book with a practical purpose, revealing a "mixture" of Roman law and local practice. Recognizing that the *Lawbook* dealt primarily with problems of family law, slave ownership, and SUCCESSION, E. Seidl (*RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 1783) suggested that it had served the needs of episcopal courts. At any rate, the *Lawbook* contains certain regulations that were obsolete in the 5th C. and has no clear system of organization of the content. The book was popular in the East and is known also in Arabic and Armenian versions.

ED. K.G. Bruns, E. Sachau, *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1880; rp. Aalen 1960). A. Vööbus, *The Syro-Roman Lawbook* (Stockholm 1982), with Eng. tr.

LIT. C. Nallino, "Sul libro siro-romano e sul presunto diritto siriaco," in *Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfante,* vol. 1 (Milan 1930) 203–61. W. Selb, *Zur Bedeutung des Syrisch-Römischen Rechtsbuches* (Munich 1964). –A.K.

T

ṬABARĪ, AL-, more fully Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Arab jurist and historian; born Āmul in Ṭabarīstān, Persia, autumn 839, died Baghdad 16 Feb. 923. A precocious student, al-Ṭabarī left Ṭabarīstān to study in Persia, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, then spent most of his career in Baghdad, where family income enabled him to devote himself to scholarship. Al-Ṭabarī is best known for his *History of the Prophets and Kings.* This vast annalistic work was intended to complement his Qur'ān commentary and to provide an authoritative summa of earlier research, encompassing Creation, the prophets, the Arabs before Islam, the life of Muḥammad, and the caliphate to 915. Al-Ṭabarī used many sources; importantly, he names his informants. Accounts were included largely for their authoritative transmission, making for conceptual clarity if not always historical accuracy.

For Byz. history al-Ṭabarī provides valuable information on the pre-Islamic Arabs (including the GHASSĀNIDS) and relations with the Sasanians. The conquests by the Arabs are related fully for Syria and Egypt, less so for North Africa. Byz. subsequently figures primarily in military affairs: warfare along the Thughūr (see 'AWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR), naval confrontation (e.g., the battle of the Masts, the struggle for Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes, and the Byz. attack on Damietta in 853) and the expeditions against Constantinople. He also describes the treatment and exchanges of PRISONERS and discusses diplomatic contacts, sometimes citing correspondence. Occasionally he includes more external matters, for example, the successes of the Bulgarians against Leo VI in 896.

ED. *Annales*, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., 15 vols. (Leiden 1879–1901). *The History of al-Tabarī: An Annotated Translation*, ed. E. Yar-Shater, 38+ vols. (Albany 1985–).

LIT. A.A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs* (Princeton 1983) 69–71. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:4–23. –L.I.C.

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TABARI CONTINUATUS. See 'ARĪB IBN SA'D AL-QURṬUBĪ.

TABENNISI, a site in upper Egypt, on the right bank of the Nile, near Dendera, halfway between PBOW and Chenoboskion, find-spot of the NAG HAMMADI Gnostic manuscripts. Circa 320–25 PACHOMIOS founded a cenobitic monastery near the deserted village of Tabennisi; gradually a large community of PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES developed in the area, owning and working farmland and paying taxes to the government (E. Wipszycka in *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* [Brussels 1975] 625–36). The original house at Tabennisi remained, along with the basilica at Pbow, one of the two centers where Pachomian monastic superiors gathered for their annual meetings. It apparently survived until the 7th C. –A.K.

TABGHA. See HEPTAPEGON.

TABLES (sing. *τράπεζα*). Tables were evidently used more widely in Byz. than in Rome, esp. after the transition from the Roman habit of reclining around a table to that of sitting at a table for meals, a change that occurred by the 10th C. Among the few Byz. tables to survive is a very long (15.7 m) specimen with semicircular ends and an inlaid marble top, in the refectory (TRAPEZA) of the NEA MONE on Chios (Bouras, *Nea Moni,* figs. 152, 156). It is furnished with niches for utensils, as are the WRITING DESKS depicted in representations of the Evangelists. These desks usually have a square top, unlike the sigma-shaped tables conventional in images of the Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER). Fragments of such sigma tables have been excavated at Corinth (Scranton, *Architecture* 139f).

Plain tables were of wood, but tables of more precious materials were found in wealthy households: according to the vita of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, he had a round table ornamented with ivory and gold that could seat 36 people (ed. M.H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, 137.30–31); the main imperial table at palace BANQUETS was called "golden" and was probably gilded. Tables were usually rectan-

gular, with the place of honor at the head of the table; Constantine VII also describes a *paratrapezion* set up for Arab allies, which was round so that all the seats were of equal rank (*De cer.* 594.9–14). The term *systelta* or *symbalta trapezia* (*De cer.* 465.10, MM 6:243.7), used for portable furniture, probably designated folding tables. For the sake of monastic discipline LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS ordered that a *symbaten* (correct reading, *symbalten*) *trapezan*, or worktable, be removed from the cell of a monk-cobbler, since the rules prohibited having such a piece of furniture (*AASS* Nov. 3:552AB). The word *trapezion* also designated the counters of craftsmen and esp. money-changers; a chrysobull of 1342 mentions 20 "exchanging (*katallaktika*) *trapezia*" acquired by the Great Lavra (*Lavra* 3, no.123.105–06). (See also ALTAR; OFFERTORY TABLE.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:77f; 4:189–91.
– Ap.K., A.K., A.C.

TABLION (*ταβλίον*), one of a pair of rectangular or trapezoidal embroidered panels sewn at right angles to the edges of a CHLAMYS, or other civilian cloak. In representations of figures clad in the *chlamys*, only one *tablion* is generally visible, since if the cloak is fastened in its usual manner at the right shoulder, one half of it falls down behind the body and the second *tablion* is thus hidden from view. When the cloak is shown fastened under the neck in front, both *tablia* can be seen side by side on the wearer's chest. In the 4th C. the *tablia* were attached to the emperor's *chlamys* below the level of the knees, but from the 6th C. onward they appear at chest level. A *tablion* could be embroidered with images of the emperor or elaborate designs, and its color was purposely contrasted with that of the cloak. A traditional piece of masculine court costume (e.g., *De cer.* 142.18–19), the appropriate *tablion* had to be paid for by the prospective title-holder (a *patrikios* in the 9th C. paid 24 nomismata for his *tablion*—Oikonomides, *Listes* 95.7). Though military saints are depicted wearing over their armor a *chlamys* adorned with a *tablion*, the *tablion* was generally a mark of civilian status. Among women only the empress was permitted to wear a *tablion*.

In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 133.7–8) the word also designated a box for precious garments: the emperor's *tablion* was carried by servants (*diaitarioi*) during ceremonial processions.

LIT. *DOC* 2.1:76f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:47. J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris 1917) 51, n.3. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen* nos. 38, 51. –N.P.Š.

TABOR, MOUNT, also Itabyrion, mountain in Galilee south of Nazareth. In 348 CYRIL of Jerusalem decisively identified Tabor (*Θαβώρ*) as the site of the TRANSFIGURATION; there are, however, some doubts whether this identification is valid (*DictBibl* 5.2:2141). Remains of what was perhaps a basilica of the 4th/5th C. survive on the spot (Ovadiah, *Corpus* 71); 6th-C. pilgrims speak of three basilicas on Tabor. One was dedicated to Christ, two smaller churches to Moses and Elijah. In the 7th C. monastic buildings were surrounded by fortifications. The archbishopric of Tabor was created in the 11th C. In the 12th C. both DANIIL IGUMEN and John PHOKAS saw on the top of Tabor two monasteries—one Latin, the other Orthodox. The precise location of the Transfiguration was supposed to be beneath the altar of the Latin monastery: it was encircled by a bronze fence; a marble circle with the sign of the cross marked the exact spot where Christ had stood. Tabor's lower slopes incorporated the area associated with the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 173. B. Meistermann, *Le mont Thabor* (Paris 1900). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:404f.
–G.V., A.K.

TABOULARIOS. See NOMIKOS; NOTARY.

TABULA ANSATA (Lat. "tablet with handles"), a rectangular frame or tablet with projections, used to contain an inscription and, by extension, as an ornament. The motif appeared on sarcophagi of the 3rd–4th C., in MSS such as the CALENDAR OF 354, ivory panels of the 4th–6th C., and numerous consular DIPTYCHS. It is all but unknown after the 6th C. –L.Br.

TABULA PEUTINGERIANA, a parchment map of the 12th or early 13th C., now in Vienna (ÖNB, Vindobon. 324), named after its former owner, Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547), a humanist of Augsburg. It is considered to be a copy of a 5th-C. tourist map. The *Tabula* is a roll of which 11 segments survive (one or two are lost); the preserved portion forms a narrow strip approximately 6.75 m long and 34 cm wide, depicting the known world from Gallia eastward to India and Ceylon; Britannia and Spain are lost save for small eastern regions. The map represents primarily land routes, indicating distances and cities (about 4,000 localities *in toto*); Latin inscriptions offer some clarifying information, for example, "the moat dug by slaves of the Scythians" or "elephants are born in this area." Pictorial vignettes provide characteristic emblems for 555 cities: towers, temples, baths, warehouses, harbors, lighthouses. Three cities—Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch—are indicated by distinct personifications of TYCHAI. Despite certain faults, it preserves unique geographical data. The COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA seems to have derived his information from either the *Tabula* or a common source.

ED. Facs. ed.—E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324* (Graz 1976).

LIT. A. & M. Levi, *Itineraria picta* (Rome 1967). L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana* (Rimini 1983). A. Levi, B. Trell, "An Ancient Tourist Map," *Archaeology* 17 (1964) 227–36. E. Weber, "Die Tabula Peutingeriana," *Antike Welt* 15 (1984) 3–8. V. Manfredi, "L'Europa nella Tabula Peutingeriana," in *L'Europa nel mondo antico* (Milan 1986) 192–98. –A.K.

TACHYGRAPHY (*ταχυγραφία*, "quick writing"), conventional term used to designate a form of stenographic script (termed "notation of Tiro" in antiquity) whose purpose was to save time in writing. The Byz. used the term *semeiographike techne* for tachygraphy, and the terms *semeiographos*, *tachygraphos* (cf. the Old Church Slavonic calque *skoropis'c*"), and *oxygraphos* for the SCRIBE who wrote in shorthand. Attested in the PAPYRI, where it was used for accounts, tachygraphy was used in Byz. from the 4th C. onward for taking dictation, recording sermons and the minutes of church councils, and taking down testimony in law courts. It was so common that Basil the Great used the image of tachygraphy for a simile (PG 30:733A–D). In the mid-6th C. John Lydos stated that *tachygraphoi* were numerous and important members of the imperial bureaucracy (*On the Magistracies* 3.9). St. NEILOS OF ROSSANO and the *hegoumenos* Paul of Grottaferrata are said to have used tachygraphy, and indeed the system of tachygraphy is best known from southern Italian MSS. In tachygraphic MSS stenographic signs are used to represent syllables or short words, such as prepositions, articles, and conjunctions; sometimes these shorthand symbols are identical with the ABBREVIATIONS found in minuscule MSS. Chionides (*infra*) suggests a distinction between tachygraphy and brachygraphy, whose aim was not greater speed, but efficient use of the page.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 36–43. M. Gitlbauer, *Die Überreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus graecus 1809*, in 2 parts (Vienna 1878). O. Lehmann, *Die tachygraphischen Abkürzungen der griechischen Handschriften* (Leipzig 1880; rp. Hildesheim 1965). S. Lilla, *Il testo tachigrafico del "De divinis nominibus" (Vat. gr. 1809)* (Vatican 1970). H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie und Tironische Noten* (Berlin 1973) 103–51. N.P. Chionides, S. Lilla, *La brachigrafia italo-bizantina* (Vatican 1981). –E.G.

TAFUR, PERO (Peter), Spanish traveler; born Cordoba ca.1410, died ca.1484. He undertook a long journey (end of 1435 or 1436 through March or Apr. 1439) and visited Italy, Palestine, and some islands in the Aegean (Rhodes, Chios, Tenedos); he was twice in Constantinople (Nov. 1437 and the beginning of 1438) and also saw Adrianople, Trebizond, and the Genoese colony of Kaffa in the Crimea. Pretending to be a relative of the Palaiologoi, Tafur was received by John VIII and shown around Constantinople by the future emperor Constantine XI.

Tafur's narration of his trip describes churches and their relics as well as the Hippodrome and the Palace, including a unique account of the library in a palace loggia. He relates that Trebizond had 4,000 inhabitants and records various legends about the empire's past, for example, the story of a war of Charlemagne against Constantinople. Tafur stresses the shabby clothing of the citizens of Constantinople and sympathizes with their sufferings inflicted by the Turks, the Venetians, and their own rulers; never, he says, had he seen so many people mutilated for felonies. At the same time he emphasizes the depravity of the Greeks and contrasts them with the noble Turks.

ED. *Andanças e viajes de un hidalgo español*, ed. F. López Estrada (Barcelona 1982). Eng. tr. M. Letts, *Travels and Adventures (1435–1439)* (New York–London 1926).

LIT. J. Vives, "Andanças e viajes de un hidalgo español," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, vol. 7 (Münster 1938) 127–206. A. Vasiliev, "Pero Tafur," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 75–122. Van der Vin, *Travellers* 1:52–63.
–A.K.

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TAGARIS (Τάγαρις), a rather unusual family name derived from *ταγάριον*, a dry measure. The first known member is George, whom Manuel PHILES mentioned in a poem (*EkAl* 3 [1882/3] 653), probably of the early 14th C. Next comes Manuel, governor of Philadelphia (ca.1309–27), whose first marriage was to Doukaina Monomachina. Although of lowly origins, he campaigned successfully against the Turks in Asia Minor and was esteemed by Andronikos II. Manuel received the rank of senator and *megas stratopedarches*; his second wife, Theodora Palaiologina Asanina, was a daughter of John III Asan (tsar of Bulgaria, 1279–80). In 1321 the emperor sent Manuel back from Constantinople to Philadelphia, where he stayed at his post during the siege of the city until 1324, when Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS liberated it. Manuel apparently died before 1342. His son George Tagaris likewise held the office of *megas stratopedarches*. In 1346 the empress Anna of Savoy sent him to the Lydian emir Saruhan to recruit soldiers for the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Saruhan, an acquaintance of Manuel, was pleased to supply George with a Turkish army. In 1356 George received a personal letter from Pope Innocent VI (1352–62) commending his inclination toward UNION OF THE CHURCHES. Perhaps another son of Manuel, or in any case a relative, was Paul Palaiologos TAGARIS, the Latin patriarch, by far the best-known member of the family. The line apparently died out soon after 1400, when Anna Laskarina Tagarina brought a lawsuit before the patriarchal court.

LIT. D. Nicol, "Philadelphia and the Tagaris Family," *Neo-Hellenika* 1 (1970) 9–17. Kourouses, *Gabalas* 129–33, 280–89, 329–43. P. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelpheias im 14. Jahrhundert (1293–1390)," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 390–95. –E.T.

TAGARIS, PAUL PALAIOLOGOS, Greek monk and Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1379/80–1384?); born ca.1340?, died after 1394. His life story is known primarily from his confession of sins before the synod of Constantinople in 1394 (MM 2:224–30). Tagaris claimed to be related to the PALAIOLOGOS family, perhaps through his stepmother. He married at the age of 14 but soon left his wife and became a monk in Palestine. His greed led him into scandal and corruption. After a brief spell in Constantinople (ca.1363), he left in disgrace for Jerusalem, where he was ordained deacon, and then moved to Antioch, where he became priest and exarch. In return for bribes he performed numerous uncanonical ordinations and even masqueraded as patriarch of Jerusalem. In the 1370s he traveled to Persia and Georgia and was finally made bishop of Taurezion (perhaps the Tauric Chersonese, or, less likely, a see in the Taurus Mountains). Upon learning that his charlatanry was discovered by PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, he fled via Tartary and Hungary to Rome. There he made his submission to Pope Urban VI (1378–89), who named him titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1380). In 1384 he was denounced as an impostor and escaped to Cyprus where, for 30,000 gold pieces, he crowned Jacques I de Lusignan (1382–98). Tagaris's travels continued: after a brief imprisonment in Rome (1388–89) he sought refuge with Amadeo VII of Savoy (1383–91) and journeyed to Avignon and Paris. He then repented and returned to Constantinople where he recanted in 1394. Nothing is known of his subsequent career.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "The Confessions of a Bogus Patriarch: Paul Tagaris Palaiologos," *JEH* 21 (1970) 289–99. R.-J. Loenertz, "Cardinal Morosini et Paul Paléologue Tagaris, patriarches," *REB* 24 (1966) 224–56. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2449, 2598, 2639, 2642; fasc. 6, nos. 2775, 2894, 2974. –A.M.T.

TAGENO, participant in and diarist of the Third Crusade; died Tripolis in Syria between 21 June and 3 Nov. 1190. Tageno is attested (1184) as notary and chaplain of Dietpald, bishop of Passau, and as dean of Passau cathedral (1189). Tageno's account extended from his bishop's departure from Passau on 15 May 1189 to 21 June 1190. Although the original is lost (see HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI), Magnus of Reichersberg (died 1195) substantially excerpted it in his *Annals*. A lost early recension first published by J. Aventin (1522) preserves part of a version closer to Tageno, but most was incorporated after additional revision into Magnus's surviving second (according to Schmale, *infra* 203, n.105) redaction. Tageno gave a detailed account of the crossing by FREDERICK I of the Byz. Empire and Anatolia as well as of local geography and climate and negotiations of the Crusaders with Constantinople.

ED. W. Wattenbach, MGH *SS* 17 (1861; rp. 1925) 509–17.

LIT. Wattenbach-Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Heinr. V* 1:96–99, 203–08. –M.McC.

TAGMA (*τάγμα*), the classical word used to designate a regiment; in the 4th C. it was usually equated to the *arithmos* or Lat. *numerus* (F. Lammert, *RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 2023). It acquired a technical meaning in the mid-8th C. when Constantine V created a professional army of *tagmata* under the direct command of the emperor, as a check on the contingents that were in the service of powerful STRATEGOI of the THEMES; the reform was completed by Nikephoros I. The first *tagmata* were *scholai* and *exkoubitoi* under the command of their respective DOMESTIKOI; the VIGLA (or *arithmos*) and *hikanatoi* (see DOMESTIKOS TON HIKANATON) appeared by the end of the 8th C. For a short period at the beginning of the 9th C. FOEDERATI also formed a *tagma*. Special Constantinopolitan units—the wall regiments and *noumera* (see DOMESTIKOS TON NOUMERON) who guarded parts of the city walls and some imperial prisons—were also added to the main *tagmata*. According to QUDĀMA IBN JAʿFAR, four cavalry units and two infantry regiments based at Constantinople each had 4,000 men, making a total of 24,000 soldiers; Haldon thinks these figures are exaggerated, but W. Treadgold concludes that Qudāma was correct (*GRBS* 21 [1980] 270–77). N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 143f) suggests that from the end of the 10th C. the tagmatic army was in decline, since the *tagmata* were located in the provinces; the term acquired the vague meaning of a military contingent, and *tagmata* of STRATELATAI, of ATHANATOI, of *megathymoi* (Skyl. 413.18), and of ARCHONTOPOULOI are mentioned in the sources. After the 11th C. the term seems to have disappeared, as well as the distinction between thematic and "imperial" troops.

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 228–337. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 24–32. F. Winkelmann, "Probleme der Informationen des al-Ǵarmi über die byzantinischen Provinzen," *BS* 43 (1982) 18–29. –A.K.

TAILOR (*ῥάπτης*). The word *raptes* appears in late Roman papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:440) and in inscriptions from Korykos (*MAMA* 3, nos. 554, 581), but seems to have been unknown in classical texts. It is usually understood as "clothes-mender" (e.g., Fikhman, *Egipet* 26), but this translation is unlikely since PALLADIOS (*Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler, 94.7–9) encountered 15 *raptai* and 15 fullers in the monastery of Panos—figures that suggest tailoring rather than mending. Diocletian's PRICE EDICT (7.42–51) contrasts *brakarios* (see TROUSERS) and *raptes*; M.N. Tod (*JHS* 24 [1904] 201) and E. Hanton (*Byzantion* 4 [1929] 70f) interpret this as a distinction between a craftsman producing articles made of coarse woolen cloth or felt (*brakarios*) and one engaged in making finer garments, esp. of linen and silk (*raptes*).

It is unclear whether Byz. tailors were distinct from WEAVERS; in any case they are not included as a separate guild in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch*. In the Stoudios monastery there were *rapheis* and *vestiarioi* who washed and mended clothes (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:413, n.2), and *hyphantai* and *akestai* who sewed cloaks but started their work at the loom (i.e., also made the cloth—Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 225f). Both *raptai* and *hyphantai* are mentioned in the acts of Athos, as a profession and as a last name: among the various monks of the Philotheou monastery who signed a charter of 1154 were a *hyphantes*, a *raptes*, a barrelmaker, a carpenter (*xylourgos*), a shoemaker (*tzangarios*), and a cook (*Lavra* 1, no.63.3–8). The poet Stephen SACHLIKES refers to *raptes* (*sic*, a plural form) dwelling in the countryside (ed. S.D. Papadimitriu, *Letopis'* 3 [1896] 21.173).

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 146. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:210. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 100, n.183. –A.K.

TAINIA. See HEADGEAR.

TAKTIKA (*τακτικά*), or notitias, official lists of titles and offices. Except for the early NOTITIA DIGNITATUM and the 14th-C. tract by pseudo-KODINOS, all belong to the 9th–10th C.: the so-called *Taktikon of Uspenskij* was issued in 842/3, then follows the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS (899), the *Taktikon of Beneševič* (934–44), and the Escurial (or Oikonomides) *taktikon* (971–75). *Taktika* are concerned with ceremonial and court precedence; their primary aim was to guide the ATRIKLINES in the appropriate placement of dignitaries at imperial banquets. *Taktika* are the most important source for the study of administration because they provide an almost complete picture of the Byz. bureaucratic machine; their evidence, however, must be expanded and checked by reference to narrative texts and esp. SEALS.

ED. N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris 1972).

LIT. F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1985) 19–28. –A.K.

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TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (Τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τακτικῶν σύντομος παράδοσις), a large handbook of STRATEGY and tactics for land and naval warfare in 20 books compiled by Leo VI ca.905. In the preface Leo states his purpose to revive military science in face of the Arab threat. Based mainly on Onasander and the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE, the *Taktika* discusses generalship and planning, equipment and deployment, encampments, sieges, and duties before and after battle. Although much in the text is derived and hence remote from Leo's time, sections on foreign peoples such as the HUNGARIANS (18.45–76) and ARABS (18.109–41) or the exploits and innovations of his generals (11.25–26; 15.38; 17.83) are contemporary, while the lack of sources on naval warfare compelled him to ask his own sailors for information on this subject (19.1). The *Taktika* became the authoritative military reference work in the 10th C., inspiring and influencing later STRATEGIKA (Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 139–60).

The text has come down in two traditions—a preliminary model and a fully revised version (A. Dain, *TM* 2 [1967] 354–57). Of interest for the text's early history is the acrostic in book 20, rearranged during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos to delete the name of Leo's brother Alexander (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *TM* 5 [1973] 229–42). Another *strategikon*, conventionally titled SYLLOGE TACTICORUM, is wrongly attributed to Leo VI.

ED. PG 107:669–1120. Incomplete ed.—R. Vári, *Leonis imperatoris Tactica*, 2 vols. (Budapest 1917–22).

LIT. V.V. Kučma, " 'Taktika L'va' kak istoričeskij istočnik," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 75–87. G. Dagron, "Byzance et le modèle islamique au Xe siècle. A propos des *Constitutions tactiques de l'empereur Léon VI*," *CRAI* (Paris 1983) 219–43. T.G. Kolias, "The *Taktika* of Leo the Wise and the Arabs," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 129–35. –E.M.

TALE OF THE TAKING OF TSAR'GRAD, name of two different accounts of a capture of Constantinople.

CAPTURE OF 1204. The Eastern Slavic account of the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, preserved in the Novgorod First Chronicle and in several historical compilations, is apparently based on an eyewitness report. The background to the attack seems to derive from oral sources: a version of Alexios III Angelos's escape from Constantinople that differs from that in Niketas CHONIATES, and an account of diplomacy that is favorable to PHILIP OF SWABIA. The *Tale* blames Constantinople's rulers and would-be rulers rather than Philip or the pope. The capture itself is described in detail and is particularly useful as a source on the plundering of Hagia Sophia. It has been suggested that ANTONY, archbishop of Novgorod, was the author.

ED. S. Patri, "La relation russe de la quatrième Croisade," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 461–501, with Fr. tr.

LIT. N.A. Meščerskij, "Drevnerusskaja povest' o vzjatii Car'grada frjagami kak istočnik po istorii Vizantii," *VizVrem* 9 (1956) 170–85. J. Gordon, "The Novgorod Account of the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantion* 43 (1973–74) 297–311. M.A. Zaborov, "Izvestija russkich sovremennikov o krestovych pochodach," *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 98–106. –S.C.F.

CAPTURE OF 1453. The account of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 is attributed in one MS to Nestor-Iskander, purportedly a Russian pressed into service in the Turkish army. The core of the work—an eyewitness description of the fall of the city—is set in an eschatological framework; a preface treats the founding of Constantinople, and digressions use prophecies from pseudo-METHODIOS, the visions of Daniel, and Leo VI the Wise.

ED. O.V. Tvorogov, "Povest' o vzjatii Car'grada Turkami v 1453 godu," in *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi: Vtoraja polovina XV veka* (Moscow 1982) 216–66.

LIT. M.O. Skripil', "Istorija o vzjatii Car'grada turkami Nestora Iskandera," *TODRL* 10 (1954) 166–84. I. Dujčev, "La conquête turque et la prise de Constantinople dans la littérature slave contemporaine," *BS* 17 (1956) 283–309. N.A. Smirnov, "Istoričeskoe značenie russkoj 'povesti' Nestora Iskandera o vzjatii turkami Konstantinopolja v 1453 g.," *VizVrem* 7 (1953) 50–71. – S.C.F.

T'AMARA OF GEORGIA, queen of Georgia (from 1184); born ca.1156, died 1207 or 1212/13. In 1178 T'amara (Θάμαρ) was associated with her father Giorgi III (r.1156–84). Her marriage (in 1185?—certainly not before 1184, cf. V.B. Vinogradov, S.A. Golovanova, *Voprosy istorii* [1982] no.7, 182–84) to Jurij, son of ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO, failed. In 1191 she had to suppress a revolt of Georgian nobles, aided by Byz., in support of Jurij (M.D. Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI–XII Centuries*, tr. D. Skvirsky [Tbilisi 1987] 142f). Militarily, she expanded Georgian power into Armenia. When the Fourth Crusade attacked Constantinople (July 1203), T'amara exploited the Byz. Empire's disintegration. In Apr. 1204 her armies occupied TREBIZOND, where they installed her kinsman ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, and advanced into Paphlagonia with DAVID KOMNENOS.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204–1222)," *Speculum* 11 (1936) 3–37. C. Toumanoff, "On the Relationship between the Founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamar," *Speculum* 15 (1940) 299–312. –C.M.B.

TANA, ancient Tanais in the estuary of the Don, on the site of the village of Nedvigovka. The city was destroyed by a hostile invasion (of the Goths or Sarmato-Alans?) soon after 244; it was probably restored ca.375 and regained its previous extent, although it was poor, with many buildings in ruins. Some trade with Cimmerian BOSPOROS persisted, but objects (ceramics, bone combs, fibulae) typical of western areas (ČERNJACHOVO?) have been found side by side with Late Antique ware of the 4th–5th C. This partial change in material culture testifies to the penetration of new inhabitants into Tanais. In the mid-5th C. Tanais was deserted; the nearby necropolis likewise has no graves later than the 5th C.

From Prokopios to Doukas, when Byz. authors speak of Tanais they mean only the river Don; for instance, some of them are aware of Italians sailing to the Tanais River (e.g., Kantak. 3:192.18) or of wares brought from "the Scythians and Tanais" (Greg. 3:90.14–15).

The Italian colony of Tana is known from the end of the 12th C. onward. It was a trading center, probably founded by Cuman merchants, connecting the basin of the Black Sea (primarily KAFFA) with eastern Europe, the Golden Horde, and the empire of the Ilkhans. Its main exports were fish and caviar. From 1235 to 1475 Tana was ruled by the TATARS. The Orthodox church in Tana was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Alania (or the Caucasus); in 1356 several priests from Tana lodged complaints in Constantinople concerning actions of the metropolitan, including his attempts to let Armenians use their church (MM 1:357.33–34). Sacked by TIMUR in 1375, Tana deteriorated thereafter. It lost all significance when it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1475.

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LIT. D.B. Šelov, *Tanais i Nižnij Don v pervye veka našej ery* (Moscow 1972) 307–35. T. Arsen'eva, *Nekropol' Tanaisa* (Moscow 1977) 151. M. Kovalevskij, "K rannej istorii Azova: Venecianskaja i genuezskaja kolonii v Tane v XIV veke," *Trudy XII archeologičeskogo s'ezda*, vol. 2 (Moscow 1905) 109–74. M.E. Martin, "Venetian Tana in the Later Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 375–79. –O.P.

TANCRED (Ταγγρῆς), nephew of BOHEMUND; born ca.1075, died Antioch ca.12 Dec. 1112. Tancred joined Bohemund's Normans on the First Crusade. Only under strong pressure did he take the oath of vassalage to Alexios I (June 1097). In Sept. 1097, in cooperation with their Byz. and Armenian inhabitants, he took Tarsos and Mamistra. Tancred participated in the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem and then in 1101, after the Turks imprisoned Bohemund, became regent of Antioch. In 1103, after an 18-month siege, Tancred took LAODIKEIA from the Byz. When, following Bohemund's release, a Byz. force seized all of Laodikeia except the citadel, Bohemund determined to return to Italy; Tancred again became his deputy in Antioch. In 1107, while Bohemund attacked Byz. from the west, Tancred expelled the Byz. army that had occupied Cilicia; in 1108 he regained Laodikeia. About 1109, Alexios recovered part of Cilicia; in 1109/10, Tancred again drove him out. After Bohemund died, Alexios demanded the fulfillment of the Treaty of DEVOL that Bohemund had signed, but Tancred contemptuously rejected his envoys. Anna Komnene admired his leadership and bravery.

LIT. R.L. Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of his Career and Work* (Chicago 1940; rp. New York 1978). –C.M.B.

TANCRED OF LECCE, claimant king of Sicily (1189–94); died Palermo 20 Feb. 1194. An illegitimate son of Roger, duke of Apulia, son of ROGER II, Tancred (Ταγκρέ) was chosen king by a faction of barons upon the death of WILLIAM II of Sicily. Tancred contended against internal revolts, repeated invasions by his German rival HENRY VI, and the Crusaders RICHARD I LIONHEART and Philip II of France (1190–91). To resist Henry, Tancred made an alliance on unknown terms with ISAAC II, who dreaded a German occupation of Sicily. To cement this alliance, Isaac sent his daughter Irene to marry Tancred's eldest son Roger (July–Aug. 1192), who then became coruler with Tancred. Roger, however, died 24 Dec. 1193, and Tancred soon after. Henry then easily took Sicily.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 2:419–91. Brand, *Byzantium* 189–90. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius* 80–121. –C.M.B.

TANNER (*βυρσεύς*, also *βυρσοποιός*, *βυρσοδέψης*). In the late Roman period the verb *byrsao* probably did not refer specifically to tanning, but to LEATHER processing in general: "God," says Epiphanios of Salamis (PG 43:128C), in imitation of Origen, "is not a *byrsodeutes* (or *byrsodepses*) who works on hides, making tunics for Adam and Eve." John Chrysostom (PG 52:522.43–47) describes the work of leather dressers (*skytodepsai*): first they treat the hides with a mordant, then stretch and beat them, dash them against walls and rocks, preparing them for dyeing. A 6th-C. papyrus may mention *byrseis* (I. Fikhman, *PSb* 7 [1962] 53, n.9).

Some tanners plied their trade at monasteries: PALLADIOS (*Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler 96.3) saw a *byrseion* or tannery among the workshops in a monastery in Panos, and there were also *byrseis* at the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* distinguishes between two kinds of craftsmen working on hides, *byrsopoioi* and *malakatarioi* (lit. "softeners"). The latter term is found nowhere else, although the related word *malakourgos* is used to describe artisans at Stoudios; Dobroklonskij (*Feodor* 1:413), however, understood it to mean carpenter.

Tanners ranked low on the social scale; Niketas Choniates disparagingly includes *byrsodepsai* among the "stupid and ignorant inhabitants of Constantinople," alongside the sausage sellers and shoemakers (Nik.Chon. 349.15–18). A letter of Maximos PLANOUDES mentions Jewish tanners in the Vlanga quarter of Constantinople (ep.31.53–61, ed. Treu, 52), the stench of whose profession he detested.

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TANŪKHIDS, the dominant group among the Arab FOEDERATI in the 4th C. They had wandered into Oriens from the Arabian peninsula via Persian territory and were settled in the region of Chalkis in northern Syria. As *foederati* they fought for the late Roman Empire against the Persians during the reign of Constantius II and Julian, and against the Goths under Valens, including the defense of Constantinople in 378, immediately after the battle of Adrianople. They also fought against the empire. As zealous adherents of Nicene Christianity they successfully opposed Valens in the 370s, and as discontented *foederati* they revolted against Theodosios I and were crushed by Ricimer in 383. They remained in the service of Constantinople (although not as the dominant Arab group) in the 5th–6th C. and took part in the defense of Oriens against the Muslim Arabs in the 7th. To the 4th-C. Tanūkhids most probably belong the earliest expressions of Arabic culture in Oriens: a rudimentary form of an Arabic liturgy and epinician odes celebrating their victory over Valens.

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In the 9th C. Taormina became the target of constant attacks by the Arabs, who devastated the area in 869, 877, 879, and 889. Taormina was the last significant fortress in Sicily to resist the Arab onslaught, but on 1 Aug. 902 the Muslims took the city after a siege. Many captives, including Bp. Prokopios, were beheaded and their corpses burned. Those Byz. commanders who avoided capture and came to Constantinople were condemned to be executed, but at the request of Patr. Nicholas I Mystikos they were permitted to escape the death penalty by taking monastic vows. Soon after the fall of Taormina the Byz. authorities proclaimed the city an archbishopric. The fortress was rebuilt by the Arabs and was known to Arab sources as "New Stronghold." The local population tried to preserve a certain independence, but by 962 Taormina came under the total control of the Arabs. In 1078 the Normans took the city.

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The literary oeuvre of Tarasios is insignificant, comprised primarily of letters, a *Refutation* of the decisions of the Iconoclast Council of 754, a homily on the Presentation of the Virgin, and a speech on his election. His vita was written by IGNATIOS THE DEACON.

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Isaac I Komnenos; Joseph resisted Romanos IV's plans for broad expansion, played a two-faced role at the battle of MANTZIKERT (1071), and was rewarded by the Doukai. A certain Tarchaneiotes (Tarchaneiotes Katakalon, acc. to Anna Komnene) supported Michael VII against Nikephoros BRYENNIOS in 1077 and later fought against Alexios I Komnenos. (Gautier ["Blachernes" 254f] identified him with the governor of Antioch, but the man was still young in 1077.)

Accordingly the Komnenoi did not trust them; after "the son of Tarchaneiotes," *protoproedros* in 1094, and John Tarchaneiotes, *protos* of Athos in the early 12th C., the Tarchaneiotai suffered a temporary eclipse but regained importance after 1204. PACHYMERES listed them among the most influential families of the empire of Nicaea; they possessed land in the Smyrna region. Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes was *megas domestikos* under John III; married to Maria-Martha, Michael VIII's sister, he became a Palaiologan supporter and his sons were awarded high titles: Andronikos, *megas konostaulos*, and Michael (died 1284), *protovestiarios*. Another Michael (Tarchaneiotes GLABAS) was *protostrator* ca.1300. Kantakouzenos describes the military prowess of Constantine Tarchaneiotes, *strategos* of the "triremes" in 1352. The family was closely connected with the PAMMAKARISTOS church in Constantinople: an enigmatic description of the church mentions the *sebastos* Alexios Tarchaneiotes, *gambros* of the founders, and several later family members. The Tarchaneiotai's intellectual role is unattested, except for the questions addressed to Patr. Nicholas (III?) (Beneševič, *Opisanie* 1:288f) by John Tarchaneiotes, an Athonite monk, probably the above-mentioned *protos*.

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche," *DOP* 25 (1971) 229, n.27, 230–33. G.I. Theocharides, "Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes," *EEPhSPTh* 7 (1956) 183–206. –A.K.

TARCHANEIOTES, MICHAEL DOUKAS GLABAS. See GLABAS, MICHAEL TARCHANEIOTES.

TARION (*ταρίον*, It. *tari* or *tareno*), the name given in southern Italy and Sicily to the Muslim gold quarter dinar (*rubāʿi*) and imitations or derivatives of it struck in Amalfi, Salerno, and the Norman kingdom of Sicily in the 10th–13th C. The term came from the Arabic *ṭarī*, "new, fresh," implying "newly struck" and used as a description of condition (*rubāʿi ṭarī*), but it was thought by Christian users to be the actual name of the coins. These weighed a theoretical 1.06 g and the originals were of pure gold, but the imitations and derivatives were in varying degrees debased, the taria of Sicily being 16.33 carats fine. The tari subsequently became a money of account paid in gold coins by weight, the individual coins being struck to no specific standard at all. It was adopted into the southern Italian system as a weight, the trappeso (i.e., *tari* + *peso*) of .89 g.

LIT. S.M. Stern, "Tari," *StMed* 11 (1970) 177–207. P. Grierson, W.A. Oddy, "Le titre du tari sicilien du milieu du XIᵉ siècle à 1278," *RN*⁶ 16 (1974) 123–34. –Ph.G.

TARŌN (*Ταρών*), district of southwest ARMENIA; in the 4th C., the domain of the MAMIKONEAN. In the 8th C. Tarōn passed to a branch of the BAGRATID house and formed a separate principality recognizing the overlordship of the caliphate while simultaneously maintaining friendly relations with Byz., which granted to its princes the titles of *magistros, patrikios,* and *strategos* of Tarōn (*De adm. imp.* 43.65, 152). At the death of Prince Ašot I in 966, Tarōn was annexed by Byz. and formed with KELTZENE a theme usually ruled by a *protospatharios*, and a metropolitan see with 21 suffragans (*Notitiae CP* no.10.702–29), while the Taronite princes received extensive domains and went on to distinguished careers at the imperial court. In the mid-11th C. Tarōn was reunited with VASPURAKAN, for GREGORY MAGISTROS styles himself *doux* of Vaspurakan and Tarōn in his letters and inscriptions (*Letters*, p.148). After the Byz. defeat at MANTZIKERT in 1071, a Taronite prince named Tornik established himself at Muš west of Lake Van, which his descendants held until dispossessed by the Muslims in 1189/90.

LIT. K.N. Yuzbashian, "L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux Xᵉ–XIᵉ siècles," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973–74) 140–48. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 198–201. –N.G.G.

TARONITES (*Ταρωνίτης*), a noble family of Armenian origin. According to Adontz (*infra*), it was founded by Gregory and Bagrat (Pankratios), sons of Ašot, prince of Tarōn; after Ašot's death in 968 the brothers yielded Tarōn to Byz. in exchange for the title of *patrikioi* and lands "of large revenues" (Skyl. 279.82–84). According to Laurent (*infra*), already established in Byz. by that time was another branch of the family to which belonged Romanos Taronites, who married Irene, Gregory's daughter. In the 10th–11th C. Taronitai were predominantly military commanders: Gregory was *magistros* and governor of Thessalonike; his son Ašot defended Thessalonike against SAMUEL OF BULGARIA and was captured in 996; Michael fought against the Turks, his son John against the Cumans. The Taronitai were eager to side with rebels: Gregory and Bagrat supported Bardas SKLEROS but later joined the emperor; another Gregory joined the aristocratic conspiracy of 1040; a third Gregory, *doux* of Trebizond, rebelled there in 1104, but the revolt was put down by his cousin John, Michael's son. The Taronites family belonged to the aristocratic elite: Michael married Maria, Alexios I's sister, and had the title of *panhypersebastos*. In the 12th C. the Taronitai were primarily civilian functionaries: John, *epi ton deeseon* in 1094/5; John, eparch in ca.1107; John, *praitor* and *anagrapheus* of Thrace in 1102; John, eparch in 1147; Gregory, *protovestiarios* of John II; Theodore, notary in 1195. A puzzling case is Eudokia Taronitissa, called *sebaste* on a 12th-C. seal and *proedrissa* on a 13th-C. (?) seal. Theodore PRODROMOS mentions that John, Manuel I's nephew, married a lady of the Taronites family who dwelled on the Euphrates; perhaps the family left Constantinople and moved east, but the poet could have had a local branch of the family in mind. They did not play any political role after 1204.

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 197–251, 339–45. V. Laurent, "Alliances et filiation des premiers Taronites," *EO* 37 (1938) 127–35. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 17–25. –A.K.

TARSOS (*Ταρσός*, mod. Tarsus), civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of CILICIA I, flourished as a trade and military center because of its strategic location below the CILICIAN GATES on the main highway between Anatolia and Syria. An early center of Christianity, Tarsos was famous as the birthplace of St. Paul, whose shrine was built there by Maurice. The city was still largely pagan, however, in the time of Julian the Apostate, who planned to make it his residence; instead, he was buried by the city walls opposite the tomb of Maximinus Daia. Justinian I regulated the course of the Kydnos through Tarsos and rebuilt its bridge, but the city suffered from riots of the Blues late in his reign. The Arabs took Tarsos in 637 and made it the center of their defensive system against Byz. In the 7th–8th C. Tarsos was frequently attacked and ruined, but recovered after 834 to become a major Arab commercial city. Nikephoros II Phokas took it in 965 and installed a garrison of 5,000 under a *strategos*. It remained Byz. until 1085, then frequently changed hands among Byz., Armenians, Crusaders, and Seljuks. John II took it in 1137, and Manuel I received there the homage of the Latins in 1159. The Armenians conquered it in 1172. Tarsos preserves no significant Byz. remains.

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 2.R. 4 (1932) 2430f. F. Buhl, *EI* 4:679. –C.F.

TATARS (*Τάταροι*), seminomadic groups in East Asia who are first mentioned in the Old Turkic runic royal inscriptions from Mongolia (A.D. 732). They probably used a Mongolian idiom as their lingua franca and, during the 12th C., played a leading role in Mongolia. In 1202 the Tatars were defeated by the Mongol ruler Genghis Khan but, because of the prestige of the Tatars' name in the Eurasian steppe, the Mongols appropriated this charismatic appellation for themselves. "Tatar" became the designation for the realm of the Mongols in Rus' and the Cuman steppes (including the Crimea). The terms *Tataros* and *Mougoulios* are very rare in Byz. historical sources, apart from a *synaxarion* from Sougdaia in which Tatar occurs many times (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:282f). As usual the Byz. preferred the archaizing designation "Scythians" for the Mongols and Tatars.

LIT. A. Graf, "Die Tataren im Spiegel der byzantinischen Literatur," in *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Prof. Bernhard Heller on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. S. Scheiber (Budapest 1941) 77–85. –O.P.

TATAS (*τατᾶς*), or *tatas* of the court (*tatas tes aules*), a title mentioned first on a seal of John Komnenos Vatatzes, nephew of Manuel I. Several individuals are known to have held this title in the 13th and 14th C. The functions of the *tatas* are not defined in the available sources. Since the historian Doukas explained the word as "pedagogue," Stein ("Untersuchungen" 45, n. 1) suggested that the *tatas* replaced the *megas* BAIOULOS,

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but V. Laurent (*EEBS* 23 [1953] 203) rejected this hypothesis. The only evidence that sheds some light on his duties is in an early 14th-C. historian (Pachym., ed. Failler, 2:413.18–21) who presents the *tatas* as one of the three major aulic functionaries (along with the PINKERNES and EPI TES TRAPEZES) appointed by Michel VIII for his co-emperor Andronikos II. In pseudo-KODINOS the *tatas* occupies a modest position.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXIV, 149–51. –A.K.

TATIKIOS (Τατίκιος), general; fl. 1057–99. Son of a "Saracen" (An.Komn. 1:151.25–7; perhaps a Turk—Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:225, 305) captured by John Komnenos, Tatikios was the same age as ALEXIOS I, with whom he was nurtured. In 1078 Tatikios fought beside Alexios against Nikephoros BASILAKES. As *megas primikerios* of the internal VESTIARITAI (Gautier, "Blachernes" 252–54), he commanded the VARDARIOTAI against the Normans in 1081 and led expeditions against Turks and PECHENEGS in 1086–90. In 1094 his firmness ended the conspiracy of Nikephoros DIOGENES against Alexios near Serres. During the First Crusade's attack on Nicaea (1097), Tatikios's troops supported the Westerners. With a small Byz. force he then accompanied them across Anatolia, representing the emperor. During the siege of ANTIOCH (Dec. 1097–June 1098), Tatikios alienated BOHEMUND and RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE; thus isolated, he was compelled to withdraw (ca. early Feb.) by sea to Cyprus on the pretext of securing food and/or assistance for the Crusaders. Because he failed to return, Western sources condemn him as a liar and traitor. He last appears as a naval commander against Pisan raiders (1099). He was devoted to Alexios. Some Crusader narratives allege his nose had been slit, possibly indicating he had begun his career in Byz. as a slave.

LIT. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 287–92. J. France, "The Departure of Tatikios from the Crusader Army," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971) 137–47. –C.M.B.

TATZATES (Τατζάτιος, Τατζάτης, Arm. Tačat), 8th-C. general who served both the Byz. and Arabs. An Armenian noble (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 150), Tatzates came to Byz. ca.760 and reportedly campaigned under Constantine V against the Bulgarians. He was named *strategos* of the Boukellarion before 776, when he led an army against the Arabs into Samosata. In 778 Tatzates accompanied Michael LACHANODRAKON into Syria and again campaigned with him against the Arabs in 781. In 782, when HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD invaded Asia Minor, Tatzates defected with the bulk of his troops, allowing the caliph to advance to Chrysopolis and force IRENE to negotiate for peace. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 456.12–13) says that Tatzates was motivated by hatred for the eunuch STAURAKIOS; his flight may also reflect Irene's animosity toward iconoclastic *strategoi*. Theophanes (456.22–23) also says that as a result of his flight Tatzates was deprived of his wife and all his property. Hārūn named him commander of Arab-occupied Armenia. Tatzates died while campaigning against the Khazars.

LIT. L.A. Tritle, "Tatzates' Flight and the Byzantine-Arab Treaty of 782," *Byzantion* 47 (1977) 279–300. –P.A.H.

TAURUS (Ταῦρος), a mountain range in southeastern Anatolia that ancient geographers considered the natural frontier between Europe and Asia. Its distinction from the Caucasus was confused by some writers on geography: according to Orosius, northern Mesopotamia lay between the Taurus and the Caucasus; Eustathios of Thessalonike, on the other hand, defined the Caucasus as the northern part of the Taurus. A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 138.20–21) speaks of two Tauruses separated by the valley of Klaudioupolis. Byz. authors (e.g., Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in *De thematibus*) usually considered the Taurus as a mountainous area dividing northern Syria from eastern Asia Minor and extending as far as Isauria, Cilicia, Lykaonia, and Cappadocia; Armenia was located beyond the Taurus. In Nonnos of Panopolis, Taurus is described as an enormous mountain rising to the clouds; Prokopios (*Buildings* 5:5.15) emphasizes that in winter the whole Taurus range is snow covered. In addition to descriptions of the natural barriers that strengthen the defense of the region, Theophanes (138.16–18) also mentions fortifications and *phrouria*. Barely passable (the main road led through the CILICIAN GATES), the rugged terrain of the Taurus contributed to the relative independence of the local (Isaurian) population and, on the other hand, presented a serious obstacle for the armies of Arabs, Byz., Crusaders, etc., moving to and from Syria.

In later texts (e.g., Skyl. 107.45–46) the name Taurus (or Northern Taurus) was linked to the Crimea (Taurike or Taurike Cherronesos of ancient authors), and the area was said to be populated by the Rus' or Tauroscythians.

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 2.R. 5 (1934) 39–50. –A.K.

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TAVERN (καπηλεῖον, also φουσκαρεῖον or δειπνοποτήριον [vita of HYPATIOS of Gangra, ed. S. Ferri, *StB* 3 (1931) 76.30–31]) was the shop (also called *ergasterion*) of a retail WINE MERCHANT, *kapelos*, as distinct from the roadside INN. The *kapelos* provided patrons with not only wine but also food (Zonaras in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:327.4). Taverns had a bad reputation: the *kapeloi* were usually accused of diluting wine with water; taverns became the site of DRUNKENNESS and brawls. For example, some young men took Andrew the Fool to a *phouskareion* in the Artopoleia in Constantinople and began to punch him. The saint then drank a mug of first-quality wine, broke the cup over the head of one of the youths, and fled; the young men caught him, struck him, and dragged him back into the tavern (PG 111:648CD). The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (19.4) prohibited *kapeloi* from opening their taverns on the days of Great Feasts "before the second hour of the day" (8:00 A.M.), and they were obliged to close at the second hour of the night (8:00 P.M.) "lest the frequenters of these taverns have the right of access thereto at night time." In the early 14th C. Patr. ATHANASIOS I (eps. 42–44) urged the prohibition of drinking in taverns on the Sabbath and during Lent.

LIT. H.J. Magoulias, "Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution, and the Stage as Seen in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *EEBS* 38 (1971) 238–40. –A.K.

TAX ALLEVIATION, partial or total, was necessary in order to avoid the economic ruin of farmers whose fiscal burden had considerably increased because of their obligation to pay the taxes of absent co-contributors or whose income had dropped because of a disaster. Tax alleviation could be short term (KOUPHISMOS) or long term (SYMPATHEIA) and was granted by the EPOPTES, who was also expected to check on previous alleviation and, if conditions had changed, reestablish the initial tax, partially or wholly (ORTHOSIS). Land that remained abandoned for 30 years was declared a KLASMA; the state could sell it and claim for it only 1/12 of the normal KANON (*libellikon demosion*) with the hope that in the future a series of gradual *orthoseis* would bring the tax back to normal levels. Tax alleviation was a regular administrative procedure and had nothing to do with tax exemption (EXKOUSSEIA), which mainly concerned the SECONDARY TAXES and services and which was a privilege granted to persons who offered a specific service to the state (STRATIOTAI, *exkoussatoi tou dromou* [see EXKOUSSATOS]) or to magnates receiving special treatment.

LIT. G. Litavrin, "Les terres à l'abandon selon le 'Traité fiscal' du Xe s. et leur importance pour le fisc," *EtBalk* 7.3 (1971) 18–30. N. Oikonomides, "Das Verfalland im 10.–11. Jahrhundert: Verkauf und Besteuerung," *FM* 7 (1986) 161–68. –N.O.

TAXATION. The principal taxpayers were landowners, and Byz. law considered payment of taxes as the primary duty of the *georgoi* (peasants). Specific taxes such as the CHRYSARGYRON on craft production and related occupations disappeared by the 7th C., but export-import taxes continued in the form of KOMMERKION, and city dwellers paid taxes on their immovable property—land and buildings (see CITY TAXES). Taxes were levied in money, in kind, and in the form of services (ANGAREIAI, MITATON, etc.). The complaints of Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 76.5–11) that Constantine V, "a new Midas," compelled peasants to pay taxes in cash and thus forced them to sell their goods at a loss show that in the 8th–9th C. taxation in money was considered inconvenient, at least by some Byz. In the 11th C. replacement of taxes in kind by money payments led to a revolt in Bulgaria.

The principles of late Roman taxation were established by the legislation of Diocletian and Constantine: it was based on two units of account—JUGUM and CAPUT; *jugum* encompassed the land, *caput*, manpower and animals. The quality and type of land (arable field, vineyard, olive grove) was taken into consideration. The land unit and the "poll" unit of account, although separate, were interrelated since a regular household and estate would include both elements. Accessory or SECONDARY TAXES were also imposed. Different

geographical regions, esp. Egypt and Africa, had their own characteristic taxes. It is impossible to determine when this system of taxation changed; many attempts have been made to show that it did not change at all and that land tax and POLL TAX remained as typical of late Byz. as they were of the 4th to 6th C. No late Byz. system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO has been attested, however. N. Oikonomides (*ZRVI* 26 [1987] 9–19) suggests that the late Roman system of taxation based on the assessment "from above" (the central government sending "financial plans" to local fiscal units) had disappeared by the 8th C. (the last mention is the extraordinary imposition of taxes in 710), and was replaced by a system based on the evaluation of individual properties ("impôt de quotité"). Late Byz. taxation, which is better understood because of the large number of surviving PRAKTIKA, is characterized by the following features: the amount paid by the individual peasant was determined differently in different locations, draft animals, arable land, vineyards, and livestock being major factors in the fiscal assessment (Chvostova, *infra* 126); property was not the only factor determining the amount of taxes, so that poorer peasants usually paid heavier taxes than their well-to-do neighbors (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 317; Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 151–56); the norms of taxation could be altered even though there was no change in the property—owing to grants of fiscal alleviations (KOUPHISMOS) or privileges (EXKOUSSEIA). This permits the conclusion that late Byz. taxation was in part influenced by the social status of taxpayers and their ability to resist fiscal pressure.

The levying of taxes was divided into two phases: the assessment of taxes required a LAND SURVEY and preparation of the CADASTER, followed by the collection of taxes (usually twice a year); the assessment was carried out by EPOPTAI, ANAGRAPHEIS, and similar officials, the collection by DIOIKETAI and PRAKTORES. Tax collection could be farmed out to individuals or conferred upon exempt landlords (see TAX COLLECTORS). Taxes were directed to central bureaus, first of all the GENIKON, but also other treasuries (SAKELLION, VESTIARION, etc.); revenues from imperial domains were collected in special offices such as KOURATOREIAI, although the distinction between state and crown treasury was not always clear-cut. Part of the revenue went to fiscal officials in the form of SYNETHEIAI and ELATIKON, for their work in collecting taxes; certain *strategoi* were paid directly from local revenues, and part of the income was assigned as SOLEMNIA to privileged institutions or individuals.

In theory, the tax was assessed first and then the assets (esp. land) were given to the taxpayer accordingly; thus, HIKANOSIS or the adaptation of land to conform with the sum of taxes assessed was possible. The responsibility for the payment of taxes lay not only on the landowner but on his neighbors who could be asked to pay for impoverished or fugitive peasants (ALLELENGYON).

(On the development of taxation, see FISCAL SYSTEM.)

LIT. J. Karayannopulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (Munich 1958). W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York 1982). F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung* (Munich 1927; rp. Darmstadt 1960). K. Chvostova, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovych otnošenij v pozdnej Vizantii, XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow 1968). N. Oikonomides, "Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au Xe s.: prix, loyers, imposition (*Cod. Patmiacus* 171)," *DOP* 26 (1972) 345–56.

–A.K.

TAXATION. Enrollment of Mary and Joseph for taxation; mosaic, early 14th C. Outer narthex of the church of the Chora monastery, Istanbul.

TAXATION, TREATISES ON, manuals for tax collectors. Many particular documents or categories of documents survive.

1. The most important treatise, preserved in a single parchment MS, Venice Marc. gr. 173, fols. 276v–281, was published by W. Ashburner (*JHS* 35 [1915] 76–84) and then by F. Dölger (*infra*). The text is anonymous; Dölger dates the MS before 1166 and the text between 913 and 1139, while Ostrogorsky places the text between 912 and the 970s. The treatise contains unique data on the structure of the village (definitions of CHORION, *agridion*, PROASTEION, etc.), on taxes and TAX ALLEVIATIONS (SYMPATHEIA, KLASMA, KOUPHISMOS), and exemptions, on the activity of tax collectors (EPOPTES, DIOIKETES) and their SYNETHEIAI.

2. The second treatise is preserved in a paper codex of the 13th C. from the monastery of St. Nikanor at Zaborda (no.121). It was published by J. Karayannopulos, who dated the text to the 11th C. and considered it older than the Venice treatise; this thesis cannot be proved. Unlike the Venice treatise, which gives a coherent exposé, the short treatise of Zaborda consists of individual paragraphs poorly connected with each other. The paragraphs begin with standard headings such as "What is *sympatheia*," "What is OPISTHOTELEIA," or "How the *sympatheia* is performed," "How the ORTHOSIS is performed," etc. Brief definitions serve the purpose of reference rather than a systematic instruction. The text has no data on the structure of the village but does contain important additional information on TAXATION, including a concise definition of the PRONOIA.

3. Metrological MSS contain a schedule of taxation on land as well as humans and livestock, which dates from the mid-11th C.

4. An excerpt of a similar text is contained in the *praktikon* of Adam of 1073 (*Patmou Engrapha*, vol. 2, no.50.312–17).

5. The documents known as Ancient Account and New Account (see LOGARIKE, PALAIA AND NEA) provide normative information concerning surtaxes and methods of collecting land tax before and after the reform of Alexios I.

6. Other texts concern later periods and regions under Latin domination (such as Cyprus).

ED. Dölger, *Beiträge* 3–9, 113–56. J. Karayannopulos, "Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten," in *Polychronion* 318–34. Engl. tr. C. Brand, "Two Byzantine Treatises on Taxation," *Traditio* 25 (1969) 35–60.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 73–85. G. Ostrogorsky, *Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des Byzantinischen Reiches im X. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam 1969). Schilbach, *Metrologie* 256, n.1, 257.

–A.K., N.O.

TAX COLLECTORS fall into two groups. They could be public servants (such as the DIOIKETES) who collected for the account of the state and were remunerated by salary (?) and SYNETHEIAI (those working *eis to piston*); or they could be businessmen who farmed out the fiscal revenue of a province after bidding at an auction (working *epi pakto*), who were obliged to match their bid (otherwise their property was confiscated) and were likely to press the taxpayers excessively. Both systems are attested throughout Byz. history, but tax farming became very frequent after the middle of the 11th C., when the generic term PRAKTOR (or *energon*, "manager") came to designate the tax collector. The *dioiketes* or *praktor* normally visited the taxed properties (and thus collected their *synetheiai*, in money or in kind); they were kept off some privileged domains, however, and were obliged to accept, in lieu of cash, the receipts that

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some taxpayers obtained by paying their taxes directly to the central financial office; this procedure, favorable for the taxpayer, could in practice be followed only by large landowners. As they had vested interest in what they collected, tax collectors were seen by the public as greedy and disreputable (G. Litavrin in Kek. 374f).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 467–69. Dölger, *Beiträge* 70–78. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973) 54–58. –N.O.

TAXIARCHOS (ταξίαρχος), also *taxiarches*, a military rank. Although often used generically to mean "commander," *taxiarchos* in the *Strategikon of Maurice* (ca.600) specifically refers to the commander (*moirarches*) of the OPTIMATOI, who were then foreign mercenaries. The SOUDA defines *taxiarchos* as an old term, "now" replaced by *hekatontarchos*, that is, the commander of 100 men. With the reorganization and increased role of INFANTRY during the 10th C., however, the *taxiarchos* appears in the *strategika* and Kekaumenos as a high-ranking officer in command of a 1,000-man unit (*taxiarchia*) comprising 500 heavy infantrymen, 300 archers, and 200 light infantrymen (Oikonomides, *Listes* 335f); the terms *chiliarches* and *chiliarchia* also refer to this officer and his unit. The rank of *taxiarchos* gained prestige during the 11th C. and eventually surpassed that of TOURMARCHES (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 125–27). The *taxiarchos* must be distinguished from the *axiarches*, who is known from seals and inscriptions (J.-C. Cheynet, *REB* 44 [1986] 233–35).

In patristic literature, the term *taxiarchos* characterized God as the creator of order (TAXIS), or archangels leading the armies of heaven, esp. St. Michael, "the *taxiarchos* of the heavenly host." The term also applied to an office held by monks who maintained order in the choir and refectory.

LIT. V. Val'denberg, "Taxiarchos," *VizVrem* 24 (1926) 134–37. N. Oikonomides, "Le taxiarque de Crète," *Ariadne* 5 (1989) 132–38. –A.K., E.M.

TAXIS (τάξις, "order"), an essential concept that penetrated the Byz. understanding of themselves and their world, as evidenced by the term's polyvalency: *taxis* designates realities ranging from "rank, class, troops, way of life," to "etiquette, precedence, CEREMONY," or "government bureau." Within Byz. society, *taxis* encompassed the harmonious hierarchy of institutions that constituted the state; ecclesiastical *taxis* did the same for the church. The *taxis* of human society mirrored that of the cosmos, whose celestial powers were organized into a divine hierarchy, as expressed by pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. Outside Byz. society, *taxis* organized foreign societies into a hierarchy of STATES. Indispensable to the exercise of imperial authority (*De cer.*, bk.2, praefatio, ed. Reiske, 516f), *taxis* occurs often in PROOIMIA as a motive for imperial acts (e.g., Hunger, *Prooimion* 181f). The rigid dictates of *taxis* were tempered by compromise or OIKONOMIA imposed by circumstances and opposed to the most abhorrent phenomenon to the Byz., *ataxia*, or disorder, which was reckoned characteristic of BARBARIANS or *demokratia*. *Taxis* helps to explain why Byz. depicted itself as unchanging; change meant divergence from the established order, thus reform could be represented only as return to the original ancient *taxis* (e.g., Justinian, nov.59, 316.25–27).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Idéologie* 129–47. R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien* (Paris 1954) 36–40. –M.McC.

TAYK'/TAO, the Armenian and Georgian names for a region on the upper Čoruch, west of the source of the Kura River. The name derives from the Taochoi, first mentioned in Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.4.18). By the division of Armenia in 387 the province fell under Iranian control, but in 591 came to Maurice. The MAMIKONEAN princely house occupied it until the 8th C. On their decline the southwest part, "Upper Tayk'," was acquired by the BAGRATIDS and the northeast part, "Lower Tayk'," fell to the Guaramids; by the mid-10th C. it was all in Bagratid hands.

The Armenian Tayk' was more comprehensive than Georgian Tao, including the area to the southeast toward Kars (Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.* 450–57). Georgian settlement in the region in the 9th C. is described in the Life of Gregory of Khandztha (P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 [1917–19] 207–309.)

DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO received lands in Byz. Armenia for supporting Basil II during the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS, but these were lost on his death in 1000. In 1022 Upper Tao was incorporated into the theme of IBERIA, but the area fell under Turkish control after the battle of MANTZIKERT (1071). At the beginning of the 12th C. DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER brought Tao back into Georgian control.

LIT. H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen* (Strassburg 1904) 276–78, 357–61. R.W. Edwards, "The Vale of Kola," *DOP* 42 (1988) 119–41. –R.T.

TEACHER (διδάσκαλος, παιδευτής). In the Roman Empire teachers worked primarily for municipal SCHOOLS. This system was preserved after Christianization of the empire (Marrou, *Education* 460–62). The teacher enjoyed certain fiscal privileges, such as exemptions from municipal levies; this policy was ratified by Justinian I (*Cod.Just.* X 53). Teachers were divided into several categories: *grammatistes* for primary EDUCATION and GRAMMATIKOS for secondary education. Diocletian's Price Edict established substantially lower fees for teachers in elementary schools than for *grammatikoi*. With regard to higher education, A. Moffatt (14 *CEB* 3 [Bucharest 1976] 659–61) suggested a distinction between science teachers (of philosophy, mathematics, and medicine) and arts teachers (of grammar, rhetoric, and law), and calculated that, between 330 and 610, 20 percent of all known teachers taught "science."

The privatization of teaching in Byz. after the 6th C. accounts for the decline in the number of teachers. Elementary skills were taught by parents and local literate men (priests, notaries, etc.) or by private schoolmasters, while secondary education was rare (it was hard to find a *grammatikos* in the 9th C. outside of Constantinople) and was conducted on the basis of private agreements with STUDENTS. The correspondence of the anonymous teacher of the 10th C. (see TEACHER, ANONYMOUS) shows him in a constant search for fees, supplementing them with honoraria for copying MSS. At his school, as Lemerle (*Humanism* 291f) notes, more advanced students taught the younger ones. Teaching activity was by the 10th C. a channel of upward social mobility (ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS started as a professional teacher), but it remained closely linked with participation in the state or ecclesiastical administration; teachers at the Patriarchal School (DIDASKALOI) often became provincial bishops. In monastic communities the concept of teacher played an essential role, defining the close relationship between a young monk and his experienced mentor. –A.K., R.B.

TEACHER, ANONYMOUS (sometimes called "Anonymus Londinensis"), conventional name for the author of a group of 122 letters preserved in a single MS of the late 10th C. (London, B.L. Add. 36749). Born in Thrace (?) probably ca.870, he was a secondary school teacher and scribe in Constantinople in the 920s. According to Browning (*infra* [1954] 434), the last datable letter is of 931, but C. Mango (*ActaNorv* 4 [1969] 121–26) dates two letters to LEO SAKELLARIOS shortly after 940 and places the entire collection of letters between 925 and 944. The letters are addressed to the teacher's colleagues, important functionaries, and esp. high-ranking clergymen; among the addressees is Sophia, the widow of CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS. The identification of many of the teacher's correspondents remains problematic (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 18 [1960] 113f). The letters shed light on the status of TEACHERS (their fees, relations with STUDENTS and their parents and between colleagues), the program of EDUCATION, and the character of the SCHOOL. It is unclear to what extent the anonymous teacher's school was independent and, in particular, whether it was financially supported by church authorities. The correspondence contains information on the copying of books for influential and wealthy patrons; very important is epistle 88 to a patriarch (Nicholas I Mystikos?) describing the problems of a scribe who had to compare variant readings of numerous MSS, choose between variants, and make necessary corrections. The teacher also mentions his own literary activity of which no samples survive; the style of his letters is obscure and enigmatic, typical of a teacher of RHETORIC.

ED. R. Browning, B. Laourdas, "To keimenon ton epistolon tou kodikos BM 36749," *EEBS* 27 (1957) 151–212, with corr. J. Darrouzès, *EEBS* 28 (1958) 444–46 and I. Kakrides, *Hellenika* 16 (1958–59) 220–22.

LIT. A. Steiner, *Untersuchungen zu einem anonymen byzantinischen Briefcorpus des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt 1987). Browning, *Studies*, pt.IX (1954), 397–452. Lemerle, *Humanism* 286–98. A. Markopoulos, "L'épistolaire du 'professeur anonyme' de Londres: Contribution prosopographique," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 139–44. –A.K.

TEARS. See CONTRITION.

TEBESSA. See THEVESTE.

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TECHNITES (τεχνίτης), a term that in antiquity designated an artist (F. Poland, *RE* 2.R. 5 [1934] 2473–2558), but that in the late Roman Empire was applied to skilled craftsmen (as distinct from *ergatai*, day laborers), including hairdressers, cooks, astrologers, scribes, surgeons, and architects. In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* 22.1–3 the term is used primarily for construction workers (i.e., carpenters, masons, gypsum workers, painters, etc.) who were not members of any guild. An artisan who cast bronze statues could be called a *technites* (*TheophCont* 327.18–20). ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS hired *technitai* to build the Lavra (*Vita A*, ed. Noret, par.234.14–21); *technitai* are also mentioned in his *Hypotyposis* for the Lavra (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 140.25). The term is uncommon, however, in later documents. John V Palaiologos, in a letter of 1361 (?), ordered the *hegoumenoi* of Athos to send two *technitai* to Lemnos to repair fortifications on the island (*Lavra* 3, App. XIV.8–10).

Early church fathers (Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and others) used the epithet *technites* for God as the architect of the universe and supreme artist. Eusebios of Caesarea (*De eccl. theol.* 1:10.1—*Werke* 4, ed. E. Klostermann [Leipzig 1906] 68.18–22) contrasted God's fatherhood of the Son with his role as demiurge, *technites*, and founder of the world, while Basil of Caesarea (PG 32:77C) accused the Arians of conceiving of the Father as *technites* and of the Son as his tool. –A.K.

TECHNOLOGY. The Byz. inheritance of technology from the Roman Empire allowed it to remain, at least until the 12th C., the richest and technically most advanced state in the Mediterranean, one that provided examples for imitation. The period of the 4th–6th C. can be characterized by a propensity for the gigantic, esp. as related to building activity: the churches, such as HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople, were enormous, the LIMES could compete with the Chinese wall, a major AQUEDUCT was restored by Valens in Constantinople, and a project was even conceived to construct a Bithynian canal, diverting the Sangarios River and connecting the Black Sea with the Lake of Nikomedeia (F. Moore, *AJA* 54 [1950] 108–10). On the other hand, even the most sophisticated technical achievements were used primarily to create objects of luxury and toys: thus ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES used steampower to produce an artificial earthquake in the house of a certain Zeno; magnificent HOROLOGIA were built both in Constantinople and provincial cities, whereas practical use of water power for mills remained limited, and the existence of the sawmill is questionable (O. Wikander, *Opuscula romana* 13 [1981] 98–100). The scientists of the period were more concerned with the preservation of ancient tradition than in developing it. The 5th-C. alchemist Zosimos and his successors left descriptions of chemical apparatus and recipes for various processes of smelting, dyeing, alloying, and the like. PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA depicted mechanical devices, including pulleys and gears, using ARCHIMEDES and Heron as his sources; EUTOKIOS and ISIDORE OF MILETUS also commented on ancient models. In the realm of military technology, the anonymous Latin treatise DE REBUS BELLICIS contains descriptions of new inventions, but it is not known whether they were ever actually produced.

Strangely, the crisis of urban life in the 7th C. released the forces of inventiveness, and the 7th–9th C. brought forth significant technical innovations, esp. in such fields as AGRICULTURE, transport, and military equipment and WEAPONRY. The water MILL became a standard power source by the time of the FARMER'S LAW. The nailed horseshoe and improvement of harness attested by ca.900 allowed progress in both ploughing and transportation. The lateen sail, in use probably from the 7th C., made ships more responsive to the wind. The STIRRUP, attested from the 7th C., permitted a radical change in the ARMY structure that culminated by the 10th C. in the creation of the cavalry of the KATAPHRAKTOI. GREEK FIRE was invented in the 7th C. For imperial ceremonial, various AUTOMATA and the pipe ORGAN were created. LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN invented the fire BEACON system to warn against Arab invasions. Two phenomena of intellectual life were probably connected with this growing interest in technological innovation: the replacement of uncial script by the MINUSCULE, and the TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS from old MSS, which started not with patristics, but with books on MATHEMATICS and ASTRONOMY (Wilson, *Scholars* 85f); the increasing use of PAPER encouraged this development. Oikonomides has suggested that the Byz. began to make paper themselves by 800, although the question is still open.

Byz. interest in technology is recorded by ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, who ca.624 time and again listed technical achievements such as beer brewing, use of the goose quill PEN and INK, and use of ALUM for dyeing. SILK production developed from the 6th C. onward. However, the Byz. theorists of the time preferred to crib from ancient and late Roman "engineering" works, whereas Byz. recipes and devices are described not in Greek works, but in a Latin tract by the 11th-C. (?) priest Theophilus.

After the 10th C. Byz. technology started lagging behind that of Muslims and Westerners, and progress slowed down. The insignificant invention of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, the use of oxen power for mixing dough, was praised by his hagiographers. Some improvements in GLASS production and CERAMICS were introduced. The windmill began to appear. In the major fields of technology, however, the Byz. were outdistanced by their neighbors: they borrowed the crossbow (*tzangra*) from the Westerners, but yielded before the Turkish cannons (see FIREARMS); they lost in the competition with Italian SHIPBUILDING; they did not broadly apply new uses of energy sources, water and wind, to their manufacturing activities (e.g., for sawing or forging). Bessarion was impressed by the Western production of glass, textiles, weapons, and ships (A. Keller, *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 [1953–55] 343–48). And even though Byz. silk weavers were still famous in 15th-C. France, Byz. had fallen hopelessly behind.

LIT. L. White, *Medieval Religion and Technology* (Berkeley 1978). *A History of Technology*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1956). F. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters* (Potsdam 1931) 208–32. K. Vogel, *CMH* 4.2:299–305, 465–70. –A.K., D.P.

TEDALDI, JACOPO, Florentine merchant who helped defend Constantinople against the siege of Mehmed II; fl. ca.1453. Tedaldi escaped capture by swimming to a Venetian ship that took him to Negroponte. *Informations*, an account of Tedaldi's experience, survives in French and may derive from his encounter at Negroponte with one Jean Blanchin, whose role in the transmission (or creation) of the document is obscure. It is a source for the fall of Constantinople, providing valuable data on Turkish leaders, details of the siege, and estimates of the value of the Turkish booty and Italian losses. Tedaldi's account exists in long (probably interpolated) and short redactions, of which one illuminated MS (Paris, B.N. fr. 6487) is in scroll form and bears a subscription by a copyist, Johannes Columbi (31 Dec. 1453). In 1454 Tedaldi's *Informations* was revised, translated into Latin, titled the *Treatise* [*Tractatus*] *on the Conquest of the City of Constantinople*, given a prologue, and used as a propagandistic text calling for a new Crusade.

ED. J.J. de Smet, "Chroniques des Pays-Bas, de France, d'Angleterre et de Tournai," *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre* 3 (Brussels 1856) 511–56. E. Martène, U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* 1 (Paris 1717) 1819–26. Ital. tr. Pertusi, *Caduta* 1:175–89. Eng. tr. Jones, *Siege of CP* 1–10.

LIT. M.-L. Concasty, "Les 'Informations' de Jacques Tedaldi sur le siège et la prise de Constantinople," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 95–110. –M.McC.

TEIA (Τείας), last Ostrogothic king (from July 552); died Mons Lactarius, southern Italy, 30 Oct. (or Nov.—Stein, *infra*) 552. Commander (*comes*) in Totila's army, Teia defended Verona against the troops of NARSES. After the defeat at BUSTA GALLORUM the Goths elected Teia their king. He led the suicidal resistance of the Goths with unnecessary cruelty (execution of hostages), treason, and brave but useless expeditions. The Franks did not respond to Teia's plea for help. From Ticinum, Teia marched south toward Naples only to learn that he had been betrayed by the Gothic fleet, treachery that made provisioning impossible. In a courageously fought battle, Teia was killed and his head placed on a spear to demoralize his troops. Narses used his command at sea and his excellent archers as well as numerical superiority to crush Teia. His death ended organized Ostrogothic resistance in Italy, although some skirmishes continued until 555.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:600–04. Bury, *LRE* 2:262f, 267–74. H. Delbrück, *History of the Art of War*, vol. 2 (Westport, Conn., 1980) 363–67. Wolfram, *Goths* 361f. W.E.K., A.K.

TEKFUR SARAYI (Turk., lit. "Palace of the Sovereign"), Turkish name for a three-story Byz. palace of which the empty shell remains at the north termination of the Theodosian land walls, occupying the space between the inner and outer walls of the city (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). It is the only well-preserved example of Byz. domestic architecture at Constantinople. The ground floor was supported on col-

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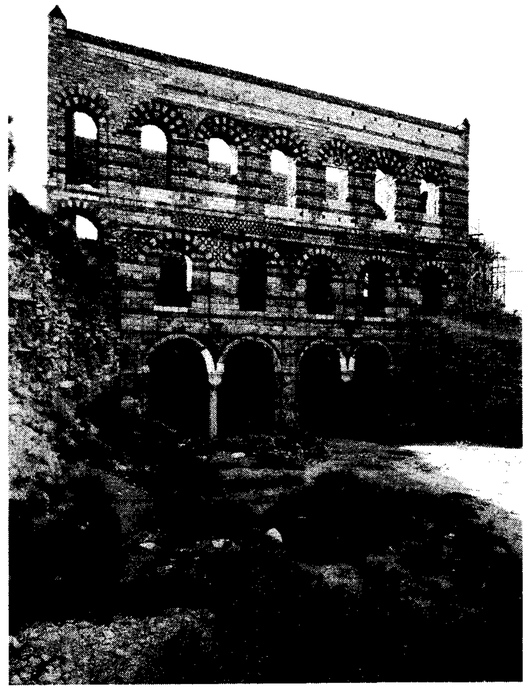

TEKFUR SARAYI. Northwest façade of the palace.

umns, while the uppermost story probably constituted a vast throne room, as in the Palace of the Despots at MISTRA. The north and south façades are elaborately decorated with patterns of tiles, while a balcony supported on corbels ran along the east side. The drawings of C. Texier (1833–35) and W. Salzenberg (*Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* [Berlin 1854] 124–28, pls. 37–38) show many features that have since disappeared.

The use of the machicolations and heraldic escutcheons indicates that the building is Palaiologan. It should probably be identified with "the house[s] of the Porphyrogennetos" (Kantak. 1:305.21, 3:290.15). If the Porphyrogennetos in question was Constantine, third son of Michael VIII, it should be dated between 1261 and 1291. Its exact relation to the Palace of BLACHERNAI remains unclear.

LIT. A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899) 109–14. B. Meyer-Plath, A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1943) 95–100. C. Mango, "Constantinopolitana," *JDAI* 80 (1965) 330–36. O. Feld, "Zu den Kapitellen Tekfur Saray in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 19–20 (1969–70) 359–67. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 244–47. –C.M.

TEKIRDAĞ. See RHAIDESTOS.

TELERIG (Τελέριγος), Bulgar khan (768/74–777). In 774 Constantine V launched a major campaign against BULGARIA, which Telerig forestalled by sending an embassy to Varna and signing an agreement not to invade Byz. territory. In the fall, however, even as Telerig's envoys were negotiating in Constantinople, Telerig dispatched a large force to capture Berzitia and resettle its populace in Bulgaria. "Secret friends," evidently at the khan's own court, warned Constantine, permitting his victory at LITHOSORIA. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 448.4–10) relates Telerig's countermeasure: he wrote to Constantine expressing interest in fleeing to Constantinople and requesting the identities of the emperor's supporters in Bulgaria, so that he might join them. Constantine sent the men's names, whereupon Telerig eliminated them. Whatever the story's veracity, in 777 Telerig did indeed flee to Constantinople, where he was baptized, made a *patrikios* by Leo IV, and married to a niece of Leo's wife (Empress Irene). The cause of Telerig's flight is unknown, and nothing is heard of him after his arrival in Constantinople.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:226–38. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 223–28. –P.A.H.

TELLA. See CONSTANTINA.

TELOS (τέλος), generic designation of taxes, used in both narrative texts and documents: thus, an act of 1008 (*Lavra* 1, no.14.24) speaks of the *telos* of a CHORION; in 927 the inhabitants of Hierissos stubbornly refused to pay state (*demosion*) *telos* (*Ivir.*, no.1.1–2). Later, in the *praktika* of the 14th C., *telos* most frequently is the tax on a STASIS. Svoronos (*Cadastre* 24, n.3) distinguishes *telos* (the gross tax) from the *teloumenon*, the net tax to be paid after the subtraction of sums representing various forms of tax-relief or alleviation (SYMPATHEIA, KLASMA, KOUPHISMOS). It seems, however, that *teloumenon* is a term of the 10th–11th C., used before *telos* acquired its technical meaning and replaced *teloumenon*. The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 114.23, 33; 118.24) does not mention *telos*, only *teloumenon*; a fragment of a *kodix* of 1098 uses *teloumenon* to denote the basic tax (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.65.12–13) to which SYNETHEIA, ELATIKON, etc. are added; and in 1089 Alexios I conferred upon the monks of Docheiariou land appropriate to their *teloumenon* (*Docheiar.*, no.2.6–7). *Praktika* do not use the term *teloumenon*.

Quantitative studies of 14th-C. PRAKTIKA (J. Lefort, *RH* 252 [1974] 315–52; K. Chvostova, *VizVrem* 39 [1978] 63–75) indicate that there were general guidelines for the rates at which property was taxed (e.g., arable land was generally taxed at 1 hyperpyron per 50 *modioi*) and that these guidelines varied by locality and period. The fact that *staseis* with identical property in the same village often were assessed a different *telos* suggests that social and other nonfiscal factors played a significant role in the calculation of the *telos*.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 48–62. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 151–62. –M.B.

TELOUCH (Τελούχ), Byz. city and theme, later a STRATEGIS, on the borders of Anatolia and Syria, near GERMANIKEIA. It derived its name from late antique Doliche (now Dülük in Turkey), a small town (*polichne*) and bishopric known primarily for its cult of Baal (named Zeus Dolichenus by the Romans). THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*HE* 5.4.7–8) describes it as affected by "the Arian malaise." Occupied by the Arabs, Telouch took the Arabic name Dulūk and became an important fortress in Arab-Byz. wars. Regained by the Byz. in 962, Telouch is not mentioned in the 10th-C. Escurial *Taktikon*, but it often appears in the texts of the 11th–12th C. as a center of military operations. George MANIAKES, its *strategos* ca.1030, cleverly overcame the trickery of Arabs who tried to sack the *polis*. A troop of mounted archers was stationed in Telouch in 1051; Romanos IV used the city as a base of operations against the emir of Aleppo (BERROIA) in 1068. The treaty of DEVOL of 1108 assigned Telouch to Alexios I. During the Crusades it became the seat of a bishop and the scene of constant military engagements. After NŪR AL-DĪN captured Telouch in 1155, the city fell into decline.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 127, n.4. Ahrweiler, *Administration* 48, n.12. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 195. D. Sourdel, *EI*[2] 2:624. –M.M.M.

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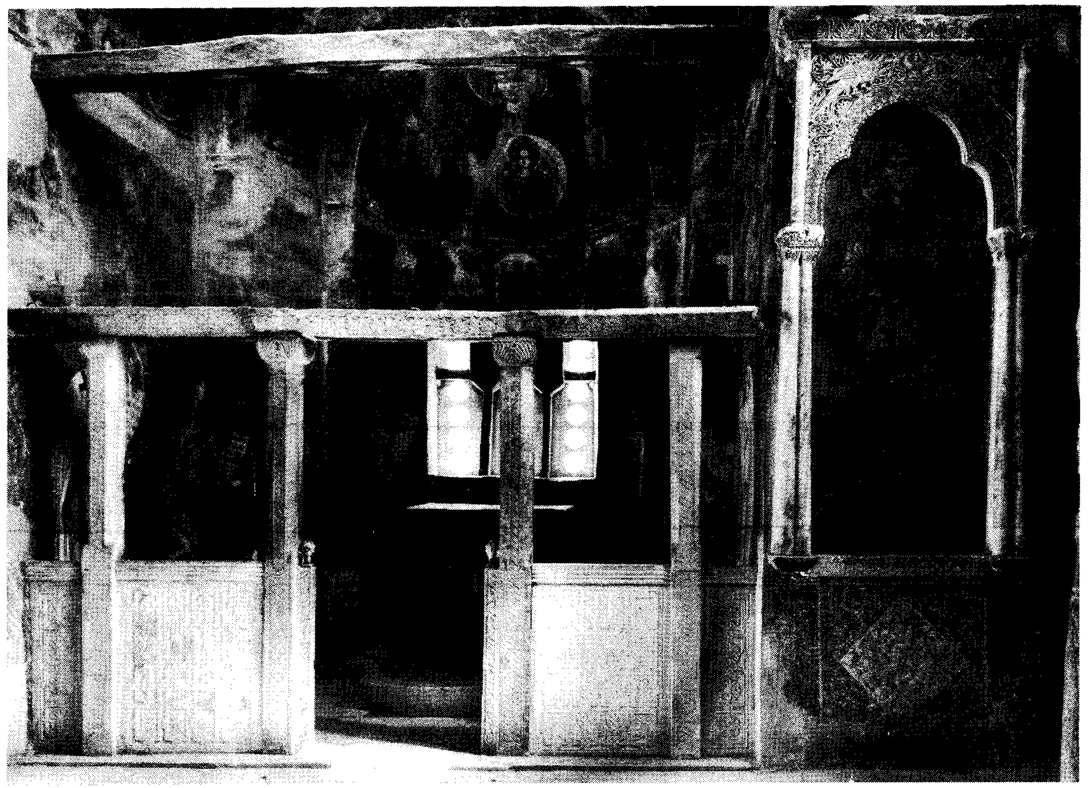
TELOUMENON. See TELOS.

TEMPLON (τέμπλον, also called κάγκελλα, κιγκλίδες), the screen separating the nave from the sanctuary. Originally a low parapet or chancel barrier, about the mid-5th C. it developed into a taller partition (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:526f). The templon stood at a right angle to the nave, or projected into it in the form of the letter π (*pi*); an entrance on each of the three sides was sometimes preceded by a four-column porch (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:531). Such barriers were supported by a molded stylobate (bema), 24–40 cm high, and consisted of closure slabs held in place by waist-high piers, colonnettes on piers, or plain colonnettes (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* 49) carrying an EPISTYLE.

Surviving templa are mostly fragmentary. Elaborate examples had colonnettes and stylobate of colored marble (Mathews, *Early Churches* 25), while the screen of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, as described by PAUL SILENTIARIOS, was dressed in silver. After Iconoclasm the templon was extended to the PASTOPHORIA. Like the screen of the BEMA, these screens consisted of slabs set between colonnettes and carrying an epistyle; all such forms, nonetheless, were generally slighter than those of the time of Justinian I. According to M. Chatzidakis (15 *CEB* [Athens 1976] 3:165), toward the end of the 11th C. the transformation of the medieval templon was completed with the appearance of PROSKYNETARIA and icons set in its intercolumnar openings. An elongated painted panel with the DEESIS, the GREAT FEASTS, or both, was added on top of the epistyle (K. Weitzmann, *DChAE*[4] 12 [1984] 64–86). PHOTIOS (*Homiliai* 10.5, ed. B. Laourdas 102.1) describes the chancel-screen in a palace church, perhaps the Virgin of the Pharos, with its peristyle of colonnettes dressed in silver. Enameled screens were also produced. The PALA D'ORO is thought to enclose part of the enameled *dodekaorton* (panels of the Twelve Great Feasts) that once embellished the screen of the south church in the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople, and the inventory of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY in Constantinople refers to bema doors of silver, decorated with the Annunciation (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 154.73).

Most surviving medieval templa were, however, carved in marble, the most elaborate ones showing uprights and stylobates of colored stone. Inlaid



TEMPLON. Marble templon; 12th C. Church of St. Panteleemon, Nerezi. An image of the saint is painted on the pier to the right of the templon.

champlevé screens (Grabar, *Sculptures* II, pls. V–IX) were probably meant to suggest the effect of silver and niello. On the other hand, templa with relief decoration indicate a renewed interest in plasticity. After the reconquest in 1261, screens in Constantinople reveal further development toward sculpture in the round (Ø. Hjort, *DOP* 33 [1979] 225–36). From this last period also date the first woodcarved templa that were to prevail in the post-Byz. period; such a templon is usually called an iconostasis.

LIT. M. Chatzidakis, *RBK* 3:326–53. C. Mango, "On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios in Constantinople," *Zograf* 10 (1979) 40–43. V. Lazarev, "Trois fragments d'epistyles peintes et le templon byzantin," *DChAE*[4] 4 (1964–65) 117–43. A.W. Epstein, "The Middle Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier: Templon or Iconostasis?" *JBAA* 134 (1981) 1–28. N. Thon, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Ikonostase," *Zeitschrift für ostkirchliche Kunst* 2 (1986) 193–207. –L.Ph.B.

TEMPTATION OF CHRIST. After his baptism, Christ prepared for his ministry by fasting for 40 days in the wilderness. There he was thrice tempted by the Devil: to use his divine power to undermine his human will by turning stones into bread to eat, to test his divinity capriciously by hurling himself from the Temple, and to worship the Devil in return for wealth and power (Mt 4:1–11, Lk 4:1–13). Though the relevant passages were read at the beginning of Lent, the Temptation was not a liturgical feast and hence appears only rarely in Byz. art. It is unknown before the 9th C., when the marginal PSALTERS use one of the three episodes to illustrate Psalm 91:11–12, quoted by the Devil during the Temptation. The full, tripartite version of the event appears first in the PARIS GREGORY (fol.165r) and becomes standard thereafter: S. Marco in VENICE preserves a good example (Demus, *infra* 1.2:pl.103). The most exhaustive treatment is the four-stage narrative at the CHORA.

LIT. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1.1:95f. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:277–79. –A.W.C.

TENEDOS (Τένεδος, mod. Bozca Ada), island in the northeastern Aegean Sea off the shore of the Troas near the entrance to the HELLESPONT; in HIEROKLES, a part of the province of the Islands (Insulae). Justinian I had a granary built there for grain brought from Alexandria (Prokopios, *Buildings* 5.1.7–16). Despite its strategic location near Constantinople, Tenedos is barely mentioned until the 13th C., when the island was given to the Latin emperor of Constantinople and his rights to Tenedos were repeated in the Treaty of Viterbo of 1267 (Miller, *Essays* 290). Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:344.3–4) mentions Tenedos as a pirate stronghold; Mouriskos, naval commander for Andronikos II, attacked its *phrourion* with two battleships (2:556.10–14). The Byz. retained the island, and in the winter of 1352/3 John V withdrew to it (according to Kantakouzenos; Gregoras states that the emperor went to Lemnos), attacked Constantinople in March 1353, and came back to the island (*Kleinchroniken* 2:281f). In 1352 John V gave Tenedos to the Venetians as security for 20,000 ducats he borrowed from them (*Reg* 5, no.3005). In 1370 John V was ready to cede Tenedos to Venice in exchange for imperial jewelry pawned there by his mother, six transport vessels, and 25,000 ducats, but this offer was rejected by Andronikos IV, who intended to give the island to the Genoese; in 1376, after Andronikos entered Constantinople, Genoa received Tenedos. In 1377 war broke out between Venice and Genoa over Tenedos; the struggle was protracted and a settlement was made in Turin in a treaty of 8 Aug. 1381, whereby the fortifications of Tenedos were to be razed and the demilitarized island controlled by a representative of the count of Savoy. Venice, however, continued to use Tenedos as a naval base.

LIT. F. Thiriet, "Venise et l'occupation de Ténédos au XIVe siècle," *MEFR* 65 (1953) 219–45. –T.E.G.

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TEODOSIJE, Serbian hagiographer; born ca.1246, died ca.1328. A monk in the HILANDAR monastery on Athos, Teodosije was the spiritual counselor of King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski. He devoted himself in particular to spreading and supporting the cult of Sts. Simeon (STEFAN NEMANJA) and SAVA, which provided the main focus of Serbian national and cultural identity. His works include a revised recension of the Life of St. Sava by DOMENTIJAN, allegedly based on oral suggestions by the author; several *kanones*, liturgies, and *akolouthiai* on Sts. Simeon and Sava; and a Life of and *akolouthia* on St. Peter of Koriša near Prizren.

ED. *Život svetoga Save*, ed. Dj. Daničić (Belgrade 1973).
LIT. Dj.S. Radojičić, "O srpskom književniku Teodosiju," *Istorijski Časopis* 4 (1952–53) 13–41. S.P. Rozanov, "Istočniki, vremja sostavlenija i ličnost' sostavitelja Feodosievskoj redakcii Žitija Savvy Serbskogo," *IzvORJaS* 16 (1912) no.1, 185–209. A. Naumov, "Teodosije Hilandarac i Sveto pismo," *HilZb* 5 (1983) 81–89. –R.B.

TEPHRIKE (Τεφρική, mod. Divriği), fortress in the mountains of northeastern CAPPADOCIA, west of the Euphrates. KARBEAS founded the powerful fortress ca.850 in a region beyond the Byz. frontier and remote from the authority of the emir of Melitene. Under CHRYSOCHEIR it became the seat of a PAULICIAN state. PETER OF SICILY, who visited Tephrike in 870 as Byz. ambassador, provides the main source on the region. After its capture by the Byz. in 878, Tephrike, under its new but ephemeral name Leontokome (for Leo VI), became the seat of a KLEISOURA, then of a THEME (ca.940). Tephrike was granted to the son of Senacherim ARCRUNI of Vaspurakan in 1019 in exchange for his lands. Romanos IV campaigned against the Turks around Tephrike in 1068, but it fell to them after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The surviving fortress contains stretches of Byz. walls.

LIT. *TIB* 2:294f. –C.F.

TEREBINTHOS. See MAMRE, OAK OF.

TERETISMATA (τερετίσματα, lit. "chirruping"), musical vocalizations set to the meaningless syllables *te te te, to to to, ri ri ri*, etc., which first appear appended to or inserted in 14th-C. CHANT settings. On a larger scale, they are found as independent melodic units known as *kratemata* and used to prolong a hymn. Some are given descriptive titles; epithets such as "bell," "viola," "trumpet," and "nightingale" are used in the *Kratematarion*, a collection of *kratemata* arranged according to the eight MODES. *Teretismata* constitute the chief

element of an ornate species of musical composition called kalophonic ("beautified") chant. Hymns written in this style are either freely constructed original works or elaborate embellishments of traditional music.

LIT. D.E. Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Thessalonike 1974) 274–86. –D.E.C.

TERMINOLOGY was in Byz. as everywhere a necessary vehicle of legal, administrative, and scientific activity. It reflected real practice and incorporated various neologisms to designate elements of ceremonial, the fiscal system, social and administrative relations, and so forth. Some new terms were obviously borrowed from the terminology of neighboring states, for example, LIZIOS or SULTAN. There are, however, two features of Byz. terminology that to a certain extent obscure the reality covered by corresponding terms and transform terminology into a distorting mirror that often prevents rather than helps in understanding Byz. The first was an attachment to ancient terms that were retained but applied to different objects. This predilection is clear so far as it concerns geographic nomenclature but is less recognized in the field of legal or administrative terminology. It is, however, obvious that the Byz. *hypatos* had nothing to do with the Roman *consul*, and the Byz. *magistros* was worlds away from the late Roman *magister*; similarly, the late Byz. *emphyteuma* differed radically from the late Roman *emphyteusis*. The second trait is vagueness: on the one hand, the Byz. employed nontechnical terms, such as the biblical PAROIKOS ("dweller, stranger") to designate a category of dependent peasants; on the other hand, a single term, PRONOIA, for example, could possess a broad range of meaning. Indifferent as they were to geographical or administrative terminology, the Byz. cared much for theological terminology and devoted special attention to developing the cardinal notions of the Christian creed, as was demonstrated during the discussions about *homoousia* in the 4th C. or about the phrase "My father is greater than I" in the 12th C.

LIT. F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens* (Göttingen 1915). O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrisurkunden* (Giessen 1930). H.J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto 1974). –A.K.

TERVEL (Τέρβελις), Bulgar khan (691/703–718/24); son and heir of ASPARUCH. The sources first mention Tervel in 704, when Justinian II sought his help in regaining the throne. Tervel raised a combined force of Bulgars and Slavs and in 705 marched with Justinian against Tiberios II. In reward, Justinian gave Tervel many gifts, invested him with the CHLAMYS, and proclaimed him CAESAR (Nikeph. 42.20–25); Tervel may have married Justinian's daughter. Justinian may also have renewed the treaty of 681 between Asparuch and Constantine IV (V. Beševliev, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 8f). According to many Byz. sources, Justinian broke the peace in 708. Nevertheless, in 711, faced with the revolt of Philippikos, he requested and received 3,000 soldiers from Tervel. After Justinian's death, Tervel plundered Thrace in 712. Four years later Theodosios III, fearing an imminent Arab attack on Constantinople, concluded a treaty that fixed the Byz.-Bulgar border in Thrace (thereby formally ceding to the Bulgars the Zagoria region), granted the Bulgars garments worth 30 *litrai* of gold, arranged for the return of fugitives, and established some commercial regulations (V. Kutikov, *GSU JuF* 65 [1974] 69–116). During the Arab siege of Constantinople in 717–18 Leo III sought and obtained Tervel's help (V. Gjuzelev, *IstPreg* 29 [1973] no.3.28–47), yet in 719 Tervel gave the deposed Anastasios II gold (50 kentenaria) and troops to march against Leo. Nothing further is heard of Tervel.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:162–92. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:109f. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 191–203. N. Oikonomides, "Tribute or Trade? The Byzantine-Bulgarian Treaty of 716," *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia Europensia*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1989) 29–31. –P.A.H.

TESSERAE. See ALMSGIVING; MOSAIC.

TETARTERON (*νόμισμα τεταρτηρόν*), the name of two quite distinct coins, a lightweight gold NOMISMA struck ca.965–1092, and a small copper (initially lead) coin introduced in 1092 and still minted into the second half of the 13th C.

The name of the gold coin, introduced by Nikephoros II, derives from the fact that it was initially a quarter (*τέταρτον μέρος*, "fourth part") of a tremissis (i.e., 2 carats) lighter than the standard nomisma; in the mid-11th C., however, the weight was apparently standardized at 3.98 g, that is, 3 carats under the full nomisma. This latter coin was by now known as an HISTAMENON, and the denominations were distinguished by reducing the diameter of the small thick tetartera from the traditional 20 mm of the nomisma to 18 mm, and increasing that of the broad, thin histamena to approximately 25 mm.

The copper tetarteron or tarteron was very similar in size and fabric to the former gold coin, a fact that has usually been regarded as the explanation of its name, but the suggestion (by J.D. MacIsaac) that it was due to the coin's initial worth of one-quarter of the old FOLLIS is much more plausible. Its subsequent values are unknown.

LIT. *DOC* 3:28–39. Hendy, *Economy* 506–08, 515f. –Ph.G.

TETRACONCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

TETRAEVANGELION. See EVANGELION.

TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, conventional term for the political and ecclesiastical controversy (906–20) caused, at least externally, by the fourth marriage of LEO VI. After three marriages (to THEOPHANO; Zoe, daughter of Stylianos ZAOUTZES; and Eudokia) that produced no male heir to the throne, in 905 Leo fathered a son, the future CONSTANTINE VII, by his concubine ZOE KARBONOPSINA. His desire to legitimize his marriage met the resistance of Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS; although he reluctantly christened Constantine (906), Nicholas prohibited Leo's entrance into the church and kept delaying the removal of the *epitimion* (906–07). Since Nicholas's resistance chronologically coincides with the revolt of Andronikos DOUKAS, it is plausible to hypothesize that Nicholas's position was part of the aristocratic opposition to the administration of Leo and SAMONAS.

On 1 Feb. 907 Leo deposed Nicholas, and soon thereafter Doukas escaped to the Arabs; Nicholas was replaced as patriarch by EUTHYMIOS, who removed the *epitimion* but also severely punished the priest Thomas who had performed the fourth marriage. This compromise solution was confirmed by a council of patriarchal envoys convened in Constantinople (Feb. 907). Nicholas's return to power in 912 gave a new aspect to the struggle; he energetically deposed supporters of Euthymios from many sees and promoted his own candidates. The political instability of the regency after Leo's death (Constantine VII being a minor) and the active involvement of the papacy in the conflict aggravated the situation. Euthymios's death in 917 paved the way for reconciliation, finally achieved in July 920 by ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, who arranged the promulgation of the TOMOS OF UNION; three years later Rome approved the Tomos, and the papal delegates joined Nicholas in anathematizing the fourth marriage.

SOURCES. Jenkins, *Studies*, pts. VII (1956), 293–372; VIII (1962), 231–41.

LIT. J.L. Boojamra, "The Eastern Schism of 907 and the Affair of the Tetragamia," *JEH* 25 (1974) 113–33. P. Karlin-Hayter, "Le synode à Constantinople de 886 à 912 et le rôle de Nicolas le Mystique dans l'affaire de la tétragamie," *JÖB* 19 (1970) 59–101. N. Oikonomidès, "La dernière volonté de Léon VI au sujet de la tétragamie," *BZ* 56 (1963) 46–52. –A.K.

TETRAMORPH. See SERAPHIM.

TETRAPYLON. See ARCH, MONUMENTAL.

TETRARCHY (*τετραρχία*, lit. "rule of four"), system of government proclaimed by DIOCLETIAN on 1 Mar. 293 with the addition of the two caesars, CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS and GALERIUS to the college of two augusti, Diocletian and MAXIMIAN. The members of the tetrarchy were bound by ties of marriage (Constantius married Theodora, daughter of Maximian, while Galerius married Valeria, daughter of Diocletian). The augusti, as senior emperors, called each other "brothers" and the caesars "sons." Relationships within the tetrarchy were further characterized by the divine protectors of the augusti: Jupiter for Diocletian, Hercules for Maximian. This reflected the divine order in which Jupiter commands and Hercules puts his wishes into effect; the caesars were incorporated into this system and grouped into the Jovian and Herculian "dynasties." Although the theoretical unity of the empire was not broken, each member of the tetrarchy was in effect responsible for a specific area.

As men who rose in the army, the members of the tetrarchy were always depicted as harsh and strong, with thick necks, short-cropped hair, and stubbly beards. They are shown, on coins and in sculpture—such as the porphyry groups now in Venice and the Vatican (Kitzinger, *Making*, figs.

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5, 8)—as virtually identical, another means of emphasizing the unity of the tetrarchy.

Upon his abdication in 305 Diocletian planned to continue the tetrarchy through the elevation of the two caesars to be augusti and the appointment of Severus and MAXIMINUS DAIA as caesars. This failed due to the ambition of the rulers' natural sons, Constantine I and MAXENTIUS. The Conference of Carnuntum in 308, which attempted to restore the tetrarchy, was also unsuccessful. Although the tetrarchy as an institution did not outlive its originator, the principle of the division of the empire into distinct geographical spheres, each with its own ruler, survived until the fall of the Western Empire.

LIT. Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 8–12. W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* (Paris 1946). –T.E.G.

TETRASTOON (*τετράστῳον*), a huge square in BYZANTION surrounded by four STOAS (porticoes). It existed at least at the time of Septimius Severus, who is said (Malal. 292.2–4) to have added to it the public baths of ZEUXIPPOS. In the middle of the Tetrastoon stood a statue of Helios. Zosimos (Zosim. bk.2:31.2–3, ed. F. Paschoud, 1:104.11–23) relates that Constantine I erected two pagan shrines there dedicated to Rhea and to Tyche. The location of the Tetrastoon is under discussion: according to Guilland (*Topographie* 2:3), it lay on the site of the Basilike Cistern (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF), whereas Mango suggests that it coincided in part with the AUGUSTAION that must have been carved out of it. Another *tetrastoon,* dedicated to St. John, was built in Alexandria in the mid-5th C. (Theoph. 114.9–10).

LIT. Mango, *Brazen House* 43–45. Janin, *CP byz.* 16f, 59. –M.J., A.K.

TEVARIH-I AL-I OSMAN, a title attached to numerous Turkish chronicles or histories that recount the fortunes of the Ottoman dynasty, and literally meaning *Histories of the House of Osman.* Unless otherwise qualified, it commonly designates one of the first of these texts, an anonymous collection of stories or legends about the Osmanoğulları from Süleymanşah to ca.1420, composed early in the reign of Murad II (1421–51). MSS of this *Tevarih* in its original form do not survive, but its essential content can be established by comparing 16th-C. recensions (which evidently preserve the original form without major interventions) with the 15th-C. historians AŞIQPAŞAZADE and Uruc Beg, who likewise relied upon it for the early sections of their works. No satisfactory edition of this *Tevarih* exists to date, and Giese's version (*infra*)—although still fundamental—must be used with caution.

ED. *Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken,* ed. F. Giese, 2 vols. (Breslau 1922, Leipzig 1925), with Germ. tr.

LIT. V. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in Lewis-Holt, *Historians* 171–73. H. İnalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in ibid. 152–59. –S.W.R.

TEXTILES (*ὑφάσματα*). Byz. textiles were mainly of linen (*linon*), wool (*erion*), and SILK. Cotton (*bambax, bambakina, bambukina*) is more rarely mentioned in the sources, though the cultivation of cotton in the Peloponnesos in the 14th and 15th C. is attested by Plethon (*Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur,* ed. A. Ellissen, vol. 4.2 [Leipzig 1860; rp. 1976] 56 and 101, para. 21). These textiles were produced in state weaving establishments, private workshops, and individual households, depending on their type, quality, and use. Alexandria (and Egypt in general) and Syria were particularly noted for textile production before they fell to the Arabs in the 7th C.; Thessalonike, Corinth, Thebes, and Athens are known to have had important textile (esp. silk) weaving workshops between the 10th and 12th C.

Byz. WEAVERS used several types of loom. Only a simple loom was needed for the common linen and woolen cloth (tabby) and tapestry weaves. Patterned compound weaves, preferred for silk but also used for wool, were made on a drawloom with a pattern-making mechanism. Finished woolen fabrics could also be fulled by fullers (*knapheis*) before being made into clothing by TAILORS. Few Byz. weaving implements have been preserved, as most were made of wood, but some clay spindle whorls, bronze spindle hooks, and bronze loom combs have been found at Corinth (Davidson, *Minor Objects,* nos. 1213–33). Bronze needles, open-tip thimbles, and clay thread spools used for sewing were also found at Corinth (nos. 1234–98).

A wide variety of textiles is recorded in the sources. Besides the most highly valued silks and purple-dyed cloths (see BLATTION), homespun woolens, coarse linens (*sabana*), and fine linen cloths (*lepte othone*) are also mentioned (*TheophCont* 199.22–200.1). The Byz. also manufactured loop-pile textiles (*mallota* and *linomallotaria*), the fleece-like texture of which made them particularly suitable for blankets and covers (*P.Ant* I 44.8; *TheophCont* 318.15); they had knotted carpets (*nakotapetes*; ibid. 319.16) as well.

Ordinary tunics and cloaks were made of plain linen, woolen, or cotton cloth, while silks, often woven with gold threads, were the COSTUME of emperors, the imperial household, and court officials. Linen was needed for sails, nets, and for other commercial and military uses. Household towels, coverings, curtains, and such were made of linen, while blankets, coverlets, and cushions were made of wool.

Hangings, curtains, and carpets executed in various materials and techniques were a regular component of domestic and official architecture, both secular and religious. Curtains fill the spaces between columns in a mosaic representing the palace of Theodoric the Great in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Volbach, *Early Christian Art,* pl.152). The importance of textiles in an architectural context is revealed in the endless opening and closing of curtains around the emperor and in the imperial palace as recorded in the DE CEREMONIIS. Hangings had a more purely decorative function. Often executed in tapestry technique, hangings were particularly suited for the portrayal of figural subjects, both secular (e.g., the Hestia and the Nereid tapestries in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C., ca.6th C.) and religious (e.g., the Virgin in the Cleveland Museum of Art, ca.6th C.). The silk tapestry depicting a triumphant emperor in Bamberg is a rare later specimen of these weavings (ca. early 11th C.). A separate category of textiles comprised those that evolved in the service of church ritual: over time, various altar covers and other liturgical cloths such as the AER, ANTIMENSION, EILITON, and ENDYTE acquired distinctive shapes as well as specific decoration.

Decoration, whether in the form of ornamental designs or figural composition or both, was an important component of higher quality textiles. Besides the mechanically produced designs of the drawloom weaving, decoration could also be painted, achieved through resist dying, or executed in such ancient textile techniques as tapestry weaving and EMBROIDERY. The latter technique was particularly favored in the Palaiologan period.

One of the most noted uses of Byz. textiles, esp. the silks produced in state workshops, was as imperial gifts, regularly distributed on specific official occasions (e.g., *De cer.* 235.12–13, 258.5–6; *TheophCont* 342.21) or sent abroad as important instruments of foreign policy.

Byz. textiles have not fared well. Extant examples are scarce, despite the prominence of textiles as reflected in Byz. written sources and as depicted in works of art. Early textiles (before 8th C.) come mainly from Egyptian graves, while later textiles (from 9th C. onward) survive primarily in the church treasuries of Western Europe; most of the latter are silks. Byz. textiles have also been found in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, esp. Kiev.

LIT. R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*[2], vol. 4 (Leiden 1964). J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923). Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 223–32. W.F. Volbach, "Textiles," Athens Cat. 460–85. Idem, *Early Decorative Textiles* (London 1969). –A.G.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM was applied both to sacred/theological and pagan classical texts. The pre- and proto-Byz. representatives of high level scriptural criticism are ORIGEN and JEROME. Textual criticism gained a strong impetus during theological disputes, as in the 6th C., when the authenticity of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE was questioned by HYPATIOS of Ephesus, and esp. during the Iconoclastic controversy, when a number of FORGERIES and interpolations were produced and, in part, rejected. The textual studies of the earlier period were, however, ideological rather than philological; even Photios, while dealing with the problem of forgery (E. Orth, *Photiana* 1 [Leipzig 1928] 120f), applies stylistic rather than purely philological criteria. We must postulate, however, the practice of some textual criticism during the 9th and 10th C., the period of TRANSLITERATION and collection of texts (e.g., the *Palatine Anthology*). J. Koder (*JÖB* 15 [1966] 182) suggests that Niketas STETHATOS used the principles of textual studies by introducing emendations based on the meter when editing Symeon the Theologian's hymns; this hypothesis is, however, open to discussion (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 34 [1973] 286). P. Maas (*Kleine Schriften* [Munich 1973] 519) considered Eustathios of Thessalonike

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as a textual critic of a high order, a hypothesis refuted by Wilson (*infra* 201f).

The evidence is much clearer with regard to the textual studies of some later professional philologists, Maximos PLANOUDES, THOMAS MAGISTROS, Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, and esp. Demetrios TRIKLINIOS. They understood the necessity of using several MSS for an edition (an idea already expressed by John Tzetzes) and correct metrical principles for restitution of corrupted lines of Pindar, the tragedians, and Aristophanes; some "corrections" were extremely felicitous and have survived into modern editions; others were hopeless failures. It is not always clear which emendations belong to Byz. critics and which were drawn from ancient works now lost.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 230–64. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:59–77. B. Schartau, "Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age grec et latin* 4 (1970) 3–34. –A.K.

THALASSA (Θάλασσα), PERSONIFICATION of the Sea, a female figure shown standing in water with an oar over her shoulder. Found most commonly in scenes of the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, she also appears as the counterpart of Earth in some images of the LAST JUDGMENT, where she represents the Sea disgorging its dead (Rev 20:13). The Sea is still represented by monsters in the 11th-C. Paris, B.N. gr. 74, but in this same century (e.g., in a fresco in the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON at Thessalonike) the monsters are replaced by Thalassa. In monumental art and icons of the 13th–15th C., Thalassa may be shown carrying a boat, seated in a shell, or riding a dolphin. She replaces the figure of Okeanos, an old man with crustaceans in his hair and an oar in his hands, still the usual personification of the Sea in Late Antique art (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 130, 164). In Byz. painting Okeanos survived only as a partner to the figure of JORDAN. (See also BYTHOS.) –A.C.

THALELAIOS (Θαλέλαιος), an ANTECESSOR, probably a professor at the law school of Berytus, and one of the eight addressees of the Constitutio *Omnem* of Justinian I from the year 533. He presumably gave lectures on the INSTITUTES and the DIGEST. Of his commentary to the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, which is perhaps the most important product of the brief period of state legal education in the first half of the reign of Justinian I, a large number of fragments has survived in the BASILIKA (and its scholia) as well as elsewhere. According to general consensus, this commentary formed for books 1–7 and 9–12 of the *Codex* the basis of the *Basilika* text.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:32f, 47–49, 72–78. D. Simon, "Aus dem Codexunterricht des Thalelaios," *ZSavRom* 86 (1969) 334–83; 87 (1970) 315–94, and *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*[3] 16 (1969) 283–308; 17 (1970) 273–311. –A.S.

THAMUGADI (Ταμούγαδις; mod. Timgad, in southeastern Algeria). After CARTHAGE and LEPTIS MAGNA, Thamugadi provides the richest epigraphic records on municipal life in late Roman North Africa. In particular the inscription called the *Album of Thamugadi* (368) offers indisputable evidence of the survival of the curial class and its privileges in that period. The emergence of Thamugadi as the center of DONATISM in the late 4th and early 5th C., particularly under the leadership of Bp. Optatus (388–98), who appears to have usurped civil as well as religious authority, seems to have marked an end to civic generosity on the part of the municipal aristocracy, since from this time onward there is little epigraphic evidence of construction or repairs to public monuments. Significantly, the only attested building erected in this period was the vast Donatist cathedral complex to the west of the city.

Following a brief occupation by the VANDALS, Thamugadi was sacked and emptied of its inhabitants by MAURI tribes from the nearby Aures mountains (late 5th C.). In 539 the city was retaken by the Byz. under the general SOLOMON, who claims in an inscription to have reconstructed the city (Pringle, *infra* 326f, no.27). The principal element of the revived community was the fortress (112 × 67 m) erected to the south of the old urban center; its primary function seems to have been to guard the city and the agriculturally rich plain surrounding it against raids by the Mauri. A chapel constructed in the necropolis south of the fortress during the exarchate of GREGORY (641–47) by John the Armenian, *doux* of Tigisis, is the last monument built at Thamugadi. Nothing else is known of the city's history under Byz. rule.

LIT. Lepelley, *Cités* 2:444–76. Pringle, *Defence* 232–36. J. Lassus, *La forteresse byzantine de Thamugadi*, vol. 1 (Paris 1981). P.-A. Février, "Approches récentes de l'Afrique byzantine," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 35 (1983) 23–34. J. Durliat, *Les dédicaces d'ouvrages de défense dans l'Afrique byzantine* (Rome 1981) 47–53. –R.B.H.

THANTIA. See UMM EL-JIMAL.

THASOS (Θάσος), island in the northern Aegean Sea near CHRISTOUPOLIS. In late antiquity Thasos was assigned either to Macedonia I (Hierokl. 640.9) or Thrace (*De them.* 1.57, ed. Pertusi 86). In the 13th C. Thasos was a Byz. naval base against the Latins and was administered by a *doux*. Held briefly by the Genoese Tedisio, the nephew of Benedetto ZACCARIA, 1307–13, it was Byz. from 1313 to ca.1434, when it fell again to the descendants of Francesco GATTILUSIO; it was handed over to the Turks in 1455. Part of the island was given by Mehmed II to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea, in 1460. The bishop of Thasos was raised to archiepiscopal status by Manuel II (*Notitiae CP* 18.157).

Several churches of the 4th–6th C. have been found, both in the ancient city center (e.g., C. Delvoye, *BCH* 75 [1951] 154–64) and elsewhere (A.K. Orlandos, *ABME* 7 [1951] 1–72; P. Lemerle, *Byzantion* 23 [1953–54] 531–43); there is a double basilica at Aliki, one dating from the early, the other from the late 5th C. Quarries at Aliki yielded a blue-veined marble, easily confused with that from PROKONNESOS, which was used as revetment (Sodini et al., *Aliki I* 81–137). Marble production on a large scale probably continued until the Slavic invasions. Inscriptions testify to the building activity of the Genoese lords of the island (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II*).

LIT. J.P. Sodini, *Thasos du IVe au VIIe siècle* (Paris 1975). Ch. Bakirtzes, "Ti synebe stis arches tou 7ou aiona ste Thaso?" *Trito symposio Byzantines archaiologias* (Athens 1983) 57f. Miller, *Essays* 288, 330f. –T.E.G., A.C.

THEATER (*θέατρον*). The performance of plays on stage, which had been the leading form of public ENTERTAINMENT in antiquity, died out in the Byz. era. Theater was perceived as an embodiment of immorality, and even the pagan historian Zosimos presented Stilicho's infatuation with ACTORS and consequent distraction from affairs of state as a crucial factor enabling the successful invasions of the Goths. By the end of the 7th C. the church completely banned theater, theatrical buildings were abandoned, and the word *theatron* came to denote spectacles in the HIPPODROME or a literary circle in which rhetorical works were read aloud. The late Roman church tried to employ the theater as a means of spreading Christianity (A. Vogt, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 623–40), but these attempts failed.

Vestiges of theatrical performances survived, however. Imperial ceremonial preserved certain traits of theatricality, and popular festivals required the participation of MIMES, jesters, musicians, dancers, etc. Theatrical shows served not only as pure entertainment, but also could be used for political propaganda: thus, in the days of Theophilos, a comic skit presented by actors in the Hippodrome helped to topple the *praipositos* Nikephoros (Janin, *CP byz.* 366). In literature, DIALOGUE contributed to the dramatization of the narrative (e.g., in hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE), and some plays for reading (e.g., CHRISTOS PASCHON) were produced. LITURGY had numerous dramatic features, and the excessive theatricality of the church service was frequently criticized by strict moralists. In the 14th and 15th C. there was apparently a revival of liturgical drama, including productions of the story of the Three Hebrews in the Furnace.

Theatrical terminology was used by rhetoricians: Psellos described one of his speeches as an *agon* (contest) between him and the object of his *enkomion*, the emperor, who like the sun filled the *theatron* with his rays. This use of theatrical terminology continued throughout the Palaiologan period (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:70, 210f).

LIT. W. Puchner, "To Byzantino Theatro," *EKEE* 11 (1981–82) 169–274. Idem, "Zum 'Theater' in Byzanz: Eine Zwischenbilanz," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing and D. Simon (Munich 1990) 11–16. M. Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia," *DOP* 16 (1962) 351–55. A. Kazhdan, *La produzione intellettuale a Bisanzio* (Naples 1983) 129–38. –Ap.K., A.K.

THEBAID (Θηβαΐς), administratively, the southern Egyptian province of Upper and Lower Thebaid, with its capital at ANTINOOPOLIS; in an extended sense, used to designate the heartland of Egyptian monasticism in that area, centered on the Pachomian settlement of PBOW and the site of Shenoute's White Monastery at SOHAG. The area of Thebes proper (LUXOR) contained several

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Christian settlements, including the town of Jeme that survived into the 8th C., and the monastery of St. Phoebammon, documented by numerous papyri. The Thebaid was the center of the standard literary dialect of classical Coptic known as Sahidic. Its dry climate preserved the Gnostic books known as the NAG HAMMADI (Chenoboskion) codices.

LIT. M. Krause, "Das christliche Theben: Neuere Arbeiten und Funde," *BSAC* 24 (1982) 21–33.
–L.S.B.MacC.

THEBES (Θῆβαι), name of several cities in the Mediterranean region.

THEBES IN EGYPT, the former capital of ancient Egypt that became in the late Roman period a center of monastic development (see THEBAID). The Byz. had but a vague perception of Thebes; Theophanes mentions it as a region where the *poleis* of Obousiris and Koptos were located (Theoph. 6.24). Tzetzes, however, often speaks of Egyptian Thebes. –T.E.G.

THEBES IN BOEOTIA. In the late Roman period Thebes was a stronghold that successfully resisted ALARIC. Its fortifications were restored by Justinian I (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.3.5). Excavations have revealed an Early Christian and Byz. cemetery, the date not being defined more precisely (A. Keramopoullos, *Archaiologikon Deltion tou Hypourgeiou ton Ekklesion kai tes Demosiou Ekpaideuseos* 10 [1926] 124–36). Thereafter the political history of Thebes is unknown until the 11th C., although the city is named in notitiae as an autocephalous archbishopric of Hellas by the late 8th–early 9th C. (*Notitiae CP* 2.79) and a metropolitan see from the 10th C. (8.63).

Skylitzes reports that the troops of Deljan reached Thebes in 1040 and there won a victory over the Byz.; a great number of Thebans perished when they tried to escape (Skyl. 411.54–57). In the 12th C. Thebes appears as an important center of the SILK industry. Roger II of Sicily sacked the city in 1147 and carried off many artisans, but the industry continued to flourish. Thebes supplied the court with silk garments and the Seljuks refused to accept any silk fabrics except those made at Thebes; Benjamin of Tudela counted 2,000 Theban Jews engaged in silk production; Tzetzes praised the skill of the local women silk weavers (Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 231). By the 12th C. Thebes became the residence of the *strategos* of Hellas. From the 12th C. the Venetians and Genoese had trading colonies in the city.

In 1204 Thebes was taken by Leo SGOUROS, but it soon came under Frankish domination. It was given first to BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT and then to Othon de la Roche, lord of Athens (1205–25); Thebes became the residence of powerful barons, most prominent of whom was Nicholas II de St. Omer, lord of half of Thebes (1258–94) and bailie of Achaia, married to Anna Angelina Komnene, daughter of Michael II of Epiros. Nicholas rebuilt the walls and constructed a castle after 1287. In 1311 Thebes fell to the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY that destroyed the castle of St. Omer in 1331. The Turks devastated the surrounding territory in 1339/40, and in 1378 it came under the control of the ACCIAJUOLI (G.T. Dennis, *OrChrP* 26 [1960] 42–60), who ruled the city until the Ottomans took it ca.1456.

Literary sources praise the wealth of the castle of St. Omer and mention an episcopal palace and many churches. Of these there survive only a rectangular tower that was probably the donjon of the castle and the Church of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, apparently constructed as a private chapel in 872/3 (G.A. Soteriou, *ArchEph* [1924] 1–26). S. Symeonoglou (*infra* 164) identified up to 20 churches in the city as Byz. in origin.

A bishop of Thebes is attested at the councils of Nicaea and Serdica in the 4th C. He was archbishop by the late 8th–early 9th C. (*Notitiae CP* 2.79) and metropolitan by the 10th C. (8.63).

(For Thebes in Phthiotis, see NEA ANCHIALOS.)

LIT. *TIB* 1:269–71. S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes* (Princeton 1985) 156–70. A. Kominis, *Episkopikoi katalogoi Thebon* (Athens 1968). –T.E.G.

THEBES, CADASTER OF, a unique document (probably of the second half of the 11th C.) consisting of fragments of an *isokodikon*, an official copy of a state CADASTER in the form of a KODIX. The fragments contain the description of 45 STICHOI, giving the names of individual taxpayers, the amount of the tax, and cases of tax alleviation: KLASMATA and SYMPATHEIAI. The taxpayers are predominantly middle-ranked notables characterized as *archontes*, *protospatharioi*, *spatharokandidatoi*, *komites*, *droungarioi*, *protokankellarioi*, and other titles. Only once is a taxpayer characterized as *ptochos* (p.18.66). Although the region described is the area of Boeotian Thebes, the taxpayers come not only from Thebes but also Athens, Euripos, and even Avlon.

Svoronos asserted that the Cadaster of Thebes depicted a traditional Byz. rural community no different from that presented in the *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger). Lemerle (*infra* 198) acknowledges that in the cadaster one can see "a reflection of social change," but he also insists on the continuity of the rural community composed of independent peasants, basing his argument in part on the omission of any reference to PROASTEION and PRONOIA.

ED. N. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes," *BCH* 83 (1959) 1–166.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 193–200. A. Kazhdan, "Kritičeskie zametki po povodu izdanij vizantijskich pamjatnikov," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 275–82. –A.K.

THEFT (κλοπή). Common in Byz., ordinary thieves were active at night along with prostitutes and murderers, according to a proverb cited by Stephen SACHLIKES (Koukoules, *Bios* 3:209); they also frequented public bathhouses, at any rate in the 4th–6th C. The FARMER'S LAW testifies to the existence of thieves in the countryside; both agricultural tools and flocks as well as horses and weapons were at risk. Hagiographical texts often relate cases of theft in monasteries. Special categories of theft were burglary at the scene of a fire, robbery of wrecked ships, SACRILEGE, and GRAVE-ROBBING as well as seizing and selling people into slavery. Robbers could act in an organized manner, as in the case of bandits and APELATAI or the attack of nobles upon their neighbors. To protect property from thieves the Byz. used LOCKS and DOGS, as well as magic signs; magical means (e.g., the magic eye drawn on a wall) were used to discover the thief as well. The state maintained night guards and night police; in 14th-C. Trebizond night heralds existed (H. Grégoire, *BZ* 18 [1909] 493f).

While Justinianic law considered theft primarily as a private delict and tried to satisfy the victim with the return of his property or its cash value (sometimes multiplied), the ECLOGA elaborated the idea of the thief's responsibility before the state; accordingly, the PENALTY was not only a fine, but also flogging and mutilation of limbs (Zachariä, *Geschichte* 339f). The church, at least from the 10th C., imposed on thieves severe fasts, compulsory almsgiving, and exclusion from communion for one or two years.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, R. Guilland, "Voleurs et prisons à Byzance," *REGr* 61 (1948) 119–27. Troianos, *Poinalios* 23–29, 107–16. –A.K.

THEKLA (Θέκλα), "the first martyr among the women and an apostle"; according to legend, born in Ikonion, died near Seleukeia, Cilicia, at age 90; major feastday 24 Sept. The legend of Thekla was known before the end of the 2nd C. Despite criticism (esp. by Tertullian) it became popular, representing a type of Christian romance. Its core is the story of an extremely beautiful woman who rejected her family and suitors, despised her body, and followed an apostle (Paul) in whom she saw the embodiment of Christianity. The *Acta Pauli et Theclae* describe her travels, chaste adventures, and miracles: she was placed in a burning pyre, but rain extinguished the flames; wild beasts in the arena did not harm her. She is the only nonbiblical figure included in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE.

An anonymous 5th-C. author wrote the Miracles of Thekla; the text has been wrongly attributed to BASIL OF SELEUKEIA, whereas the author was, in fact, hostile toward Basil (G. Dagron, *AB* 92 [1974] 5–11). The miracles worked by Thekla are categorized by Dagron (*infra* 102f) as those of healing, of illusion, of foresight, of reward, and of vengeance. She acted as the protector of her home town Hagia Thekla (MERIAMLIK), near Seleukeia, and accordingly the Miracles are an important source for reconstructing the life of a small provincial town. The author concentrates on the urban population, and no inhabitant of the countryside is described in any detail; in addition to the townsmen, only the ISAURIANS, whom the author treats as bandits, play any role. Among the townspeople he focuses primarily on physicians, rhetoricians, soldiers, and clergy rather than on artisans; typical urban entertainments are mentioned, such as *theai*, nocturnal spectacles.

Representation in Art. Images of Thekla among the beasts of the arena appear on AMPULLAE of the 6th–7th C. from Egypt (*Age of Spirit.*, no.516). Later portraits stress her connection with Paul in

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that she carries a book, the attribute of the apostles. MSS of the *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES are sometimes illustrated with a narrative scene: her encounter with the beasts, or her final disappearance into a cleft in the rock.

SOURCES. *Vie et Miracles de s. Thècle*, ed. G. Dagron (Brussels 1978).

LIT. *BHG* 1710–1722. C. Holzhey, *Die Thekla-Akten* (Munich 1905). A.J. Festugière, "Les énigmes de s. Thècle," *CRAI* (1968) 52–63. C. Nauerth, R. Warns, *Thekla. Ihre Bilder in der frühchristlichen Kunst* (Wiesbaden 1981). A. Ja.Kakovkin, "Koptskij tkanyj medal'on s isobraženiem mučeničestva sv. Fekly," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 139–42. R. Warns, "Weitere Darstellungen der heiligen Thekla," *Studien zur frühchristlichen Kunst*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1986) 75–137. Sacopoulo, *Asinou* 85–87. J. Leibbrand, *LCI* 8:432–36.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

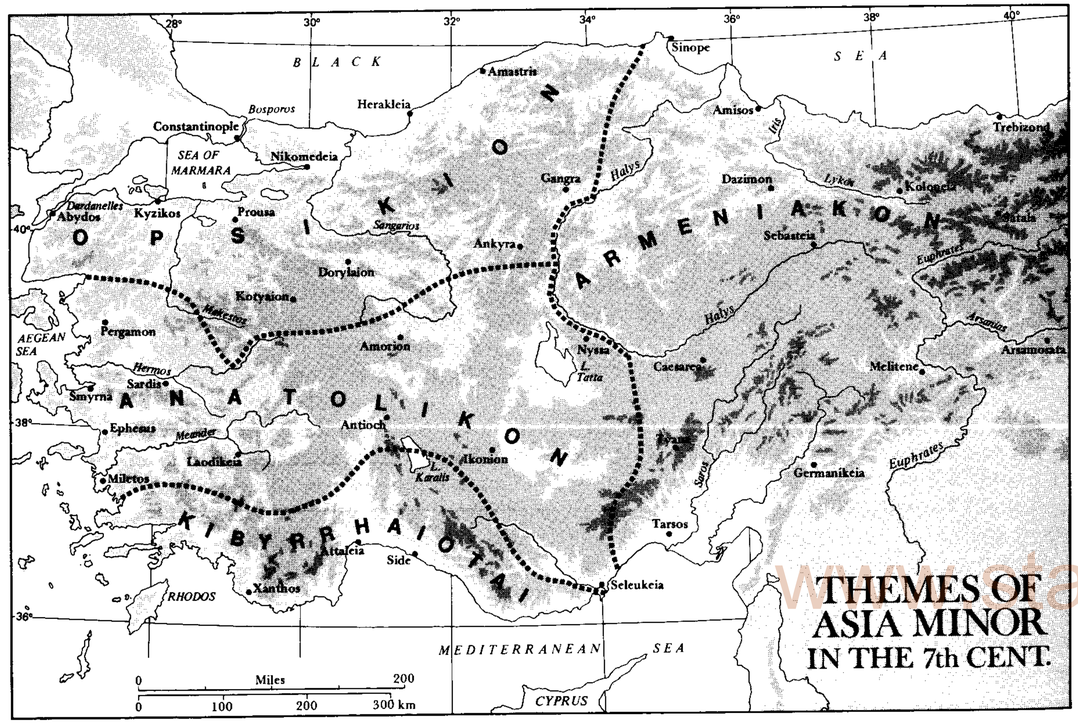
THEME (θέμα), term for a military division and for a territorial unit administered by a STRATEGOS who combined both military and civil power. The etymology and origin of the term is under discussion. J. Howard-Johnston (in *Maistor* 189–97) suggested an Altaic origin for the word—from *tümän*, "ten thousand men"; however, Constantine VII explicitly affirms that the word is Greek, originating from *thesis*. N. Oikonomides (*ZRVI* 16 [1975] 5f) believes it was equivalent to *katalogos*, the list of soldiers. The date of the appearance of the term *thema* is also a subject of controversy: G. Ostrogorsky (*Byzantion* 23 [1953/4] 55) asserted that the term existed in 622, when Theophanes describes the arrival of Herakleios in "the lands (*chorai*) of themes"; according to Pertusi (*infra* 39), the southern themes were created after 634, the northern ones after 679. The nature of this administrative change and its social character are also far from clear: Ostrogorsky argued that Herakleios created the theme when he introduced a new type of army, that of the farmer-soldiers who were granted STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA; they formed the backbone of Byz., until destroyed by the feudal development of the 11th C. Karayannopulos, on the other hand, insists that there was no single reform, but "an organic development" from the 6th C. onward, that had only administrative, not social, implications. Lilie accepts the idea of organic development but thinks that the crucial steps took place in the mid-8th C.

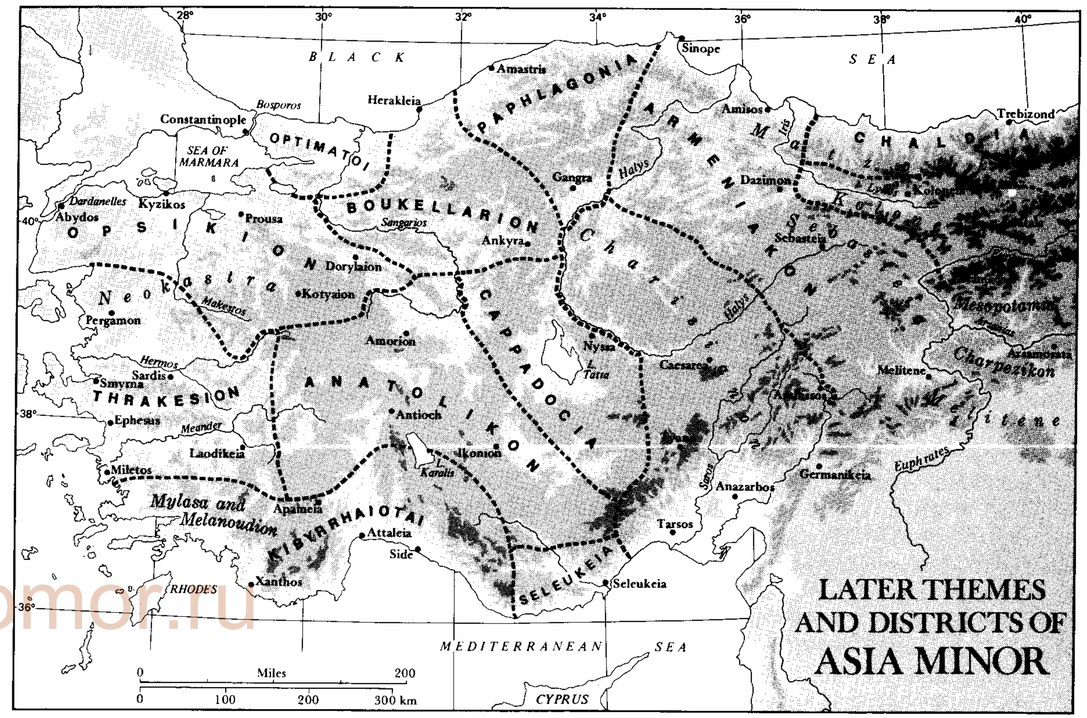
In any case, it appears that by the end of the 7th C. the major part of Byz. territory was organized in large units (unlike the Justinianic system of small provinces), with the military commander functioning simultaneously as civil administrator and judge; the example of the EXARCHATES definitely played a part in this process. The earliest themes were ARMENIAKON, OPSIKION, ANATOLIKON, and THRACE. W. Kaegi (*JÖB* 16 [1967] 39–53) argues that the theme system did not contribute to the strengthening of defense against the Arabs and Bulgarians: by the beginning of the 8th C., the themes were centers of revolts, and the *strategoi* of themes became pretenders to the throne. The task of the central government in the 8th-9th C. was to diminish the power of large themes; they were divided into smaller units. The revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV in the early 9th C. was the last major mutiny of themes. By the 11th C. the unity of thematic administration was dissolved, and civil governors (*kritai*, later *praitors*) slowly replaced military commanders. The collapse of the themes became reality by the last quarter of the 12th C. (J. Herrin, *DOP* 29 [1975] 253–84). The system of themes nevertheless existed in the empire of Nicaea (Angold, *Byz. Government* 243–49) and in Epiros (D. Angelov, *BS* 12 [1951] 56–74), and the term was used, esp. for territorial fiscal units, until the end of the empire (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.56.5–6 [a. 1418]; *Lavra* 3, no.165.9–10 [1420]).

LIT. A. Pertusi, *La formation des thèmes byzantins* (Munich 1958). J. Karayannopulos, *Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung* (Munich 1959). R.J. Lilie, "Die zweihundertjährige Reform," *BS* 45 (1984) 27–39, 190–201. J.V.A. Fine, "Basil II and the Decline of the Theme System," *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia Europensia*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1989) 44–47. F. Dölger, "Zur Ableitung des byzantinischen Verwaltungsterminus *thema*," *Historia* 4 (1955) 189–98.

–A.K.

THEMISTIOS (Θεμίστιος), one of the first pagan rhetoricians to make a successful career under Christian emperors; born Paphlagonia or Constantinople ca.317, died ca.388. Apart from wide





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travel on official and court business (including a visit to Rome in 357 for the *vicennalia* of Constantius II), he passed his life in Constantinople. His combination of eloquence, level-headed NEOPLATONISM, unfanatic paganism, and timeserving brought him to imperial attention and favor more comprehensively than LIBANIOS, with whom he enjoyed a sometimes stormy friendship; GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS was also a correspondent of his. Theodosios I crowned his career in 384 by appointing him prefect of the capital and entrusting to him the education of his son Arkadios. The notice of PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.74) attests to his Byz. popularity.

The vital theme of his 34 extant speeches, esp. those concerned with Constantius II, Valentinian I, Gratian, and Theodosios, is a Neoplatonically conceived perfect ruler, guided by divine and philosophic principles. His philosophic essays *On Virtue* (extant in Syriac) and *On the Soul* (adduced by STOBAIOS) are natural pendants to these. His Aristotelian paraphrases (H. Blumenthal, *Hermes* 107 [1979] 168–82), of which some survive only in Hebrew, are more industrious than original; those on Plato (lost, though known to Photios) might have been better.

ED. *Orationes quae supersunt*, ed. H. Schenkl, G. Downey, A.F. Norman, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1965–74). Aristotelian paraphrases—*CAG*, vol. 5, in 6 pts. (Berlin 1899–1903).

LIT. G. Dagron, "L'empire romain d'Orient au IVe siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme: le témoignage de Themistios," *TM* 3 (1968) 1–242. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 32–35. G. Downey, "Themistius' First Oration," *GRBS* 1 (1958) 49–69. L.H. Daly, "Themistius' Refusal of Magistracy," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 164–212. —B.B.

THEODAHAD (Θευδάτος), Ostrogothic king (from 2 Oct. 534); died Dec. 536 on the way from Rome to Ravenna. Theodoric's nephew, Theodahad was a rich landowner in Etruria, notorious for his greed. Inexperienced in warfare, he showed an interest in Platonic philosophy. He planned in 533/4 to hand over the whole of Etruria to the emperor, to whom he was loyal, in exchange for money, a senatorial title, and a mansion in Constantinople. His cousin AMALASUNTHA raised him to be *consors regni* after the death of her son Athalaric and Theodahad's recognition of her as regent. The conflict between Amalasuntha and Theodahad ended in the queen's exile and murder; together with Theodahad's support of the anti-Byz. Pope Silverius (536–37), these events served as the cause of Justinian's invasion. Theodahad had no clear idea of defense, sent envoys to Constantinople apologizing for his conduct, and even promised to cede his throne to Justinian. When Byz. armies invaded Dalmatia, Sicily, and Calabria and BELISARIOS occupied Naples, the Goths elected VITIGES as their king. Theodahad fled to Ravenna, but was murdered.

LIT. Wolfram, *Goths* 337–42. *PLRE* 2:1067f. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 93–95. E. Chrysos, "Die Amaler-Herrschaft in Italien und das Imperium Romanum," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 433–474. —W.E.K., A.K.

THEODORA (personal name). See THEODORE.

THEODORA (Θεοδώρα), empress; wife of Justinian I; born Constantinople or Paphlagonia ca.497, died Constantinople 28 June 548, perhaps of gangrene (J. Fitton, *Byzantion* 46 [1976] 119) or cancer (J. Körbler, *Janus* 61 [1974] 15–22). She was allegedly one of three daughters of Akakios, an animal keeper of the Green faction. Theodora spent some time as an actress in Alexandria and Antioch and reportedly bore a son before she met JUSTINIAN I ca.520. She married him in 525 and was proclaimed augusta 1 Apr. 527. Theodora had strong religious interests, favored Monophysitism, endowed monasteries, churches, orphanages, and hospitals, and took interest in the welfare and the rehabilitation of former prostitutes. She vigorously participated in the decision to resist NIKA rioters, stiffening the resolve of Justinian. She contrived the removal of JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA and Pope Silverius (536–37) and pressured Justinian to remove Pope VIGILIUS.

The best-known extant representation of Theodora is the wall mosaic in S. Vitale, RAVENNA; some authorities accept a marble bust in Milan as her portrait (*Age of Spirit.*, no.27). Prokopios of Caesarea scurrilously and inaccurately depicts her in his *Secret History*; his charges about her sinister influence cannot be verified. Her role as an adviser on political and religious policies is difficult to ascertain, but Rubin (*Zeit. Justinians* 1:113f) assumed that her role was significant. JOHN OF EPHESUS praised her for her Monophysite sympathies and for her sponsorship of JACOB BARADAEUS (PO 19:153f). She was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles.

THEODORA. The empress and her retinue; mosaic, 6th C. South wall of the apse of the Church of San Vitale, Ravenna.

LIT. Cameron, *Procopius* 67–83. R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London 1987) 38–41, 128–31. Stein, *Histoire* 2:235–39, 385–88, 623–25. H.G. Beck, *Kaiserin Theodora und Prokop* (Munich-Zurich 1986) 89–158. —W.E.K.

THEODORA, wife of Theophilos, empress (842–56), and saint; born Ebissa in Paphlagonia, died after 867. The daughter of a *droungarios* or *tourmarches* Marinos and Theoktiste Phlorina (*TheophCont* 89.15–19), she was of Armenian descent (P. Charanis, *BS* 22 [1961] 207f). Perhaps on 12 May 821 (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 10 [1901] 540–45), but more likely on 5 June 830 (W. Treadgold, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 325–41), Theodora was married to Theophilos after a BRIDE SHOW and crowned empress shortly thereafter. Together they had five daughters—Thekla, Anna, Anastasia, Pulcheria, Maria—and two sons, Constantine and Michael III. After the death of Theophilos in 842, she served as regent for Michael but the eunuch THEOKTISTOS effectively held power.

A devout ICONOPHILE, Theodora reportedly venerated icons despite the disapproval of Theophilos; she secured the release from prison of the painter LAZAROS. Yet she consented to the restoration of icons in Mar. 843 only after being assured that Theophilos would not be condemned: she vowed that he had repented on his deathbed. She approved the election of Patr. IGNATIOS and the persecution of the PAULICIANS. Her brother, Caesar BARDAS, reportedly convinced Michael to dethrone her by saying that she planned to marry Theoktistos or else marry him to one of her daughters (R. Guilland, *REB* 29 [1971] 49). She was formally deposed on 15 Mar. 856 but continued to live in the palace until 858, when she and

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her daughters were eventually sent to the monastery of Gastria, despite the refusal of Ignatios to tonsure them. Michael may have released her a few years later and allowed her to play a ceremonial role. She died sometime after the accession of Basil I and was buried in the Gastria monastery (P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 [1962] 57). Her vita was written soon after her death; it served as a source for GEORGE HAMARTOLOS. She is commemorated on 11 Feb. for her role in the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

SOURCE. A. Markopoulos, "Bios tes autokrateiras Theodoras (BHG 1731)," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 249–85.
LIT. D. Stiernon, *Bibl. sanct.* 12 (Rome 1969) 222–24. Bury, *ERE* 154–61. –P.A.H.

THEODORA, third daughter of CONSTANTINE VIII, co-empress (with her sister ZOE) 21 Apr.–12 June 1042, sole empress 1055–56; died Constantinople 31 Aug. 1056. Early in the reign of ROMANOS III, she was charged with complicity in conspiracies of Prousianos and Constantine DIOGENES; Zoe forced her into the Petrion convent in Constantinople. The Madrid Skylitzes MS represents this expulsion from the palace and confinement in the monastery (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 487, 498). On 19 Apr. 1042 the populace, guided by senators and Patr. ALEXIOS STOUDITES, rebelled against MICHAEL V and drew Theodora forth; she was crowned in Hagia Sophia shortly after midnight on 20 April. After Michael fled, she joined Zoe in the palace. At her insistence, Michael was blinded. Theodora then shared Zoe's rule and remained in the palace after the accession of CONSTANTINE IX. Her image together with those of Zoe and the emperor in the Chrysostom MS, Sinai gr. 364, enables one to date this book not later than three months after Constantine's coronation (12 June 1042). At his death she claimed the throne as the last member of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY. She ruled authoritatively. Her appointment of clerics, deemed a masculine privilege, aroused the enmity of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. Leo PARASPONDYLOS was her chief minister and Michael PSELLOS alleges he advised her. When the general BRYENNIOS brought his army to Chrysopolis, her supporters seized and exiled him. As Theodora lay dying, she consented to her officials' choice of MICHAEL VI. Psellos described her as placid and miserly, but given to chattering.

LIT. H. Mädler, *Theodora, Michael Stratiotikos, Isaak Komnenos. Ein Stück byzantinischer Kaisergeschichte* (Plauen im Vogtland 1894) 17–27, rev. P. Bezobrazov, *VizVrem* 2 (1895) 233f. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 50–52, 68–71. –C.M.B., A.C.

THEODORA OF ARTA, saint; born Thessaly, died Arta ca.1270?; feastday 11 March. Daughter of the *sebastokrator* John PETRALIPHAS, she married MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros ca.1230 and moved to Arta. According to her vita, Michael soon took a mistress and banished Theodora from Arta, even though she was pregnant with their first child, the future NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros. After enduring five years of exile and poverty without complaint, she was finally recalled by Michael, who repented of his adultery. After their reconciliation, the couple produced five more children.

Theodora is reputed to have influenced Epirot policy. She favored rapprochement first with the empire of Nicaea and later with the restored Palaiologan dynasty in Constantinople. Famed for her piety and virtue, she founded the nunnery of St. George (now the Church of St. Theodora) at ARTA and took the habit there after her husband's death. Her tomb (Grabar, *Sculptures II*, no.152) in the monastic church bears carved portraits of Theodora and Nikephoros; it was reputedly the site of many healing miracles. The monk JOB wrote her short vita (*BHG* 1736) in the late 13th C. (L.I. Vranouses, *Chronika tes mesaionikes kai tourkokratoumenes Epeirou* [Ioannina 1962] 49–54).

SOURCE. PG 127:903–08.
LIT. *PLP*, no.5664. Nicol, *Epiros I* 128–31, 149–60, 200–03. Polemis, *Doukai* 166. –A.M.T.

THEODORA OF THESSALONIKE, saint; born Aigina ca.812, died Thessalonike 29 Aug. 892. Theodora was the daughter of Antony, *protopresbyteros* of the local "Great Church." Beautiful and rich, she was betrothed at seven to one of the most noble men on the island. An Arab attack forced the family to flee ca.826 to Thessalonike. Theodora and her husband had three children, two of whom died; the third, Theopiste, was given to a nunnery. After being widowed at 25, Theodora took the monastic habit and divided her property between the poor and the convent of Stephen the Protomartyr, where she spent the rest of her life.

A certain cleric Gregory, who was evidently a young man at the time of the translation of Theodora's corpse into a marble coffin, wrote the vita and *Translatio*; he had never met Theodora, but he listened to the tales of eyewitnesses. Unlike the vitae of MARY THE YOUNGER and THOMAIS OF LESBOS, Theodora's story concentrates on the heroine's monastic virtues, which sometimes conflicted with parental love. Thus, although Theodora and Theopiste lived in the same convent, the *hegoumene* forbade them to converse. The hagiographer praises Thessalonike, "the brilliant megalopolis," and mentions its monuments and some of its inhabitants, including a painter who never saw Theodora alive but who "witn God's help" as the result of a dream produced an icon that strikingly resembled the saint (ed. Arsenij, 31f). The vita became the object of later reworking, including an *enkomion* by Nicholas KABASILAS (PG 150:753–72).

SOURCES. *Žitie i podvigi sv. Feodory Solunskoj*, ed. Arsenij (Juriev 1899). *Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich*, ed. E. Kurtz (St. Petersburg 1902).
LIT. *BHG* 1737–41. E. Patlagean, "Theodora de Thessalonique: Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (ixe–xxe siècle)," in *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, ed. S.B. Gajano, L. Sebastiani (Rome 1984) 39–67. –A.K.

THEODORE (Θεόδωρος, fem. Θεοδώρα), personal name (meaning "God's gift"). Common in antiquity, the name remained in broad use after the triumph of Christianity, albeit the perception of God (as part of the theophoric name) changed radically. This ambiguity allowed the name to be accepted by both pagans and Christians: thus, among 29 Theodores of the 4th C. (*PLRE* 1:896–902) we meet a pagan high priest of Asia in 362, a Neoplatonist philosopher, a pagan rhetorician from Arabia, and a friend of EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS. In the 5th C. (*PLRE* 2:1085–99) PROKLOS addressed one of his works to the engineer and Neoplatonist philosopher Theodore. At the same time many Theodores were theologians (e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia) and clergymen. Several Theodores were martyrs, THEODORE TERON and THEODORE STRATELATES being esp. popular saints; their popularity contributed to the expansion of the name.

Theodore occupies third place in Sozomenos (7), after EUSEBIOS and JOHN, and in Prokopios (11) is second only to John. It retains second place (34) in Theophanes the Confessor (after John), but drops to fifth in Skylitzes (26) and to fourth in Niketas Choniates (18). In the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Theodore holds seventh place (30), right behind NIKEPHOROS, and sixth position (145) in vols. 2–3 of *Lavra* (13th–15th C.), following MICHAEL (152). The name was frequently used as a play on words to emphasize the positive qualities of an emperor or saint.

The feminine version of the name, Theodora, also known in the 4th–5th C. in the pagan and the Christian milieus (*PLRE* 1:895f, 2:1084f), was used throughout the whole period of Byz. history as one of the most popular feminine names. It was borne by several Byz. empresses and holds fifth place in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3. –A.K.

THEODORE, brother of Herakleios, military commander, and *kouropalates;* died Yarmuk 20 Aug. 636, according to some Arabic sources, or, more probably, later. Theodore commanded the army that fought SHĀHĪN in Asia Minor, brought military aid to Constantinople at the end of the siege of 626, assisted Herakleios in campaigns against the Persians, and ejected recalcitrant Persians from Edessa after they refused to obey the peace agreement of ARABISSOS. Theodore may have been a commander at Mu'ta, and probably at Ajnādayn; he led the Byz. forces that reoccupied Ḥimṣ and Damascus as Muslims evacuated them during the abortive Byz. counteroffensive of 636. Some Muslim traditions attribute an aggressive and foolhardy attitude to Theodore. Monophysite traditions are hostile to him and blame him for Byz.'s military debacle. After Theodore fled Ajnādayn (or YARMUK), he went to Herakleios at Emesa or to Antioch; the emperor, enraged by Theodore's military failures, ordered him sent to Constantinople and imprisoned. Theodore's son Theodore participated in an unsuccessful palace plot against Herakleios in 637.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 2:135–37. M. Krivov, "Nekotorye voprosy arabskogo zavoevanija Sirii i Palestiny," *VizVrem* 46 (1986) 88–99. –W.E.K.

THEODORE I LASKARIS, founder of the empire of NICAEA and its emperor (1205–21); born ca.1174, died Nicaea Nov. 1221 (J. Darrouzès,

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REB 36 [1978] 276). He married Anna, daughter of ALEXIOS III ANGELOS (1199) and was soon afterward promoted to the rank of DESPOTES. After his father-in-law's overthrow in July 1203, he escaped with his wife to Asia Minor. There he began to lay the foundations of an empire in exile centered on Nicaea, organizing resistance to the Latins and bringing local rulers under his control. In summer 1205 (B. Sinogowitz, *BZ* 45 [1952] 345–56; Dieten, *Erläuterungen* 151f), an assembly at Nicaea proclaimed him emperor in the aftermath of the Latin defeat at the battle of ADRIANOPLE (1205). His elevation to the imperial office was confirmed by his coronation in March 1208 by the new patriarch MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS.

In 1211 Theodore had to meet a full-scale Seljuk invasion. He secured victory by killing the sultan in single combat, a success that so alarmed HENRY OF HAINAULT that he invaded the Nicaean territories in order to preempt a Nicaean strike against Constantinople. He won a great victory over Theodore on 15 Oct. 1211 on the banks of the RHYNDAKOS RIVER. Theodore was forced to cede northwestern Asia Minor to the Latins of Constantinople, but his annexation of Paphlagonia after the death of its ruler, DAVID KOMNENOS, in 1212 was some compensation. His marriage in 1219 to Marie, daughter of YOLANDE, was an attempt to break the deadlock with the Latins of Constantinople, but one that foundered on ecclesiastical opposition. He was buried in the monastery of Hyakinthos at Nicaea.

LIT. A. Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea* (London 1912) 52–115. P. Žavoronkov, "Nikejsko-latinskie i nikejsko-sel'džukskie otnošenija v 1211–1216 gg.," *VizVrem* 37 (1976) 48–61. –M.J.A.

THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Morea (1380/1–1407; cf. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 230–34); born 1350s, died Mistra 24 June 1407, as monk Theodoretos. Fourth son of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS and Helena Kantakouzene, Theodore was named *despotes* of Thessalonike in 1376. He was not able to take up this post, however, because he was imprisoned for three years (1376–79) after his brother ANDRONIKOS IV seized control of Constantinople. In 1382 Theodore went to Mistra as first Palaiologan *despotes* of the MOREA. In 1384 he married Bartholomaia, daughter of Nerio I ACCIAJUOLI.

During his rule over the Morea he encouraged the settlement of ALBANIANS, whom he used as soldiers to maintain control over the local *archontes*. He initiated an aggressive foreign policy, seeking to expand Palaiologan territory in the Morea, and was moderately successful, purchasing CORINTH from Carlo I Tocco in 1395/6 (J. Chrysostomides, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 81–110), and defeating the NAVARRESE COMPANY in 1395. Discouraged, however, by the Ottoman attacks on the Morea of 1395 and 1397, Theodore sold Corinth (1397) and then the despotate itself (1400) to the HOSPITALLERS and temporarily withdrew from Mistra to Monemvasia. The Byz. recovered this territory in 1404.

Theodore was very close to his brother MANUEL II, who ca.1409 composed a funeral oration in his honor. Although this speech is a eulogy of Theodore that defends his policies in the Morea and omits some of his less worthy actions, it is a source of great importance for the history of the despotate of the Morea.

SOURCE. *Manuel II Palaeologus. Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore,* ed. J. Chrysostomides (Thessalonike 1985), with Eng. tr.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:117–69, 339–53. Papadopulos, *Genealogie,* no.85. *PLP,* no.21460. –A.M.T.

THEODORE II LASKARIS, emperor of Nicaea (from 3 Nov. 1254); born Nov. 1221, died Nymphaion 16 Aug. 1258 (*Kleinchroniken* 1:75, no.3). The only son of JOHN III VATATZES, Theodore was brought up to be a "philosopher-king," tutored by the most learned and exacting teachers, including Nikephoros BLEMMYDES and George AKROPOLITES. Some notes in his own hand in a MS of Aristotle's *Physics* proclaim that he had read the whole volume from beginning to end (G. Prato, *JÖB* 30 [1981] 249–58). He left a corpus of philosophical, scientific, and theological works and a series of rhetorical pieces, including an *enkomion* for the city of NICAEA and a funeral oration for FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN (C. Astruc, *TM* 1 [1965] 393–404; H. Hunger, *JÖB* 8 [1959] 127–37). His letters reveal a man of great charm, who could also be spiteful and cruel. Toward the end of his reign his health deteriorated and he became increasingly neurotic.

Before his health gave way, he proved himself a ruler of great energy. In the winter of 1254–55 he led a brilliant campaign, throwing back the Bulgarians who were threatening the Nicaean territories in Europe. The marriage in 1256 of his daughter Maria to NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, the heir to Epiros, appeared to consolidate his hold over his European territories. At home, however, his position was weakened by the opposition of great court families, who objected to his reliance on ministers of humble origin, such as George MOUZALON. He dealt with his adversaries ruthlessly, depriving some of their rank and some of their eyes. Others, including MICHAEL (VIII) PALAIOLOGOS, he forced into exile. Theodore left George Mouzalon, as regent for his young son JOHN IV LASKARIS, to face the mounting resentment of the aristocracy.

ED. *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistolae CCXVII,* ed. N. Festa (Florence 1898). L. Tartaglia, "L'opusculo *De subiectorum in principem officiis* di Teodoro II Lascaris," *Diptycha* 2 (1980–81) 187–222 (with It. tr.). For other works see *Tusculum Lexikon,* 772f.

LIT. A.M. de Guadan, "La 'democracia' in la epoca de Teodoro II Lascaris (1254–1258)," *Publications de l'Institut d'études orientales de la bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie* 11 (Alexandria 1962) 29–50. J. Papadopoulos, *Théodore II Lascaris, empereur de Nicée* (Paris 1908). M. Andreeva, "Názory Theodora II. Laskarise na ideálniho panovníka," *Sbornik Jaroslavu Bidlovi* (Prague 1928) 71–76. –M.J.A.

THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of the Morea (1407–43); born ca.1395, died Selymbria 26 June (?) 1448 (E. Trapp, *Byzantina* 13 [1985] 959–64). Second son of Manuel II, Theodore spent part of his childhood at the court of his uncle, THEODORE I, at MISTRA. He was about 12 when he succeeded his uncle as *despotes* in 1407. During Theodore's minority, Manuel took a special interest in the MOREA, visiting the region twice, in 1408 and in 1415–16 when he supervised the construction of the HEXAMILION. In 1421 Theodore married an Italian princess, Cleopa Malatesta (died 1433; cf. G. Hofmann, *OstkSt* 4 [1955] 129–37). Theodore pursued an expansionist policy in the Peloponnesos, esp. against Centurione ZACCARIA, prince of Achaia, and Carlo Tocco, count of Kephalenia, but the Byz. were weakened by the invasion of the Turkish general, Turahan Bey, in 1423. After 1428, when Theodore's younger brothers CONSTANTINE (XI) and THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS associated themselves with his rule, the Byz. enjoyed even greater military success, adding Patras to their territory in 1430. The final years of Theodore's despotate were marred, however, by disputes with Constantine over the succession to the childless JOHN VIII. As the result of a compromise in 1443, Theodore exchanged his despotate at Mistra for Constantine's newly acquired appanage of SELYMBRIA. He died of the plague five years later.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:119–21, 165–225, 299–302, 352–54. Papadopulos, *Genealogie,* no.91. *PLP,* no.21459. –A.M.T.

THEODORE ABU-QURRA (Ἀβουκαρᾶ), theologian; born in Edessa between ca.740 and 750, died between 820 and 825. Theodore was a monk in the Lavra of St. SABAS, later for a time bishop of Harran, and then itinerant controversialist. He wrote in Syriac, Arabic, and perhaps Greek, although his works preserved in Greek may be translations (S. Griffith, *JEH* 36 [1985] 23–45). In some cases there are parallel Greek and Arabic versions of sayings attributed to him (S. Griffith, *Le Muséon* 92 [1979] 33f). Influenced by LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM and JOHN OF DAMASCUS (the suggestion that Theodore was John's disciple is questionable), Theodore dedicated himself to the defense of Orthodoxy. A passionate polemicist, he argued against Judaism, Islam, and Christian heresies. It is not excluded that he participated in a dispute (Baghdad 824) with several brilliant Muslim scholars at the caliph's court. Theodore developed John's views in support of icon veneration; he also defended the importance of the church councils (H.J. Sieben, *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 [1974] 489–509). His philosophical concepts are very close to those of Leontios and John (E. Hammerschmidt, *OstkSt* 4 [1955] 153f), and it is plausible that the treatise *On the Heresies,* ascribed in some MSS to Leontios, belonged in fact to Theodore (M. Waegeman, *AntCl* 45 [1976] 190–96), whereas J. Speigl (*AnnHistCon* 2 [1970] 207–30) attributes it to another Theodore, of the late 6th C.

ED. PG 97:1462–1610. *Theodori Abu Kurra de cultu imaginum libellus e codice arabico,* ed. J.P. Arendzen (Bonn 1897). I. Dick, *Théodore Abuqurra, Traité de l'existence du createur et de la vraie religion* (Jounieh-Rome 1982). Idem, *Théodore Abuqurra, Traité du culte des icônes* (Jounieh-Rome 1986).

LIT. G. Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abû Qurra* (Paderborn 1910). I. Dick, "Un continuateur arabe de Jean Damascène: Théodore Abuqurra, évêque melkite de Harran, la personne et son milieu," *PrOC* 12 (1962) 209–23, 319–32; 13 (1963) 114–29. J. Nasrallah, "Dialogue islamo-chrétien à propos de publications récentes," *REI* 46 (1978) 129–32. –S.H.G., A.K.

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THEODORE GRAPTOS (Γραπτός, lit. "marked with writing"), saint; born in Moabite mountains, Palestine ca.775, died in Apameia, Bithynia, between 841 and 844; feastday 27 or 28 Dec. He and his brother THEOPHANES GRAPTOS, pupils of MICHAEL SYNKELLOS in the Lavra of St. SABAS, followed Michael to Constantinople in 813. There they defended icon veneration and were exiled by Leo V and again by Theophilos; in 836 the latter ordered a certain Christodoulos to tattoo 12 iambic lines on their foreheads (hence their soubriquet Graptoi). Theodore describes their ordeal in a letter to John, bishop of Kyzikos; SYMEON METAPHRASTES includes this letter in his vita of the two brothers. Their biography is known primarily from the vita of Michael Synkellos. Circa 886 Theophanes of Caesarea wrote an *enkomion* of Theodore, suppressing most details and omitting Michael's role in the struggle against the Iconoclasts. This *enkomion* served as the major source for Metaphrastes, who possessed, however, some additional information. Before 1300 Theodora RAOULAINA wrote a vita of both brothers.

Representation in Art. The crucial event that gave the saint his epithet is illustrated only in the 11th-C. marginal psalters (e.g., THEODORE PSALTER, fol.120v): Theodore lies prone while the Iconoclast Christodoulos inscribes the verses onto his forehead. Elsewhere the saint is portrayed as an ordinary monk.

SOURCES. J.-M. Featherstone, "The Praise of Theodore Graptos by Theophanes of Caesarea," *AB* 98 (1980) 93–150. PG 116:653–84. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:185–223, 5:397–99.

LIT. *BHG* 1745z–1746a, 1793. S. Vailhé, "Saint Michel le Syncelle et les deux frères Grapti, saint Théodore et saint Théophane," *ROC* 6 (1901) 313–32, 610–42.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS (of the ANGELOS family), ruler of Epiros (ca.1215–30), emperor at Thessalonike (from 1224/5—A. Karpozilos, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 253–61—or between Apr. and Aug. 1227—E. Bee-Sepherle, *BNJbb* 21 [1971–74] 272–79); born ca.1180–85, died Nicaea soon after 1253. A son of the *sebastokrator* John DOUKAS, he took service with THEODORE I LASKARIS, but ca.1210 went to EPIROS to join his half-brother MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, whom he succeeded ca.1215. Having assured the alliance of the Albanians and Serbians, Theodore attacked Bulgaria. In 1217 he defeated and captured PETER OF COURTENAY; then, after occupying one by one Neopatras, Lamia, Platamon, and Prosek, he seized Thessalonike in autumn 1224 (B. Sinogowitz, *BZ* 45 [1952] 28) and was subsequently crowned as *basileus*.

Theodore's conquest of Adrianople in 1225 suggested that the recovery of Constantinople was within his grasp, but this hope was dashed by his defeat and capture by the Bulgarian tsar, JOHN ASEN II, in 1230 at the battle of KLOKOTNICA. The tsar released him from captivity ca.1237 when he married Irene, the daughter of Theodore and his wife Maria Petraliphaina. Theodore was able to recover Thessalonike, but preferred to rule through his sons John and DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS, while he resided at VODENA. His aim was to hold together the various princes of the house of Doukas in the face of the Nicaean advance. In 1252 John III Vatatzes had him seized; he died soon afterward in captivity.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 47–112. Polemis, *Doukai* 89f, no.42. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:548–637, no.168. G. Prinzing, "Studien zur Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung im Machtbereich der epirotischen Herrscher Michael I. und Theodoros Dukas," *EpChron* 24 (1982) 73–120; 25 (1983) 37–112.

–M.J.A.

THEODORE LECTOR, or Anagnostes, ecclesiastical historian; died after 527. Theodore lived at Constantinople, where he produced a *Tripartite History* comprising extracts from SOKRATES, SOZOMENOS, and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS for the period 305–439, and also an *Ecclesiastical History* continuing until 527. Only fragments survive from both. He once cites John Diakrinomenos for an anecdote concerning Emp. ANASTASIOS I. The SOUDA mentions his interest in the biblical commentaries of DIODOROS OF TARSOS. Theodore's own work, or excerpts therefrom, were a major source for THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR.

ED. *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G.C. Hansen (Berlin 1971).

LIT. J. Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur* (Leipzig 1908).

–B.B.

THEODORE OF ALANIA, bishop of Alania, certainly by 1226 when he signed a synodal decree (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:114) and probably from 1223; fl. first half of the 13th C. Theodore wrote a *logos* for Patr. GERMANOS II on his enthronization at Nicaea (Jan. 1223), and the *Alanikos*, an account of Theodore's journey to his see, Alania, in the northern Caucasus, after his consecration as bishop. This work, in the form of a letter to the *endemousa synodos* in Nicaea, describes the state of Christianity among the Alans and the behavior of the local ecclesiastical authorities. It refers to a "Scythian" attack on the Bosporos, which has been identified with the Tatar attack in the winter of 1223 (M. Nystazopoulou, *EEBS* 33 [1964] 270–78). Theodore's *Ethika* and *Matthaios*, as well as his *logos* on the tomb of Christ, remain unpublished.

ED. *Alanikos*—PG 140:387–414. Russ. tr. Ju. Kulakovskij, *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* 21.2 (1898) 11–27. *Logos*—A. Karpozilos, "An Unpublished Encomium by Theodore Bishop of Alania," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 227–49.

–R.J.M.

THEODORE OF DEKAPOLIS (Dekapolites), mid-10th-C. high official, *patrikios* and quaestor under CONSTANTINE VII, *magistros* under ROMANOS II. He was the author of several novels concerning agrarian relations. The Novel of 947, following the legislative principles of ROMANOS I, required that the DYNATOI return to the poor the allotments sold by their owners under duress; unlike Romanos I, however, Theodore presumed that the peasants, except the poorest, should return the price of the land. Small *archontes* and small monasteries were to be recompensed for the improvements made on the land during their term of possession. In another, undated novel Theodore stated that the allotments of the *stratiotai* should not have been sold; this novel is probably the first legislation concerning soldiers' holdings. In his decision (*lysis*) of 960/1, Theodore regulated the procedure for the restitution of peasants' and soldiers' properties illegally acquired by the *dynatoi*.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 1:222–26, 227–29, 240–42.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 98–100, 116–26.

–A.K.

THEODORE OF EDESSA, saint; hero of a hagiographical romance preserved in Greek MSS (the oldest Moscow, Hist. Mus. 15/381, dated 1023) and in Arabic and Slavonic translations; feastday 19 July. His identification with the homonymous author of *heirmoi* in Florence Laur. B 32 (13th C.), proposed by S. Eustratiades (*Nea Sion* 34 [1939] 43–45), is based only on the similarity of names. According to his vita, Theodore was born in Edessa to a noble couple after his mother had a miraculous vision; he became a monk and then *hegoumenos* of the Lavra of St. SABAS. He was appointed to the see of Edessa—in 836 according to A. Vasiliev (*Byzantion* 16 [1942–43] 176f), who defends the historicity of the vita. Theodore supposedly died at St. Sabas. In the vita's title, its author calls himself Basil, bishop of Emesa, and claims to be Theodore's nephew, an eyewitness to and participant in the events described. The core of the vita is the story of Mauias, the *basileus* in "Babylon" (Baghdad), who converted to Christianity and was murdered by the Muslims; Vasiliev identified him first with Abbas, nephew of al-Muʿtaṣim (833–42), who allegedly "embraced Christianity" (according to Armenian sources), then with al-Mu'aiyad, who was murdered by his brother Caliph al-Muʿtazz (866–69); no evidence of al-Mu'aiyad's Christian sympathies exists, however. Most probably the vita was an apologetic work produced in the 10th C. (Michael III is mentioned) within the milieu connected with the St. Sabas monastery, or, less probably, in Constantinople. P. Peeters (*AB* 48 [1930] 64–98) hypothesized that Theodore's legend reflected some traits of the biography of THEODORE ABU-QURRA, but this is only conjecture.

ED. *Žitie iže vo svjatych otca našego Feodora archiepiskopa Edesskogo*, ed. I. Pomjalovskij (St. Petersburg 1892), corr. P. Nikitin, *ZapANIst-fil* 1 (1895), no.1, 63–67, rev. A. Vasiliev, *ŽMNP* 286 (1893) 201–10.

LIT. *BHG* 1744. J. Gouillard, "Supercheries et méprises littéraires: L'oeuvre de saint Théodore d'Edesse," *REB* 5 (1947) 137–57. A. Abel, "La portée apologétique de la 'Vie' de St. Théodore d'Edesse," *BS* 10 (1949) 229–40. S.H. Griffith, "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 131f.

–A.K.

THEODORE OF KYZIKOS, epistolographer and bishop of Kyzikos (mid-10th C.). Two collections of his letters have been published: one by S. Lampros from Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 342 (some texts in this collection are probably not by Theodore) and another by J. Darrouzès from Patmos 706. Theodore was a confidant of Constantine VII (his correspondence with the emperor is preserved) and adversary of Patr. POLYEUKTOS. The correspondence includes an allusion to an invasion of the Scythians (i.e., the expedition of IGOR of Kiev in 941), some data on the administrative system (e.g., the mention of a KOMES HYDATON),

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and a short *ekphrasis* of the warm springs of Pythia (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:171).

ED. S. Lampros, "Epistolai ek tou Biennaiou kodikos phil. gr. 342," *NE* 19 (1925) 269–96; 20 (1926) 31–46, 139–57. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 317–41. –A.K.

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, theologian; bishop of MOPSUESTIA (from 392); born Antioch ca.350, died Mopsuestia ca.428. In Antioch Theodore was a fellow pupil of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, first under LIBANIOS, then DIODOROS OF TARSOS. A brief worldly lapse led to thoughts of marriage and a legal career, but two letters from Chrysostom recalled him to the monastic life. He was ordained priest ca.383; after becoming bishop, he remained in his Cilician see until his death.

Theodore's writings and reputation enjoyed very mixed fortunes in Byz. He was accused of Nestorianism and Pelagianism, and his opinions on Christology and sin were proscribed at Ephesus (431). His writings were among those condemned by the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 in the Affair of the THREE CHAPTERS. PHOTIOS, however, commended his refutation of EUNOMIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.4). His works survive mainly in Syriac versions. The biblical commentaries are historical and philological in approach, with minimal allegorization. His most important theological work was *On the Incarnation*, aimed primarily at the Apollinarians whose *logos-sarx* dichotomy he countered with the definition of Christ as a union of two natures. His terminologies are not always precise, but they helped point the way to the formulations of the Council of CHALCEDON in 451.

ED. PG 66:9–1020. *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I–LXXX)*, ed. R. Devreesse (Vatican 1939). *Commentarius in XII prophetas*, ed. H.N. Sprenger (Wiesbaden 1977). Lat. tr. *In epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*, ed. H.B. Swete, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1880–82). Syriac texts—*Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis Apostoli*, ed. J.M. Vosté, 2 vols. (Paris 1940). *Fragments syriaques du Commentaire des Psaumes*, ed. L. van Rompay, 2 vols. (Louvain 1982), with Fr. tr. For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 2, nos. 3827–73.

LIT. R.A. Norris, *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Oxford 1963). R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* (Vatican 1948). J.M. Dewart, *The Theology of Grace of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Washington, D.C., 1971). R.K. Bultmann, *Die Exegese des Theodor von Mopsuestia* (Stuttgart 1984). M. Simonetti, "Note sull'esegesi veterotestamentaria di Teodoro di Mopsuestia," *VetChr* 14 (1977) 69–102. –B.B.

THEODORE OF RAITHOU, theologian; monk at the monastery of RAITHOU; fl. first half of the 7th C. W. Elert (*Theologische Literaturzeitung* 76 [1951] cols. 67–76) identified him with Theodore, bishop of Pharan (died before 625). The major work of Theodore of Raithou is a *Preparation* (*Proparaskeue*) consisting of two parts: a refutation of Christological heresies from MANI to SEVEROS of Antioch, and a "dialectical" presentation of Christian creed. The main purpose of the book was to reconcile the Chalcedonian formulas with the statements of CYRIL of Alexandria, which had been interpreted by the Monophysites in their own vein. M. Richard (*Opera minora*, vol. 2, no.55) attributed the treatise *On Sects* to Theodore; recently the work was discovered also in a Georgian version and attributed by L. Datiašvili to THEODORE ABU-QURRA, but M. van Esbroeck (*BK* 42 [1984] 35–52) suggests that the tract is by LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM as in the MS tradition.

ED. *Preparation*—ed. Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 173–222.

LIT. A. Nikas, *Theodoros tes Raithou* (Athens 1981). Beck, *Kirche* 382f. –B.B., A.K.

THEODORE OF SMYRNA, high-ranking official and scholar; born mid-11th C., died after 1112. He was *magistros* and judge in 1082 and later held the post of quaestor with the titles of *protoproedros* and *protokouropalates* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 1118–19). After the deposition of JOHN ITALOS, Theodore was appointed HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON. In 1112 he engaged in discussions in Constantinople with the Latin theologian Peter GROSSOLANO. His writings, mostly unpublished, include a commentary on Aristotle (W. Lackner, *ByzF* 4 [1972] 168), a theological tract on the AZYMES, a funeral speech on a son of the *protostrator* Michael Doukas (now lost), and a couple of hagiographical works. The author of the *Timarion* made Theodore the guide of his hero through the underworld and praised (ironically?) his learning and fairness.

LIT. P. Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes (Fin 1094): Étude prosopographique," *REB* 29 (1971) 255f. V. Laurent, "Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines," *EO* 31 (1932) 331–35. –A.K.

THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, theologian, monastic reformer, and saint; born 759, died on Princes' Islands or near Cape Akritas 11 Nov. 826. Born to a family of civil functionaries and iconodules, in 780 he entered the family monastery of Sakkoudion, in Bithynia, administered by his uncle PLATO OF SAKKOUDION; in 794 Theodore became its *hegoumenos*. During the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY he opposed CONSTANTINE VI and was exiled in 795/6 to Thessalonike. After Constantine's defeat, Theodore returned to Sakkoudion and ca.798 went to Constantinople; J. Leroy has questioned the traditional view that an Arab raid forced him to move (*OrChrAn* 153 [1958] 201f). In Constantinople Theodore restored the STOUDIOS monastery and organized there a strong cenobitic community. Theodore objected to the efforts of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I to find a compromise between the court of Emp. Nikephoros I and the militant monks; in 809 Theodore and his brother Joseph of Thessalonike were banished to Princes' Islands. Michael I decided the dispute in Theodore's favor, but the new outbreak of ICONOCLASM set Theodore again in opposition to the court. After having refused to participate in the local council of 815 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), he was exiled again, to Metopa in Bithynia, then to a much more remote fortress (Bonita) and finally to Smyrna. Michael recalled him in 821.

The essence of Theodore's activity was the creation of an independent monastic organization able to resist imperial coercion: the rules of BASIL THE GREAT served him as a model. In his struggle Theodore did not neglect the possibility of papal support (J. Gill, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 115–23). Both his *Catecheses*, the Great and the Little, emphasize the role of monastic discipline and the necessity for the monk to participate in communal work, both manual and intellectual. Theodore highly valued family ties and paid serious attention to the role of women (J. Gouillard, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 445–52). His letters, primarily dispatched from exile, treat the moral duties of monks and admonish his correspondents to resist and to endure their ordeal; his own example in the face of adversity should encourage his followers. Theodore's epigrams are also dedicated to the moral courage of the monk, and the terminology of martyrdom is typical of them. At the same time Theodore is fond of the theme of everyday monastic life and praises the hard labor of the monastic cook or the serenity of evening prayer. A steadfast fighter, Theodore wrote a refutation of Iconoclastic concepts and developed John of Damascus's theory of the image (see ICONS). He also produced liturgical hymns, as well as homilies and panegyrics: of his mother, of his uncle Plato, of the chronographer THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (C. van de Vorst, *AB* 31 [1912] 19–23), of St. Arsenios (T. Nissen, *BNJbb* 1 [1920] 246–62). ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS translated Theodore's *enkomion* of the apostle Bartholomew.

Theodore's memory was celebrated by Naukratios, his successor at Stoudios (PG 99:1825–49); in an anonymous description of the translation of Theodore's relics to Constantinople on 26 Jan. 844 (C. van de Vorst, *AB* 32 [1913] 27–62); and in several vitae. Avoiding traditional hagiographical motifs (such as miracles), these vitae present Theodore first and foremost as a politician and administrator.

ED. PG 99. *Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände*, ed. P. Speck (Berlin 1968). *Parva Catechesis*, ed. E. Auvray (Paris 1891). Eng. tr. C.P. Roth, *On the Holy Icons* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1981). Germ. tr. J. Leroy, *Studitisches Mönchtum* (Graz-Cologne-Vienna 1969).

SOURCE. B. Latyschev, "Vita S. Theodori Studitae in codice Mosquensi musei Rumianzoviani no.520," *VizVrem* 21 (1914) 258–304.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 491–95. A. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen Studijskij*, 2 vols. (Odessa 1913). I. Hausherr, *Saint Théodore Studite* (Rome 1926). P. Henry, "Theodore of Stoudios: Byzantine Churchman" (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1968). E. Werner, "Die Krise im Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Byzanz: Theodor von Studion," *BBA* 5 (1957) 113–33. –A.K.

THEODORE OF SYKEON, saint; born in the village of Sykeon, Galatia, during the reign of Justinian I, died Sykeon 613; feastday 22 Apr. Theodore was the illegitimate son of the prostitute Maria and an imperial messenger, Kosmas, a Constantinopolitan who had performed in the Hippodrome as an acrobat on camels. After Theodore's birth, his mother abandoned her previous way of life. Upon finishing elementary school, Theodore became a hermit; he lived two years in a subterranean cave, then in an iron cage. He worked miracles, exorcised demons, and healed the sick (P. Horden, *SChH* 19 [1982] 1–13); he built the Church of the Archangel Michael, founded a monastery in Sykeon, and was elected bishop of Anastasioupolis, but he later resigned and returned to his monastery. He traveled far—to Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Sozopolis. Throughout his life Theodore remained under the special protection of St. George.

His disciple George, priest and *hegoumenos* of the Sykeon monastery, wrote Theodore's Life. It contains important data on rural life, topography (M. Waelkens, *Byzantion* 41 [1971] 349–73; 49 [1979] 447–64), and political history, esp. the

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rebellion of KOMENTIOLOS, brother of Emp. PHOKAS, against Herakleios (Kaegi, "New Evidence" 308–30). Theodore was also praised by JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *EkAl* 24 [1900] 388–95) and by Nikephoros, *skeuophylax* of the church in Blachernai, in the 9th C. (C. Kirch, *AB* 20 [1901] 252–72).

SOURCES. *Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, 2 vols. (Brussels 1970), corr. D. Baker, *SChH* 13 (1976) 83–96, and J.O. Rosenqvist, *Eranos* 78 (1980) 163–74; partial Eng. tr. Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 88–192.

LIT. *BHG* 1748–1749c. J.O. Rosenqvist, *Studien zur Syntax und Bemerkungen zum Text der Vita Theodori Syceotae* (Uppsala 1981). R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (New York 1985) 17–49. –A.K.

THEODORE PSALTER (London, B.L. Add. 19.352), one of the marginal PSALTERS. It was illustrated in Feb. 1066 by Theodore, a native of Cappadocian Caesarea and *protopresbyteros* of a monastery the name of which is erased in the colophon of the MS; he is otherwise unknown. Theodore says that he prepared his book at the orders of Michael, *synkellos* and *kathegoumenos* of his monastery; since Michael is identified beneath his picture in the book as *kathegoumenos* and *synkellos* of the STOUDIOS monastery in Constantinople, the Psalter is always taken to be a Stoudite production. The MS contains more than 400 miniatures, including a wealth of Gospel, liturgical, and hagiographical illustration allusively applied to the Old Testament text. Richer in this apparatus than previous Psalters of the type, Theodore's book allows the presumption of considerable iconographic inventiveness in the center where it was made. Stylistically, it is a landmark of the STYLE MIGNON.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du moyen âge, II. Londres Add. 19.352* (Paris 1970). –A.C.

THEODORE SCHOLASTIKOS, jurist of the second half of the 6th C., from Hermoupolis in the Thebaid of Egypt. He composed a short Greek paraphrase of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, of which numerous fragments have been preserved in the scholia to the BASILIKA and elsewhere. Almost completely preserved is his abridged version of a collection of about 168 Justinianic and post-Justinianic novels (see NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I) down to the year 575, in which there are references to parallel passages in the *Novels* and in the *Codex*.

THEODORE PSALTER. Miniature from the Theodore Psalter (London, B.M. add. 19.352, fol.255r). British Museum, London. St. Theodore of Stoudios (left) and Patr. Nikephoros I of Constantinople (right) refuting Emp. Leo V. At the far right, Iconoclast bishops whitewash an icon of Christ.

ED. Paraphrase of the *Codex*—ed. H.J. Scheltema, "Fragmenta breviarii Codicis a Theodoro Hermopolitano confecti," *Byzantina Neerlandica* 3 (1972) 9–35. H.R. Lug, "Ein Bruchstück des Codex-Kommentars des Theodoros," *FM* 1 (1976) 1–15. Paraphrase of the *Novels*—ed. K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Anekdota*, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1843; rp. Aalen 1969) 1–165.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:80–85, 88f. P. Pieler in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:436. –A.S.

THEODORE STRATELATES (στρατηλάτης, "general"), saint; feastday 7 Feb. Closely linked with St. THEODORE TERON (the recruit), Theodore Stratelates first appears in hagiographical literature in the 9th C. The author of his earliest extant biography, NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON, clearly distinguishes him from Theodore Teron and places his execution in the reign of Licinius (*AASS* Nov. 4:83–89). His developed biography, however, was modeled on that of Teron. Allegedly the *tachygraphos* Augaros, Theodore's contemporary, wrote his earliest vita, which is preserved in an 11th-C. MS; the story of his killing a dragon with the help of Eusebia, a woman from Euchaita (Van Hooff, *infra* 361.1–2), forms the core of the vita. In the 10th C. Euthymios Protasekretis composed a very conventional *enkomion* of Theodore that omits any factual information, even the name of Licinius (F. Halkin, *AB* 99 [1981] 223–37); Symeon Metaphrastes also devoted a *martyrion* to Theodore Stratelates (Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 168–82). Byz. hagiographers disagreed about the place of Theodore's interment: "Augaros" located it in Euchaita (Van Hooff 367.11–18), Metaphrastes in Euchaina (Delehaye 181.31, 182.7), and the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 738.33) in "Euchaina near Euchaita."

The cult of the Stratelates became popular by the end of the 10th C., probably owing to the increasing aristocratization and militarization of society: Theodore Teron, the ordinary recruit, did not satisfy the new social tendencies. Skylitzes relates that during the battle against the Rus' in 971 "one of the victorious martyrs named Theodore," that is, the Stratelates (Skyl. 308.15–19), came to help the Byz. army; as a commemoration of this event John I Tzimiskes built the large and beautiful shrine in which the saint's remains were deposited (309.29–33), and gave the new name of Theodoropolis to Euchaneia (a third similar name for the place of Theodore's burial). It is plausible to hypothesize that the cult of Theodore Teron continued in Euchaita, whereas Euchaneia became the center of veneration of the general. Euchaneia is attested as an archbishopric in the 10th C. and as a metropolis in the 11th c; at least one of its "shepherds" had the image of Theodore Stratelates on his seal (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.519). It is curious that he is not celebrated in the early MSS of the *Typikon of the Great Church* but is called *megalomartyros* in the *Menologion of Basil II*.

The cult of Theodore as a MILITARY SAINT, who is frequently represented as a mounted warrior, acquired particular significance from the 12th C. when Manuel I introduced Theodore's image on his coins (Hendy, *Coinage* 438). Both Theodores served as military helpers in a story of the conquest of the fortress at MELNIK in 1255 written by Theodore PEDIASIMOS (Dölger, *Paraspora* 299–305).

Representation in Art. In the earliest representations of Theodore, ivories and MSS of the 10th and 11th C. (e.g., MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.383), he is portrayed as an officer holding a lance, sword, and shield. His pointed, occasionally two-part, brown beard serves to distinguish him from Theodore Teron, with whom he is most often paired. His martyrdom in the form of a flagellation is depicted in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.39v). Sometimes he appears in court costume, and he is paired with St. GEORGE as a mounted warrior spearing a serpent.

SOURCES. G. Van Hooff, "Acta graeca S. Theodori ducis," *AB* 2 (1883) 359–67.

LIT. *BHG* 1750–1753m. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 26–43. N. Oikonomides, "Le dédoublement de S. Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia," *AB* 104 (1986) 327–35. G. Weigert, *LCI* 8:444–46. M.F. Murjanov, "Fragment kul'turnoj istorii drevnich Slavjan," *Sovetskoe Slavjanovodenie* (1984) pt.1, 57–67. L. Mavrodinova, "Sv. Teodor–razvitie i osobenosti na ikonografskija mu tip u srednovekovnata živopis," *Izvestija na instituta za izkustvoznanie* 13 (1969) 33–52. –A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODORE SVETOSLAV, Bulgarian monarch (1300–21/2), son of Georgij Terter I (1280–92). Held as hostage by the Mongol khan NOGAY from 1286 to 1298, he escaped and organized a conspiracy against Khan Čaka that ended Mongol rule in Bulgaria. Theodore united all Bulgarian principalities except VIDIN under his sovereignty; in the course of a war against Byz. in 1303–07 he seized Mesembria, Sozopolis, Anchialos, Achtopolis, Rusokastro, and other strong points in east-

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ern Bulgaria, his possession of which was confirmed by a treaty of 1307. After his first marriage to Euphrosyne, the granddaughter of a rich merchant Pantoleon (A. Failler, *BZ* 78 [1985] 92f), Theodore married (ca.1308) Theodora, daughter of Michael IX. The rest of his reign was marked by peace with Byz., friendly relations with Serbia, and growing links with Venice, which was interested in purchasing Bulgarian grain.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 227–30, 268–70. Dölger, *Paraspora* 222–30. –R.B.

THEODORE SYNKELLOS, politician and writer; first half of 7th C. His biography is barely known. The *Chronicon Paschale* (*Chron. Pasch.* 721.9) mentions him as a member of the embassy sent to the khagan on the eve of the AVAR siege of Constantinople in 626. His identification with Patr. Theodore I (677–79, 686–87) is impossible because of the chronological gap. Theodore delivered an oration on the robe of the Virgin that was preserved in the church of Blachernai but was moved to Hagia Sophia because of an enemy invasion. Ch. Loparev, disregarding the MS tradition, ascribed the speech to GEORGE OF NIKOMEDEIA and considered the events described as the attack of the Rus' in 860 (*VizVrem* 2 [1895] 581–628). Vasil'evskij (*infra*), however, demonstrated that Theodore was referring to the Avar assault of 619. Theodore probably also composed the anonymous homily on the siege of Constantinople by the Avars and Persians in 626 that was delivered on 7 Aug. 627.

ED. F. Combefisius, *Graecolatinorum patrum bibliothecae novum auctarium,* vol. 2 (Paris 1648) 751–86. L. Sternbach, "Analecta Avarica," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział filologiczny*[2] 15 (Krakow 1900) 297–333. Fr. tr. F. Makk, *Traduction et commentaire de l'homélie écrite probablement par Théodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626* (Szeged 1975).

LIT. V. Vasil'evskij, "Avary, a ne Russkie, Feodor, a ne Georgij," *VizVrem* 3 (1896) 83–95. *VizIzvori* 1:159–68. –A.K.

THEODORE TERON (Τήρων, lit. "recruit"), "the great martyr," saint; born "in an eastern land," died Amaseia under Maximian; feastday 17 Feb. According to a homily ascribed to GREGORY OF NYSSA, Theodore was a simple soldier who came with his *tagma* "to our country." When he confessed to being Christian, the authorities urged him to recant, but in response he set afire the temple of "the mother of the gods" in Amaseia (PG 46:744A). He was then condemned to be burned. Chrysippos of Jerusalem (died 479) dedicated an *enkomion* to Theodore, locating his activity in an unnamed city in Pontos (*AASS* Nov. 4:59B). His cult underwent changes by the 9th C.: a legend appeared about Theodore's killing a dragon with a spear, helped by a princess named Eudokia. Nikephoros OURANOS (F. Halkin, *Martyrs grecs* [London 1974], pt.IX [1962], 308–24) combined various stories about Theodore.

The *Miracles* of Theodore describe life in the province of Pontos, recount "barbarian" raids, and locate the saint's tomb on an "estate" at Euchaita belonging to his patroness Eusebia. The *Miracles* have been variously dated: from the 7th C. (F. Trombley in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos,* ed. S. Vryonis, Jr. [Malibu 1985] 83, n.26), to the second half of the 8th C. (C. Zuckerman, *REB* 46 [1988] 192f), to the 10th C. (H. Delehaye in *AASS* Nov. 4:17, par.22). John MAUROPOUS testifies that in the 11th C. Theodore was venerated in Euchaita as a foot soldier (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 544f). The area was a popular destination of pilgrimages (H. Delehaye in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* [Manchester 1923] 11–82).

A sermon for the first Saturday of Lent, falsely attributed to Nektarios, patriarch of Constantinople, describes a miracle worked by Theodore: during the reign of Julian, Theodore allegedly appeared before the "patriarch" and informed him that all the food in the marketplace was stained with blood and therefore could not be used on fastdays. He urged a boycott of the market and provided the inhabitants of Constantinople with food "called *kolbia* [*kollyba,* boiled wheat?] in the local dialect of Euchaita" (PG 39:1832A).

Representation in Art. The homily ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa speaks of paintings depicting the martyrdom of Theodore at his tomb (PG 46:737D). There are surviving images of Theodore, with his dark pointed beard, at least as early as the 6th C. (in the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome); a Sinai icon dating to the 9th–10th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons,* no.B.43) already shows him in military attire, mounted and spearing a dragon. A gold medallion found in Calabria also depicts Theodore killing a dragon; it has parallels in objects of the late 6th–7th C. (W.F. Volbach, *AStCal* 13 [1943–44] 65–72). His martyrdom in the fiery oven appears in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.407). In monumental painting he is often paired with THEODORE STRATELATES: the two saints, both in full armor, turn to address Christ, who extends to them crowns from the arc of heaven. The features of the two saints resemble each other, but Theodore Teron's beard is not forked.

SOURCE. *AASS* Nov. 4 (1925) 11–82.

LIT. *BHG* 1760–73. N. Oikonomides, "La dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia," *AB* 104 (1986) 327–35. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 11–43. A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Johannes den Täufer* (Athens 1937) 81–102. C. Weigert, E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 8:447–51. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 197–200. –A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, Christian writer; bishop of CYRRHUS (from 423); born Antioch ca.393, died ca.466. Although dedicated by his parents from childhood to service of Christ, Theodoret (Θεοδώρητος) received a classical education. He became an *anagnostes* while still a boy and eventually entered a monastery near Apameia. After becoming bishop he was frequently embroiled in theological controversies, taking the side of NESTORIOS against CYRIL of Alexandria, whom he attacked in a (lost) pamphlet, maintaining his position even after the condemnation of Nestorian doctrine at the Council of EPHESUS (431). Deposed and exiled in 449 by the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS at the behest of Patr. DIOSKOROS of Alexandria, he was restored after appeals to Pope Leo I and the emperor Marcian but was compelled by the Council of Chalcedon (451) to anathematize Nestorios. He then returned to his diocese in Syria, where he spent his remaining years. His writings against Cyril were condemned in the THREE CHAPTERS affair by the Council of Constantinople in 553.

Of his numerous writings (which he estimated to be 35 in number in 450), the most important extant work is *The Cure of Pagan Maladies*, a Christian apology replete with classical quotations. Ten discourses titled *On Providence* argue for God's loving care of mankind. His chief Christological treatise, *Eranistes* (Beggar), ridicules the Monophysites. His *Religious History*, consisting of biographies of about 30 monks, is a major source of information on Syrian monasticism in the 4th and 5th C. It is to be distinguished from his *Church History* for the period 323–428, written between 444 and 450, which celebrates the Orthodox victory over ARIANISM, discreetly excluding the Nestorian issue; in contrast to his contemporaries SOKRATES and SOZOMENOS, he concentrates on ecclesiastical affairs. Secular and dogmatic issues are embraced in over 200 surviving letters (M.M. Wagner, *DOP* 4 [1948] 119–81).

ED. PG 80–84. *Kirchengeschichte*[2], ed. L. Parmentier, revised F. Scheidweiler (Berlin 1954). *The Ecclesiastical History, Dialogues and Letters of Theodoret,* tr. B. Jackson (New York 1892; rp. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1953). *Graecarum affectionum curatio,* ed. I. Raeder (Leipzig 1904). *Histoire des moines de Syrie,* ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Molinghen, 2 vols. (Paris 1977–79), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. R.M. Price, *A History of the Monks of Syria* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1985). *Correspondance,* ed. Y. Azéma, 3 vols. (Paris 1955–65), with Fr. tr. *Commentaire sur Isaie,* ed. J.N. Guinot, 3 vols. (Paris 1980–84). For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 3, nos. 6200–88.

LIT. B. Croke, "Dating Theodoret's *Church History* and *Commentary on the Psalms,*" *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 59–74. G. Ashby, *Theodoret of Cyrus as Exegete of the Old Testament* (Grahamstown, South Africa, 1972). M. Simonetti, "La tecnica esegetica di Teodoreto nel Commento ai Salmi," *VetChr* 23 (1986) 81–116. P. Canivet, *Le monachisme syrien selon Theodoret de Cyr* (Paris 1977). –B.B.

THEODORIAS (Θεοδωριάς), small maritime civil province created in 528 from territory taken from Syria I and II by Justinian I, who named it after his wife (Malal. 448.11–15). In addition to its capital, LAODIKEIA, it included the cities of Paltos, Balaneai, and Gabala, all of which retained their earlier ecclesiastical provincial affiliations under either ANTIOCH or APAMEIA on the Orontes. Theodorias is also another name for the city of ANASARTHA.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 2:881. E. Honigmann, *RE* 2.R. 5 (1934) 1803f. –M.M.M.

THEODORIC THE GREAT, Flavius Theodericus, king of the Ostrogoths (from 471) and ruler of Italy (from 493); born Pannonia ca.454, died Ravenna 30 Aug. 526. Son of Theodemur, king of the Ostrogoths, Theodoric (Θεουδέριχος) was hostage for ten years in Constantinople, where he was educated. As his father's colleague he won several victories in 472–73 over the Romans, capturing Singidunum, Herakleia Lynkestis, and Larissa. After his father died ca.474, Theodoric became sole ruler. In 476 he helped Zeno regain his throne. He was named *patrikios* and *magister militum* and was adopted by Zeno. A long period

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ensued in which Theodoric was hostile to Byz. and attacked the cities of Thrace and Macedonia, although in 484 he was named consul. In 488 Theodoric agreed to Zeno's proposal that he and his people move to Italy and seize control from ODOACER. He arrived in Italy in 489 and had Odoacer killed in 493. In 497 Theodoric won recognition from Anastasios I as ruler of Italy but he never took the title of augustus. Although Theodoric was an Arian, he generally treated his Orthodox subjects, including the Italian aristocracy, with respect. Both BOETHIUS and CASSIODORUS lived under his rule and they at least partially profited from the king's favor for traditional Roman culture. After 497 Theodoric grew more hostile toward his Roman subjects, whom he suspected of plotting with the Eastern emperor against him. Theodoric reigned from RAVENNA, where he constructed a palace (now destroyed) and the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, the Arian baptistery, and his own mausoleum, all of which are preserved.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:411–28, 453–69. *PLRE* 2:1077–84. W. Ensslin, *Theoderich der Grosse* (Munich 1947). L. Várady, *Epochenwechsel um 476. Odoaker, Theoderich der Grosse und die Umwandlungen* (Budapest 1984). P. Lamma, "Teodorico nella storiografia bizantina," *Studi romagnoli* 3 (1952) 87–95. D. Claude, "Universale und partikulare Züge in der Politik Theoderichs," *Francia* 6 (1978) 19–58. –T.E.G.

THEODOROKANOS (Θεοδωροκάνος), a noble family, possibly of Armenian origin. The family founder was the *patrikios* Theodorokanos, Basil II's general and governor of Philippopolis. Several 11th-C. Theodorokanoi served as generals: George, *strategos* of Samos during the reign of Constantine VIII; the *magistros* Basil, *katepano* of Italy in Feb. 1043 and commander against the Rus' in July 1043. Adontz's hypothesis that both George and Basil were sons of the first Theodorokanos cannot be proved. Constantine (Basil's son, acc. to Adontz, but without any textual evidence) was defeated by the rebel Nikephoros BRYENNIOS in 1077 and taken captive. The family disappeared after the 11th C.

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 153–62. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 97–99. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 96f. –A.K.

THEODORO-MANGUP. See DORY.

THEODOSIAN CODE. See CODEX THEODOSIANUS.

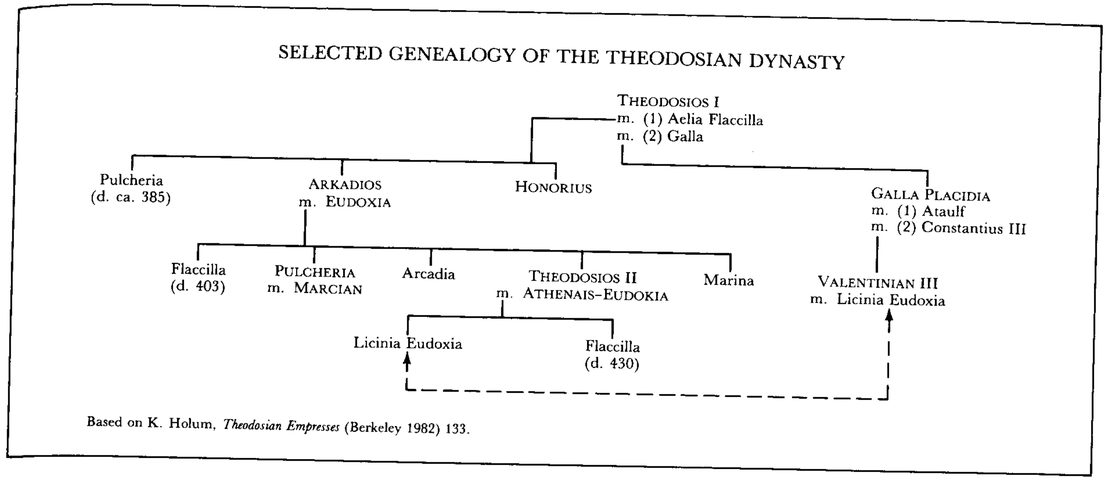
THEODOSIAN RENAISSANCE. See RELIEF; RENAISSANCE; SCULPTURE.

THEODOSIOS (Θεοδόσιος), eldest son of Maurice; born Constantinople 4 Aug. 583 or 585, died soon after 27 Nov. 602 (Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 18, 26). MAURICE married him in 601/2 to a daughter of Germanos, an influential member of the senate. During the revolt of PHOKAS, the soldiers demanded that Theodosios or Germanos replace Maurice, but the emperor refused. He dispatched Theodosios to ask CHOSROES II for assistance, but the youth was forced to return. It was rumored that Theodosios had escaped the slaughter of Maurice's family, fled to the east, and, after much wandering, landed in Colchis, where he died. Simokattes claims that he investigated the case and discovered that Theodosios had been slain with his brothers. Nonetheless NARSES, the rebellious governor of Syria, proclaimed a (false) Theodosios and presented him to CHOSROES II, who then used him in support of his claims to avenge Maurice's murder.

LIT. Olster, "Politics of Usurpation" 125–27, 193–216. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:55f. P. Goubert, "Autour de la révolution de 602," *OrChrP* 33 (1967) 612f. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:5f. –W.E.K., A.K.

THEODOSIOS (Serbian hagiographer). See TEODOSIJE.

THEODOSIOS I, augustus (from 19 Jan. 379); born Cauca in Gallaecia (northwest Spain) 11 Jan. 347 (346?), died Milan 17 Jan. 395. Son of the general THEODOSIUS THE ELDER, who fell in disgrace in 375, Theodosios had to interrupt his military career. After the battle of ADRIANOPLE, however, he was summoned by Gratian and proclaimed emperor in the East; when Gratian was murdered in 383 Theodosios ruled over an undivided empire. He pursued a policy of "national" unity. He supported the urban curiae, reduced taxation in provinces ravaged by the barbarians, and encouraged the cultivation of abandoned fields. He also sought to control the flight of slaves and *coloni* from the land. At the same time Theodosios tried to attract barbarians to his service, settling them as FOEDERATI within the empire (in Pannonia and Thrace) and assigning them to positions of command in the army. His attitude toward religion reflected his political tendencies. Officially



Based on K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley 1982) 133.

Theodosios was the staunchest supporter of Orthodoxy. In 380 he issued an edict declaring Orthodoxy the true faith and had Arianism condemned at the First Council of Constantinople in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Beginning in 391 he issued a series of harsh laws prohibiting pagan rites of sacrifice. On the other hand, he tolerated the Arianism of *foederati* and collaborated with influential pagans such as THEMISTIOS and SYMMACHUS. In 390, during a riot in Thessalonike, Theodosios supported the barbarian soldiers against the city population and severely punished the citizens, for which he was compelled by AMBROSE to do penance. He was surrounded by energetic assistants (STILICHO, RUFINUS, etc.)—Spaniards, barbarians, and Easterners—and brought about the recovery of the state after the disaster of the Gothic invasions. He had to deal with several revolts (esp. those of MAXIMUS and EUGENIUS) and with the opposition of the Roman aristocracy.

Theodosios was married first to Aelia Flavia Flaccilla, the mother of Arkadios, Honorius, and Pulcheria, and then to Galla, who bore to him Galla Placidia (see genealogical table). He appears with his sons on the base of the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS that he erected in the Hippodrome, and on a missorium made for his *decennalia* in 388 (*Age of Spirit.*, no.64). He is described in Kedrenos as a gracious man with blond hair and eagle-like nose. Already by the mid-5th C. the church endowed him with the title "Great."

LIT. A. Lippold, *Theodosius der Grosse und seine Zeit*[2] (Munich 1980). W. Ensslin, *Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Theodosius d. Gr.* (Munich 1953). N. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (London 1961). M. Pavan, *La politica gotica di Teodosio nella pubblicistica del suo tempo* (Rome 1964). –T.E.G., A.C.

THEODOSIOS II, augustus (from 10 Jan. 402), successor of his father Arkadios (from 1 May 408); born Constantinople 10 Apr. 401, died Constantinople 28 July 450. Theodosios was a typically Constantinopolitan ruler who left his capital infrequently; he was of scholarly temperament, interested in theology and science. A man of gentle and kindly nature, he was dominated by strong women such as his sister PULCHERIA and his wife ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA as well as by civil officials, esp. ANTHEMIOS, KYROS of Panopolis, and the eunuch Chrysaphios, whereas generals like ASPAR had no strong influence on his policy. His government was more concerned about functionaries and senators than *curiales*, and paid special attention to building activity in the capital, such as construction of the Theodosian Walls, begun in 413 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). Publication of the CODEX THEODOSIANUS and formation of the UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE (425) met the interests of officialdom.

The situation on the Eastern frontier was relatively quiet during his reign, and the offensive of ATTILA was stopped by heavy payments. After the death of STILICHO and esp. after the demise of

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Honorius, the leaders of the Eastern administration tried to restore the unity of the empire. They avoided military confrontation, however, and in the end failed to achieve unification, being satisfied that in the person of Valentinian III a representative of the dynasty ruled in the West. Growing papal claims, esp. under Pope LEO I, made relations even more tense, although there was no open clash between the churches of Rome and Constantinople.

The religious views of Theodosios were often on the verge of heresy: he supported NESTORIOS (who in his turn maintained the idea of strong imperial power) and only reluctantly agreed to the condemnation of Nestorianism; he convoked the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS in 449 and supported its decisions despite the remonstrations of Pulcheria, Valentinian III, and Leo I. Theodosios died unexpectedly in a riding accident. A marble head in Paris (*Age of Spirit.*, no.22) is generally accepted as his likeness, which is well known from coins.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:212–35. A. Lippmann, *RE* supp. 13 (1973) 961–1044. A. Güldenpenning, *Geschichte des oströmischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II* (Halle 1885; rp. Amsterdam 1965). C. Luibhéid, "Theodosius II and Heresy," *JEH* 16 (1965) 13–38. M. Giacchero, "Il realismo della politica orientale di Teodosio II," *Accademia romanistica constantiniana. Atti del V° Convegno internazionale* (Perugia 1983) 247–54. –T.E.G., A.C.

THEODOSIOS III, emperor (715–17); perhaps son of Tiberios II (Sumner, *infra*); died Ephesus after 754?. A tax-gatherer at Atramyttion, Theodosios was acclaimed emperor by troops in the Opsikion revolting against ANASTASIOS II. Reluctantly accompanying the rebels, he entered Constantinople in late fall. Little is known of his reign. In 716 he concluded a treaty with the Bulgar khan TERVEL, probably anticipating the impending Arab attack on Constantinople. When MASLAMA invaded Byz. territory that same year, the thematic generals ARTABASDOS and LEO III deposed Theodosios. He abdicated on 25 March and both he and his son became monks. Sumner identifies Theodosios with the bishop "Theodosios of Ephesus, son of Apsimar" who served as Leo III's religious adviser in the late 720s and presided over Constantine V's Iconoclastic Council in 754, but Grierson ("Tombs & Obits" 52f) believes him to be Theodosios's son.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *History* 155f. Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasius II & Theodosius III" 291–94. –P.A.H.

THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES (Βοραδιώτης), patriarch of Constantinople (between Feb. and July 1179–Aug. 1183 [V. Grumel, *REB* 1 (1943) 259f]). The father of Theodosios was Armenian; a letter calls Theodosios Syrian (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 30 [1972] 209, no.18), while a later chronicle specifies that he was Antiochene (*Kleinchroniken* 1:147.4–5 [no.84]). He moved to Constantinople and became a monk in the Boradion monastery on the Asian shore of the Bosporos (Janin, *Églises centres* 16f). Appointed patriarch by Manuel I, Theodosios resisted the emperor's attempt to abolish the anathema on "the god of Muḥammad" and made Manuel accept a compromise formula. Theodosios tried to reconcile the factions who were fighting for power during Alexios II's minority; Michael the Syrian even relates that Theodosios imposed an interdict on the populace of Constantinople for massacres committed there so that "prayers in churches ceased from February to October" of 1182. He opposed Andronikos I and refused to bless the marriage of Andronikos's illegitimate daughter Irene to Alexios, illegitimate son of Manuel I. Forced to comply with the expulsion of the dowager empress Maria from the Great Palace, Theodosios soon abdicated and retired to the island of Terebinthos (Nik.Chon. 262.89). His subsequent fate is unknown.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1152–61. Hussey, *Church & Learning* 142f. F. Cognasso, *Partiti politici e lotte dinastiche in Bisanzio alla morte di Manuele Comneno* (Turin 1912) 254, n.2. –A.K.

THEODOSIOS OF PEČERA. See FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA.

THEODOSIOS OF TŬRNOVO, Bulgarian hesychast monk and saint; born ca.1300, died Constantinople 27 Nov. 1363. Theodosios (Slav. Teodosij) took the monastic habit in a monastery at Arčar, near Vidin; later, together with ROMYLOS, he joined GREGORY SINAITES at the monastery of PAROREIA (in southeastern Bulgaria). There he was introduced to hesychastic doctrines and practices. After Gregory's death, Theodosios founded ca.1350 a monastery located either at Kilifarevo, near Tŭrnovo, or at Kefalerevo, near Mesembria (M. Damjanova in *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola* 4 [1985] 334–40), under the patronage of Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER. An ardent supporter of hesychasm, Theodosios translated the *Kephalaia* of Gregory Sinaites into Church Slavonic. He fought against heretics (esp. Bogomils) and Jews who had acquired some influence at the court of Ivan Alexander. Syrku (*infra*) suggested that Theodosios allied with Patr. KALLISTOS I of Constantinople against the Bulgarian patriarch Theodosios II (1337–60); in any case, at the end of his life Theodosios of Tŭrnovo and some of his followers moved to Constantinople, where Kallistos arranged for them to reside in a suburban monastery. Among Theodosios's disciples were EVTIMIJ OF TŬRNOVO and KIPRIAN.

Kallistos was probably the author of a Greek vita of Theodosios that has survived only in Bulgarian; according to Kiselkov (*infra*), the text now available is a 15th-C. revision of the original translation. In addition to data on the church and heresy in Bulgaria, the vita contains evidence on the Turkish penetration into the area (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:339–41).

SOURCE. "Žitie i žizn' prepodobnogo otca našego Feodosija," ed. V.N. Zlatarski in *Sbornik na narodni umotvorenija, nauka i knižnina* 20 (1904) 1–41.

LIT. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York–Washington, D.C. 1971) 302f, 336f, 342. P.A. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke* (St. Petersburg 1898) 2:141–411. V. Kiselkov, *Sv. Teodosij Tŭrnovski* (Sofia 1926). Idem, *Žitieto na sv. Teodosij Tŭrnovski kato istoričeski pametnik* (Sofia 1926), with rev. P. Nikov, *Makedonski pregled* 3.2 (1927) 162–66. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 2:221f. –A.M.T., A.K.

THEODOSIOS THE DEACON, author of a poem, *The Capture of Crete*; his life is obscure. The poem was written in 962/3 and dedicated to the recovery by NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS of the island from the Arabs in 961. His verses present the conquest on a cosmic scale as a victory of light over darkness and as an exploit of the army rather than of a single general. Theodosios refers to some ancient authors but is contemptuous of antiquity: contemporary deeds surpass incomparably the successes of ancient Greeks and Romans. He imitated GEORGE OF PISIDIA. L. Petit attributed to Theodosios, although hesitantly, an *akolouthia* on the death of Nikephoros Phokas (*BZ* 13 [1904] 400).

ED. *De Creta capta*, ed. U. Criscuolo (Leipzig 1979).

LIT. U. Criscuolo, "Aspetti letterari e stilistici del poema *Halosis tes Kretes* di Teodosio Diacono," *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 28 (1979) 71–80. –A.K.

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THEODOSIOS THE KOINOBIARCHES (Κοινοβιάρχης), saint; born in village of Garissos or Mogarissos, Cappadocia, died in his monastery near Jerusalem 11 Jan. 529, reportedly almost 100 years old. Hagiographers are silent about his family and youth. He left for Antioch where SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER supposedly proclaimed Theodosios's sanctity; ca.457 he came to Jerusalem and, after staying in various monasteries, settled in a cave. With material assistance from the *illoustrios* Akakios from Constantinople, Theodosios built a monastery, which included four churches—one for Greek services, another for Armenian, the third for the enigmatic "language of the Bessoi," and the fourth for brethren whose minds had been deranged by "the sordid demon" (Usener, *infra* p.45.6–14).

Theodore of Petra wrote Theodosios's Life, emphasizing his political activity; the Life includes his correspondence with Emp. Anastasios I as well as the story that Theodosios gave his threadbare cloak to the "*komes* of the East" Kerykos, thus making him victorious over the Persians. Theodosios is said to have worked miracles (drove off locusts, created abundance during famine, healed the sick). CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS wrote a short Life of Theodosios; SYMEON METAPHRASTES reworked the legend.

Representation in Art. The saint is portrayed as an old, somewhat balding monk with a long two-pointed beard. There is a scene of his temptation in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.78r).

SOURCES. H. Usener, *Der heilige Theodosios* (Leipzig 1890). Russ. tr. I.V. Pomjalovskij, "Žitie iže vo svjatych otca našego avvy Feodosija Kinoviarcha," *Palestinskij paterik* 8 (1895) 1–94; rev. I. Sokolov, *VizVrem* 3 (1896) 166.

LIT. *BHG* 1776–1778b. K. Krumbacher, "Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios," *SBAW* (1892) 220–379. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:454. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 165f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODOSIOS THE MONK, 9th-C. eyewitness to the capture of SYRACUSE by the Arabs in 878, who described this event in a letter addressed to the deacon Leo. The complete Greek MS of the letter is lost (S.G. Mercati, *ST* 68 [1935] 320–30), and the text was published on the basis of Paris, B.N. gr. 3032 that comprised only a section of the letter. Fortunately, the full Latin translation, by a certain Josaphat Azzale, is preserved in a 17th-C. MS. Although Theodosios was an eyewitness, his presentation is impersonal: he acts only as a member of the Syracusan clergy that suffered from the Arab siege. His description lacks concrete detail, except for an exaggerated account of the hunger in the besieged city (e.g., a modios of grain reportedly cost 150 gold coins). Theodosios is inclined to give lists of objects: e.g., when

describing the Arabs' murder of their captives, he specifies their use of stones, clubs, and spears. The hero of the story is a certain Patritius (*patrikios*) whose moral noblesse astonished even the Arab leader. The story differs drastically in style from the description by John KAMINIATES of the fall of Thessalonike. Theodosios also wrote iambs on the Arab capture of Syracuse (B. Lavagnini, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 295–99).

ED. C.O. Zuretti, "La espugnazione di Siracusa nell' 880," in *Centenario della nascità di Michele Amari*, vol. 1 (Palermo 1910) 165–73.

LIT. B. Lavagnini, "Siracusa occupata dagli Arabi e l'epistola di Teodosio monaco," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 271–79. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:359f. Vasiliev, *Byz.Arabes* 2.1:71f, n.6.

–A.K.

THEODOSIOUPOLIS (Θεοδοσιούπολις, Arm. Karin, Ar. Qalīqalā, Turk. Erzurum), major strategic and commercial center on the main east-west highway between Anatolia and the East. Its original name of Karin (or more correctly *Karnoy k'ałak'*) was derived from that of the district known to classical authors as Karenitis. It was renamed Theodosioupolis in honor of Theodosios II and returned to a variant of its original name under the Arabs.

Karin first formed a part of the domain of the Armenian Arsacids and was the residence of the last ruler of the western part of the realm after its partition between the late Roman Empire and Persia ca.387. Its real importance began with its fortification under Theodosios in 415 and esp. under Justinian I when it became the northern anchor of the eastern *limes* and the seat of the *magister militum* for Armenia. The strategic importance of the site was recognized throughout the Middle Ages. First taken by the Arabs in 653 and included in the Muslim fortified border zone, it was briefly recovered by Constantine V in 754 and part of its population moved to the Balkans. Recaptured by the Arabs, it remained Muslim, though occasionally recognizing Armenian overlordship, until its reconquest by Byz. in 949, when Greeks and Armenians were again settled there. Early in the 11th C., Basil II made it the residence of the *strategos* of the theme of IBERIA until its administrative center was shifted to ANI in 1045. The Seljuk sack of the neighboring commercial city of Artze in 1048/9 forced its population to retreat to the fortress of Theodosioupolis, which began to be called Arcn Rum (Arzān ar-Rūm). The city was ruled from 1201 by the Seljuks and after 1243 by the Mongols, under whom it appears to have prospered, but a new period of crises began in the 14th C. and continued until the incorporation of Erzurum into the Ottoman Empire.

LIT. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (Lisbon 1970) 98–100, 115–24. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 22–24, 88–91, 115, 127–33.

–N.G.G.

THEODOSIUS THE ELDER, father of Theodosios I; died Carthage ca.375. A native of Spain, he rose through a military career to become *comes rei militaris* and commander in Britain (368–69) and *magister equitum* (369–75) under Valentinian I. He was active in the north against the Alemanni and the Sarmatians and in 373 was sent to Africa against the usurper Firmus, whom he defeated. Theodosius became involved in some difficulty, however, and was executed on a charge of unclear nature. He was baptized a Christian just before his death.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:902–04. A. Demandt, "Die Feldzüge des älteren Theodosius," *Hermes* 100 (1972) 81–113. Idem, "Der Tod des älteren Theodosius," *Historia* 18 (1969) 598–626. N. Gasparini, "La morte di Teodosio padre," *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica* 1 (Milan 1972) 180–97. –T.E.G.

THEODOTOS I KASSITERAS (Κασσιτερᾶς, Κασσιτηρᾶς), patriarch of Constantinople (1 Apr. 815–ca.Jan. 821 [V. Grumel, *EO* 34 (1935) 506]). Born in Nakoleia to the distinguished Iconoclast family of MELISSENOS, Theodotos was related to the third wife of CONSTANTINE V. After the deposition of Patr. Nikephoros I, Leo V appointed him patriarch; at this time he was an elderly *spatharokandidatos* who is described as "meek" and "uneducated" (*Script. incert.* 395f). Theodotos presided over the local council of Constantinople of 815, which officially ushered in the second period of ICONOCLASM (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Theodotos is not mentioned in the sources after Leo's death in 820. A 9th-C. marginal PSALTER (Athos, Pantokrator 61, fol.16r) contains a miniature depicting Patr. Nikephoros trampling on Leo V and Theodotos (I. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.XIII [1965], 39–60).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 408–11. P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford 1958) 136f, 141.

–A.M.T.

THEODOTUS, *ktetor* of a private chapel in S. Maria Antiqua, Rome; fl. second half of the 8th C. Theodotus is described in a Latin inscription as administrator (*dispensator*) of the *diaconia* of the church and *primicerius* of the *defensores* (i.e., head of a college of curial lawyers). In the *Liber Pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 1:486) he is called "consul et dux." The decoration of the chapel is unique in that it shows its founder in three different ways: once in a donor portrait; once with his family; and in a votive image, adoring the chapel's titular saints, Kerykos and Ioulitta, martyrs of Ikonion (*BHG* 313y-318e). Belting read the latter image as reflecting the iconophile concerns of the community of Byz. and Eastern monks in Rome. The donor, his relatives, and Pope John VII are shown wearing square haloes. The wall paintings in the chapel include a Crucifixion closely akin to that in the RABBULA GOSPELS.

LIT. H. Belting, "Eine Privatkapelle im frühmittelalterlichen Rom," *DOP* 41 (1987) 55–69. Sansterre, *Moines grecs* 1:166, 168.

–A.C.

THEOGNOSTOS (Θεόγνωστος), grammarian and author of the book *On Orthography*, dedicated to "the wise crown-bearer Leo" (first half of 9th C.). Since THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS mentions Theognostos as a contemporary of the events of 826/7, the emperor in question must be LEO V. Theognostos claims to be the emperor's servant (*oiketes*); K. Alpers (*infra* 63f) hypothesizes that he is identical with his homonym, a *protospatharios* sent by Michael I in 812 to Charlemagne; Theognostos's description of the revolt of a certain Euphemios in Sicily and the Arab assault on the island is lost. The book *On Orthography* contains more than 1,000 rules (*kanones*) of spelling, mainly based on Herodian of Alexandria (2nd C.). It treats primarily the classical vocabulary and proper names, although it includes such words as *Sarakenos* (p.67) or *Pascha* (p.78). K. Alpers (*Byzantion* 39 [1969] 5–12) suggested that Theognostos reworked Herodotus's story of Artaxerxes so as to flatter Leo V. *On Orthography* was a source for the *Etymologicum Genuinum*.

ED. J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1835–37; rp. Amsterdam 1963) 1–165.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:19f. K. Alpers, *Theognostos, Peri Orthographias* (Hamburg 1964). A. Kambylis, "Theognostea," *Glotta* 49 (1971) 46–65. W. Bühler, "Eine Theognosthandschrift aus der Zeit um 1000 auf Patmos," *JÖB* 22 (1973) 49–91.

–A.K.

THEOGNOSTOS, monk who was the staunchest supporter of Patr. IGNATIOS; fl. second half of the 9th C. The lemma to his *Libellus* gives him the curious title of "exarch of Constantinople," and an even stranger one, that of "archimandrite of ancient Rome." In 861 he wrote the *Libellus*, an epistle addressed to Pope NICHOLAS I in the name of Ignatios, in which he presented the elevation of Photios to the patriarchate from the viewpoint of the anti-Photian opposition; he emphasized the pope's PRIMACY and called Nicholas "the *proedros* and patriarch of all sees" and "the ecumenical pope." In secular garb he surreptitiously left for Rome where he remained until 868, urging the pope to support Ignatios. Soon after the dethronement of Photios, Theognostos returned to Constantinople and was rewarded by Ignatios with an appointment as archimandrite of the PEGE monastery and *skeuophylax* of Hagia Sophia. His further fate is unknown. Two more works "by Theognostos the monk" are ascribed to him: an *enkomion* of all saints and another one on the Dormition of the Virgin, in which the author strongly stressed Mary's perpetual sanctity, from conception through her Dormition.

ED. PG 105:849–61. M. Jugie, "Homélies mariales byzantines," PO 16 (1922) 457–62.

LIT. M. Jugie, "La vie et les oeuvres du moine Théognoste (IXe siècle)," *Bessarione* 34 (1918) 162–74. –A.K.

THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS, saint; born Methymna, Lesbos, died Paros; feastday 9 Nov. The Life of Theoktiste (Θεοκτίστη), written by NIKETAS MAGISTROS ca.920, is modeled on that of MARY OF EGYPT but incorporates crucial changes to suit 10th-C. taste: instead of being a "wild" harlot (like Mary), Theoktiste is said to have been an 18-year-old nun when captured by the Arabs. She escaped on the island of Paros, where she lived 35 years in solitude until a hunter discovered her and learned her story. After Theoktiste died, he buried her corpse but cut off her hand as a relic. Miraculously, winds obstructed his departure so that he had to return his relic, and thereafter the corpse disappeared. The legend, retold to the author by a hermit called Symeon, is placed in a setting that depicts the real political situation

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of the early 10th C. (e.g., an embassy to the Cretan Arabs in which Niketas participated) and thus strikingly contrasts with the miraculous contents of the Life itself. Niketas's Life was slightly reworked by SYMEON METAPHRASTES, who placed Theoktiste's celebration on 10 Nov.

Representation in Art. The association of Theoktiste with St. Mary of Egypt determined her iconographical type: a thin woman with white hair, who is barefoot and wears a ragged cloak that covers barely half her body. In two MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, she is shown sitting inside an initial, being blessed by Christ; there are *stelai*, pagan statues, above the initial.

SOURCE. *AASS* Nov. 4:224–33.

LIT. *BHG* 1723–1726b. H. Delehaye, "La Vie de sainte Théoctiste de Lesbos," *Byzantion* 1 (1924) 191–200. L.G. Westerink, *Nicétas Magistros, Lettres d'un exilé* (Paris 1973) 41–46. O. Karsay, "Der Jäger von Euböa," *ActaAntHung* 23 (1975) 9–14. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *BZ* 78 (1985) 49f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

THEOKTISTOS (Θεόκτιστος), regent for Michael III and adviser to Empress THEODORA; died Constantinople 20 Nov. 855 (F. Halkin, *Byzantion* 24 [1954] 11–14). A eunuch (*TheophCont* 148.11) and perhaps a member of the imperial guard under Leo V, Theoktistos was instrumental in helping Michael II assassinate Leo and seize the throne. Michael appointed him *patrikios* and *chartoularios tou kanikleiou*. Theophilos made him *magistros* and *logothetes tou dromou*, and before his death designated Theoktistos to serve in the regency for the infant Michael III. Under Theodora he capably exercised great influence. Most notably, Byz. sources credit him with the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY over Iconoclasm in 843. He was directly involved in the elections of Patr. METHODIOS and Patr. IGNATIOS.

By continuing the sound fiscal policies of Theophilos—in 856 Theodora showed Michael 190 kentenaria of gold and 300 kentenaria of silver in the treasury—Theoktistos could build up the navy and campaign against the Arabs. In 843 he led a naval expedition that briefly restored Byz. rule on Crete (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 112), but in 844 he was defeated by an Arab army at Mauropotamon in Cappadocia. He made peace with the caliphate in 845 and exchanged prisoners, but hostilities broke out again in 851. In 853 a Byz. fleet sacked the Arab fortress of Damietta in Egypt (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:212–18). Under his influence the PAULICIANS were persecuted; many were resettled in Thrace. Theoktistos helped revive secular learning by promoting the careers of LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN and CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER. In 855 Caesar BARDAS persuaded Michael to dethrone Theodora, and Theoktistos was arrested and killed.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.IX (1970), 348–50. I.I. Malyševskij, "Logofet Feoktist, pokrovitel' Konstantina Filosofa," *Trudy Kievskoj duchovnoj akademii* 28.2 (1887) 265–97. –P.A.H.

THEOKTISTOS THE STOUDITE, 14th-C. monk, hagiographer, and hymnographer. He is known only from his writings, which were almost entirely devoted to perpetuating the memory of Patr. ATHANASIOS I of Constantinople. In the 1320s and 1330s he composed a Life of Athanasios, an *enkomion*, an oration on the translation of his relics, and a number of *kanones*. The collected writings of Theoktistos were an important factor in the recognition of Athanasios's sanctity in the mid-14th C.

His epithet indicates his association with the STOUDIOS monastery, but he must also have resided for a time in Athanasios's monastery on Xerolophos in Constantinople. Theoktistos was a supporter of Gregory PALAMAS, in whose honor he wrote a quatrain.

ED. *Vita Athanasii*—ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ZapIstFilFakSPetUniv* 76 (1905) 1–51. Oration—ed. A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983).

LIT. *PLP*, no.7498. V. Grolimund, "Theoktistos Studites, ein wenig bekannter byzantinischer Hymnograph und theologischer Gelegenheitsschriftsteller des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Fairy von Lilienfeld zum 65. Geburtstag* (Erlangen 1982) 479–510. –A.M.T.

THEOLEPTOS (Θεόληπτος), metropolitan of Philadelphia (1283/4–1322); born Nicaea ca.1250, died 1322. After a brief marriage, Theoleptos left his wife by 1275 and became a monk. On Mt. Athos he was introduced to the mystical life; Gregory PALAMAS called him a forerunner of HESYCHASM. He was imprisoned in Constantinople by Michael VIII for his opposition to the Union of LYONS, but after the accession of Andronikos II was given the see of Philadelphia. He held the position of metropolitan for about 40 years, and led the heroic defense of the city against Turkish attack in 1310. Theoleptos was an ardent opponent of the ARSENITES and refused to accept the reconciliation of the church with the Arsenites in 1310; he remained in schism until ca.1319 (V. Laurent, *REB* 18 [1960] 45–54).

Theoleptos had close ties with the Choumnos family; he served as spiritual director to Irene CHOUMNAINA and was counselor to the double monastery of Philanthropos Soter, which she restored in Constantinople. Irene's father, Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, wrote a eulogy of Theoleptos at his death (ed. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 5:183–239). The writings of Theoleptos, still largely unpublished, include religious poetry, treatises on monastic life, anti-Union and anti-Arsenite tracts, and letters to Irene Choumnaina.

ED. R.E. Sinkewicz, "A Critical Edition of the Anti-Arsenite Discourses of Theoleptos of Philadelphia," *MedSt* 50 (1988) 46–95, with Eng. tr. S. Salaville, "Une lettre et un discours inédits de Théolepte de Philadelphie," *REB* 5 (1947) 101–15. A.C. Hero, "The Unpublished Letters of Theoleptos Metropolitan of Philadelphia (1283–1322)," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 3 (1986) 1–31; 4 (1987) 1–17. For list of further ed., see Beck, *Kirche* 694.

LIT. D.J. Constantelos, "Mysticism and Social Involvement in the Later Byzantine Church: Theoleptos of Philadelphia—A Case Study," *BS/EB* 6 (1979) 83–94. *PLP*, no.7509. –A.M.T.

THEOLOGY (θεολογία, lit. "speech about God"). This entry is divided into three sections that treat, in turn, the Byz. definition of theology, that branch of theology called "negative" or "apophatic," and the historical development of Byz. theology.

BYZANTINE DEFINITION OF THEOLOGY. Originally, the term "theology" referred to stories about God handed down in the mythic cult. In the Aristotelian and middle-Platonist traditions, it signified the science of the highest principles or demiurge. Both of these ideas flourished in the threefold division of Stoic philosophy: mythical and political theology on the one hand, and a "natural," or philosophical, theology on the other (EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, *Praeparatio evangelica* 4.1.1–4). But in ORIGEN (*In Ioannem* 1.23 [24], ed. E. Preuschen [Leipzig 1903] 30.14), "theology" is brought into Christian usage as the doctrine of the true God and his Messiah that is inaccessible to created minds (man, angel, demon) except at the end of time. The apologetic force of the term is often evident and appears when the verb *theologein* is contrasted to *mythologein* (Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 25:40C).

Characteristic of 4th-C. literature is the treatment of the incarnation of the Logos and the sending of the Spirit under "economy" (OIKONOMIA), as distinguished from *theologia*. In the mind of Athanasios, "theology" refers to the immanent TRINITY (PG 26:49A), that is, its object of study is the one essence of God, which transcends human understanding, and the relationship of Father, Son (Logos), and Holy Spirit as three HYPOSTASES of the (numerically) one divine substance. In this respect, theology refers more specifically to human thought and speech about the (immanent, and not economic) Trinity, and signifies the highest form of mystical knowledge of God.

In its narrowest sense, theology is "pure prayer," beyond all multiplicity, and therefore devoid of image, thought, or conception. It may be conceived as purely intellective activity (EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, Thalassios [ca.650], MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR); or it may be interpreted as the experience of spiritual perception of the vision of light (DIADOCHOS of Photike, SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, Niketas STETHATOS). This concept of theology became dominant in Byz. *Oikonomia*, on the other hand, deals with the relationship of themes pertaining to Christology and SOTERIOLOGY, and so, in contrast to Western tradition, does not belong to theology in the technical sense: "Things that are said with respect to the *oikonomia* are not necessarily to be joined to things that are said with respect to theology" (THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Eranistes* II, ed. G.H. Ettlinger, 40.20–21).

In pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, all theological activity is carried out with reference to authority, that is, to Scripture or *logia*, as in PROKLOS, and to spiritual and ecclesiastical hierarchies. A technical terminology distinguishes between affirmative (cataphatic) and negative (apophatic) theology (see below). Cataphatic theology offers affirmative statements about God at first in symbolic, and then in conceptual languages in the manner of the philosophic and apodictic tradition of the theologians. Affirmative theology, however, must be dialectically complemented by negative theology. Yet one should not equate apophatic theology with the hidden, mystical tradition that transcends all dialectic, and therefore speech, in the One. Although affirmative theology and the

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authority of the hierarchy dominate the thought of pseudo-Dionysios, the mystical aspect nonetheless remains the ultimate and irreducible element of theology, "For the ineffable has intertwined itself with speech" (PG 3:1105CD).

Since the Dionysian Corpus influenced Byz. only indirectly, through the interpretation given to it by JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, the history of its reception in Byz. does not affect our perspective. Byz. retained its emphasis on the negative and mystical aspect; yet, in spite of the influence of the passage in *Divine Names* 2.7 (PG 3:645AB), it continued to focus on the immediacy of the vision (*theoria*) or knowledge of God, as opposed to the mediation of the knowledge of God through the hierarchies and analogies (*analogia entis*). This remained true even into late Byz. history, for example, in men such as John KYPARISSIOTES (PG 152:762A–769B; 772C–776C), BARLAAM of Calabria (Podskalsky, *Theologie* 129–32, 138), their opponent Gregory PALAMAS (*Syngrammata* 1:265.21–277.28), and Prochoros KYDONES, in his treatise on affirmative and negative theology (Vat. gr. 678, fols. 31–64). What we today would call "theology" (which is contrasted primarily to philosophical concepts that do not derive from revelation), is understood under the formulas "according to us" (*kath' hemas*) or "the inner philosophy" (*eso philosophia*), in contrast to "outer (*exothen*) philosophy" or "the wisdom of the world" (*kosmike sophia*—cf. 1 Cor 1:20, 3:19). As a result, although the verb *philosophein* embraces a wider range of meaning, in this connection it became a catchword of the monastic life. A slogan coined by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS to oppose the second generation Arians, EUNOMIOS and AETIOS, "To be like a fisherman, not like Aristotle" (cf., e.g., PG 35:1164CD), and that became a part of the store of Byz. tradition (A. Grillmeier, *Mit ihm und in ihm* [Freiburg-Basel-Vienna 1975] 283–300; Podskalsky, *Theologie* 24f), was also applied in this connection to keep "specifically Christian doctrine," that is, the unique tradition, separate from any theology consisting of rational or dialectical argumentation.

In Gregory Palamas and in the reaction to SCHOLASTICISM (H.-G. Beck, *Divus Thomas* 13 [1935] 3–22; Podskalsky, *Theologie* 180–230), the concept of theology is placed in opposition to rational, scientific disputation, challenging and surpassing it: "For theology transcends philosophy by virtue of its incomparable subject (*logos*); but it itself is subject to nothing" (Joseph BRYENNIOS, ed. Vulgaris, 1:93).

LIT. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York 1974). Idem, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems* (London 1974), cf. A. Wenger, *REB* 13 (1955) 167–73. D. Stiernon, "Bulletin sur le Palamisme," *REB* 30 (1972) 255–61. G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich 1977). A. Catoire, "Philosophie byzantine et philosophe scolastique," *EO* 12 (1909) 193–201. Idem, "Philosophie et théologie ou épisodes scolastiques à Byzance de 1059 à 1197," *EO* 29 (1930) 132–56. E. von Ivánko, *Plato christianus* (Einsiedeln 1964) 389–91, 401–04, 461–82. F. Kattenbusch, *Die Entstehung einer christlichen Theologie: Zur Geschichte der Ausdrücke theologia, theologein, theologos*[2] (Darmstadt 1962).
–K.-H.U.

APOPHATIC THEOLOGY (from ἀπόφασις, "denial"). Also called negative theology, apophatic theology is a branch or rather methodology of Orthodox theological thought concerned with the problems that now might be termed the theory of knowledge of the Godhead. This approach was developed in NEOPLATONISM; Neoplatonists, however, employed the term *aphairesis* more often than *apophasis*. For them the Supreme principle, the One, appeared bereft of all attributes. The CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS also emphasized the unknowability of God but with a substantial reservation: they rejected every concept that our minds could form about God as being inadequate, but they accepted revelation about God in Scripture. Pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE elaborated further the apophatic approach (while using the Neoplatonic term *aphairesis* as well): although an adequate knowledge of God is impossible, we can approach him with the assistance of SYMBOLISM and ideas. Since the cosmos is a reflection of the divine and possesses the same dialectic structure, our intellect can produce symbols and figures resembling the unknowable; pseudo-Dionysios calls this process *anagoge*, "leading up." In his view, "the *apophaseis* are the genuine way of dealing with the divine whereas affirmations (*kataphaseis*) are inadequate, since the enigmatic nature of the ineffable is more proper for the invisible world than fantastic explanations based on dissimilar objects" (PG 3:141C). Thus RIDDLE and obscurity became vehicles of *anagoge*.

LIT. V. Lossky, "La théologie négative dans la doctrine de Denys l'Aréopagite," *Revue de sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 28 (1939) 204–21. H.J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*[2] (Amsterdam 1967) 343–46. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 434f.
–A.K.

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HISTORY OF BYZANTINE THEOLOGY. The development of Byz. theology reflects the political history of Byz. and its unique cultural environment.

Byz. (or late Roman) theology begins in the 4th C. after the First Council of Nicaea (325) when the church was embroiled in controversies over the doctrine of the TRINITY. These disputes were finally settled when the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS proposed a notion of HYPOSTASIS that proved acceptable to the majority. In the 5th C., theology centered on the reality of Christ's human nature and its union with the Logos. Controversy over this issue led to the Council of EPHESUS (431) and the separation of the NESTORIANS, Christian communities located predominantly beyond the eastern borders of the empire. The Christological controversy continued, leading to the Council of CHALCEDON (451), which set forth a definition of faith that was rejected by Egyptian and Syrian MONOPHYSITES, whose radical adherence to CYRIL of Alexandria would not allow them to go beyond Cyrillian formulas.

A position mediating between Nestorianism and Monophysitism, today called NEO-CHALCEDONISM, was reached in the time of Justinian I. Oriented toward the Christology of Cyril, neo-Chalcedonism was directed against a strict Chalcedonism that was prevalent esp. in the Latin West, and that followed the so-called *Tome* of Pope LEO I THE GREAT (440–461) in emphasizing the two natures of Christ more than the hypostatic union. Neo-Chalcedonism, which became dogma at the Third Council of Constantinople in 553 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), presented Justinian's religious policy with a compromise formula that would appear acceptable to the Monophysites of Egypt and the eastern provinces, and unite them with the imperial church.

Under Emp. Herakleios church unifications did take place in Armenia (626) and in Egypt (633). These rapprochements were established on the basis of a doctrine inspired by neo-Chalcedonism: MONOENERGISM. Monoenergism emphasized Christ's personal unity by teaching the unity of his energies (or wills—MONOTHELETISM). One of the reasons they did not succeed was the Arab invasions. The imperial church, at the Council of Constantinople IV (680/1), however, chose union with Rome and Western Christianity, and at that council received as dogma the teaching of dyotheletism (the concept of two wills in Christ), represented by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, and rejected the idea of a singular, personal/hypostatic will in Christ.

In the second half of the 7th C., even though Origenism had been condemned in 543 under Justinian I, a union was effected, through the synthesis of Maximos the Confessor, between the mysticism of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, which sought a direct knowledge of God, and the theology of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, in which knowledge of God is mediated through the authority of hierarchies. The result was a monastic spirituality that sought direct knowledge of God through the mediating symbols of the church.

At the time of the controversy over ICONOCLASM (726–843), both Iconoclasts and Iconodules were able to advocate their own practices, Christological arguments, and ecumenical councils (at HIERIA and the Second Council of NICAEA). The beginning of the controversy appears to have been a dispute over images that arose in a former territory of the empire that had been conquered by the Muslims; and indeed, the most significant theologian of this period, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, lived and worked his whole life under the rule of a Muslim caliph.

The period from ca.850 to ca.1050 witnessed both increasing alienation between East and West, and the process, which began with PHOTIOS and ended with MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, that led to the so-called SCHISM of the mid-11th C. The beginning of the schism is usually dated 16 July 1054 when Cardinal HUMBERT of Silva Candida laid a bull of excommunication on the altar of Hagia Sophia. This event was not viewed by Byz. historians and contemporaries with the significance it has acquired today. Photios had already challenged the Roman view of papal PRIMACY; but until the revival of this argument under Keroularios, it had remained secondary to the FILIOQUE. In the mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to the Slavs in the 9th C., differences of rites and discipline (e.g., the use of unleavened bread [AZYMES], CELIBACY, and Saturday fasts) were the most prominent controversial issues that contributed to the schism.

Yet in the 9th–11th C., polemical literature, whether directed against the Westerners, or Muslims (see ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST), or the PAULICIANS and the BOGOMILS, constitutes but a fraction

of the theological output. The period represents the highpoint of homiletic and hagiographic literature. It had in ARETHAS OF CAESAREA a philologically inclined exegete, and produced in SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN an outstanding mystic.

In the 11th C. Byz. turned in increasing measure to the study of the ancients. The theological literature shows a marked interest in the philosophy of PLATO, and there was a revival of ARISTOTLE in the recourse to a kind of dialectical argumentation.

The theological activity in the period of the Komnenoi and Angeloi is distinguished by the revival of the tradition of compiling FLORILEGIA that bring together arguments from tradition to form an arsenal (*panoplia*) for fighting every kind of HERESY. The treatise of Neilos DOXOPATRES, *On God's Oikonomia*, is comparable to this, although its structure is that of an independent, systematic work. One emperor, Manuel I, took special delight in theological controversies such as the questions of whether the Son is greater than the Father (Jn 14:28), and whether the Son offers and receives the eucharistic offering, disputed by Soterichos PANTEUGENOS. He opposed the Islamic claim that its God is the one true God, and he defended the compatibility of ASTROLOGY with Christian belief. His theological adviser, NICHOLAS OF METHONE, wrote against a revival of PROKLOS that was going on in Byz. at that time.

The capture of Constantinople in 1204, and the installation of a Latin hierarchy to which the Greeks were subjected, gave occasion for the revival of anti-Latin polemic, with the notable exception of the most cultured theologian of the empire of Nicaea, Nikephoros BLEMMYDES. The period of Latin domination in Constantinople raised barriers between East and West that would frustrate all future attempts at UNION OF THE CHURCHES.

The 14th C. was dominated by the controversy over PALAMISM. Through the activity of GREGORY SINAITES on Mt. Athos, the MYSTICISM and method of prayer made popular by Symeon the Theologian became the possession of Athonite spirituality. Gregory PALAMAS sought to defend this mystical movement—known as HESYCHASM—against the attacks of BARLAAM OF CALABRIA by providing it with a speculative basis that, in his view, was grounded in the tradition of the church fathers. His doctrine of the uncreated ENERGIES of God, distinguished from God's essence, together with the theological method he put forth, provoked a controversy that was made particularly intense by Demetrios KYDONES' preparation of a translation of the works of Thomas AQUINAS. Nonetheless, the Palamite doctrine of God's uncreated energies did not set the hesychastic practices of Palamites and anti-Palamites at variance with each other.

In view of the Ottoman successes, there occurred in Byz. in the 15th C. an ethical and theological renewal that found expression in, for example, the apology of MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS directed against Islam. The most significant theologians of the time, both those writing for the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, such as ISIDORE OF KIEV and BESSARION, and those writing against it, such as Mark EUGENIKOS and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, envisioned a world-wide culture embracing all men. Their successors and those of PLETHON worked together with the Platonic Academy of Florence at the beginning of the Renaissance in the West.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 279–368. H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen 1980). J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1986). J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York 1974). J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, vols. 1–3 (Chicago 1971–79). G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich 1977). –K.-H.U.

THEON OF ALEXANDRIA, mathematician, astronomer, and teacher; father of HYPATIA; fl. ca.360–80. According to the SOUDA, Theon (Θέων) was a member of the MOUSEION at Alexandria; if so, he would be the latest to be recorded. His approximate chronology is known from his references to two eclipses in 364 and to other dates ranging from 360 to 377.

Theon is best known as a commentator on the two major astronomical works of PTOLEMY. Of that on the *Almagest* books 1–4, part of book 5 (J. Mogenet, A. Tihon, *AntCl* 56 [1987] 201–18), books 6–10 and 12–13 are extant; some of this commentary, which is a revision of his lectures, is based on that by PAPPOS. Of the five books of the *Great Commentary* on the *Handy Tables* there survive books 1–3 and the beginning of book 4 (A. Tihon, *AntCl* 50 [1981] 526–34). The *Little Commentary* on the *Handy Tables* (in one book) survives intact. The *Handy Tables* accompanied by the *Little Commentary* was apparently available to Severos Sebokht in Syria in the 7th C. (D. Pingree, *JAOS* 93 [1973] 34) and was translated into Arabic in the early 9th C. (F.I. Haddad, E.S. Kennedy, D. Pingree, *The Book of the Reasons behind Astronomical Tables* [Delmar, N.Y. 1981] 203–06). Severus Sebokht most probably based his treatise on the ASTROLABE on a lost work of Theon (O. Neugebauer, *Isis* 40 [1949] 242–46).

In MATHEMATICS Theon's effort consisted in revising the *Elements* and *Data* of EUCLID and in reworking his *Optics* to make them more accessible to his students. He may also be the author of the pseudo-Euclidean *Catoptrics* or *Mirrors*. His version of Euclid was that most familiar to the Byz., e.g., the MS of Euclid copied for ARETHAS in 888 was the revision of Theon.

ED. *Le "Petit Commentaire" de Théon d'Alexandrie aux Tables Faciles de Ptolémée*, ed. A. Tihon (Vatican 1978), with Fr. tr. *Le "Grand Commentaire" de Théon d'Alexandrie aux Tables Faciles de Ptolémée*, vol. 1, ed. J. Mogenet, A. Tihon (Vatican 1985), with Fr. tr. *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, ed. A. Rome, 3 vols. (Vatican 1931–43). *Euclidis Opera Omnia*, ed. J.L. Heiberg et al., 5.1 (Leipzig 1888; rp. 1977) xxxix–lviii; 6 (Leipzig 1896) xxxii–xlix; 7 (Leipzig 1895) xlix–l.

LIT. G.J. Toomer, *DSB* 13:321–25. Wilson, *Scholars* 42, 83, 86, 121, 262. –D.P.

THEOPASCHITISM (from θεοπασχίτης, "[one who believes that] God suffered"), a variant of MONOPHYSITISM that held that "one of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh." First propounded in Constantinople in 519 by four Scythian monks, the doctrine was seen by some, including Justinian I, as a solution to the division between Monophysites and Chalcedonians. Although Theopaschite doctrine was vigorously opposed in Constantinople by the AKOIMETOI, it was officially propounded by a law of 533 (*Cod. Just.* I 1.6). This concession, however, failed to win the allegiance of the Monophysites and the issue was allowed to lapse.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 2:375–77. E. Amann, *DTC* 15 (1946) 505–12. W. Ebert, "Die theopaschitische Formel," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 75 (1950) 195–206. –T.E.G.

THEOPHANES (Θεοφάνης) favorite and adviser of ROMANOS I; *patrikios, protovestiarios,* and later *parakoimomenos*; died after 947. Theophanes came to the fore in October 925, when he replaced John Mystikos as the emperor's chief adviser; he played a decisive role in negotiations with PETER OF BULGARIA in 927 and with the Hungarians (see HUNGARY) in 934 by arranging terms of truce satisfactory to both sides. In 941 he commanded the Byz. fleet in actions against IGOR. The vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER describes the victory over the Rus', but instead of Theophanes names other generals: the *patrikios* (Bardas) Phokas, Pantherios, Theodore Spongarios. H. Grégoire suggested that the last, who is mentioned in no other sources, was substituted for Theophanes in the vita; he also hypothesized that Theodore Spongarios was a personification of St. THEODORE STRATELATES. In 944 Theophanes was sent to receive the MANDYLION of Edessa. After Romanos's deposition, Theophanes and Patr. THEOPHYLAKTOS devised a plot to reinstate the deposed emperor, but the scheme was discovered and Theophanes banished.

LIT. E. v. Dobschütz, "Der Kammerherr Theophanes," *BZ* 10 (1901) 170–72. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:219f. H. Grégoire, P. Orgels, "La guerre russo-byzantine de 941," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 155f, with criticism by Angelide, *Bios tou Basileiou* 146–64. Zacos, *Seals* 2:472f, no.1084. –A.K.

THEOPHANES, a painter or patron of ca.1100, shown as a monk presenting his Gospel book (now Melbourne, Nat. Gall. 710/5) to the Virgin. Above this frontispiece image (fol.1v) are verses in which Theophanes claims to have written and illuminated the MS; the rarity of this claim—its only parallel is in the THEODORE PSALTER—has led it to be questioned by R.S. Nelson (*J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 [1987] 63f). Buchthal (*infra*) suggested that Theophanes may have been a monk in the HODEGON MONASTERY. Theophanes' book has canon tables, with human *atlantes* representing the MONTHS and virtues, and elaborate calligraphic headpieces.

LIT. H. Buchthal, "An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of about 1100 A.D.," *Special Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne 1961). Spatharakis, *Portrait* 76–78. –A.C.

THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, or *Scriptores post Theophanem*, conventional title of a collection of chronicles preserved in a single 11th-C. MS, Vat. gr. 167. The collection encompasses 813–961 and consists of four independent sections. The anonymous author of the first part (813–67) considered himself as the continuator of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR; he differed, however, from his predecessor in the composition of his

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work, which is not annalistic, but a series of imperial biographies. Commissioned by CONSTANTINE VII, the chronicle expressed the political views of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY, praised generals, and criticized merchants (p.88f). The anonymous author sometimes attempted to clarify the earthly causes of great events, e.g., the Arab invasion of Crete (p.74.5–6). He probably used the same sources as GENESIOS. The second part is a biography of Basil I (VITA BASILII), the third (886–948) is very close to SYMEON LOGOTHETE. The final section was apparently written before 963, probably by Theodore DAPHNOPATES, and reveals an aristocratic bias: e.g., the author censures the agrarian policy of ROMANOS I and contrasts it with the generosity of Constantine VII, his favorite hero (p.443.13–18). He writes with great sympathy about the Phokas family, John Kourkouas and the Argyroi; he does not yet know about the conflict between the Phokades and Joseph BRINGAS, however, and is quite favorable toward the latter.

ED. *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838), corr. K. Kumaniecki, *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 235–37.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:339–43. A. Kazhdan, "Iz istorii vizantijskoj chronografii X v. 1," *VizVrem* 19 (1961) 76–96. H. Nickles, "The Continuatio Theophanis," *TAPA* 68 (1937) 221–27. Jenkins, *Studies*, pt. IV (1954), 11–30. –A.K.

THEOPHANES GRAPTOS (Γραπτός, lit. "marked with writing"), saint; brother of THEODORE GRAPTOS; born in the Moabite mountains ca.778, died in Constantinople ? 11 Oct. 845. A defender of icon veneration, Theophanes accompanied his brother on a trip to Constantinople in 813 just as the second period of ICONOCLASM began; like Theodore he endured exile and the punishment of having insulting verses tattooed on his forehead. After the end of Iconoclasm, Theophanes was elected archbishop of Nicaea. He was an active hymnographer, and a great number of *idiomela* and *kanones* are ascribed to him, including some in dialogue form (a unique feature) and an acrostic *kanon* on ROMANOS THE MELODE (S. Pétridès, *BZ* 11 [1902] 363–69). S. Vailhé (*ROC* 6 [1901] 641) characterizes him as a poet more personal and human than JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER.

Representation in Art. Theophanes looks just like his brother Theodore, except that he wears the turban of a Palestinian melode. In a pendentive at CHORA he is shown writing his hymns in the pose of an evangelist in the company of other hymnographers. In the illustrated MS of John SKYLITZES in Madrid, he is shown clad as a bishop, confronting the emperor Theophilos and his court (fol.51r).

SOURCES. See THEODORE GRAPTOS.

LIT. S. Eustratiades, "Theophanes ho Graptos," *Nea Sion* 31 (1936) 339–44, 403–16, 467–78, 525–40, 666–73; 32 (1937) 81–96, 187–95, 252–59, 401–08, 569–79; 33 (1938) 317–22, 516–23, 618–23. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:461. –A.K., D.E.C., N.P.Š.

THEOPHANES KERAMEUS. See THEOPHANES OF SICILY.

THEOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM, historian; fl. 2nd half of 6th C. His *Historika* is an account in ten books of the period 566–81, with an introduction going back to 562. Known only from PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.64), its main theme was the diplomatic and military history of Byz. and its eastern neighbors, the Persians, Armenians, and other peoples of the Caucasus. Some of its information is rare and precious, for instance on the Turks who were called "Kermichiones" by the Persians (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:158f) and on Tblisi as the capital of the IBERIANS; Theophanes clearly took pains over his ethnography and geography. He also recounts the smuggling into Byz. of silkworm eggs from CHINA, an episode made famous by PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA (R. Hennig, *BZ* 33 [1933] 295–312); the two versions do not tally in all points. The works of Theophanes and MENANDER PROTECTOR overlap in period and subject matter; who used whom cannot be determined.

ED. *FHG* 4:270f. Dindorf, *HistGr* 1:446–49.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:309. –B.B.

THEOPHANES OF MEDEIA. See AGALLIANOS, THEODORE.

THEOPHANES OF SICILY, 9th-C. hymnographer. His biography is unknown. S. Pétridès surmised that he lived in Syracuse before 878 (*EO* 4 [1900-1901] 285). Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*infra* 371) made him a pupil of JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER, the author of Joseph's vita and a correspondent of PHOTIOS; however, the identification proves to be not valid, and the letter in question, although it used to be published among the works of Photios (PG 102:924D–925D), was apparently written by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS in 824. Theophanes wrote several *kanones* dedicated to Sicilian saints: Beryllos of Catania, Theoktistos *hegoumenos* of Cucumo, Agatha of Palermo, Pankratios of Taormina, Markianos of Syracuse, and perhaps Agrippina, martyred in Rome and buried in Sicily. Some of them allude to the war against the Arabs in Sicily. The relationship between Theophanes and "Theophanes Kerameus," author of a homily on Pankratios of Taormina (*BHG* 1412), needs to be clarified, since the MS tradition of the homily is confusing (G. Rossi Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami* [Palermo 1965] vii-xvi).

ED. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Theophanes Sikelos," *BZ* 9 (1900) 370-78.

LIT. M. Théarvic, "A propos de Théophane le Sicilien;" *EO* 7 (1904) 31-34, 164-71. –A.K.

THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, historian and saint; born Constantinople ca.760, died Samothrace 12 Mar. 817 (C. Van de Vorst, *AB* 31 [1912] 155) or 818 (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:336). Son of a *strategos* of the Aegean Sea, Theophanes became *strator* at the court of Leo IV and married Megalo, daughter of a *patrikios* and the emperor's friend. After a short conjugal life, Theophanes and Megalo took the monastic habit; Theophanes founded the monastery of Megas Agros on the mountain of Sigriane (the southern shore of the Propontis) and lived there. During the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY Theophanes supported Patr. Tarasios in his policy of compromise, in contrast to THEODORE OF STOUDIOS (J. Pargoire, *VizVrem* 9 [1902] 62–66). However, their common fate under Leo V (Theophanes was summoned to Constantinople and exiled to Samothrace after his refusal to join the Iconoclasts) led to their reconciliation; Theodore even wrote an *enkomion* after the death of Theophanes (ed. C. Van de Vorst, *AB* 31 [1912] 19–23).

The *Chronographia* of Theophanes covers the years 285–813 and forms a continuation of GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS. C. Mango's hypothesis (*ZRVI* 18 [1978] 9–17) that Theophanes served only as editor of the *Chronographia* written by George is questionable. The problem of the sources of Theophanes is very complicated. L. Whitby (*BMGS* 8 [1982/83] 1–20) suggests that the lost Great Chronographer was the major source of both Theophanes and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I; on the contrary, Ja. Ljubarskij (*VizVrem* 45 [1984] 72–86) thinks that Theophanes used 5th- to 7th-C. historians (Prokopios, Malalas, Theophylaktos Simokattes, etc.) in the original, often quoting them from memory. K. Uspenskij (*VizVrem* 3 [1950] 393–438; 4 [1951] 211–62) emphasizes that Theophanes had at his disposal pro-Iconoclast sources that he sometimes employed uncritically. N. Pigulevskaja (*JÖB* 16 [1967] 55–60) assumes that Theophanes used Syriac chronicles. All these assertions are difficult to prove. Theophanes was freer in his use of sources than Synkellos, an antiquarian who clung to the original; Theophanes reworked the available material, adapting it to his purposes (I. Čičurov, *VizVrem* 37 [1976] 62–73; *ADSV* 10 [1973] 203–06) and rarely indicating the provenance of his material. Theophanes, like JOHN OF DAMASCUS, consistently presents his account not as his personal opinions, but as objective truth; unlike Synkellos, he considered himself as a humble narrator (I. Čičurov, *Antičnost' i Vizantija* [Moscow 1975] 203–17). More than Synkellos he believed that the flow of time by itself determines the logic of historical development and presented his material in a strictly chronological order, rather than organizing it in thematic groupings. His is a rare case of Byz. annals that did not find a proper continuation.

As a steadfast iconodule, Theophanes was critical of the imperial power and subsequent to the idealized Constantine I found scarcely a single ruler worthy of praise; Marcian forms an exception. He was esp. hostile to the Orthodox emperor Nikephoros I, as well as to the Iconoclasts. The earliest MS (Oxford, Bodl., Wake 5) is of the late 9th C. (N. Wilson, *DOP* 26 [1972] 358). ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS translated Theophanes into Latin. Several vitae of Theophanes are known, including one attributed to Patr. METHODIOS.

ED. *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1883–85, rp. Hildesheim 1963). Eng. tr. H. Turtledove (Philadelphia, Pa., 1982).

SOURCE. V. Latyšev, *Mefodija patriarcha Konstantinopol'skogo Žitie prep. Feofana Ispovednika* (Petrograd 1918).

LIT. I. Čičurov, *Vizantijskie istoričeskie sočinenija* (Moscow 1980) 17–144. Idem, "Mesto 'Chronografii' Feofana v rannevizantijskoj istoriografičeskoj tradicii," in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR* (Moscow 1981) 5–146. A.S. Proudfoot, "The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 367–439. *BHG* 1787z-1792e. –A.K.

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THEOPHANES "THE GREEK," painter of frescoes, icons, and books; active in Russia from 1378 at the latest, until at least 1405. His only surviving wall-painting is in the Church of the Transfiguration at NOVGOROD where, according to the *ktetor*'s inscription (preserved in the Third Novgorod Chronicle, *sub anno* 6886 = 1378), he worked with a team of indigenous craftsmen. This highly individualized decoration consists of fragments of biblical scenes alternating with friezes of saints. A letter of ca.1415 from the hagiographer EPIFANIJ PREMUDRYJ describes Theophanes' work elsewhere and is the fullest and most personal account we have of any Byz. artist. Epifanij relates that Theophanes painted more than 40 stone churches in Constantinople, Chalcedon, Galata, Kaffa, Novgorod, and Nižnij Novgorod. In Moscow, Theophanes is said to have decorated three churches, painting the TREE OF JESSE and the APOCALYPSE in the Annunciation Church in the Kremlin and "a city with all its particulars" in that of the Archangel Michael. Theophanes' secular frescoes included a view of Moscow in the palace of Vladimir, prince of Serpuchov (1353–1410), and an unidentified picture in that of Basil I of Moscow (1389–1425). Epifanij reports that Theophanes painted a view of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, and the statue of Justinian I in the AUGUSTAION in a book that served as a model to other artists. The painter's activities in Moscow, including his work in the Annunciation Church (1405), are confirmed in the early 15th-C. Troickaja Chronicle. The iconostasis from this church, containing a Great DEESIS by Theophanes, is preserved in the present cathedral of the same name.

LIT. V.N. Lazarev, *Feofan Grek i ego škola* (Moscow 1961; Germ. tr. Vienna 1968). G.I. Vzdornov, *Feofan Grek: Tvorčeskoe nasledie* (Moscow 1983). –A.C.

THEOPHANIES. See EPIPHANIES; VISIONS.

THEOPHANO (Θεοφανώ), empress; first wife of LEO VI; born Constantinople ca.875, died Constantinople 10 Nov. 895 or 896 (cf. P. Karlin-Hayter, *BZ* 62 [1969] 14). Daughter of the *patrikios* Constantine Martinakios, Theophano was chosen as Leo's bride by EUDOKIA INGERINA (Theophano's relative, according to later sources) at the BRIDE SHOW of 881/2 (Vogt, "Léon VI," 415; Karlin-Hayter questioned the date, *Vita Euthym.* 167). Theophano bore to Leo a daughter, Eudokia. Theophano supported Leo during his imprisonment, but eventually her great piety made the marriage a failure; Theophano devoted herself to prayer, while Leo lived with his mistress Zoe, daughter of Stylianos ZAOUTZES. After Theophano's premature death, she was proclaimed a saint, and Leo built for her relics a sanctuary of St. Theophano (G. Majeska, *BS* 38 [1977] 14–21). The vita of Patr. EUTHYMIOS emphasizes the discord between Theophano and Leo: allegedly only Euthymios's influence stopped Theophano from divorce; in contrast, the vita of Theophano, written by an anonymous contemporary, presents the couple's relationship as ideal. The cult of Theophano existed in later centuries, and Nikephoros GREGORAS produced a new version of her Life.

SOURCES. E. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die heilige Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.* (St. Petersburg 1898), rev. Ch. Loparev, *ŽMNP* 325 (Oct. 1899) 343–61.

LIT. G. Downey, "The Church of All Saints (Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *DOP* 9–10 (1956) 301–05. –A.K.

THEOPHANO, empress and wife of ROMANOS II; baptismal name Anastaso; born Constantinople after 940, died Constantinople probably after 976. Daughter of a wine merchant from Constantinople, the beautiful Theophano enchanted Romanos II, who married her ca.956 after the premature death of his fiancée. Skylitzes, who hated the young upstart, asserts that Theophano tried to poison CONSTANTINE VII (Skyl. 246.55–56) and participated in murdering Stephen Lekapenos, son of ROMANOS I (Skyl. 255.71–72). She probably also urged Romanos II to send his sisters to a convent and incited him against his mother Helen. However, he did not dare remove her from the palace for fear of her curse. After Romanos II's premature demise, Theophano remained regent for her minor sons BASIL II and CONSTANTINE VIII; in the struggle for power she supported NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS against Joseph BRINGAS. After seizing the throne in 963, Nikephoros removed Theophano temporarily to the palace of Petrion, but soon (in Sept.) married her. Marriage with the austere and ascetic warrior did not satisfy Theophano; eventually she plotted with JOHN (I) TZIMISKES and helped his supporters to enter Nikephoros's bedchamber and murder him.

Theophano's expectations of a third marriage, to Tzimiskes, were not realized. Under pressure from Patr. POLYEUKTOS, Tzimiskes banished her before his coronation and married Theodora, Romanos II's sister. A satirical song describes Theophano's failure (G. Morgan, *BZ* 47 [1954] 292–97). She was banished to the Prokonnesos but recalled from exile in 976. –A.K.

THEOPHANO (Lat. Theophanu), wife of the German emperor Otto II (973–83); born ca.955, died Nimwegen 15 June 991. Her grant of dowry from Otto II specifies that she was a niece of Emp. JOHN I TZIMISKES, but M. Uhlirz attempted to show that she was descended from the Lekapenoi. F. Dölger refuted this theory (*HistJb* 62–69 [1942–49] 646–58). Apparently because she was not a *porphyrogennete*, some in Otto I's court opposed her marriage to Otto II, but the wedding and coronation occurred at St. Peter's, Rome, 14 Apr. 972. Theophano bore Otto II daughters and a son, the future OTTO III. Under her influence, Otto II revived the title *Romanorum imperator augustus*; he also undertook an attack on the Saracen invaders of southern Italy because such action was appropriate for an emperor. As regent for Otto III, Theophano stressed her imperial rank. Following the pattern of Empress IRENE, she used the masculine form for her title (W. Ohnsorge, *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* [Darmstadt 1966] 59–61). In the youthful Otto III, she instilled her consciousness of imperial tradition and a desire to emulate Byz. Together with her husband, she is represented on a southern Italian (?) ivory in Paris (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.85). H. Wentzel (*Aachener Kunstblätter* 40 [1971] 15–39, 43 [1972] 11–96) associated a huge quantity of Late Antique gems and Byz. ivories, textiles, and MSS with her dowry and ascribed an excessive number of new creations in these media to her patronage.

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, *Ost-Rom und der Westen* (Darmstadt 1983) 128–206. M. Uhlirz, "Zu dem Mitkaisertum der Ottonen: *Theophanu coimperatrix*," *BZ* 50 (1957) 382–89. K. Ciggaar, "The Empress Theophano," *Byzantium and the Low Countries in the Tenth Century* (Hernen 1985) 33–77. –C.M.B., A.C.

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THEOPHILOS (Θεόφιλος), archbishop of Alexandria (from 385 [Favale] or 384 [Declerck]); theologian and politician; born Menfi, Egypt, ca.345, died Alexandria 15 Oct. 412. A saint of the Coptic and Syrian churches (feastdays 15 and 17 Oct.), Theophilos appears in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 812.16–20) in a negative vein—as the alleged organizer of the slaughter of holy fathers "in caves." Uncle of Cyril of Alexandria, Theophilos was his political forerunner. His aim was to promote the role of Alexandria, which had experienced a setback at the Council of Constantinople in 381: Theophilos at first supported the usurper MAXIMUS but prudently changed his mind; he then tried to exert influence on Theodosios I and to introduce the Alexandrian paschal date into Constantinople ca.388. He collaborated with Theodosios in antipagan persecutions, culminating in the destruction of the Serapeion at Alexandria (391). He failed, however, in his plan to elect his closest aide, the priest Isidore, to the see of Constantinople (397). As an Origenist, Theophilos attacked (ca.399) anthropomorphist views popular among Egyptian monks; the ensuing opposition led Theophilos to change his position and begin persecution of the Origenists, esp. the so-called Tall (*Makroi*) Brothers. After emigrating from Egypt, they were supported by JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, the bishop of Constantinople, thus introducing a new source of conflict between the two sees. This time Theophilos emerged victorious, and at the Synod of the Oak near Chalcedon (403) obtained John's deposition.

Most of what remains from his many attested writings survives in fragments or in Coptic, Ethiopic, Latin, or Syriac translations. His name has also been assigned to some spuria, notably a discourse describing the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt.

ED. PG 65:29–68.

LIT. A. Favale, *Teofilo d'Alessandria* (Turin 1958). J. Declerck, "Théophile d'Alexandrie contre Origène," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 495–507. Richard, *Opera minora* 2, nos. 37–39. P. Nautin, "La lettre de Théophile d'Alexandrie à l'Église de Jérusalem et la réponse de Jean de Jérusalem (juin-juillet, 396)," *RHE* 69 (1974) 365–94. –B.B., A.K.

THEOPHILOS, 6th-C. jurist, ANTECESSOR, professor at the law school of Constantinople. He was appointed by Justinian I to the commissions for the compilation of the first edition of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS and the DIGEST; together with DOROTHEOS, he was ordered to compile the INSTITUTES. Résumés of passages of the first books of the *Digest* are ascribed to him in the scholia to the BASILIKA.

His paraphrase of the *Institutes* is preserved in its entirety in several MSS. This work, whose attribution to Theophilos was incorrectly disputed by Ferrini, may have been based on notes taken by a student at a lecture given by Theophilos shortly after the completion of the *Institutes*.

ED. Paraphrase of the *Digest*—Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:33–36. Paraphrase of the *Institutes*—E.C. Ferrini, *Institutionum graeca paraphrasis Theophilo Antecessori vulgo tributa,* 2 vols. (Berlin 1884–97; rp. Aalen 1967).

LIT. B. Kübler, *RE* 5A 2 (1934) 2138–2148. J.H.A. Lokin, "Theophilus Antecessor," *Tijdschrift* 44 (1976) 337–44. Idem, "Die Karriere des Theophilus Antecessor: Rang und Titel im Zeitalter Justinians," *SubGr* 1 (1984) 43–68. –A.S.

THEOPHILOS, emperor (829–42); born 812/13 (W. Treadgold, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 337), died Constantinople 20 Jan. 842. Son of Michael II and Thekla, he was crowned co-emperor in spring 821. Theophilos married THEODORA after a BRIDE SHOW at which he rejected KASSIA. Theophilos cultivated an image as "a fiery lover of justice and a strict guardian of civil laws" (*TheophCont* 85.1–2). Immediately after his accession he executed his father's accomplices in the assassination of Leo V (his godfather). Many colorful stories depict him dispensing justice at the expense of high officials like PETRONAS. His reputation endured in legend (C. Diehl, *SemKond* 4 [1931] 33–37): the TIMARION depicts him as a judge in hell. His sound fiscal policies enriched the treasury and allowed major additions to the GREAT PALACE, renovations of Constantinople's walls, the building of a *xenon* on the Golden Horn, and the construction of a palace at BRYAS. Theophilos likely established regional mints and issued large numbers of FOLLEIS, partly aiding the gradual revival of provincial economies (D. Metcalf, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 310). His devotion to learning included patronage of LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, METHODIOS (I), and JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS (his childhood tutor); evidently he himself wrote hymns as well (Vasiliev, *infra* 1:16, n.1). With Patr. ANTONY I KASSYMATAS and John Grammatikos he restored ICONOCLASM by prohibiting all painted images (*Reg* 1, no.427) and any aid to iconodules, many of whom he exiled or physically punished (e.g., THEODORE GRAPTOS).

To strengthen the empire's defenses he built the fortress of SARKEL on the Don; created the themes of Cherson, Paphlagonia, and Chaldia; and formed the *kleisourai* of Charsianon, Cappadocia, and Seleukeia (Oikonomides, *Listes* 348–54). He neglected the threat of the Muslims in Sicily and southern Italy, but confronted them in Asia Minor and was defeated by MUʿTAṢIM in 831. In 837 he campaigned with his generals MANUEL and THEOPHOBOS against the Arabs. Their destruction of Zapetra provoked the invasion in 838 of Muʿtaṣim, who defeated Theophilos at the battle of Dazimon, where the emperor narrowly escaped capture; his life was reportedly saved by Theophobos. The Arabs then sacked AMORION. The emperor subsequently sent embassies to the Franks, Venice, and Cordoba to obtain help against the caliphate (P. Teofilatto, *Studi Meridionali* 12 [1980] 186–94). Theophilos died of dysentery.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 263–329. J. Rosser, "Theophilos (828–842)," *Byzantiaka* 3 (1983) 37–56. Griffith, "Apologetics in Arabic." Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:89–190. Bury, *ERE* 120–43, 251–74. –P.A.H.

THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA (Ar. Thīyūfīl ibn Thūmā), translator and Christian astrologer; born Edessa ca.695, died 15/16 July 785. A Greek from Syria, Theophilos served the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (775–85) as astrological military adviser and wrote several astrological treatises in Greek (partially preserved also in Arabic versions). His *Labors Concerning the Beginnings of Wars* is the only medieval Greek text devoted entirely to the subject of military ASTROLOGY. Addressed to his son Deukalion, it is partially based on Indian sources (D. Pingree, *Viator* 7 [1976] 148f); a "second edition," consisting of chapters 24–41, includes material ascribed to Zoroaster and to Julian of Laodikeia, the latter taken from the collections of RHETORIOS OF EGYPT. A later recension of all of Theophilos's astrological writings was made in ca.1100, and another devised in the School of John ABRAMIOS in the 14th C. The *Labors* were also pillaged by John's pupil, Eleutherios Zebelenos, also called Elias, for his compendium falsely ascribed to Palchos.

Theophilos's so-called *Astrological Effects* in 30 chapters, addressed to Deukalion, also contains material influenced by Indian sources and was utilized by 9th-C. theoreticians of magic from Ḥarrān (D. Pingree, *JWarb* 43 [1980] 6). In part it too is dependent on Rhetorios. Theophilos's final work, entitled *On Different Beginnings*, deals with the rules for undertaking activities governed by each of the 12 astrological places. Much of this work is based on Dorotheos of Sidon and HEPHAISTION OF THEBES. A separate treatise by Theophilos, the *Collection on Cosmic Beginnings*, deals with annual and monthly predictions and the various definitions of the beginning of the year according to the Egyptians, Greeks, Persians, and Arabs. Theophilos's works are among the most original and influential medieval Greek treatises on various aspects of astrology. Theophilos's Syriac translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have not survived.

ED. *CCAG* 1:129–31; 4:93f, 122f; 5.1:212–26, 233–38; 8.1:266–70; 11.1:204–66.

LIT. D. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1978) 443f. –D.P.

THEOPHILOS PROTOSPATHARIOS, physician; his biography and dates are unknown; conventionally assigned to the 7th C., but may date to the 9th or 10th. Theophilos composed *On the Constitution of the Human Body*, melding Christian theology and the *Use of the Parts of the Human Body* by GALEN. Greek texts on various medical subjects, including *Excrements*, *Pulses*, and *Urines*, survive under Theophilos's name. The work *Urines* became the ancestor of many tracts on this subject, such as the *Urines* of JOHN AKTOUARIOS. Apparently Theophilos also wrote some commentaries on the works of Hippocrates, but these tracts are jumbled in the MSS with similar treatises by DAMASKIOS, STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA (or Athens), and MELETIOS THE MONK; Theophilos's *On Various Fevers* has come down in MSS meshed with tracts on the same subject by Stephen. A portrait of Theophilos in physician's garb, conducting uroscopy, is preserved in a 15th-C. copy of his *Urines* (L. MacKinney, *Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts* [Berkeley–Los Angeles 1965] fig.5).

ED. *De corporis humani fabrica libri V*, ed. W.A. Greenhill (Oxford 1842). For list of other works, see Hunger, *Lit.* 2:299–301.

LIT. L.G. Westerink, "The Theophilus Scholia," in *Stephanus of Athens: Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms, Sects. I–II* (Berlin 1985) 17–19. –J.S., G.V.

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THEOPHILOS THE INDIAN, also called the Ethiopian (Philostorg., *HE* 6.3), Arian bishop; born island of Dibous (probably the Maldive Islands, near Ceylon), died after 364. His life is described in detail by PHILOSTORGIOS. As a young man he was sent to the court of Constantine I where EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA ordained him deacon. Although Constantius II respected him, he still banished Theophilos for his support of the caesar GALLUS. Famous for working miracles, Theophilos was recalled to Constantinople and acquired even greater renown for healing the empress Eusebia. In 356 Constantius II sent him to the ethnarch of Saba (ḤIMYAR) with 200 Cappadocian horses and other gifts. Theophilos founded three churches—one in the capital called Tapharos (Ẓafār), one in the Roman *emporion* or Adane, and another in the Persian *emporion*. From the land of the Ḥimyarites he sailed to Dibous, then to the "other India," and returned to Constantinople via Antioch. Constantius II exiled him again together with other partisans of AETIOS the Arian, to whom Theophilos maintained allegiance after his banishment and subsequent release in 359. A later version of the *Martyrdom of Arethas* makes him "orthodox" and the principal evangelizer of South Arabia, from Najrān to the Persian Gulf.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 5 (1934) 2167f. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs* (*4th C.*) 86–104. G. Fiaccadori, "Teofilo Indiano," *Studi classici e orientali* 33 (1983) 295–331; 34 (1984) 271–308. A. Dihle, "Die Sendung des Inders Theophilos," in *Politeia und Res publica: Dem Andenken Rudolf Starks gewidmet*, ed. P. Steinmetz (Wiesbaden 1969) 330–36. –A.K., L.S.B.MacC.

THEOPHOBOS (Θεόφοβος; Naṣr in Arabic and Syriac sources), a Persian or Kurdish military commander in Byz. service; died Constantinople 840 (Kaegi, *Unrest* 254) or 842. Theophobos fled to Byz. territory in 834 after the Khurramites were defeated by MUʿTAṢIM in 833. Emp. Theophilos organized the Khurramite refugees into a special cavalry *tagma* under Theophobos, who converted to Christianity, was appointed *patrikios*, and married the sister of either Theophilos or Empress Theodora (Bury, *ERE* 253). Skylitzes (Skyl. 67.3–9) reports that Theophobos wedded the emperor's sister; in the illustrated Madrid MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.127), Theophilos is shown seated with Theophobos on his knee—a symbolic representation of adoption. Theophobos campaigned with Theophilos in 837, and Michael the Syrian (ed. Chabot, 3:96) says that his troops cruelly sacked Zapetra. He campaigned with Theophilos again in 838 and reportedly saved the emperor's life during the battle at Dazimon

(*TheophCont* 113f). Rumors of the death of Theophilos apparently instigated a conspiracy in Constantinople on behalf of Theophobos; reports that Theophobos was an iconophile suggest that the plot may have been a reaction against ICONOCLASM. When Theophilos returned to the capital, he recalled Theophobos, who fled with his *tagma* to Amastris and then Sinope, where the troops proclaimed him emperor. There Theophobos secretly negotiated with Theophilos, who received him favorably in Constantinople but dispersed the *tagma* throughout the themes. Byz. sources report that Theophilos ordered PETRONAS to arrest and kill Theophobos, perhaps to forestall any plot against the young Michael III.

LIT. M. Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe et l'alliance de Bâbek avec Théophile (833/34–839/40)," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 43–67. J. Rosser, "Theophilus' Khurramite Policy and its Finale: the Revolt of Theophobus' Persian Troops in 838," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 263–71. H. Grégoire, "Manuel et Théophobe ou la concurrence de deux monastères," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 183–204. Z.M. Bunijatov, "Babek i Vizantija," *Doklady Akademii Nauk Azerbajdžanskoj SSR* 15 (1959) no.7, 613–16. –P.A.H., A.C.

THEOPHYLAKTOS, patriarch of Constantinople (2 Feb. 933–27 Feb. 956); born Constantinople? 917, died Constantinople. He was a son of Romanos I Lekapenos, who wanted him to become patriarch, and appointed him when he was still a child (924) as *synkellos* of Patr. Nicholas I Mystikos. At age 16 Theophylaktos was ostentatiously installed in the see of Constantinople. He consistently supported his father's policy and acted in accord with him. In 937 he negotiated with the sees of Alexandria and Antioch and informed them about changes in the liturgy of Constantinople, thus trying to confirm the links with Eastern patriarchates. In order to influence the Hungarians, ca.948 Theophylaktos sent the monk Hierotheos as "bishop of Tourkis" (Skyl. 239.67–68). In a letter to Tsar Peter of Bulgaria, Theophylaktos defined BOGOMILISM as a dangerous heresy, a mixture of Manichaeanism with "Paulinism," that is, the teaching of Paul of Samosata, who was considered the founder of Paulicianism. Byz. chroniclers hostile to Theophylaktos present him as an irreverent man who cared only for his 2,000 horses and who was willing to interrupt services in Hagia Sophia to attend the foaling of his mares. He reportedly introduced theatrical elements into the liturgy and appointed as *domestikos* of the church a certain Euthymios Kasnes, who organized "satanical dances" and singing of street songs during the liturgy (Skyl. 243f). Theophylaktos was buried at the ROUPHINIANAI monastery in Chalcedon, whose restoration he had ordered (Janin, *Églises centres* 39).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 787–89. Runciman, *Romanus* 76f. –A.K.

THEOPHYLAKTOS, archbishop of OHRID (from 1088/9) and writer; born Euboea ca.1050, died after 1126. P. Gautier (*REB* 21 [1963] 165–68) has shown that his surname was Hephaistos, a patronymic otherwise unattested after the 6th C. He was the pupil of Michael PSELLOS and served as deacon of Hagia Sophia. As the teacher of Constantine DOUKAS, son of Michael VII, Theophylaktos produced ca.1085/6 a MIRROR OF PRINCES addressed to his pupil, in which he praised noble origin and martial prowess as necessary qualities of a successful emperor. In 1088 he wrote a panegyric of Alexios I, even though his sympathies lay with Maria, Michael VII's widow, rather than with the Komnenoi. His letters from Ohrid are a valuable source for the economic, social, and political history of Bulgaria as well as Byz. prosopography. They are filled with conventional complaints concerning Theophylaktos's "barbarian" surroundings, whereas in fact he was deeply involved in local cultural development, producing an *enkomion* of 15 martyrs of Tiberioupolis and a vita of KLIMENT OF OHRID. His exegetic production was prolific: Theophylaktos commented on the Psalms, Prophets, Gospels, epistles of St. Paul, and others. His polemical works against the Latins are relatively tolerant; although he rejected the FILIOQUE, Theophylaktos opposed the idea of schism and defended the Latins from slanderous accusations.

ED. PG 123–26. *Discours, traités, poésies et lettres*, ed. P. Gautier, 2 vols. (Thessalonike 1980–86).

LIT. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 1:134–49. R. Katičić, "Biographika peri Theophylaktou archiepiskopou Achridos," *EEBS* 30 (1960–61) 364–85. S. Maslev, *FGHBulg* 9 (Sofia 1974). –A.K.

THEORETRON (*θεώρετρον*), a wedding gift of a husband to his wife that supplemented the DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS or the HYPOBOLON. This gift is mentioned for the first time in a novel of Constantine VII (*Reg* 1, no.677). The *theoretron* was basically granted only in a first marriage (cf., however, SYNOPSIS MINOR *θ* 10) and had consequently the character of a *pretium virginitatis* ("reward for virginity"). The *theoretron* had to amount to at least a twelfth of the DOWRY. The wife administered the *theoretron* and could dispose of it freely. In contrast to the *hypobolon* it remained her property after the termination of the marriage, even if there were children and even if she remarried (*Peira* 25.47,62). The wife's unlimited rights to the *theoretron* were comparable to her rights to the so-called *exoproika*, which she herself contributed.

LIT. Simon, "Ehegüterrecht" 223f. S. Perentides, "Pos mia synetheia mporei na exelichthei se thesmo; he periptose tou 'theoretrou,'" in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 2:476–85. –M.Th.F.

THEORIANOS, diplomat and polemicist of the second half of 12th C. MANUEL I sent Theorianos in the fall of 1169 and in the fall of 1171 to the *katholikos* of Armenia, NERSES ŠNORHALI; the negotiations took place at Hromklay on the Euphrates. Theorianos tried to persuade the Armenians (as well as the Syrian Jacobites) to accept the creed of the Council of CHALCEDON by explaining that the differences resulted primarily from linguistic misunderstandings. Theorianos seems to have also negotiated with Enrico, patriarch of Grado (1131–86); according to Loenertz (*infra* 47f), this probably occurred in 1177, when an embassy of Manuel went to Venice. Theorianos also wrote a letter "To the priests of Oriane," dedicated to the discrepancies in ritual between the Byz. and Latin churches. The addressee of this letter was, according to Beck (*Kirche* 628), the community of Beth-Zachariah in Palestine; according to Loenertz (*infra* 49f), that of Oria in Apuleia. The letter was partially translated into Latin in the 13th C. and attributed to JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

ED. PG 133:113–298. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 55–66.

LIT. Tekeyan, *Controverses* 21–33. B. Zekiyan, "Un dialogue oecuménique au XIIe siècle," 15 *CEB* 4 (Athens 1980) 420–41. –A.K.

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THEOSIS (*θέωσις*), or deification in the Byz. tradition, is the goal of man to which he is naturally destined and which is realized through the grace of God. In a Christian context primarily concerned with SALVATION the ethical ideal of Plato survives, "To become like God insofar as that is possible for man" (*Theaetetus* 176b), although this does not mean that the soul is of divine essence.

"*Theosis* consists of being as much as possible like and in union (*henosis*) with God" (pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, PG 3:376A). It is the "exaltation of nature, not its destruction or alteration" (Anastasios of Sinai, ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux*, 2.7.8–9), and "participation through grace in that which surrounds the nature of God" (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 88.18, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:203). Its highest realization is in the deification of Christ's human nature. As elaborated by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, "nature" is understood as the essence of man as originally established in CREATION, but which is darkened by its existential condition (*tropos tes hyparxeos*) subsequent to Adam's sin; or, to use a different metaphor, it is corroded "like a mirror" composed of metal, not "damaged," as it was described in the anti-Pelagian tradition of the West under the influence of Augustine.

Theosis preserves and saves the created order of human nature, which remains incommensurable to God; it is maintained without commingling and unseparated as in Christ. The initial development of this doctrine is found in Athanasios of Alexandria's theory of the "deification of man through the incarnation of God." "He became man that we might become divine" (*Oratio de incarnatione Verbi* 54.3, ed. C. Kannengieser, 458). For him, the HOMOOUSIOS of the First Council of Nicaea by itself ensures this participation in deification (*theopoiesis*). In the refutation of the PNEUMATOMACHOI by BASIL THE GREAT, deification of man as sanctification is rooted in the work of the Holy Spirit who is God; otherwise, man would be neither sanctified nor deified. This tradition culminates in CYRIL of Alexandria, for whom the deification of man is determined by the indwelling of the TRINITY. In all these statements concerning the "being" of divinized man, the difference, or, in the language of Gregory of Nyssa, the infinite gap between the prototype and the image is constantly stressed.

In HESYCHASM one sees in the light of Mt. Tabor the revelation of *theosis*, which in the theory of PALAMISM is attributed to the activity of the divine energies. The extent to which Sinaitic mysticism, with its emphasis on incommensurability, survived