149.24-150.20) traces the descent of the Rus' to Achilles, and also associates them with the biblical Ros (cf. Ezek 38:2, 39:1). LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (*Antapodosis* 5.15) asserts that the Byz. called the Rus' *Rhousioi* ("red," "ruddy"; cf. Lat. *russus*) on account of their complexion. The actual etymology and origins of the name are still disputed (see G. Schramm, *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 30 [1982] 7-49).

Photios depicts the Rus' as exotic and belligerent. This image recurs frequently, reinforced by further raids on Constantinople by OLEG (907?) and IGOR (941), by the Bulgarian campaigns of SVJATOSLAV (966-71), the sack of Cherson by VLADIMIR I of Kiev, and the war of 1043-46 under Prince JAROSLAV. At least from the early 10th C. Rus' were recruited into the Byz. army, eventually forming the nucleus of the Varangian guard. During the 9th and 10th C. Viking Rus' settled along the river routes and gradually assimilated with the native Slav population, creating a network of principalities under a single ("Rjurikid") dynasty with its center of authority in KIEV. The principalities of "Kievan Rus'" were concentrated north of the steppes, separated from Byz. by the PECHENECS and later the CUMANS. TMUTOROKAN was a possession of the Rus' until the end of the 11th C. The extent of their settlement and activity in the Azov and northern Pontic region is unclear. Only Svjatoslav attempted to establish an administrative base south of the DANUBE in Little PRESILAV.

The Rus' were traders as well as raiders. Constantine VII describes both the organization of their expeditions to Constantinople, and the use of the Pechenegs to contain and restrain them (*De adm. imp.* 2, 4, 9; a possible earlier allusion is in the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI [20.69]). The POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET preserves versions of the 10th-C. commercial agreements that ostensibly followed the campaigns of Oleg, Igor, and Svjatoslav (see TREATIES, RUSSO-BYZANTINE). Principal im-

ports from the Rus' were furs (J. Martin, *Treasure from the Land of Darkness* [Cambridge 1986] 35-47, 115-18), honey, wax, and probably slaves. Exports to the Rus', both directly from and through Constantinople and from the Byz. cities on the BLACK SEA, included amphorae with oil and wine, coins, walnuts, Caucasian boxwood, silks, and glass. The pattern of trade was uneven. Byz. coins circulated in small quantities before ca.950, then regularly until ca.1050, then sparsely until ca.1130, then not at all (T. Noonan, *BS/EB* 7 [1980] 143-81). Some types of glass ceased to be exported in the early 11th C., because the equivalent technology had been acquired for local production in Kiev (Ju. Ščapova, *VizVrem* 19 [1961] 60-75). It is widely suggested that trade along the Dnieper via Kiev declined in the late 12th C., but finds in the Polock region indicate no significant reduction until the early 13th C. (F. Gurevič, *VizVrem* 47 [1986] 65-81).

The political focus of Byz.-Rus' relations, by contrast, did change. By the mid-12th C. Kiev had lost its dominance over the principalities of the Rus'. GALITZA, SUZDAL', NOVGOROD, and SMOLLENSK pursued increasingly independent foreign policies. Manuel I, for example, was supported by Galitza and Suzdal' against the pro-Hungarian Izjaslav II of Kiev (1146-54). Exiled princes of the Rus' from Černigov (1079) and Polock (1130) were received in Constantinople (*PSRL* 1:204, 2:293), while in 1162 the relatives of ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO were given lands on the Danube (*PSRL* 2:561; Kinn. 232.3-12). Twelfth-century Byz. writers show a particular interest in Galitza and the northern Pontic region, rather than concentrating on Kiev. However, political relations at the highest level were seldom intimate. After the marriages of Vladimir I Svjatoslavič and (perhaps) of his grandson Vsevolod to imperial brides, there is no reliable evidence that any Rjurikid prince or princess married into the imperial family.

Cultural contacts with the Rus' intensified with the spread of Christianity. In 867 Photios claimed in an encyclical to the Eastern patriarchs, perhaps overoptimistically, that the Rus' had been converted (ep.2.293-302). This group of Rus' (cf. *TheophCont* 196.6-7, 342.20) had little connection with the later Rus' of Kiev and may have operated from settlements on the Black Sea (J.-P. Arrignon, *RES* 55 [1983] 129-37) or from the Azov region (G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* [New Haven

1943] 345-53). M. Brajčevskij (*VizVrem* 47 [1986] 31-38) asserts that in 863 Photios addressed a letter to the Kievan prince Askold and to the metropolitan of Rus' Michael the Syrian protesting against the activity of papal envoys in Kiev, but there are no serious data to substantiate this hypothesis. The 911 Russo-Byz. treaty assumes that the Rus' were pagan, whereas the 944 treaty refers to a church in Kiev and Constantine VII mentions "baptized Rus'" (probably Varangian mercenaries) in Constantinople (*De cer.* 579.21-22). OL'GA was herself baptized, but Christianity only became the "official" religion after Vladimir's conversion in 988. Thenceforth Rus' became an ecclesiastical province of the patriarchate of Constantinople, under the metropolitan of Kiev. The metropolitan was normally a Greek (with few exceptions, such as ILARION or KLIM SMOLJATIČ), as were many of his suffragan bishops (11 bishoprics were established by the late 12th C.—*Notitiae CP*, no.13.759-70). The seals of the metropolitan and bishops were inscribed in Greek (V. Janin, *Aktovye pečati Drevnej Rusi*, vol. 1 [Moscow 1970] 44-59). Despite political fragmentation and the MONGOL invasion, the metropolitan see retained its unified structure until the 14th-C. expansion of LITHUANIA and POLAND into the lands of the Rus'. A monastery *tou Rhos* on Athos is first mentioned in 1016; this is probably the monastery *tou Xylourgou* attested in documents of 1030, 1048, 1070, and 1142, which in 1169 acquired the PANTELEEMON MONASTERY (Rossikon) on Athos (D. Nastase, *Symmeikta* 6 [1985] 284-97). There were also Greek monks in Kiev.

For the converted Rus', Constantinople itself became the model of civilization and a place of pilgrimage (see DANIIL IGUMEN, ANTONY of Novgorod). Greek architects, craftsmen, and painters were brought in to build and decorate the major 11th-C. public buildings; Byz. exports now included icons and liturgical silver; some princes of the 11th through early 12th C. had Greek seals (Janin, *supra* 1:14-42); the art and architecture and most of the literature of the Rus' followed Byz. ecclesiastical patterns, modified to local perceptions and conditions.

This diversification of contacts over the 11th and 12th C. is reflected in the attitudes of Byz. writers, who, while not abandoning the "belligerent Scythian" stereotype, also show a more specific awareness of customs and even language of the

Rus' (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 354-56). Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 522.28) may call the Rus' Tauroscythians, but he also refers to them as a "most Christian people." In modern nomenclature Rus' is usually applied to the territory populated by the Rus', as in Kievan Rus'.

LIT. Ditten, *Russland-Excurs.* Obolensky, *Byz. Commonwealth* 37-41, 179-201, 223-32, 353-61. Davidson, *Road to Byz.* H. Rüss in *Handbuch zur Geschichte Russlands*, ed. M. Hellmann, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1981) 199-429. Poppe, *Christian Russia*. M. Bibikov, "Die alte Rus' und die russisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen im Spiegel der byzantinischen Quellen," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 197-222. P.P. Toločko, *Drevnjaja Rus'* (Kiev 1987). V. Vodoff, *Naissance de la Chrétienté russe* (Paris 1988). —S.C.F.

RUS', ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF. The Byz. tradition was the primary inspiration of "high" art in medieval Russia. While examples of Byz. art penetrated Rus' before the nation's conversion to Christianity, the major Byz. impact began with the official adoption of Christianity in 988 and is most noticeable in the religious arts. A second period of major artistic impact from Byz. can be discerned in the latter part of the 14th C.

The POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET notes that the newly converted VLADIMIR I of Kiev returned to his capital from CHERSON not only with clergy, but also with books, sacred vessels, and icons. These doubtless served as models for the primitive production of religious artifacts in the newly christianized land. Soon, however, Byz. architects and painters were brought to build and decorate churches. Kiev's Desjatinnaja ("Tithe") Church (989-96), apparently a traditional Byz. three-apsed, cross-in-square masonry edifice surrounded by galleries, was erected by Greek architects. In less important centers, wooden churches seem to have sufficed for practice of the Christian cult. Under JAROSLAV of Kiev, however, masonry building burgeoned in Rus'. The ruling city of KIEV was graced with a triumphal "Golden Gate," inspired by the portal of the same name in Constantinople as well as with the Church of St. Sophia. Like this cathedral, the slightly later Dormition Church (ca.1073) of the Caves Monastery near Kiev, a single-domed, cross-in-square structure with three apses and an integrated western narthex bay, appears to be the work of Byz. architects.

While the major masonry churches in southern Rus'—including the Transfiguration church in

Černigov, an elongated, five-domed, cross-in-square church with three apses and two-level arcades at either side of the wide central bay (ca. 1036)—are Byz.-style buildings erected on foreign territory, the same cannot be said of the churches built in the northern city of NOVGOROD. Its Sophia church (1045), for example, while Byz. in plan and general conception, betrays features deemed characteristic of the architecture of Rus', most notably increased height and pointed domes, that combine to create a pyramidal silhouette, a feature already discernible in the arrangement of the thirteen domes of St. Sophia at Kiev. The unusually tall churches of the St. Antony (1117) and St. George (1119) monasteries near Novgorod are often seen as dramatic examples of a russianizing of Byz. architectural vocabulary in the north. These tendencies, albeit in less radical form, appear, too, in the Suzdalian school of architecture, notable also for its broad use of exterior bas-relief decoration (Dormition cathedral, 1158, 1189; St. Demetrius, 1194, both in Vladimir).

Just as architects were brought to Kievan Rus' "from Greece," so too were painters and mosaicists. Like St. Sophia in Kiev, but in a more illusionistic style, both the Dormition church of the Caves Monastery and the main church of the St. Michael "Golden-topped" (Zlatoverchij) Monastery (1108) also had traditional Byz. pictorial cycles in mosaic. Outside of Kiev, however, mosaic remained a medium foreign to the Rus'. The frescoed churches of Novgorod (Spas Neredica, 1198) and its sister town Pskov (Mirožskij Monastery, ca.1156) leave no doubt about how thoroughly Byz. techniques and iconographic cycles had been absorbed, either from traveling painters or from pattern books. Illuminated MSS such as the Ostromir Gospel (1057) and Svjatoslav's IZBORNIK also testify that the Rus' absorbed Byz. conventions in painting.

Byz. icons were copied in Rus' from the time of its conversion to Christianity. No pre-12th-C. panel paintings survive, yet by the 12th C. local schools of icon painting were already fully developed in Rus'. The most important of these was that of Novgorod, where artists imitated Byz. paintings of the Komnenian period, such as the 12th-C. Constantinopolitan icon of the VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR, but also drew on a strong, almost primitive, local tradition marked by the use of large juxtaposed blocks of bright colors.

The "minor arts" of Rus', particularly jewelry, metal work, and bone, wood, and stone carving, are also heavily indebted to Byz. models, often reproducing Byz.-style figures and scenes in unexpected media, sometimes juxtaposed with fantastic animals from Slavic folklore. Indeed, Byz. influence also affected the popular arts, where one finds not only Byz. figures and scenes reproduced in folk painting along with Slavic pagan motifs, but also bas-relief icons and polychrome wood sculpture imitating traditional Byz. religious painting.

As the Rus' shed the Mongol yoke in the late 14th C., a new Russian state arose, centered on the upper reaches of the Volga river basin. The massive building program of this new state, which would eventually coalesce as Muscovy, attracted Byz. artists who brought to the cities and monasteries of northeastern Russia the latest trends in Constantinopolitan painting. THEOPHANES "THE GREEK" stands out among the painters who reinvigorated the long Byz. tradition in Russia. His impact is also visible in the work of Andrej Rublev, a Russian master who combined delicate and highly refined Palaialogan artistic techniques and sophisticated theological concepts with the strong linear traditions seen in Novgorodian painting and thereby created masterpieces of 15th-C. Byz.-style art such as the "Old Testament Trinity" icon.

Byz. art challenged Russian creativity with new ideals, forms, and techniques. The art of medieval Russia was in large part a response to that challenge in the very vocabulary of the Byz. challenger.

LIT. *Istorija russkogo iskusstva*, ed. I.E. Grabar' et al., vol. 2 (Moscow 1954). H. Faensen, V. Ivanov, *Early Russian Architecture* (New York 1975). V.N. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London 1966). Idem, *Russian Icons from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (New York 1962). O. Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts of the 11th to the Early 16th Centuries* (London 1984). A. Komeč, *Drevnerusskoe zодčestvo konca X—načala XII v.* (Moscow 1987). —G.P.M.

RUS', LITERATURE OF. The literature of Kievan and Muscovite Rus' chiefly consists of translations from Greek into CHURCH SLAVONIC (mostly via Bulgaria) and of native works written in a Byz. manner. For the historian of Byz. texts, therefore, material from Rus' can provide important evidence where Greek MSS are sparse or lost. For the cultural historian, however, the literature of Rus' is neither a precise copy nor merely a defec-

tive copy of a Byz. model. In the process of "cultural translation" the authoritative Byz. prototypes were modified in accordance with local resources, experience, and perceptions.

The content of the literature of early Rus' was principally directed toward (1) explaining, justifying, and propagating the precepts and practices of Christianity in its new and sometimes hostile environment and (2) reinforcing the authority of the rulers who sponsored it. Beyond a basic concern for the works needed in the liturgy and in the organization of ecclesiastical and monastic life, the interests of writers were more ethical and ethnic than speculative or antiquarian. They tended to operate through narrative example (chronicle, hagiography: see POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET, BORIS AND GLEB, FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA, PATERIK, EPIFANIJ, and KIPRIAN) and by instruction and exhortation (homilies, canonical instruction: see ILARION, VLADIMIR MONOMACH, KIRILL OF TUROV, SERAPION OF VLADIMIR, KIRIK OF NOVGOROD, NIKEPHOROS I, and JOHN II), while virtually ignoring the "philosophical" and rhetorical pursuits of the intellectual elite of Constantinople. Only as an exception did Greek secular narrative (e.g., DIGENES AKRITAS; *Stephanites and Ichnelates*) penetrate to Rus'.

The writers of Rus' did not identify with the Roman past of the Rhomaioi, had no pseudo-classical *paideia*, and placed no special value on classical forms of expression. Constantinople itself, however, was a persistent literary presence: apart from accounts of Russo-Byz. relations, there are narratives of the captures of Constantinople in 1204 and 1453 (see TALE OF THE TAKING OF TSAR'GRAD) and several descriptions of the city by PILGRIMS and travelers (ANTONY of Novgorod, STEFAN OF NOVGOROD, IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK, ZOSIMA).

LIT. D. Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque* (The Hague 1960). G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus'* (Munich 1982). *Istorija russkoj literatury X–XVII vekov*², ed. D.S. Lichačev (Moscow 1985). —S.C.F.

RUŠĀFAH. See SERGIOPOLIS.

RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE. See POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET.

RUTILIUS CLAUDIUS NAMATIANUS, 5th-C. Latin writer from a noble family in Gaul, perhaps Toulouse. He served as *magister officiorum* in the West (412) and prefect of Rome (in 414). His poem *De reditu suo* (a provisional title) describes his return home (from Rome as far as Luna on the bay of La Spezia) in Oct.–Nov., probably 417 (Al. Cameron, *JRS* 57 [1967] 31–39). The first book lacks its opening, the second breaks off after only 68 lines, albeit a little is restored by a newly discovered fragment (M. Ferrari, *ItMedUm* 16 [1973] 15–30). Basically a travel poem in a long classical tradition, Rutilius's piece also exploits the currently fashionable (in East and West) genre of PATRIA, Rome being treated to an exordial eulogy and long valediction. Contemporary matters intrude, notably an attack on STILICHO in obvious contrast to CLAUDIAN, also invectives against JEWS and monks. Style and content betray no overt debts to Christianity, but this does not automatically make him a pagan.

ED. *Rutilius Claudius Namatianus: De reditu suo sive Iter Gallicum*, ed. E. Doblhofer, 2 vols. (Heidelberg 1972–77), with Germ. tr. *Minor Latin Poets*, ed. J.W. Duff, A.W. Duff (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1978) 751–829, with Eng. tr. LIT. I. Lana, *Rutilio Namaziano* (Turin 1961). —B.B.

S

SABAITIC TYPIKA, final generation of liturgical TYPIKA codifying the neo-Sabaitic rite formed when the monasteries of Palestine, which followed the rite of the Lavra of St. SABAS, adapted the STOUDITE TYPIKA to their own needs. The Sabaitic *typikon* in its final, Athonite redaction became the definitive liturgical synthesis of the BYZANTINE RITE under the hesychasts in the 14th C. The earliest Sabaitic *typika* are distinguished from Stoudite *typika* in that they begin with a description of the *agrypnia* or monastic VIGIL (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 3:20).

LIT. Taft, "Mount Athos" 187–94. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" nos. 40, 45, 46, 52. —R.F.T.

SABAS (Σάβας), saint; born village of Moutalaska in Cappadocia in 439, died in his Lavra 5 Dec. 532. As a boy Sabas was placed in the monastery of Flaviana, near his native village; ca.456 he left for Palestine and was accepted as a disciple by EUTHYMOS THE GREAT. Subsequently he visited Alexandria, where he met his parents. They tried to persuade him to become an officer in the *noumeros* of the Isaurians; Sabas refused, however, and having taken 3 nomismata from his parents, returned to Palestine. In 483 (Schwartz, *infra* 99.10) Sabas established near Jerusalem the Lavra (see SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF), which attracted monks from Armenia, Isauria, and other remote places. Sabas had to cope with the resistance of certain brethren who finally seceded and built their own *koinobion*, the New Lavra. Sabas organized at least six other monasteries. He supported the teaching of the Council of Chalcedon, but his journey to Constantinople and attempt to persuade Emp. Anastasios I to abandon his support of Monophysitism proved fruitless. Under Sabas's name is preserved a type of liturgical *typikon* (see SABAITIC TYPIKA).

CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS wrote his vita, an important source for understanding monasticism in Palestine, where monks were striving for salvation amid danger from Saracens, robbers, and religious dissidents and from which Constantinople

appeared very remote. Sabas regularly worked miracles of healing; he was also very close to nature, and a lion visited him in a cave after he was forced by rebellious monks to leave the Lavra. Sabas, an old monk with a long beard, is very often represented in monumental painting in the company of other ascetics, esp. St. Euthymios.

SOURCES. E. Schwartz, ed. *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig 1939) 85–200. Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, 3.2 (Paris 1962) 13–133. Ed. I. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie sv. Savy Osvjaščennogo* (St. Petersburg 1890), with Slavonic tr.

LIT. G. Lafontaine, "Deux vies grecques abrégées de S. Sabas," *Muséon* 86 (1973) 305–39. A. Cameron, "Cyril of Skythopolis, V. Sabae 53. A Note," *Glotta* 56 (1978) 87–94. Sacopoulo, *Asinou* 106f. M. Lechner, *LCI* 8:296–98.

—A.K., N.P.Š.

SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF (Mar Saba), monastic settlement southeast of Jerusalem, traditionally founded in 483 by the ascetic St. SABAS. After having visited the Egyptian desert, Sabas lived in Palestine as a solitary and attracted disciples who lived near him as *anachoretai*, thus giving rise to a monastic complex or lavra of modified Egyptian type. The monastery expanded physically with the building of churches and dependencies. It was the intellectual and spiritual center for the patriarchate of Jerusalem and for Palestinian monasticism in general. After serving as a focal point of resistance to imperial MONOTHELETE policies in the 7th C., Mar Saba continued its prominent role in Chalcedonian Christian Palestine even after the Arab conquest, leading the way in the change from Greek to Arabic as the dominant cultural language of the area's Christians. Mar Saba attracted prominent visitors, from CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, biographer of Sabas, to JOHN OF DAMASCUS; numerous scholars and writers worked in its library, and its scriptorium continued to produce MSS as late as the 11th–12th C., some illustrated (A. Cutler, *Journal of Jewish Art* 6 [1979] 63). Manuscripts from the Mar Saba library, which numbered more than 1,000 in 1834, are found in many European libraries. The Lavra still exists today.