at this late date in its most essential features, without having been submitted to the "Messalian logic" (I. Hausherr, *OrChrP* 1 [1935] 328–60) with its overemphasis on sensation and its conviction that grace can and must be a perceptible experience (*aisthesis*), is a disputed question.

LIT. J. Gross, *La divinisation du chrétien d'après les Pères grecs* (Paris 1938). M. Lot-Borodine, "La doctrine de la déification dans l'église grecque jusqu'au XIᵉ siècle," *RHR* 105 (1932) 5–43; 106 (1932) 525–74; 107 (1933) 8–55. M.-J. Congar, "La déification dans la tradition spirituelle de l'Orient," *La Vie Spirituelle*, supp. 43 (1935) 91–107. B. Sartorius, *La doctrine de la déification de l'homme d'après les Pères grecs* (Geneva 1965).   –K.-H.U.

THEOTOKION (θεοτοκίον), a HYMN addressing and invoking the THEOTOKOS. *Theotokia* are sung mainly at the end of vespers, at *orthros* before the KATHISMATA, as the final TROPARION in the odes of most KANONS, and after the Great DOXOLOGY. In a collection known as the *Theotokarion*, *theotokia* are arranged according to the eight MODES. A variant form is the *staurotheotokion*, a hymn that describes Mary's grief as she stood at the foot of the Cross (*stauros*).

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 242f.   –D.E.C.

THEOTOKOS (Θεοτόκος, lit. "God-bearing"), Mother of God, an epithet of the VIRGIN MARY. This title, which referred earlier to the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis, appears for the first time as far as we know in a *troparion* of the 3rd C. and in a text of Hippolytus of Rome (H. Rahner, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 59 [1935] 73–81). Already ATHANASIOS of Alexandria used it in his *Discourses against the Arians*, and Gregory of Nazianzos (PG 37:177C–180A) considers use of the title as one of the foundations of the Christian faith: "If anyone does not confess that the Virgin Mary is Theotokos, he is found to be far from God. Whoever maintains that Christ passed through the Virgin as through a channel and was not fashioned in her in a manner at the same time divine and human—in a divine manner because [the conception occurred] without a man, in a human manner because Christ developed in her according to the principles of nature—is likewise godless. Whoever maintains that the human being was formed first, and later God descended upon him, is to be condemned." This passage reveals the Christological implications of Mary's title.

The opponents of this expression, who belonged to the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, were willing to grant only the title "birth-giver of man." NESTORIOS argued that the term Theotokos is neither scriptural nor sanctified by the church fathers; that Mary, as a created being, could not bear God; and that the title implies that Mary is a goddess. He looked, however, for a compromise, suggesting alternative epithets such as Christotokos or Theodochos, and reluctantly agreed that the term Theotokos might be accepted. CYRIL of Alexandria undertook the defense of the title and was solemnly endorsed both by a Roman Synod under Pope Celestine I and by the Council of EPHESUS (431).

LIT. G. Jouassard, "Marie à travers la patristique. Maternité divine, virginité sainteté," in H. du Manoir, *Maria*, vol. 1 (Paris 1949) 69–157. G.A. Wellen, *Theotokos, Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild im frühchristlicher Zeit* (Utrecht 1960). G. Giamberardini, " 'Sub tuum praesidium' e il titolo 'Theotokos' nella tradizione egiziana," *Marianum* 31 (1969) 324–62. Av. Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople," *JThSt* 29 (1978) 79–108. E. Benz, "Die heilige Höhle in der alten Christenheit und in der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche," in *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953) 365–432. G. Podskalsky, "Nestorius," in M. Greschat, *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte, 2: Alte Kirche II* (Stuttgart 1984) 215–25.   –G.P.

THERMON. See ZEON.

THESEID, anonymous and faithful translation into Greek political verse (unrhymed except for the Prologue and the synopsis to each book) of Boccaccio's *Teseida*. Translated probably late in the 15th C., the *Theseid* survives in two MSS, one used as the printer's copy for the 1529 Venice edition.

ED. *Il Teseida neogreco: Libro I: Saggio di edizione*, ed. E. Follieri (Rome-Athens 1959).
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 139f.   –E.M.J., M.J.J.

THESEUS, son of Aegeus, a legendary king of Athens; in Malalas, however, he appears as a ruler of Thessaly. Of the great number of stories connected with Theseus, Malalas chose two—his victory over the Minotaur with the help of ARIADNE and the tragic fate of HIPPOLYTOS and Phaedra (Malal. 87–90). Both NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 47:269–71) and Malalas stressed negative features of Theseus's behavior, such as his abandonment of Ariadne. TZETZES knew other legends about Theseus, for example, his attempt

to rescue PERSEPHONE from the underworld (*Hist.* 2:744–61). The attempt failed and Theseus was imprisoned. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 150.49–53) praises Theseus for the punishment he had imposed on robbers and compares Manuel I to him.

A MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479) shows Theseus at Troizen finding the weapons his father had hidden under a rock (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.159). In the miniature, however, the wrong figure is labeled Theseus.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 131–33.   –A.K., A.M.T.

THESSALONIKE (Θεσσαλονίκη), ancient city located at the head of the Thermaic Gulf near the mouth of the VARDAR and on the Via EGNATIA. Its importance from the end of the 3rd C. derived from its strategic location with regard to both barbarian invasions across the Danube and East-West confrontation. The residence of Emp. GALERIUS in Thessalonike was accompanied by burgeoning building activity (a palace, the triumphal ARCH OF GALERIUS); in 298/9 a mint was opened there, gradually replacing that of SERDICA (P. Bruun, *Opuscula romana* 15 [1985] 7–16). During Constantine I's war against Licinius, Thessalonike was, for a while, the headquarters of Constantine, but after his victory he demoted the city, making it the place of Licinius's exile. From the mid-5th C. Thessalonike was the capital of the prefecture of ILLYRICUM and an important episcopal center, created according to tradition by St. Paul; the bishopric (later archbishopric) was under the jurisdiction of Rome, and in the beginning of the 5th C. Bishop Rufus was the papal *vicarius* of Illyricum; from the second half of the 6th C. Constantinople strengthened its grip on Thessalonike, and ca.733 the archbishopric was transferred to the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople; within its hierarchy it was soon demoted to the 16th rank, with only five suffragans. In the 7th–9th C., Thessalonike was administered by an eparch, later by a *doux*.

In 390 Emp. Theodosios I massacred thousands of citizens in the hippodrome at Thessalonike as punishment for the murder of one of his barbarian generals. The Germanic invasions of the 4th and 5th C. bypassed Thessalonike; in the 6th C., however, Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.3.29) spoke of the city as "easily assailable by barbarians." In 479, when the news of an imminent Ostrogothic attack

THESSALONIKE IN THE 14th CENTURY
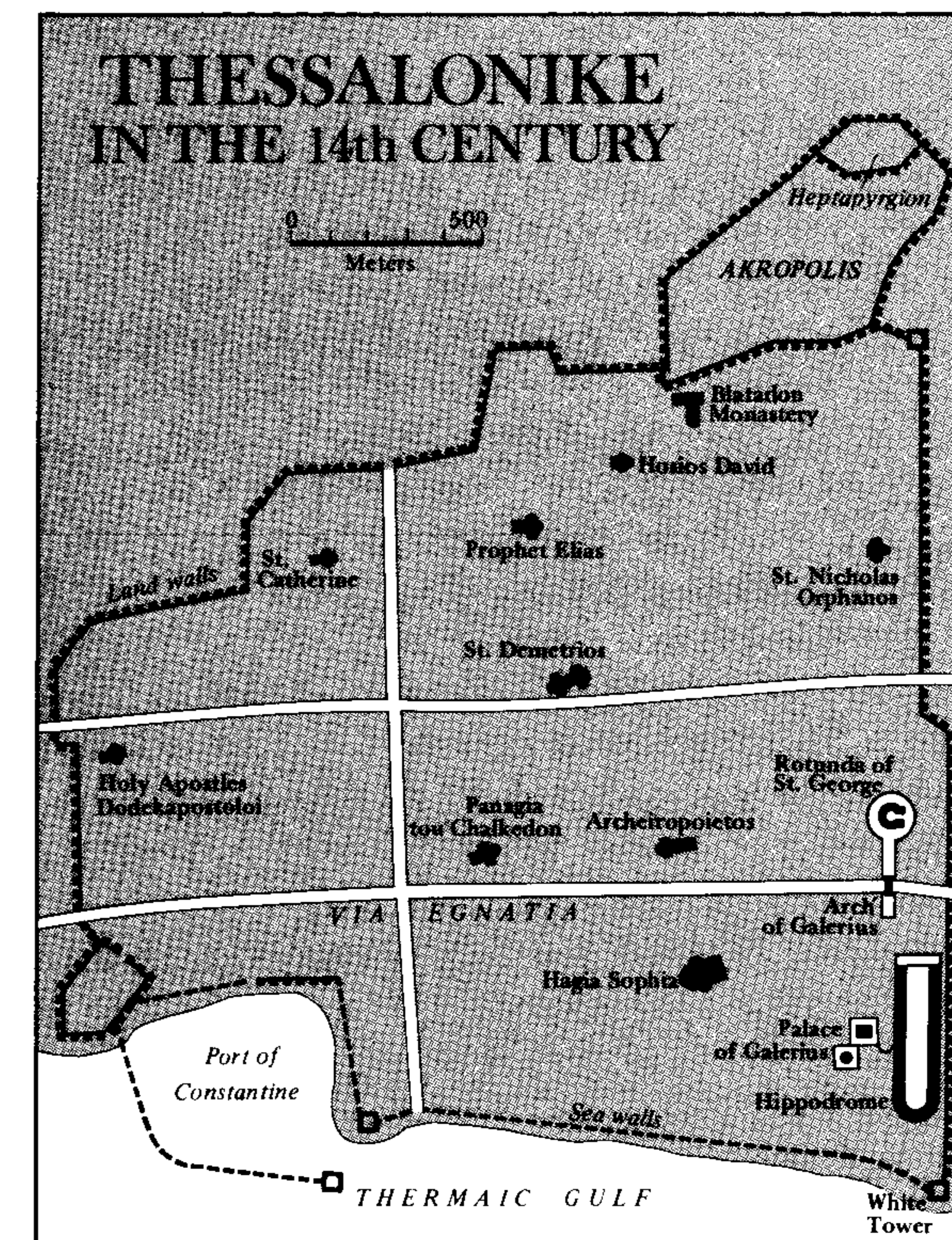
spread in Thessalonike, the inhabitants expressed no confidence in the eparch (praetorian prefect) and took the keys to the gate away from him, entrusting them to the bishop (Malchos, fr. 20, ed. Blockley, *Historians* 2:436.17–19). More dangerous were the Slavic sieges of Thessalonike from the end of the 6th C. onward, repelled according to contemporary legend only by the supernatural intervention of St. DEMETRIOS. Thessalonike remained in Byz. hands, although most of its hinterland was overwhelmed by Slavic settlers.

Little is known about the economic life of Thessalonike in the 7th and 8th C. Some construction work continued in the city, some churches were decorated, and a salt-pan functioned, but the mint evidently ceased production and resumed operation only in the 9th C. with extensive issues of bronze folleis of Basil I (D.M. Metcalf, *BalkSt* 4 [1963] 277–86). At the end of the 9th C. the administration attempted to transfer the center of trade with the Bulgarians from Constantinople to Thessalonike, but this failed because of Bulgarian mistrust. Symeon of Bulgaria's invasions of Macedonia did not affect Thessalonike, but in 904 LEO OF TRIPOLI captured and sacked the city. The peace with Bulgaria and its subsequent con-

quest by Basil II tranformed Thessalonike into the major center of economic and cultural interchange in the southern Balkans: K. Dieterich (*BZ* 31 [1931] 37–57, 334–49) outlines two routes of Byz. trade with Bulgaria—one from Constantinople and another to the west from Thessalonike. According to the TIMARION, Thessalonike in the 12th C. was a trade center that attracted merchants from Scythia, Italy, Iberia, Lusitania, and the Transalpine "Celtic" lands. Italian merchants began to organize colonies there, and in 1185 the Normans temporarily occupied the city.

After the Fourth Crusade BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT became king of Thessalonike, with territory in Macedonia and western Thrace and interests as distant as the Peloponnesos. After the battle of Adrianople in 1205 KALOJAN besieged Thessalonike, but the city withstood the attack; in Dec. 1224 THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros captured Thessalonike and it remained part of the despotate of Epiros until it fell to John III Vatatzes in 1246. In the spring of 1308 the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY unsuccessfully besieged Thessalonike, and beginning in 1320 the city was a focus of contention between Andronikos II and Andronikos III. In 1334 the walls of Thessalonike stopped the advance of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, but the Serbs attacked again in 1341. In the 1340s Thessalonike fell temporarily under the control of the ZEALOTS. The Ottomans attacked Thessalonike in autumn 1383 and the city fell in April 1387. It returned briefly to Byz. hands but was taken by Bayezid I on 12 April 1394. In the aftermath of the battle of Ankara in 1402 Byz. regained Thessalonike and a despotate was established there. In 1423, however, the *despotes* Andronikos surrendered the city to Venice, which agreed to respect the rights and privileges of the inhabitants. Murad II took the city on 29 March 1430 after a brief siege.

Close contacts with Westerners (merchants, churchmen, and warriors) created a cosmopolitan atmosphere in Thessalonike: the KYDONES brothers and their associates were esp. active in propagating Latin theology in a Greek milieu (D.M. Nicol in *He Thessalonike metaxy Anatoles kai Dyseos* [Thessalonike 1982] 121–31).

Thessalonike preserves many Byz. monuments, including the northern sections of the land walls (see below). A large building identified as a Byz. palace was discovered in the center of the city,

and a Byz. bath has been identified in the northern area.

The churches of St. Catherine (late 13th C.), the Prophet Elijah, St. Panteleemon, and the Taxiarchs (all 14th C.) are notable for their lively architecture; all have fresco remains. (For the churches of the ACHEIROPOIETOS, St. DEMETRIOS, St. GEORGE, HAGIA SOPHIA, the HOLY APOSTLES, HOSIOS DAVID, St. NICHOLAS ORPHANOS, and the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON, and the monasteries of AKAPNIOU, BLATADON and NEA MONE, see independent entries.)

LIT. A. Vacalopoulos, *History of Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1963). J. -M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle* (Paris 1984). G.T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387* (Rome 1960). E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 6 (1937) 143–63. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:324–47. F. Dölger, "Zur Frage des jüdischen Anteils an der Bevölkerung Thessalonikes im XIV. Jahrhundert," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York 1953) 129–33. H. Lowry, "Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selânik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478," *Diptycha* 2 (Athens 1980–81) 254–93. Janin, *Églises centres* 341–419. –T.E.G.

Walls. The fortifications of Thessalonike can be divided into two sections: the city walls and the citadel. The walls of the lower city form a rough rectangle, wider at the east than at the west: the sea wall (to the south) has completely disappeared except for the so-called White Tower, which may have been constructed under the Venetians (J.P. Braun, *ByzF* 11 [1987] 269f); the east wall runs upward nearly directly from the sea, while the west wall takes an undulating course to the north and east. The citadel occupies a height at the northeastern corner of the city. From the fortification walls a total of more than 20 gateways and 100 towers are preserved, most of the latter originally triangular or rectangular in shape; also surviving are a number of inscriptions, such as those of the *strategos* of the city Leo Chitzilakes (ca.904), Anna of Savoy (1355/6), and the *doux* George Apokaukos, who served under the *despotes* Manuel Palaiologos, the future emperor, when he governed Thessalonike between 1369 and 1373 (J. Spieser, *TM* 5 [1973] 176f).

Since the Hellenistic walls had fallen into disrepair, the city refortified in the mid-3rd C. in response to barbarian invasions. This was followed by a major reconstruction that essentially determined the course the fortifications were to take throughout the Byz. era. The date of this

has been hotly debated, with estimates ranging from 380 to 448–50, but the latter is probably preferable. In 512 repairs were made to the west wall, but after that there is no evidence of restoration until the third quarter of the 12th C. During that time, however, the walls repeatedly protected the city against attacks from Slavs and Bulgars; the poor condition of the fortifications may help to explain the capture of the city by Leo of Tripoli in 904; John KAMINIATES (9.28–35) described the land walls as strong and high, whereas the sea wall was completely useless for defense. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 74.17–19), writing in the 12th C., emphasized that the sea walls were built "nonprofessionally" and were allowed to fall into disrepair by the governor. Repairs are attested in the 12th C. and again under Manuel II, probably between 1369 and 1373.

LIT. G. Gounaris, *The Walls of Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1982). Spieser, *Thessalonique* 25–80. M. Vickers, "The Byzantine Sea Walls of Thessaloniki," *BalkSt* 11 (1970) 261–80. Ch. Bakirtzes, "He thalassia ochyrose tes Thessalonikes," *Byzantina* 7 (1975) 291–341. B. Croke, "Hormisdas and the Late Roman Walls of Thessalonike," *GRBS* 19 (1978) 251–58. –T.E.G.

THESSALONIKE, THEME OF. The letter of Emp. Michael II to Louis the Pious in 824 mentions *partes* of Thrace, Macedonia, Thessalonike, and neighboring Sclavenia (MGH *Leges. III. Concilia* 2.2:476), evidence used by some scholars (e.g. Oikonomides, *Listes* 353) to argue that the theme existed at that time. The *strategos* of Thessalonike is first mentioned ca.836. He was replaced by a *doux* mentioned in the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial*, and according to an act of 995 the *doux* John Chaldos held command of Armeniakon, Boukellarion, and Thessalonike (*Ivir.*, no.8.1–2). In the 11th C. the *doukaton* of Thessalonike was usually granted to relatives of the emperor because of its strategic importance (Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 223). The theme survived through the 15th C.; a *praktikon* of 1420 defines it as "the theme of the divinely protected and famous city of Thessalonike" (*Lavra* 3, no.165.9–10); in the early 15th C. the district was probably limited to the city itself. –T.E.G., A.K.

THESSALY (Θεσσαλία), region of central Greece south of MACEDONIA, north of HELLAS, and on the west separated from EPIROS by the PINDOS

Mountains. Thessaly is characterized by a large central plain formed by the Peneios River and surrounded on all sides by high mountains. The main city was always LARISSA, other important centers being TRIKKALA and STAGOI in the west, LAMIA and NEOPATRAS in the south, and DEMETRIAS and NEA ANCHIALOS on the sea to the east. The major north-south road ran from Thermopylai north to Larissa, continuing to Macedonia, either through SERVIA or along the coast to Thessalonike; the main east-west road ran to Trikkala and thence either north to Grevena and KASTORIA or west to the pass of Porta, or, in the summer months, over the pass of Metsovo. In late antiquity the province of Thessaly possessed 16 cities, including the islands of Skiathos, Skopelos, and Peparisthos (Hierokl. 642.1–13, 643.1–5). In the 6th–8th C. Slavs settled in the north and northwest, and VLACHS were established in large numbers by the 11th C., forming a separate administrative subdivision, the Megale VLACHIA.

According to Abramea (*infra* 119–84), five Thessalian cities disappeared from the sources after the 7th C., seven (Larissa, Trikkala, Demetrias, etc.) continued to exist, and at least nine were built from the 9th C. onward (Halmyros, Stagoi, etc.). In fact, however, the continuity of urban life in Thessaly is less evident (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantina* 11 [1982] 433–35). In the 12th C. trade seems to have been important in Thessaly, and the Treaty of 1198 gave the Venetians trading privileges in many places. There were Jewish communities at Gardiki, Halmyros, Lamia, and Besaina. The area was subjected to hostile invasions; esp. serious were those of the Bulgarians in the 10th C. and the Normans in 1082.

After 1204 the Latins controlled the eastern cities while the west seems to have been independent. The area was contested by the Epirots and Nicaeans, but JOHN I DOUKAS (1267/8?–89?), assuming the title *sebastokrator*, established an independent principality in Thessaly with a capital in Neopatras; he expanded his territory to the east, thus becoming involved in conflict with Michael VIII; with the help of CHARLES I OF ANJOU and the Latin dukes of Athens he managed to repel Byz. attacks. John II (1303–18) was also Western-oriented and sought the support of the Venetians, who were importing agricultural produce from Thessaly. The invasion of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1309 was detrimental for Thessaly;

after John II's death the Company occupied the south of the country, including Neopatras and Lamia. Stephen GABRIELOPOULOS preserved the independence of Thessaly until 1332/3, but thereafter it fell to John II Orsini of Epiros and in 1335 to Constantinople. Large landholding developed in Thessaly, acquiring a semifeudal character, and Thessalian seigneurs supported John VI Kantakouzenos in his struggle for power. A. Soloviev (*BS* 4 [1932] 159–74) hypothesized that these feudal forces allowed Thessaly to resist the attacks of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. In 1348, however, the Thessalian seigneurs acknowledged Serbian sovereignty while retaining their traditional privileges. After Dušan's death Thessaly formed the center of the domain of the "emperor" SYMEON UROŠ; this Serbian ruler encouraged the (at least external) hellenization of the country. When his son and heir John Uroš retired to a monastery in 1373, power was seized by the caesar Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos, who governed Thessaly as a vassal of John V. In 1393 the Ottomans conquered Thessaly.

In ecclesiastical terminology the name *Thessalia* and derivations were applied (esp. in the 12th C.) to Thessalonike, and its metropolitans were called "of the Thessalians" (e.g., Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 459, 461).

Byz. fortifications can be found at several places in Thessaly (e.g., Trikkala, Larissa, and Lamia), and there are important churches at Porta Panagia (founded in 1283 by John I Doukas: A. Orlandos, *ABME* 1 [1935] 5–40) and Stagoi; Nea Anchialos and Demetrias preserve the ruins of many Early Christian buildings, while the monasteries at METEORA and the ruined, largely 14th-C. city at Phanarion are esp. noteworthy. Architecturally, the churches of Thessaly were influenced by currents from Macedonia, although in the 13th–14th C. there were also borrowings from Epiros.

LIT. J. Koder, F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia* [= *TIB* 1] (Vienna 1976). A.P. Abramea, *He Byzantine Thessalia mechri tou 1204* (Athens 1974). B. Ferjančić, *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* (Belgrade 1974). N. Nikonanos, *Byzantinoi naoi tes Thessalias* (Athens 1979). –T.E.G.

THEURGY (θεουργία) originally signified activity undertaken with the help of the gods, that is, coercion exerted on the gods by performing magical rites. Theurgy appears chiefly in religious Neoplatonism (particularly in IAMBLICHOS, unlike the more cautious PORPHYRY) and is applied in the discipline of a religious philosophy of nature.

Rites of theurgy were performed for three different purposes: (1) in order to bring divine power into the soul of the celebrant, the "theurge," who thereby obtains salvation; (2) in order to "animate" statues of the gods with divine reality so that the initiate may perceive the Godhead; or (3) in order to conjure up the divinity itself—esp. the goddess HEKATE—through a medium induced into trance by the "theurge."

However, when PRAYER is introduced as an element of theurgy, it no longer has the sense of coercion exerted on the deity through MAGIC. The philosophical basis of prayer, at least in PROKLOS, shows that prayer is the way to union with the deity corresponding to religious contemplation: "It is fitting that we men should pray for our return to our true fathers, the gods" (Proklos, *In Platonis Timaeum*, ed. Diehl, 1:208.13–14).

Because of his dependence on Proklos it is not surprising that pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE applied theurgic terminology in a Christian context to explain the works of God as well as the performance of the sacraments. Nevertheless, this does not become dominant in the theological terminology of Byz. In the 11th C., owing to the greater awareness of Neoplatonic sources as well as the Chaldean oracles, the phenomenon of theurgic ritual holds no more than literary interest and, in Christian understanding, belongs to magic and incantation.

LIT. S. Eitrem, "La théurgie chez les néo-platoniciens et dans les papyrus magiques," *Symbolae Osloenses* 22 (1942) 49–79. E.R. Dodds, "Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism," *JRS* 37 (1947) 55–69. P. Boyancé, "Théurgie et télestique néo-platoniciennes," *RHR* 147 (1955) 189–209. H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (rev. ed. Paris 1978). J. Bidez, "Proclus, Peri tes hieratikes technes," *AIPHOS* 4 (1936) 85–100. A.A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford 1963) 100–125. –K.-H.U.

THEVESTE (Τεβέστη; mod. Tebessa, in southeastern Algeria). The history of the city from Diocletian to the Byz. reconquest of Africa (533) is not well known. Some fragmentary inscriptions attest to repairs or restoration of the theater, arch of Caracalla, public baths, and amphitheater as well as to the construction of certain unidentified public works. In the early 5th C., a great basilican complex dedicated to Christ was erected north of the town, including gardens, martyrion, baptistery, stables, and lodgings; a smaller basilica was added in the 6th C. The complex probably served as a sort of martyrs' shrine for pilgrims and, to a lesser degree, as a monastery. Vandal occupation of the city is attested by funeral epitaphs. The recent discovery of two cemeteries belonging to the 4th–6th C. indicates the continuity of urban life at Theveste despite the claim of the Justinianic general SOLOMON that he rebuilt Theveste *a fundamentis*. Solomon's effort primarily involved enclosing the old urban center with a wall measuring 290 × 260 m. There is some archaeological evidence for 6th-C. habitation in the Roman amphitheater and at least one church appears to have been constructed within the enceinte. Theveste is mentioned by the 7th-C. geographer GEORGE OF CYPRUS, but between then and the 11th C., when it was described as a thriving town by Arab geographers, its history is unknown. The ALBERTINI TABLETS, deeds of sale dating from the Vandal period, were found in the hills to the east of Theveste.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 238f. J. Christern, *Das frühchristliche Pilgerheiligtum von Tebessa* (Wiesbaden 1976). S. Lancel, "Une nécropole chrétienne à Tebessa," *Libyca* 4 (1956) 319–31. P.-A. Février, "Nouvelles recherches dans la salle tréflée de la basilique de Tebessa," *Bulletin archéologique algérienne* 111 (1968) 167–91. K.F. Kadra, "Nécropoles tardives de l'antique Theveste: Mosaïques funéraires et mensae," *L'Africa-Romana* 6 (1989) 265–82. –R.B.H.

THINGS, CORPOREAL AND INCORPOREAL. Roman jurisprudence classified all things as corporeal and incorporeal. According to a definition of the jurist Gaius (2nd C.), corporeal things are those that "a person can touch," whereas incorporeal things are rights such as "inheritance" (even when this consists of individual corporeal things), USUFRUCT, and (contractual) claims. This classification was taken over from the *Digest* (1.8.1.1) into the *Basilika* (46.3.1). It had just as little practical significance in Byz. law as in Roman law. –M.Th.F.

Incorporeal Donations. Ahrweiler (*infra*) defines the donation of incorporeal things (*asomata dikaia*) as a kind of "conditioned grant" conferred upon the beneficiary primarily by the state. The grant was usually attributed to the emperor's generosity. Incorporeal donations consisted of fiscal revenues (SOLEMNION, ROGA, etc.), rights to monastic institutions and *sekreta* (CHARISTIKION), or an endowment of a fictitious possession (PRONOIA) that gave the beneficiary the right to collect state taxes (or a portion of them) from a group of *paroikoi*. At the beginning strictly limited with regard to the number of dependent peasants (ARITHMOS) or amount of "rent" (POSOTES), the incorporeal donation had a tendency to be transformed into OWNERSHIP.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.1 (1964), 103–14. –A.K.

THINGS, MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE. The classification of things into movable and immovable acquired significance in various ways: in the ACQUISITION of ownership by occupation, for example, the time limit for movable things was significantly shorter than for immovable things (see LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO). Immovable things, that is, land and the buildings erected on it, were more affected by limitations on their free disposal than were movable things. There is evidence for four types of restricted disposal: (1) the landed property of the church or a monastery could be given in lease and in EMPHYTEUSIS but in principle could not be alienated (*Nov.Just.* 7 and 120 = *Basil.* 5.2.1–7 and 9–13); (2) parcels of land which were a part of a DOWRY could be sold or pledged by the husband or the wife only under certain conditions (*Cod.Just.* V 13.1.15 = *Basil.* 29.1.119.15); (3) STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA were—at least from the 10th C. onward—basically excluded from salable property; (4) finally, the agrarian legislation of the 10th C. (see PROTIMESIS; DYNATOI) considerably limited the uncontrolled transfer of land by excluding certain groups of people from the ranks of potential buyers. Movable things were less frequently affected by such limitations. The so-called *res sacra, religiosa*, and *sancta* (THEOPHILOS, *Institutes* 2.1.7–10) were completely removed from private ownership and hence from disposal. Accordingly the movable property of the church could not be alienated, except in case of emergency, as happened under Herakleios or Alexios I Komnenos. –M.Th.F.

THIRD ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF: Council of 431.

THOMAIS OF LESBOS, saint; born Lesbos 10th C. (?), died Constantinople at age 38 on 1 Jan. Thomais (Θωμαΐς) was the daughter of a prosperous couple who had long remained childless. From Lesbos the family moved to the shores of the Bosporos. Despite her desire to remain virgin, Thomais was married at 24 to a certain Stephen. He proved to be a cruel husband who beat her and discouraged her charitable activities. Thomais's anonymous Life, preserved only in a 14th-C. MS, contains an invocation addressed to a *porphyrogennetos* ruler named Romanos (241E). If the term PORPHYROGENNETOS is a true epithet and not mere flattery, the emperor in question should be ROMANOS II, although the notice that the monastery of the HODEGON is now called Hodegetria (238B) seems to indicate a later origin of the vita. The author is well informed about Constantinople and mentions several of its monuments (Church of St. Michael tes Oxeias, convent of *ta Mikra Romaiou*), but in general the vita is poor in data. It consists of two sections: a very conventional biography of Thomais and a description of her posthumous miracles. The vita resembles that of MARY THE YOUNGER in that it recounts the fate of a simple woman married to a brute; the hagiographer stresses that Thomais was not only virtuous but also beautiful. Secondary personages such as a licentious woman and a prostitute are introduced to contrast with Thomais. An *enkomion* of Thomais by Constantine AKROPOLITES also survives.

SOURCES. *AASS* Nov. 4:234–46.
LIT. *BHG* 2454–57. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–57) 836–39. Patlagean, *Structure* pt.XI (1976), 620–22. —A.K.

THOMAS (Θωμᾶς), apostle and saint; feastday in Constantinople 6 Oct. In the Gospel of John, "doubting Thomas" is presented as having a confused understanding of Christ's mission. Thomas's name is connected with a Gnostic Gospel from NAG HAMMADI, consisting primarily of Christ's sayings, and with the Gnostic or Manichaean *Acts* that relates how Thomas was bought by a merchant and taken to the kingdom of Goundaphoros in India, where he worked many miracles, evangelized the country, and died as a martyr. General consensus has it that the *Acts of Thomas* was written in Syriac and eventually translated into Greek. Another apocryphal *Gospel of Thomas*

describes Christ's infancy and miracles performed by him; it is possible that the author experienced some Buddhist influence. The *Apocalypse of Thomas* was rejected by the *Decretum Gelasianum*; its Greek original is lost, but Latin versions survive. The *Acts* and the *Infancy Gospel* are known in many languages, including Armenian (G. Garitte, *Muséon* 84 [1971] 151–95), Ethiopic, Old Slavonic, and so forth.

At least three churches dedicated to Thomas are known in Constantinople (Janin, *Églises CP* 248–52). A lection (Jn 20:19–31) for the first Sunday after Easter recalls Thomas's doubt. As one of the "lesser" apostles, he is usually found represented in the same collegial contexts as ANDREW, although from the 9th C. onward Thomas's incredulity toward the risen Christ was the subject of mosaics (e.g., Daphni), ivories, and MS illustration.

ED. A.J.F. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* (Leiden 1962). *Les actes apocryphes de Jean et Thomas*, tr. A.J. Festugière (Geneva 1983). J. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas* (Leiden 1975).
LIT. S. Gero, "The Infancy Gospel in Thomas," *Novum Testamentum* 13 (1971) 46–80. G. Huxley, "Geography of the *Acts of Thomas*," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 71–80. *BHG* 1800–1844b. —J.I., A.K., A.C.

THOMAS AQUINAS. See AQUINAS, THOMAS.

THOMAS MAGISTROS, philologist and writer; monastic name Theodoulos; born Thessalonike ca.1275?, died Thessalonike soon after 1347. Thomas spent his entire career in Thessalonike. Among his students were divergent personalities such as PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, and Gregory AKINDYNOS. Sometime between 1314 and 1318 he went to Constantinople on an embassy to Andronikos II. His letter describing his trip (ed. M. Treu in *Jahrbuch für classische Philologie*, supp., vol. 27 [1902] 5–30) provides useful information on travel by sea and trade. The purpose of his mission was to deliver an oration on behalf of the general Chandrenos, who had valiantly defended Thessalonike against the "Italoi" (Catalans), "Persai" (Turks), and "Triballoi" (Serbs) but was falsely accused of treason.

Despite continuing eye problems that eventually led to blindness, Thomas was a productive scholar. He compiled a *Selection (Ekloge) of Attic Names and Words* with explanations and references to ancient authors; he produced scholia on Pindar, Aeschy-

lus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Synesios. It remains questionable whether he also issued a "Thoman recension" of emended texts of these authors (O.L. Smith, *GRBS* 17 [1976] 75–80; E.C. Kopff, *TAPA* 106 [1976] 241–66). Ten of his letters are preserved.

His rhetorical writings are often devoted to the past, both Christian (panegyric of Gregory of Nazianzos) and classical (the battle of Marathon); even his works on contemporary subjects are often imitative or teeming with classical allusions and citations. In fact, as F.W. Lenz has shown (*AJPh* 63 [1942] 154–73), two of his orations, the so-called "Leptinean Declamations," were erroneously attributed to Ailios ARISTEIDES. Some of them are dry *enkomia*, such as the speech to the *megas domestikos* (John Kantakouzenos?). Others, like his defense of Chandrenos, contain vague descriptions of political events; in a letter to a *megas logothetes*, full of references to figures such as Aeschylus, Demosthenes, and Lykourgos, Thomas describes the civil war in Thessalonike (PG 145:408f). One of his two surviving political treatises, *On the Political Structure*, expresses sympathy not for poor people, good-for-nothings "worth-three-obols," but for the owners of houses, fields, and ancestral graves (521B). The other, a MIRROR OF PRINCES entitled *On the Imperial Office*, alongside traditional clichés, proposes that the emperor should be a "lover of war" (*philopolemos*) in order to have peace (457C). Thomas also recommends moderate taxation and "marvelous *eleutheria* (freedom)" for the subjects (465D).

ED. PG 145:215–548. *Ecloga vocum Atticarum*, ed. F. Ritschl (Halle 1832; rp. Hildesheim–New York 1970). *Fünf Reden*, ed. F.W. Lenz (Leiden 1963). Partial Germ. tr. W. Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel* (Stuttgart 1981) 49–53, 99–193.
LIT. *PLP*, no.16045. Wilson, *Scholars* 247–49. K. Skalistes, *Thomas Magistros: Ho bios kai to ergo tou* (Thessalonike 1984). —A.K., A.M.T.

THOMAS MOROSINI, first Latin patriarch of Constantinople (from the end of 1204); born between 1170 and 1175?, died Thessalonike June/July 1211. A member of a distinguished Venetian family, he was a subdeacon of Pope INNOCENT III studying in Ravenna when unexpectedly the all-Venetian cathedral chapter of Hagia Sophia elected him patriarch after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the establishment of the LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Although In-

nocent proclaimed the election uncanonical, nonetheless he received Thomas in Rome, rapidly promoted him to deacon, priest, bishop, and archbishop, and confirmed his election in March 1205. Upon arrival in Constantinople in mid-summer of 1205 Thomas encountered serious problems: the resistance of the Greek clergy, the refusal of the French Crusaders to acknowledge his position, the hostile attitude of the Latin emperor, and the greed of the Venetians. The ill-tempered Thomas only exacerbated the situation. He failed to achieve reconciliation with the Greeks and temporarily stopped Greek services in Constantinople when the Orthodox priests omitted his name from their prayers; most Greek bishops refused obedience to him. The pope tried to use Thomas in the interests of the papacy, playing him against all the parties, granting him various superficial privileges and at the same time belittling him.

The most heated dispute centered on Thomas's oath to admit only Venetian canons into the cathedral chapter and to promote only Venetians as archbishops; the pope made him renounce his pledge on 15 Dec. 1208. Thomas also quarreled with the Venetian podesta over the possession of the Hodegetria icon (R.L. Wolff, *Traditio* 6 [1948] 319–23). The patriarch was accused by the French of appropriating enormous sums (100,000 marks) from the treasury of Hagia Sophia; he acknowledged taking 18,000 marks. He quarreled with the French and Emp. Henry about jurisdiction over conventual churches. His policy contributed to the decline in respect for the Latin church in the conquered empire. A contemporary historian portrayed him as a very fat clean-shaven man, dressed in a tight-fitting garment (Nik.Chon. 623.73–79, 647.8–14).

LIT. G. Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, vol. 1 (Verona 1973) 181–211. L. Santifaller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Lateinischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel (1204–1261)* (Weimar 1938) 25–28. R.L. Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople," *DOP* 8 (1954) 227–46. Idem, *HC* 2:195–99. B.A. Pančenko, *Latinskij Konstantinopol' i papa Innokentij III* (Odessa 1914) 12–44. C. Frazee, "The Catholic Church in Constantinople, 1204–1453," *BalkSt* 19 (1978) 34f. —A.K.

THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Morea (1428/30–1460); born Constantinople 1409, died Rome 12 May 1465. He shared power with his brothers THEODORE II and CONSTANTINE (XI) from 1428 to 1443, with Constantine from 1443 to

1449, and with DEMETRIOS from 1449 to 1460. Youngest son of Manuel II, Thomas was sent to the MOREA in 1418, probably in training as a future *despotes*. In 1430, Thomas married Caterina, daughter of Centurione ZACCARIA, and by 1432 controlled all Zaccaria's territory in Achaia and Arkadia. The same year Thomas handed over his capital at KALAVRYTA to Constantine in exchange for CHLEMOUTSI. When Theodore II left for Selymbria in 1443, Constantine and Thomas divided the Morea; Thomas received the less important appanage and probably resided at Leontarion. The final years of his despotate were marked by conflicts with his brother Demetrios. Unlike the pro-Turkish Demetrios, Thomas was a Latinophile who sought alliances with the papacy and the Italian states. During the campaign of MEHMED II that resulted in the Ottoman conquest of the Morea, Thomas fled to Kerkyra (July 1460) and then to Rome (1461), where he lived until his death, supported by a pension from Pope Pius II (1458–64). His lineage continued in Russia through the marriage of his daughter Zoe (SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA) to Ivan III in 1472.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:119f, 184, 204–97, 351–58. Papadopulos, *Genealogie*, no.98. *PLP*, no.21470. —A.M.T.

THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ, also called Thomas Komnenos Prelju (Πρεάλιμπος in *Lavra* 3, no.146.4) and Thomas Komnenos Palaiologos, Serbian *despotes* of Ioannina (from 1366/7); died Ioannina 23 Dec. 1384. Son of the caesar Gregory Preljub, who served Stefan Uroš IV Dušan as governor of Thessaly, he married Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina (Polemis, *Dukai* 100, no.59), a daughter of SYMEON UROŠ. In 1366/7 he entered IOANNINA with Serbian forces to protect the local populace against Albanian attacks. He then took control of northern Epiros, while the southern part of the region remained in the hands of the Albanian rulers Ghin Bua Spata and Peter Ljoša. Thomas eventually won the war against the Albanians with the help of the Ottomans. He calls himself *despotes* in an act of 1375; in 1382 the title was confirmed by the Byz. emperor.

The 15th-C. CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA, which is hostile toward Thomas, but favorable to his wife, depicts him as a greedy tyrant, who persecuted local ecclesiastical authorities, confiscated their lands, and heavily taxed the nobility, who responded with a series of revolts. According to the *Chronicle*, he was assassinated by members of his bodyguard under suspicious circumstances. His wife remarried almost immediately, in Jan. 1385, taking as her second husband Esau Buondelmonti, a nobleman of Florentine origin and a relative of the ACCIAJUOLI, who succeeded Thomas as *despotes* until ca.1408–11. The *"basilissa"* Maria died on 28 Dec. 1394, probably in Ioannina.

A reliquary-diptych in the Spanish cathedral of Cuenca bears images of Christ, the Virgin, and 28 saints (Beckwith, *ECBA*, pl.287). The figures of the two *ktetors* have virtually disappeared, but inscriptions preserve their names—the *basilissa* Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina and the *despotes* Thomas Komnenos Palaiologos. According to Beckwith (ibid., 152) the diptych reproduced another diptych (of which only one leaf survives) presented by Maria to the monastery of the Transfiguration at METEORA, the second *ktetor* of which had been her brother, John-Ioasaph Uroš. The same monastery contains an icon of the Incredulity of Thomas, which likewise bears portraits of Thomas Preljubović and Maria.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros II* 143–57. S. Cirac Estopañan, *Bizancio y España: El legado de la basilissa María y de los déspotas Thomas y Esaú de Joannina*, 2 vols. (Barcelona 1943). Th. Papazotos, "Ho Thomas Prelioumpobitz kai he Maria Palaiologina," *Kleronomia* 13 (1981) 509–16. A. Xyngopoulos, "Neai prosopographiai tes Marias Palaiologinas kai tou Thoma Prelioumpobitz," *DChAE*[4] 4 (1964–65) 53–70. Soulis, *Dušan* 123–28. Fine, *Late Balkans* 351–55. —J.S.A., A.C.

THOMAS THE ARCHDEACON, Dalmatian chronicler; born Split ca.1200, died 8 May 1268. After studying law and theology in Bologna, Thomas became a notary and canon in SPLIT in 1227, and from 1230 archdeacon. A prominent figure in the political and ecclesiastical leadership, he defended the autonomy of the city against the Hungarian monarchy and Croatian feudal magnates and the right of the clergy to elect their bishop without lay participation. His *Historia Salonitana*, in Latin, recounts the history of SALONA and neighboring Split from Roman times to 1266. For the earlier period it draws on lost Croatian sources as well as on legendary material; for the later years Thomas is an eyewitness and often a participant in the events which he narrates. A variant recension, the *Historia Salonitana Major*, may be either a reworking by a later editor or an earlier draft by the author.

ED. *Historia Salonitana*, ed. F. Rački (Zagreb 1894). *Historia Salonitana Maior*, ed. N. Klaić (Belgrade 1967).
LIT. K. Šegvić, *Toma Splićanin, državnik i pisac* (Zagreb 1927). —R.B.

THOMAS THE SLAV, leader of a rebellion; born ca.760, died Arkadiopolis Oct. 823. He was called "the Slav" because he came from a "Scythian" family dwelling in Pontos near Gaziura (M. Rajković, *ZRVI* 2 [1953] 33–38). J.B. Bury (*ERE* 84) speculates that he came to Constantinople and worked for a *patrikios* but fled to the Arabs ca.788 because of some scandal involving his master's wife. Yet in 803 Thomas was serving in the Anatolikon theme under BARDANES TOURKOS, and he fled to the Arabs only after the rebellion of Bardanes failed. Leo V recalled him in 813 and made him *tourmarches* of the *foederati* in the Anatolikon. In winter 820/1 Thomas rebelled. Some scholars accept the testimony of GENESIOS, THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, and a letter from Michael II to Louis the Pious and believe that Thomas revolted against Leo V (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 30 [1969] 279f). Others follow the chronology of SYMEON LOGOTHETE and assert that Thomas rebelled only after Michael II assassinated Leo in Dec. 820 (W. Treadgold, *DOP* 33 [1979] 167).

Posing as the late Constantine VI and entrusting command of his army to a man he adopted and named Constantius, Thomas rallied supporters from all the Asian themes except Opsikion and Armeniakon. He made an alliance with Caliph MA'MŪN, who recognized him as emperor and allowed the Melchite patriarchy Job of Antioch (813/4–844/5) to crown him *basileus* in return for Thomas's promise to surrender certain territory and pay tribute to the caliph. Thomas marched on Constantinople and, aided by the Aegean and Kibyrrhaiotai themes, besieged it from Dec. 821 to spring 823, when an assault by the Bulgarian khan OMURTAG forced him to retreat (P. Tivčev, *IstPreg* 25.5 [1969] 68–76). A subsequent attack by Michael II compelled Thomas to seek refuge in Arkadiopolis, where in mid-Oct. he was handed over to the emperor and executed. The last of the great thematic rebellions, Thomas's revolt has been variously attributed to a reaction against ICONOCLASM, a social revolution and popular uprising, a revolt by the empire's non-Greek ethnic groups, Thomas's personal ambitions, and his desire to avenge Leo V. The entire episode is given unusually rich treatment in the illustrated Madrid SKYLITZES MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 56–78).

LIT. P. Lemerle, "Thomas le Slave," *TM* 1 (1965) 255–97. H. Köpstein, *Thomas, Rebell und Gegenkaiser in Byzanz* (Berlin 1986). Lipšic, *Očerki* 212–28. F. Barišić, "Dve versije u izvorima o ustaniku Tomi," *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 145–69. Bury, *ERE* 84–110. —P.A.H., A.C.

THORAKION. See LOROS.

THOROS I. See RUBENIDS.

THRACE (Θράκη), in late antiquity a region bordered by the Balkan Mountains, the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara, and the Nestos River. In the 4th–7th C. the term designated (1) the traditional Thracian territory, (2) the province of Thracia, and (3) the diocese of Thraciae (plural), embracing the provinces of Europa, Thracia, Haemimontus, Rhodope, Moesia II, and Scythia. HIEROKLES listed five major cities in Thrace proper: PHILIPPOPOLIS (capital), Augusta Trajana, Diokletianopolis, Sebastopolis, and Diospolis. The supreme military commander in the diocese of Thrace was the *magister militum* for Thrace. In the 6th C., after the construction of the LONG WALL in Thrace to protect Constantinople from barbarian invasions, the office of the *vicarius* of the Long Wall was created. In the 4th through 7th C. the diocese of Thrace was invaded by Goths, Huns, Slavs, and other peoples; finally the Slavs and Bulgars settled in the area, almost all the cities were deserted, and the Thracian population retreated to the mountains. The metropolitan see of Thrace was located in Philippopolis.

By the end of the 7th C. the administration of Thrace changed. In 680/1 the *patrikios* Theodore was *komes* of Opsikion and *hypostrategos* of Thrace (Mansi 11:209A); it is unclear whether this combined title indicates that Theodore held command of the two themes, Opsikion and Thrace, or whether the district of Thrace was joined to neighboring Opsikion. No clearer is the evidence of a seal of the early 8th C., with the name of Barasbakourios, *komes* of Opsikion and *strategos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.3081); that he was *strategos* of the theme of Thrace is a sheer guess, unsupported by any source. In 740 a certain Nikephoros was a commander of Thrace (Theoph. 415.13–14)—probably of the theme of Thrace. Seals of

8th-C. *strategoi* of Thrace are known (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1744, 2486, 2671), and Thrace is in the lists of themes (between Paphlagonia and Macedonia) in the 9th-C. *Taktikon of Uspenskij*; in the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial* it is combined with Ioannoupolis. From the 11th C. Thrace as an administrative unit usually appears combined with Macedonia under the command of the same *strategos*. Thrace seems to have later disappeared from official administrative nomenclature, but the term was broadly used by some antiquarian writers such as Kantakouzenos and Kritoboulos.

LIT. C. Asdracha, Ch. Bakirtzis, "Inscriptions byzantines de Thrace," *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) A 241–82. C. Asdracha, "La Thrace orientale et la Mer Noire," in *Géographie Historique du monde méditerranéen* (Paris 1988) 221–309. V. Velkov, *Gradŭt v Trakija i Dakija pres kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959). R.J. Lilie, " 'Thrakien' und 'Thrakesion,' " *JÖB* 26 (1976) 7–47. H. Ditten, "Die Veränderungen auf dem Balkan in der Zeit vom 6. bis zum 10. Jh. im Spiegel der veränderten Bedeutung von 'Thrakien,' " *BBulg* 7 (1981) 157–79.
                                    –T.E.G.

THRACIANS (Θρᾷκες), the autochthonous population of the northern Balkan peninsula, residing between Mt. Haimos and the Lower Danube; their neighbors to the west were Illyrians, to the northwest DACO-GETANS. This people consisted of many tribes, of which the Bessoi (or at least their name) survived through the late Roman Empire. Conquered by the Romans, the Thracians were romanized and in part hellenized, but rural inhabitants preserved their original language (still in the 6th C. called "the language of the Bessoi") and up to the 5th C. their religion. In the 4th–5th C. the area underwent many hostile invasions and the settlement of various FOEDERATI; intermarriages with Germanic, Alan, Sarmatian, and other settlers made the ethnic pattern of the region even more complex. The free peasantry played an essential role among the Thracians; Justinian I in novel 34 speaks of Thracian *coloni* as owners of their land. Thracians actively participated in the political life of the empire in the 5th–6th C. (V. Beševliev, *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 1–2 [1951] 217–34)—Theophanes explicitly calls the emperors Leo I, Justin II, and Tiberios I "Thracian by birth." The ethnic name *Thracian* (often linked to that of Illyrians) was used in Byz. texts through the early 7th C.—later only as an archaism (V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, *Thracia* 1 [1972] 223–30); it was preserved, however, in administrative nomen-

clature as THRACE (Thracia) and THRAKESION. The Thracian substratum participated in the formation of the Bulgarian and Rumanian peoples.

LIT. D. Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bŭlgarskata narodnost* (Sofia 1971) 74–99. N. Miteva, "On the Ethno-Cultural Aspect of the Thracians in Late Antiquity," *Thracia* 5 (1980) 255–64.
                                    –A.K.

THRAKESION (Θρακησίων), theme of western Asia Minor, apparently named from a body of Thracian troops settled there. The name first appears in reference to Pope Conon (686–87), who was descended "patre Thracesio" (*Lib.Pont.* 1:368). A *tourmarches* of Thrakesion is mentioned in 711, a *strategos* in 741. Thrakesion has generally been regarded as a creation of the early 8th C., having formerly been a *tourma* of the ANATOLIKON theme; recent theories, however, make it one of the original themes of Anatolia. It comprised the rich Aegean territories of Ionia and Lydia, with parts of Phrygia and Caria. It contained 20 cities, of which the largest was EPHESUS; its capital may have been at CHONAI. The *strategos* of Thrakesion commanded 10,000 troops and drew a salary of 40 pounds of gold. In the 12th–13th C. a *doux* administered the province, which included the region of Smyrna, Ephesus, and the Hermos valley, from his headquarters at PHILADELPHIA (C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1976] 164, n.45). As the empire shrank, the importance of the theme as a bulwark against the Turks grew. It survived as long as Byz. rule in the area; its last *doux*, of the early 14th C., controlled only the district around Smyrna.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 124–26. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 137–54. R. Lilie, " 'Thrakien' und 'Thrakesion,' " *JÖB* 26 (1977) 7–47.
                                    –C.F.

THREE CHAPTERS, AFFAIR OF THE, controversy concerning the person and the work of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, and IBAS OF EDESSA. Although representatives of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, these 4th- and 5th-C. theologians were tolerated by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and died at peace with the church. In the 6th C., however, they came to be vehemently opposed by the Monophysites (see MONOPHYSITISM) as tainted with NESTORIANISM; condemnation of the Three Chapters (i.e., the writings of the three theologians) was seen as a means to sidestep the decisions of Chalcedon.

Convinced that condemnation of the Three Chapters might bring about reunion with the Monophysites, Justinian I composed a theological treatise to this effect and issued it, on his own authority, as an imperial edict between 543 and 545. The edict was generally well received in the East, but there was great agitation in the West, with Pope VIGILIUS first condemning, then accepting the imperial decree. At the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) the Three Chapters, as well as ORIGEN, were again condemned and Vigilius once more expressed his reservations. The pope ultimately accepted the decisions of the council, but there was never full agreement in the West. In the East the condemnation of the Three Chapters had little effect, as the Monophysites remained unmoved.

LIT. H.M. Diepeu, *Les trois chapitres au Concile de Chalcédoine* (Oosterhout 1953). C. Moeller in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 1:637–720. E. Amann, *DTC* 15 (1950) 1868–1924. F. Carcione, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva della seconda controversia origenista (543–553)," *Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente cristiano* 9 (1986) 131–47.
                                    –T.E.G.

THREE HEBREWS, or Holy Children, Ananias, Mishael, and Azarias, whom their Assyrian captors named Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, respectively. The three were condemned to the furnace by Nebuchadnezzar for refusing to worship his golden statue, but were providentially rescued (Dan 3). The story of the Three Hebrews was popular in patristic and Byz. literature beginning with the commentary of Hippolytos on the book of Daniel, and the boys were proclaimed saints (feastday 17 Dec.). They were praised by many authors, including ROMANOS THE MELODE (*Hymn* 8, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons 1:360–403), Kosmas the Hymnographer, and Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust.Thess., *Opuscula* 49–53). Exegetes saw them as a PREFIGURATION of Christ, since their bodies were not harmed in the flames, just as the womb of the Virgin was not burned by the divine fire of the Only Begotten (Theodore PRODROMOS in the *Commentary on Kosmas*). On the other hand, they also typified Christian martyrs, and their encomiasts stressed their defiance of the tyrant. The seventh and eighth liturgical ODES, used in the ORTHROS, are, respectively, the Prayer of Azarias and the Hymn of the Three Hebrews; as odes, they came to be included in the PSALTER.

Both Latin and Slavic sources (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 329) report that the bodies of the Three Hebrews were in the monastery of St. Romanos in Constantinople, along with those of Daniel and Habakkuk. At the joint commemoration of the Three Hebrews and DANIEL in Constantinople, the liturgical drama of *The Three Holy Children* was performed. BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE (*Le voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière* [Paris 1892; rp. Farnborough 1972] 154–56) mentions seeing such a play there in 1432 or 1433; Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:113D) describes a similar play (S. Baud-Bovy, *Hellenika* 28 [1975] 333f). The four extant MSS of such a play date to the 15th–17th C. (M.M. Velimirović, *DOP* 16 [1962] 353–55).

Representation in Art. The scene of the three ORANT figures, usually in Persian garb and often accompanied by the angel, was already popular in decorations of the catacombs and sarcophagi, partly because of its role in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE. Later it was rarely used except as one of the standard Ode illustrations. The saint unscathed in a fiery furnace is a hagiographic topos (F. Halkin, *AB* 70 [1952] 251) that frequently recalls the language and details of the Septuagint account (see, e.g., Symeon Metaphrastes' accounts of Sts. Eustratios, Barbara, Plato). MS illustrators also patterned such fiery torments on the experience of the Three Hebrews (e.g., St. Eustratios—K. Weitzmann, *DOP* 33 [1979] 105, pl.27).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:668–76. Seeliger, "Drei Jünglinge." A.T. Walton, "The Three Hebrew Children in the Fiery Furnace: A Study of Changes in Christian Iconography," in *The Medieval Mediterranean: Crosscultural Contacts*, ed. M.J. Chiat, K.L. Reyerson (St. Cloud, Minn., 1988) 57–66.
                                    –C.B.T., J.H.L., A.C.

THRENOS (θρῆνος, "lament"), a term usually applied to vernacular poems in POLITICAL VERSE mourning the fate that befell Byz. at the hands of the Turks and lamenting lost glories (a prose lament in learned language would be termed a MONODY). The *threnoi* that refer to Constantinople include *The Conquest of Constantinople* (*Halosis Konstantinopoleos*), calling for aid from the European nations and perhaps written in 1453, and the *Anakalema tes Konstantinopoleos*, also from the 15th C., a dialogue between two ships bringing news of the sack of the city and perhaps based on a TRAGOUDI. In dialogue form are the *Lament of the*

Four Patriarchates (*Threnos ton Tessaron Patriarcheion*), in which the patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria compete with tales of suffering and a lament between Venice and Byz.; the destruction of Athens in 1456 is mourned by the city itself in a short *threnos*. The *Lament for Tamerlaine* emphasizes the savagery of the Mongol invasions of 1402. Similar laments survive for the fall of Adrianople (1362) and of Trebizond (1461). All anonymous and most surviving in several differing versions, the *threnoi* (esp. those on Constantinople) are reflected in *tragoudia* collected in the 19th C., showing the profound effect of these events on popular consciousness.

ED. G.T. Zoras, *Byzantine Poiesis* (Athens 1956). E. Kriaras, *Anakalema tes Konstantinopoles*[2] (Thessalonike 1965). LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 161–66. —E.M.J.

THRESHING. After being reaped, sheaves of GRAIN were carried to the threshing floor (*halon*). The GEOPONIKA (bk.2.26.1) recommends building the threshing floor in a high place exposed to the wind. The Byz. did not beat the grain with flails but used cattle (predominantly oxen) to trample the sheaves; the threshing sled (*doukane*) was also used. *Halonia* are often mentioned in *praktika* and other documents as reference points to indicate the location of a nearby field or house; thus, a charter of 1081 of Paul, the *protos* of Mt. Athos, mentions an old threshing floor on the Oxys hill (*Xerop.*, no.6.39–40).

Images connected with threshing often appeared in Christian metaphors. The biblical saying (Dt 25:4), "You shall not muzzle an ox when it treads out the grain," was commonly quoted (e.g., V. Vasil'evskij, *ŽMNP* 238 [1885] 236f). The metaphor of the separation of grain and chaff was even more common; thus Isidore of Pelousion (PG 78:225A) called the community of the universal church a threshing floor, where we are cleansed of chaff. EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion* 2:305.5–6) called Christ "the primary offering of the threshing floor."

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:263–68. M. Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade 1973) 124–31. L. Cheetham, "Threshing and Winnowing—An Ethnographic Study," *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 127–30—A.K., J.W.N.

THRONE (θρόνος, also καθέδρα, σέντζος), the official seat of the emperor, as distinct from his ordinary seat, *skamnon* (*De cer.* 178.4–5). It was often equipped with a FOOTSTOOL. The tradition of the throne as a divine and imperial symbol was firmly established in pagan antiquity and inherited by Constantine I and his successors; it merged with the Jewish tradition of the throne of SOLOMON, which was allegedly restored by Emp. Theophilos. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos records (*De cer.* 521.8–13) that on weekdays the emperor would sit in a golden chair (*sellion*) at the eastern (or right) side (?) of the throne in the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS to receive his courtiers; on Sundays and during the reception of foreign envoys, the *sellion* that he occupied was covered with silk and placed at the left side (?) of the throne. The perception of the throne as a divine attribute was esp. stressed during the celebration of Palm Sunday at the palace, when a deacon placed a Gospel book on the throne while the emperor stood in front of his seat (*De cer.* 175.15–16). Above the throne was a baldachin similar to a CIBORIUM.

The term *thronos* was also employed for chairs of bishops and officials that were made of precious materials and richly ornamented (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:79). The bishop's throne was placed in the center of the priests' seats at the east end of the church; it was considered the teacher's seat, and the bishop preached from it.

The throne held a place of honor in Christian metaphor. Christ was conceived as the Father's throne, and in this capacity was typified by the BEMA and the holy ALTAR (*trapeza*). On the other hand, Christ shared the throne with the Father, thus symbolizing their equal dignity. The HETOIMASIA, the throne prepared for Christ's Second Coming, was a frequent image in Byz. art. The plural form, *thronoi*, could denote the highest order of ANGELS. The throne was a symbol of episcopal jurisdiction, Jerusalem and esp. Rome being called apostolic thrones; Rome was also the throne of the *koryphaios*, or chief of the apostles, that is, Peter (cf. Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:1289D).

Representation in Art and Surviving Examples. The *sella curulis* is a distinct type of folding chair widely employed, esp. by consuls; their DIPTYCHS often depict this throne adorned with lion's legs and heads. The so-called "lyre-backed" throne appears from the 5th C. onward, esp. in the monumental painting and coinage of the Macedonian dynasty (R. Cormack, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 31 [1977] 241–43). This form may derive from a mosaic in the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace that shows Christ enthroned (Grierson, *DOC* 3:778–80). Tenth-century descriptions of the imperial "throne of Solomon" imply that it was accompanied by AUTOMATA, lions that roared and struck the ground with their tails. Other imperial thrones recorded in the *De Ceremoniis* include those of Constantine I, Arkadios, and Theophilos. This implies that thrones of different dates continued to be employed in the MAGNAURA long after their construction.

Author portraits in Gospel book illumination depict thrones that can be classified into five groups, already known in Roman furniture: those with rectangular legs (*Athens Cat.*, pl.315); those with turned legs, often decorated with arcades, rows of balusters, and knobs (ibid., pls. 307, 314); thrones with crossed legs deriving from the *sella curulis* (H. Buchthal, H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople* [Washington, D.C., 1978] pl.26); solid thrones with a rounded back, particularly in 13th- through 14th-C. MS illumination (*Athens Cat.*, pl.329); and "basket" thrones of plaited wicker (*Treasures*, pl.99).

The episcopal throne (CATHEDRA) originally crowned the SYNTHRONON (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:492) and was sometimes equipped with an axial staircase. This practice appears to have survived well into the 11th/12th C. (*ABME* 5 [1939–40] 161). Some Western sources refer to movable thrones placed between the altar and the bema doors. Episcopal thrones were often carved in wood; others, like the cathedra of MAXIMIAN in Ravenna, consist entirely of ivory and were probably more symbolic than functional. A dominant type with trapezoidal flanks is attested from at least the 7th C. onward. Most medieval examples, with the exception of the throne of Melegob (H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* [Leipzig 1908] 285f, 294), survive in fragments. The association of numerous trapezoidal slabs of marble with such thrones has recently been disputed (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* 106).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 32–34, 56f, 133–35. O. Wanscher, *Sella Curulis* (Copenhagen 1980). Cutler, *Transfigurations* 5–52. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3.1:19–75. J.D. Breckenridge, "Christ on the Lyre-Backed Throne," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 247–60. —A.K., L.Ph.B.

THUCYDIDES, Greek historian of the Peloponnesian war; born Athens ca.460 B.C., died Athens ca.400. Highbrow Byz. historians from PRISKOS of Panion to KRITOBOULOS were acquainted with Thucydides. They imitated his introductory remarks, his annalistic arrangement of history, his technique of introducing formal speeches into the narrative, and above all his phraseology whenever they chronicled similar events (e.g., a siege, an outbreak of an epidemic, or a civil war). In such cases, however, the imitation was confined to literary technique and involved neither a distortion of contemporary facts nor the acceptance of the historical outlook of Thucydides. Among his imitators were PROKOPIOS and JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS.

Although Thucydides was highly regarded as a writer of the Attic dialect (cf. Gregory PARDOS, ed. Schäfer, 7), his obscure and involved style drew mixed comments from Byz. critics. PSELLOS (Mayer, "Psellos' Rede" 57.338–41) found his funeral orations inferior to those of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS but admired Thucydides as a master of stylistic obscurity and condensation (ed. J.F. Boissonade in *De operatione daemonum* [Nuremberg 1838; rp. Amsterdam 1964] 50f). John TZETZES, on the other hand, declared Thucydides worthy of "being thrown into the pit" because his style lacked clarity, persuasiveness, and charm (cf. B. Baldwin, *BZ* 75 [1982] 313–16). The *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis* (pt.2, ed. A.G. Roos, 33–45) draws on Thucydides. The *Souda* includes his biography, and his earliest MS dates from the early 10th C. Possibly excepting Maximos PLANOUDES, no Palaiologan scholar is known to have engaged in textual criticism of Thucydides. The number of extant MSS indicates that Thucydides was more widely read than HERODOTUS.

ED. *Scholia in Thucydidem*, ed. K. Hude (Leipzig 1927). LIT. A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1965). O. Luschnat, "Die Thukydidesscholien," *Philologus* 98 (1954) 14–58. H. Hunger, "Thukydides bei Johannes Kantakuzenos. Beobachtungen zur Mimesis," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 181–93. B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* (Paris 1955). M. Cagnetta, "Per una edizione critica della Vita di Tucidide di Marcellino," *BollClass*[3] 7 (1986) 59–80. —A.C.H.

THŪGHUR. See ʿAWĀSIM AND THŪGHŪR.

THURIBLE. See CENSER.

TIARA. See CROWN.

TIBERIOS I (Τιβέριος), also known as Tiberios II; emperor (from 26 Sept. 578); born Thrace mid-6th C., died Constantinople 14 Aug. 582.

Justin II's notary, handsome and young, Tiberios was promoted by Sophia, raised to caesar on 7 Dec. 574, and renamed Tiberios Constantine (or new Constantine). As Justin's co-ruler he remained under the strict supervision of Sophia but acquired a freer hand after being proclaimed augustus. He behaved as the master of a great empire, showed generosity in taxation, ordered construction works (notably, according to John of Ephesus, in the Great Palace at Constantinople), and intervened in internal policy in Gaul and Spain. It remains questionable, however, whether Frankish agrarian legislation was influenced, as E. Stein (Klio 16 [1919] 72–74) thought, by the abolition of the epibole allegedly ordered by Tiberios. Personally tolerant, Tiberios still had to put up with persecutions of pagans and Monophysites. His major problems were wars against the Persians and Avars. After the success of his general Justinian at Melitene, the Byz. were routed in Armenia and the future Emp. Maurice, commanding in the East, was unable to curb the invasion of Chosroes I. In the Balkans, Avar and Slav raids created a permanent tension, esp. when Baian took Sirmium. Tiberios kept Sophia's intrigues at bay and remained faithful to his wife Anastasia (whose pre-baptismal name was Ino); one of his daughters, Constantina, married Maurice. Although popular and well-intentioned, Tiberios had no long-range plan for the empire.

LIT. Stein, Studien 56–116. Kulakovskij, Istorija 2:377–418. W. Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice," Traditio 13 (1957) 73–105. –W.E.K.

TIBERIOS II, emperor (698–705); baptismal name Apsimar; died Constantinople 15 Feb. (?) 706. He is not to be confused with Tiberios I, who is sometimes called Tiberios II. A noble of Gothic, Iranian, or possibly Armenian origins, Apsimar was droungarios of the Kibyrrhaiotai in 697 when he accompanied John Patrikios and a fleet sent by Leontios to recapture North Africa. Upon John's murder in 698, Apsimar was proclaimed emperor as Tiberios. After a lengthy siege Tiberios took Constantinople with the help of the Green faction and was crowned by Patr. Kallinikos (694–706). The little that is known of Tiberios's rule indicates that he worked to strengthen the empire militarily. He repaired Constantinople's sea walls (Preger, Scriptores 2:208.18–19). In 698 he repatriated Cypriots captured by the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik to Cyprus (R. Jenkins in De adm. imp. 2:181) and reorganized its administration and defenses. He appointed his brother Herakleios monostrategos of an army that invaded Syria in 700, but Arab counterattacks subdued Armenia by 703/4. In Aug. 705 Tiberios fled Constantinople at Justinian II's advance but was soon arrested. After several months Tiberios, Herakleios, and Leontios were paraded through Constantinople and executed. Justinian spared Tiberios's son Theodosios, who later became bishop of Ephesus; some scholars believe he ruled as Theodosios III.

LIT. Stratos, Byzantium 5:84–126. Kulakovskij, Istorija 3:279–84. –P.A.H.

TILES (κεραμίδια) were the usual ceramic coverings for roofs. Most tiles were of the simple curved type: some nearly semicircular, some only slightly curved. Byz. tiles did not preserve the ancient distinction between pan and cover tiles; one tile placed with its convex surface upward was set over the joint between two tiles placed with their concave surface upward. Flat tiles, little different from bricks, were regularly used in masonry, fitted between courses of stones and occasionally arranged in decorative patterns; cut tiles were used in pseudo-Kufic designs and in dentil patterns and various geometric forms (see Brickwork Techniques). Most tiles were locally made. No detailed study of them has yet been made.

Tiles with glazed polychrome decoration were used as ceramic architectural decoration, on icon frames, and, at one site, as pavement. Finds in the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople suggest their use in secular buildings. Figurative tiles have been unearthed at many sites in Constantinople, and at Preslav and Patleina in Bulgaria (see Bulgarian Art and Architecture). Their decoration includes mixtures of floral and geometric designs and sometimes birds. Depictions of the Virgin, saints, or apostles appear on square tiles as busts, full figures, or in medallions. Several tiles could be used to form a single representation (K. Miatev, Monumenta Artis Bulgariae 4 [1936], pl.XIX). Inscriptions identifying the figures are in Greek or, on some Bulgarian tiles, in Slavonic or faulty Greek. Stratigraphic data and textual sources place these tiles in the 9th to 11th C. Evidence of workshops has been found at Preslav, Patleina, Nicaea, and Nikomedeia. A document of 1202, describing a church in Constantinople given to the Genoese (MM 3:55.13–14), refers to piers decorated with "tiles (tanstria) of Nikomedeia."

LIT. P. Verdier, "Tiles of Nicomedia," in Okeanos 632–36. E.S. Ettinghausen, "Byzantine Tiles from the Basilica in the Topkapu Sarayi and Saint John of Studios," CahArch 7 (1954) 79–88. A. Grabar, Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique (Paris 1928) 42–51. D. Talbot Rice, Byzantine Glazed Pottery (Oxford 1930) 13–19, 97. –T.E.G., S.M.C.

TIMARION, an anonymous satirical dialogue of the first half of the 12th C. Its authorship has been variously attributed to Prodromos (H. Hunger), Kallikles (E. Lipšic, R. Romano), and Michael Italikos (B. Baldwin). An imitation of Lucian, Timarion describes a journey to the netherworld by a certain Timarion who was mistaken for a corpse. The picture of the underworld is devoid of the tragical perception of the vita of Basil the Younger and mildly derisive of the habits and persons Timarion saw in the realm of the dead. Among the figures satirized are Greek mythological personages, ancient writers on medical subjects, and several Byz., such as Emp. Theophilos and Michael Psellos; the contemporary predilection for medical studies and current jurisprudence is ridiculed. The dialogue begins with a detailed description of the fair in Thessalonike—important evidence for Byz. trade—and with an elaborate eulogy of a member of the Palaiologos family which has been interpreted by M. Alexiou as a piece of irony in disguise (BMGS 8 [1982–83] 29–45). Constantine Akropolites severely censured Timarion (M. Treu, BZ 1 [1892] 361–65) for its allegedly anti-Christian attitude.

ED. R. Romano, Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione (Naples 1974). Eng. tr. B. Baldwin, Timarion (Detroit 1984). Russ. tr. S. Poljakova, I. Felenkovskaja (introd. E. Lipšic), VizVrem 6 (1953) 357–86.
LIT. Hunger, Lit. 2:151–54. B. Baldwin, "The Authorship of the Timarion," BZ 77 (1984) 233–37. –A.K.

TIME (χρόνος). Olympiodoros of Alexandria (PG 93:508A) defined chronos as the interval during which something occurs and kairos, another term for time, as the period necessary for a certain action. Kairos was sometimes used as a synonym for chronos, sometimes contrasted with it, so that kairos acquired a more concrete and practical character. The measurement of time in Byz. was based on natural phenomena, such as the alternation between night and day or the change of seasons; this dependence of chronos on the movement of the sun, the moon, and other celestial bodies was stressed by the Eunomians, according to Basil the Great (PG 29:557C).

The major units of time—the day, month, seasons, and year—were derived from the observation of natural phenomena; the smaller divisions of the day—hours and watches (vigiliae)—corresponded to the needs of convenience. The week was determined by authority or tradition: the seven-day week was based on the Bible and on ancient astrology with its list of seven celestial bodies; even Christians could speak of the day of Aphrodite or the day of Helios (as reflected in Egyptian inscriptions); later, the Byz. preferred the numerical designation of days of the week—the second (Monday), the third (Tuesday), etc., up to Paraskeve (Friday), Sabbath (Saturday), and the Lord's or the first day (Sunday). Passage of the hours of the day was measured by a sundial or horologion, the passage of the days and months by a calendar.

Historical time was calculated in Byz. from the Creation and not from Christ's birth, as in West. The number of elapsed years between the Creation and the Incarnation was variously calculated, but the predominant figure for the Byzantine era came to be 5508. Christ's Second Coming or Parousia signified the end of time (sometimes measured at 7,000 or 8,000 years from the Creation), so that the history of mankind was conceived as developing within a limited framework of time with both beginning and end (see Eschatology). Even though the notion that cyclical historical time was predominant in antiquity has been questioned (A. Momigliano, History and Theory 5 [1966] 3–23), it was only in the Middle Ages that the linear perception of time became ubiquitous: the time of Byz. chronicles was open at one end and could be extended without difficulty by the simple addition of subsequent events. The time of historians was "material," and chronology in itself conferred sense upon events, creating logical links between chronologically coinciding facts (J. Beaucamp et al., TM 7 [1979] 225f)—at least in works such as the Chronicon

PASCHALE and the *Chronographia* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR.

The principle of the plain continuum of time (the narrative in Theophanes is organized by years) was not accepted by many historians, hagiographers, and the authors of romances or epics. "Narrative time" or "artistic time" often does not accord with chronological sequence of events: some historians destroyed the plain continuum by structuring the narrative not on the basis of chronology but of subject matter; storytellers were introduced to relate events that took place in the distant past, and some visions could reveal the future up to the Last Judgment; the literary device of iteration (artistic repetition) permitted returning to the same episode two or three times.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 161–235. A. Sharf, "The Eighth Day of the Week," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley, Surrey, 1988) 27–50.   –A.K.

Philosophical and Theological Terminology of Time. According to the categories of Aristotle, time as an accident is itself unmoved, but it presupposes movement that in turn involves number, hence, a numerical entity. This philosophical definition, also common in Byz.—as in the 9th-C. Zacharias of Chalcedon (K. Oehler, *Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter* [Munich 1969] 300–08)—is extended by Gregory of Nyssa in the sense that man moves to perfection in an unending assimilation to the good that, in the final analysis, eliminates the distinction so important to Greek philosophy between rest and movement (*Vita Moysis*, 2.243, 1; ed. J. Daniélou [Paris 1968] 110). At the same time, the other apparently unresolved conflict between a linear and cyclical conception of time is overcome in Christian thought. The tension between creation and recapitulation, between beginning (*arche*) and end (*telos*) was united in both models of thought. For Byz. historiography the periodization of world history into four major kingdoms and a thousand-year reign of peace, which is rooted in various biblical interpretations (e.g., Dan 2 and 7; Rev 20, etc.), proved equally important.

The involvement of mankind in a world epoch corresponded, for the individual, to the division of his life into different periods. The church incorporated these views into the liturgical year (see YEAR, LITURGICAL), with its times of fasting and feasting, its times of baptism and commemoration of the dead. Monks and ascetics limited their concern for the body to a minimum in order to establish through fixed hours of prayer a maximum amount of meditation on the divine or the salvation of the soul. Brief episodes of participation in the life of God (MYSTICISM) and above all the blessed hour of DEATH as the moment of birth into eternal life became for the mystically inclined monk the significant "heavenly time" of his life, which constitutes a continuous spiritual renewal.

Theologically, time was contrasted both with the *aion* that Maximos the Confessor (PG 91:1164BC) defines as *chronos* without movement, and with ETERNITY, or divine timelessness. Time is a creature, and the Trinity is both before and beyond *chronos* and the *aion* (i.e., *hyperchronios* and *hyperaionios*); the Trinity is the creative cause (*aitia poietike*) of time which—by definition—is connected with such categories as "birth" and destruction (cf. Michael Psellos in L.G. Benakis, *Philosophia* 10/11 [1980–81] 398–421, and NICHOLAS OF METHONE, ed. Angelou, 7.20–22, 9.14).

LIT. I. Escribaño-Alberca, "Zum zyklischen Zeitbegriff der alexandrinischen und kappadokischen Theologie," *StP* 11 (1972) 42–51. *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, IIIe–XIIIe siècle* (Paris 1984). *Liturgical Time*, ed. W. Vos, G. Wainwright [= *Studia liturgica* 14.2–4] (Rotterdam 1982). R. Sorabji, *Time, Creation and Continuum* (Ithaca 1983). G. Podskalsky, "Zur Symbolik des achten Tages in der griechisch-byzantinischen Theologie," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz* (Munich 1990) 157–66, 216–19.   –G.P.

TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS (Αἴλουρος, lit. "cat" or "weasel"), Monophysite bishop of Alexandria (457–458/60, 476–77); a saint in the Coptic church; died Alexandria 31 July 477. His nickname was given him either because of his small stature or because he prowled the streets and monasteries spreading dissension. A priest under DIOSKOROS, Timotheos participated in the "Robber" Council of Ephesus in 449 and maintained his allegiance to Dioskoros after the Council of Chalcedon (451). Together with PETER MONGOS, Timotheos organized the Monophysite opposition in Egypt. He had the support of the mob that killed his Orthodox rival Proterios, thus allowing him to become bishop. As a result of pressure from the Chalcedonians and esp. Pope LEO I, Emp. Leo I exiled Ailouros to Gangra sometime between 458 and 460 and to Cherson ca.464/5. The usurper BASI-

LISKOS recalled him from exile in 475, but Patr. AKAKIOS remained his enemy. Having returned to Alexandria, Ailouros died before he could again be banished as the result of another reversal of policy under Emp. Zeno.

More politician than theologian, Ailouros tried to maintain a middle ground between the dyophysites and the followers of EUTYCHES. He rejected the concept of two natures in Christ but assumed that through his flesh Christ was related to mankind and that the Logos suffered on the cross as a result of the Incarnation. His writings, both letters (R.Y. Ebied, L.R. Wickham, *JThSt* 21 [1970] 321–69) and polemical works against the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tomus* of Pope Leo, have survived in Syriac and Armenian fragments. Ailouros is a rare polemicist who quoted his adversaries extensively before refuting them. A 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 111.9–11) accused him of falsifying unpublished works of Cyril of Alexandria—probably an attempt to exonerate the latter of pro-Monophysite sympathies.

ED. Armenian version—*Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre*, ed. K. Ter-Mekerrtschian, E. Ter-Minassiantz (Leipzig 1908). Syriac version—*Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon*, ed. R.Y. Ebied, L.R. Wickham, in *After Chalcedon* (Louvain 1985) 115–66, with Eng. tr. *CPG*, vol. 3, nos. 5475–5491.

LIT. J. Lebon, "La christologie de Timothée Aelure," *RHE* 9 (1908) 677–702. F. Nau, "Sur la christologie de Timothée Aelure," *ROC* 14 (1909) 99–103. H.P. Opitz, *RE* 2.R. 12 (1937) 1355–57. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:3452f.   –T.E.G.

TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA, *grammatikos* (*Souda*, ed. Adler, 4:557.9) and armchair zoologist; fl. ca.491–518. A student of the Egyptian philosopher Horapollo, Timotheos reflected the approach to learning of the 5th-C. school of GAZA. He wrote a poem in four books on exotic ANIMALS, variously called *Indian Animals* or *Quadrupeds and Their Innately Wonderful Qualities* or *Stories about Animals*. He drew from several earlier sources, including Aristotle, Plutarch, Oppian, Aelian, and Philostratos, with passages culled from Nikander of Colophon, Pliny the Elder, Galen, and an early version of the PHYSIOLOGOS. The work survives only in a mid-11th-C. prose summary, dated by the scribe's mention (ch.24) of the zoo of Constantine IX Monomachos. The work is a fine mélange of ZOOLOGY and legend (e.g., ch.9, "The Tiger and

the Griffin"). The chapter on "The Giraffe" gives valuable details on the transport of ELEPHANTS and giraffes in the reign of Anastasios I, yet states that the giraffe is "produced by the intercourse of different animals" (24.1). John TZETZES remarks that Timotheos, along with Aelian and Oppian, represents the best zoology (*Historiae* 4.166–69); apparently the prose summary of the *Animals* was widely used as a schoolbook and was enormously popular.

ED. M. Haupt, ed., "Excerpta ex Timothei Gazaei libris de animalibus," *Hermes* 3 (1869) 1–30. *Timotheus of Gaza on Animals*, tr. F.S. Bodenheimer, A. Rabinowitz (Paris-Leiden 1949).

LIT. M. Wellmann, "Timotheos von Gaza," *Hermes* 62 (1927) 179–204. A. Steier, *RE* 6 A 2 (1937) 1339–41. R.A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language* (Berkeley 1988) 368–70.   –J.S.

TIMOTHEOS SALOPHAKIALOS (Σαλοφακίαλος), Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria (spring 460–Feb. 482). His name reportedly meant "white cap" or more probably "wobble cap." Initially a Pachomian monk at Canopus, Timotheos was consecrated patriarch after the exile of the Monophysite patriarch TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS. Although a strict Chalcedonian in doctrine, he acted with forbearance toward MONOPHYSITISM. Still, his conciliatory nature did not please everyone. When he restored the name of DIOSKOROS to the diptychs, Rome protested. On Ailouros's return from exile (475), Timotheos retired to his own monastery. When Ailouros died (31 July 477), he was reinstated. ZENO and Patr. AKAKIOS of Constantinople continued to support him, although the Monophysites had in the meantime elected PETER MONGOS as Ailouros's successor. Since Timotheos wanted to have an Orthodox succeed to the see on his death, he sent John Talaia to Constantinople to speak with Zeno. The mission failed. In fact, Talaia had to agree not to seek the throne himself. As a consequence, on Timotheos's death, his rival Mongos, having promised to support the emperor's HENOTIKON, was recognized, while Talaia, who had himself elected by the Orthodox despite his pledge, was forced to flee to Rome. Mongos eventually struck Timotheos's name from the diptychs, disinterred his body, and cast it outside the city walls.

LIT. F. Hofmann in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 2:33–40.   –A.P.

TIMUR (Τεμήρης, etc.), or Tamerlane, founder of a vast Turco-Mongol empire in Central and western Asia; born Kesh (near Samarkand) 1336, died Otrar (on the Sīr Daryā River) 18 Feb. 1405. From ca.1370 Timur ruled the decaying Chagatay khanate, and by 1399 his dominion extended from eastern Turkestan and northern India to Mesopotamia and the frontiers of Ottoman Anatolia. In these years Timur's impact on Byz. affairs was minimal, although tales of his might had reached Constantinople. His clash with the Ottoman sultan BAYEZID I, coinciding with the latter's siege of Constantinople, instantly brought Timur into the mainstream of Palaiologan politics. In 1399, when Bayezid expanded deep into eastern Anatolia, Timur replied by sacking Sivas. Although he then campaigned in northern Syria and Iraq, by summer 1401 he was again planning a major assault on the Ottomans. He then concluded agreements with JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS and the Genoese, the latter promising to acknowledge his sovereignty and to provide financial and naval support in his war on Bayezid. His invasion of Anatolia in spring 1402 culminated in Bayezid's defeat and capture at the battle of ANKARA on 28 July. Shortly thereafter the Turks abandoned the siege of Constantinople and peace was concluded between John VII and Bayezid's son, SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI. Timur remained in Anatolia until spring 1403, assaulting Smyrna in Dec. 1402 and otherwise reconstituting the traditional Turkish beyliks. During these months, John VII evidently acknowledged Timur's suzerainty, but the khan did not attempt to secure direct control of Constantinople. Timur's dismantling of Ottoman Anatolia and the accompanying succession strife among Bayezid's sons (1402–13) allowed Byz. some political and military recovery in Thrace and Macedonia.

The contemporary Greeks perceived Timur as the tool of either God or the Virgin, dispatched to Asia Minor for the purpose of liquidating Bayezid and thereby ending his attack on Constantinople. Later historians such as DOUKAS and CHALKOKONDYLES likewise tend to develop Timur, in secular terms, as an essentially just antagonist of Bayezid. Their political viewpoint parallels that of the *begs*, who regarded Bayezid's imperial ambitions as unjustified and deserving of chastisement.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 216–51. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)*[2] (London 1977). G. Dennis, "Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401–1402," *StVen* 12 (1970) 243–65. Idem, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," *OrChrP* 33 (1967) 72–88. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* 2:367–78.
–S.W.R.

TIPOUKEITOS (Τιπούκειτος, "what is to be found where"), an "index" to the BASILIKA produced probably toward the end of the 11th C. A judge by the name of Patzes is assumed to be the author. To his table of contents he added countless references with precise indication of their sources and, in the case of individual chapters, the actual *incipit*, thereby producing an aid to the *Basilika* that, in contrast to the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM, could not be employed independently. Individual scholia to the *Basilika* are used in the form of terse comments and observations; moreover, there are occasional references to Eustathios RHOMAIOS and recent imperial legislation.

ED. *M. Kritou tou Patze Tipoukeitos*, 5 vols., ed. C. Ferrini, I. Mercati (bks. 1–12—Rome 1914), F. Dölger (bks. 13–23—Rome 1929), St. Hoermann, E. Seidl (bks. 24–60—Rome 1943–57).
–L.B.

TIRIDATES THE GREAT. See TRDAT THE GREAT.

TITHE (δεκατεία, δέκατον, lit. "tenth"). Three different tithes are known in Byz.

1. There was the tithe on trade, that is, the KOMMERKION, and a more specific tithe collected on wine transported by sea to Constantinople (*dekateia oinaron*).

2. The tithe on land was basically the rent that the landowner collected from his tenants: 1/10 of the gross product (MORTE); or a rent collected for the pasture of animals—in reality paid by those who possessed such animals (ENNOMION and more specifically *probatoennomion, choiroennomion, melissoennomion*: rent paid by those who possessed sheep, pigs, or beehives).

3. In the 15th C., under Ottoman influence, a new *dekaton* (on wheat and on wine) appears in eastern Macedonia: a Byz. adaptation of the Muslim *uşr* (10 percent or 7 percent of the produce, N. Oikonomides, *SüdostF* 45 [1986] 7–9).

LIT. H.F. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," *JÖB* 6 (1957) 47–110. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:169–71. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 102–04. P. Lemerle, "Notes sur l'administration byzantine à la veille de la IVe croisade d'après deux documents inédits des archives de Lavra," *REB* 19 (1961) 271.
–N.O.

TITLES. See DIGNITIES AND TITLES.

TITLES, PURCHASE OF. Some honorific titles as well as active offices were bestowed by the emperor on individuals who had to pay a certain amount of cash in return. Not necessarily simple purchases, these were certainly not seen as signs of CORRUPTION. There were three main forms of purchase. (1) Farming out of offices, esp. those related to fiscal or economic activities (tax collection, trade monopolies such as those of the KOMMERKIARIOI), was a perennial practice, usually following a public auction. (2) Lifelong positions in the civil administration, such as those of NOTARIES or CHARTOULARIOI, positions in the palace service or in public institutions, and many others were considered STRATEIAI that could be acquired directly from their actual holder and transmitted in other ways (donation, exchange, dowry, etc.). (3) From the 8th to 11th C., several honorific titles (such as SPATHARIOS) were normally given by the emperor to individuals who paid in advance a large and variable amount of money and received in return the title accompanied by a yearly lifelong salary (ROGA) corresponding to 2.31 to 3.47 percent of the invested capital (the purchase of increases of the yearly salary was possible at much more profitable rates). The purchase of ecclesiastical titles was censured as SIMONY.

LIT. G. Kolias, *Ämter- und Würdenkauf im früh- und mittelbyzantinischen Reich* (Athens 1939). Guilland, *Institutions* 1:73–83. P. Lemerle, "'Roga' et rente d'état aux Xe–XIe siècles," *REB* 25 (1967) 77–100.
–N.O.

TITULAR CHURCHES. The term TITULUS was applied to certain churches of Rome (*titulus Anastasiae, titulus Pudentis*), probably originally to indicate the owner of the property that came to house the church. Although titular churches are first mentioned only in the 4th C., some of the structures so designated are believed to have had roots in the pre-Constantinian period, and thus to constitute the oldest official Christian meeting places of the city, as archaeological evidence suggests (SS. Giovanni e Paolo; S. Martino ai Monti). Two synodal lists (499, 595), however, demonstrate that the number and identity of the titular churches changed in the course of time.

LIT. J.P. Kirsch, *Die römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum* (Paderborn 1918).
–W.T.

TITULUS (Gr. τίτλος), term of Roman law that originally designated a dedicatory or honorific inscription on a temple, gravestone, or building, then a notice, label, or title; in a technical sense, it could mean the item of taxation and esp. the title of ownership (e.g., J.O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2 [Stockholm 1982] no.31.I.7, a.540). The term is conventionally used by art historians (1) to describe explanatory legends that accompany narrative or symbolic representations and (2) to indicate the title of a TITULAR CHURCH.

LIT. H. Heumann, E. Seckel, *Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Jena 1907; rp. Graz 1958) 586f. A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia 1953) 737f. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:604.
–A.K., W.T., A.C.

TITUS (Τίτος), bishop of Bostra in Arabia; died before 378. Titus was bishop under Emp. JULIAN, who attacked him in a letter (ep.41, ed. Wright) of 1 Aug. 362 concerning civic disturbances in Bostra; he continued his post as bishop under Jovian. In 363 he took part in a synod at Antioch at which he signed a letter accepting the HOMOOUSION. His major work was a polemic in four books against MANICHAEANISM, written after Julian's death. It is wholly extant in a Syriac translation; the first half survives also in Greek. Titus argues that God's justice is not incompatible with the existence of evil, the latter being not a substance but the product of human weakness and free will. Manichaean notions of conflict between the Dark and the Light and of matter and evil are combatted with ideas of divine providence and creation. Titus defends the divine inspiration of the Old Testament, while exposing in detail Manichaean interpretations of the Old Testament and interpolations into the New Testament. Valuable for its quotations and paraphrases of MANI, Titus's book was much exploited in Byzantium. Byz. *catenae* also preserve fragments from his commentary on Luke; his sermon on Epiphany survives in Syriac fragments. The *Oration on Palm Sunday* attributed to Titus is spurious.

ED. *Contra Manichaeos libri quatuor syriace*, ed. P.A. de Lagarde (Berlin 1859; rp. Hannover 1924). *Titi Bostreni quae ex opere contra Manichaeos . . . servata sunt graece*, ed. idem (Berlin 1859).

LIT. J. Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien* (Leipzig 1901). R.P. Casey, "The Text of the Anti-Manichaean Writings of Titus of Bostra and Serapion of Thmuis," *HThR* 21 (1928) 97–111. P. Nagel, "Neues griechisches Material zu Titus von Bostra (Adversus Manichaeos III 7–29)," *Studia Byzantina*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1973) 285–350.   –B.B.

TMUTOROKAN (τὰ Μάτραχα), also Tmutarakan, city on the east side of the Crimean strait of Kerč, succeeding the ancient Greek colony of Hermonassa. Located apart from the main barbarian routes in the 4th C., Hermonassa suffered less than Tanais or the cities of the Crimea. Based on archaeological data, S.A. Pletneva (in *Keramika, infra* 63) divides the history of medieval Tmutorokan into six periods: post-Hunnic (5th–7th C.), Khazar (8th–mid-10th C.), Rus' (mid-10th–11th C.), Cuman (12th–mid-13th C.), Tatar (mid-13th–beginning of 14th C.), and Genoese (14th–15th C.). The city flourished under Khazar rule when SALTOVO ware dominated Tmutorokan ceramics. The city was governed by a municipal system, the head of which—*balikči* (lit. "fisherman")—was appointed by the Khazars (V. Minorsky, *WZKM* 56 [1960] 131).

Raided by the Rus' ca.925 (N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents* [Ithaca, N.Y., 1982] 139–42), Tmutorokan became a part of the Kievan realm after 965. At that time ceramic imports decreased and dozens of Saltovo workshops were destroyed. A Greek element was active in 11th-C. Tmutorokan (E. Skržinskaja, *VizVrem* 18 [1961] 74–84), and "Cuman Tmutorokan" was under Byz. administrative control. By the treaties of 1169 and 1192, Byz. forbade the Genoese to use the Tmutorokan harbor. The seal of Michael, "*archon* of ZICHIA, Tmutorokan, and Khazaria" probably belonged to a Byz. governor of the Azov Sea region rather than to Oleg-Michael, the prince of Chernigov, as A. Soloviev (in 11 *CEB* [Munich 1960] 572f) suggested. Byz.'s special interest in Tmutorokan can be explained (G. Litavrin, *Voprosy istorii*, no.7 [1972] 39) by the oil wells in the area that provided Byz. with the raw materials for GREEK FIRE.
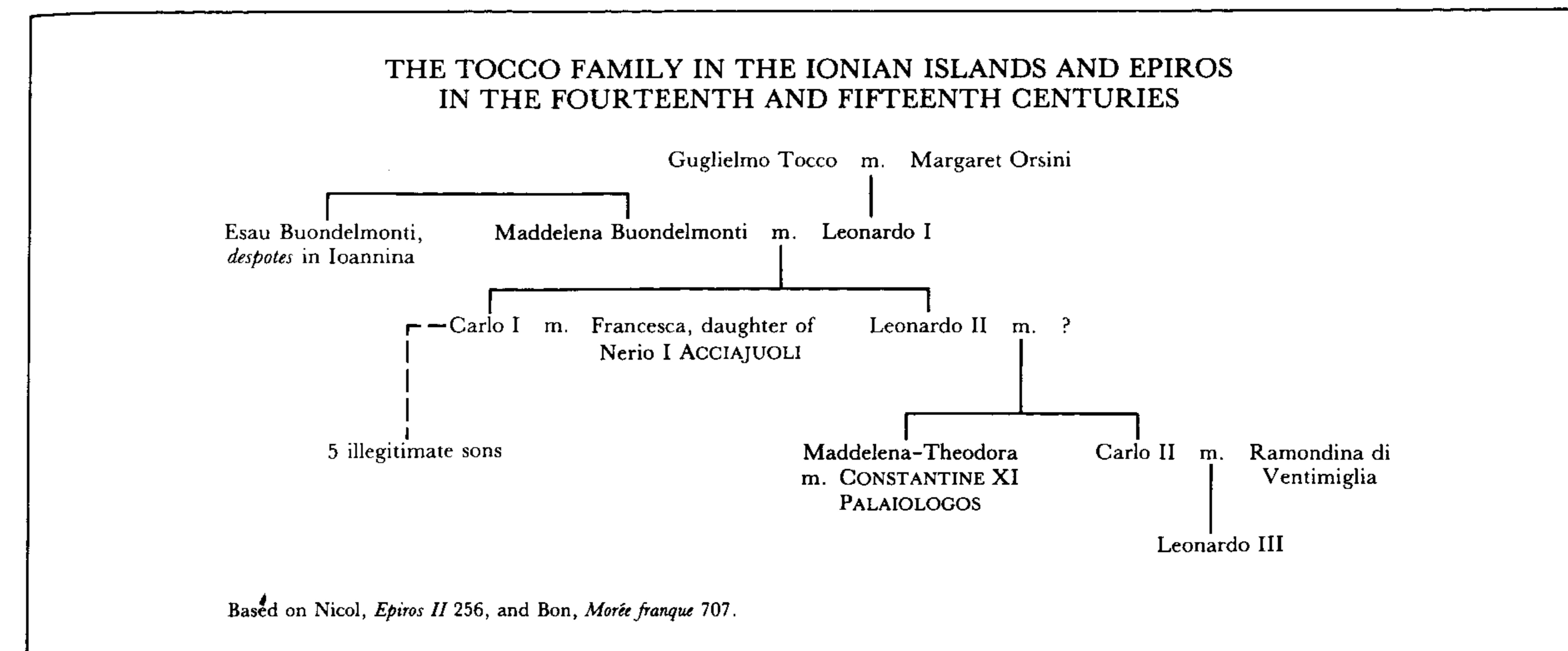
From the end of the 10th C. onward, the autocephalous archbishopric of Tmutorokan and Zichia is recorded (*Notitiae CP*, no.8.120–21), and

as late as the 1230s the Hungarian missionary Julian observed in Tmutorokan a population that "had Greek books and priests" (L. Bendefy, *Fontes authentici itinera* [1235–1238] *Fr. Iuliani illustrantes* [Budapest 1937] 22.6–9). In 1482 Tmutorokan was taken by the Ottomans.

LIT. G. Litavrin, "À propos de Tmutorokan," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 221–34. A. Kazhdan, "Some Little Known or Misinterpreted Evidence about Kievan Rus' in Twelfth-Century Greek Sources," in *Okeanos* 344–53. V. Mošin, "Nikolaj, episkop Tmutorokanskij," *SemKond* 5 (1932) 47–62. *Keramika i steklo drevnej Tmutarakani* (Moscow 1963).   –O.P.

TOCCO (Τόκκοι), an Italian family, originally from Benevento, which played a prominent role in the Ionian islands and despotate of EPIROS in the 14th and 15th C. The first member of the family to settle in Greece was Guglielmo Tocco (died 1335), who served as governor of Kerkyra for the Angevin PHILIP I OF TARANTO in the 1330s. In 1357 Robert of Taranto made Guglielmo's son Leonardo I (died 1375/6) count of Cephalonia (KEPHALENIA) and Zante (ZAKYNTHOS). Leonardo extended his control to Leukas (1362) and Ithake. Leonardo's two sons, Carlo I (died 1429) and Leonardo II (died 1418/19), are the heroes of the CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO. Carlo, who was married to Francesca ACCIAJUOLI, daughter of Nerio I Acciajuoli, expanded his territory to the mainland by seizing Corinth and Megara in 1395 after his father-in-law's death (J. Chrysostomides, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 81–110). By 1408 he had conquered Akarnania from the Albanians. After the death of his uncle Esau Buondelmonti (see EPIROS) in 1411, Carlo succeeded him as *despotes* of Ioannina and in 1416 acquired Arta as well. Until his death he ruled as the last true *despotes* of Epiros, the rank Manuel II conferred on him in 1415. After 1429 the despotate, a subject of dispute between the illegitimate sons of Carlo I and his nephew Carlo II, fell apart again. Carlo II surrendered Ioannina to the Turks in 1430 but remained lord of Arta until he died in 1448. Arta fell in 1449. By ca.1460 Carlo's son Leonardo III (died 1494) retreated to the Ionian islands, the last remaining Christian territory in Greece, until they were in turn captured by the Ottomans in 1479. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros II* 165–215. G. Schirò, "Manuele II Paleologo incorona Carlo Tocco despota di Gianina," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 209–30.   –A.M.T.

THE TOCCO FAMILY IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS AND EPIROS IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Based on Nicol, *Epiros II* 256, and Bon, *Morée franque* 707.

TOGA, Roman outer garment, draped around the body in such a way that the right arm remained free. The distinguishing mark of a Roman citizen, it did not long survive the imperial administration's move from Rome to Constantinople. Ordinary people had come to prefer the HIMATION already by the 2nd C., and wearing of the toga was gradually restricted to specific officials (among them senators, consuls, and the emperor, and their wives and mothers) on ceremonial occasions. Silk replaced the original wool fabric. The color of the toga was usually white, but other colors could indicate the higher rank of the wearer: a *trabea* was purple or gold, while the highest form of toga, the *toga picta* or *trabea triumphalis*, was embroidered with gold rosettes and even scenes, or encrusted with jewels, and had an elaborate border. The *trabea triumphalis* was the standard costume for consuls opening the games and is hence frequently depicted on the ivory consular DIPTYCHS. The use of the toga decreased with the decline of the consulship, but its border was retained as a separate imperial vestment, already referred to in the 6th C. as a LOROS (C. Albizzati, *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 35 [1922] 69–92).

LIT. L.M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga* (Baltimore 1924). Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen* 43–58. E. Piltz, *RBK* 3:428–35.   –N.P.Š.

TOKALI KILISE. See GÖREME.

TOKENS (σφραγίδια, "little sealings"; Lat. *tesserae*) were given to the poor and exchanged by

them for food and other necessities of life. Such tokens served as counters, in the same manner that Roman tokens allowed an official to keep track of and verify goods that he disbursed; unlike Roman practice, however, Byz. tokens were not used for advertising. They were issued in lead and copper and resemble lead SEALS both in size (somewhat smaller) and decoration; the planchet, however, exhibits no perforation for cording and suspensions. The great majority of tokens date from the 11th C., although there are earlier references in literature. For example, in 436, according to a decree in the *Theodosian Code* (XIV 26.2), 110 *modii* of grain were to be added to the grain supply of Alexandria, and bread tickets (tesserae) were to be marked and validated by the imperial name. *Sphragidia* were distributed by imperial command on various holidays, such as 22 July, a commemorative ceremony of Leo VI, when tokens were given to the poor and later exchanged at a rate of 1 1/3 nomisma per token (Oikonomides, *Listes* 217.33–219.3). Typically the obverse and reverse of lead tokens are decorated with an inscription quoting Proverbs 19:17: "He who is generous to the poor lends to the Lord." The same inscription appears on copper tokens, but often on the reverse alone, leaving the obverse field to be filled with an effigy of the Virgin, Christ, or a saint.

LIT. J. Nesbitt, "Byzantine Copper Tokens," in *Byz. Sigillography* 67–75.   –J.W.N.

TOKENS, PILGRIM. See PILGRIM TOKENS.

TOMB (τάφος). The Byz. vocabulary for tomb varied: Niketas Choniates, besides *taphos*, used such terms as *theke*, *mneme*, *sema*, and *soros*. Legal texts (e.g., *Basil.* 59.1.2) distinguished between *taphos* and *mneme*; according to the *Synopsis Basilicorum* (Zepos, *Jus* 5:559, note b), *taphos* was the grave for the BURIAL of the corpse while *mneme* was the "building" (*ktisma*) over it. The *Basilika* (59.1.5) preserved also the ancient distinction between *familiarioi* tombs (for the individual and his whole *familia*) and *kleronomiaioi* tombs (for the individual and his descendants).

A tomb could take the form of a grave faced with a slab or surmounted by a stele or a CIBORIUM, a niche with an ARCOSOLIUM and room for a SARCOPHAGUS, a funerary CHAPEL, or MAUSOLEUM. Early Byz. tombs are found singly or communally in underground CEMETERIES and CATACOMBS or in the open air, often in the context of a MARTYRION (Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 51f). A grave might be surrounded by a barrier of stone or metal; its stone plaque might bear an inscription; lamps and icons might be set on it. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. E. Kurtz, no.16) mentions the tomb of a *patrikios* Melios ornamented with images of his secular and monastic life. Luxurious tombs could have small columns adorned with silver (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:61, par.183.6–7), probably supporting a roof over the grave. The Holy SEPULCHRE of Christ in Jerusalem attracted special veneration. Particular care was given to the tombs of patron saints such as LOUKAS THE YOUNGER, MELETIOS THE YOUNGER, and ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, and church founders such as Isaac KOMNENOS and Theodore METOCHITES (Ø. Hjort, *DOP* 33 [1979] 249f). In Christian metaphor the tomb was a symbol of death, of sinful life, of the body imprisoning the soul; pagan shrines were also called tombs.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:198–203. Pazaras, *Anaglyphes sarkophagoi.* –A.K., L.Ph.B.

TOMIS (Τόμις), ancient city on the west coast of the Black Sea, near Constanţa. A flourishing city in the 4th–6th C., Tomis preserved its ancient town plan (A. Rădulescu et al., *Pontica* 6 [1973] 350). The tomb of a *vicarius* of Odessos, dating from ca.500, implies that at that time Tomis belonged to the bishopric of Odessos (I. Barnea, *SCIV* 8 [1957] 347–52). In late antiquity Tomis was the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of the province of SCYTHIA MINOR (*Cod.Just.* I 3.35.2). Two large basilicas of the 5th–6th C. have been discovered. Justinian I rebuilt the fortifications, and the city withstood a siege by the Avars in 599. Thereafter its history is obscure for some centuries. By the 10th C. it appears, with the name Konstantia, as a station on the route of ships of Rus' to Constantinople (*De adm. imp.* 9.99) and was probably then in Bulgarian hands. The identification of Konstantia with both late antique Constantiana and Konstanteia, a stronghold on the Danube (Skyl. 301.2–3), remains questionable (E. Popescu, *BZ* 66 [1973] 359–82; I. Barnea, *SCIV* 25 [1974] 427–29). In 971 Konstantia surrendered to John I Tzimiskes. In 1201/2 it was captured by KALOJAN and by the mid-15th C. was under Ottoman rule. In antiquity Tomis was noted for the export of grain, but by the 14th–15th C. VICINA and CHILIA filled this role. Rock-cut chapels at Basarabi, 15 miles west of Tomis, contain graffiti of the 10th–11th C. in runic characters as well as in Glagolitic, Cyrillic, Greek, and possibly Arabic script.

LIT. I. Barnea, Ş. Ştefănescu, *Bizantini, Români şi Bulgari la Dunărea de jos* (Bucharest 1971). I. Barnea, "Byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Rumänien," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 298–300. –R.B., A.K.

TOMISLAV, 10th-C. prince of Croatia. According to D. Farlati (*Illyricum sacrum* [Venice 1751] 3:84), Tomislav reigned 20 years, until ca.940; F. Šišić (*Povijest Hrvata* [Zagreb 1925] 401f) prefers the dates 910–28. Tomislav enlarged the borders of Croatia, uniting Pannonian and Dalmatian Croatia, and ca.925 accepted the title of king. CONSTANTINE VII described a Croatian army that was able to muster 60,000 horses, 100,000 foot soldiers, and about 180 ships (*De adm. imp.*, 31.71–74), probably referring to the time of Tomislav's reign. Along with MICHAEL VIŠEVIĆ of Zachlumia, Tomislav sought and received papal support at the Council of Spalato (SPLIT) in 924. When the Byz.-Serbian alliance was routed by SYMEON OF BULGARIA ca.924, the Bulgarian threat hung over Croatia; the Bulgarian invasion ca.926 was repulsed, however. Zlatarski (*infra*) suggests that this success accounted for a broad anti-Bulgarian coalition of Croatia, Zachlumia, and Serbia under Byz. control and that Tomislav was granted the title of *anthypatos*. In any case the peace treaty with Bulgaria was signed, with the help of Pope JOHN X, before Symeon's death. After Tomislav died the role of Croatia declined, and Serbia under ČASLAV assumed the leading role in the area.

Goldstein (*infra*), who has critically reconsidered the scanty data about Tomislav's reign, has tried to show that there is no reason to call Tomislav the first king of Croatia and that the word *rex* in John X's epistle was not an official title but only a polite expression.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:477–79. R. Jenkins in *De adm. imp.* 2:99f. I. Goldstein, "O Tomislavu i njegovom dobu," *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest* 18 (1985) 23–55. –A.K.

TOMOS (τόμος, from τέμνω, "to cut"), term that designated in antiquity a "page" (J. Schmidt, *RhM* 47 [1892] 326) or a section of a ROLL. Photios used it often for a division (chapter) of a book, as a synonym for *logos* or *biblos*. The word is employed in the same sense for headings in MS editions, e.g., "The third *tomos* of the reign of Isaac Angelos" in the history of Niketas Choniates. The term could also be used for codex-books and esp. for documents (register, decree, chrysobull), frequently of ecclesiastical character, e.g., the TOMOS OF UNION of 920. Circa 1339–40 the monks of Athos issued the *Tomos hagioreitikos* in defense of the hesychasts; the Council of 1351 also formulated its decision in a *tomos*. Metaphorically the word denotes the Virgin, as, for example, "the *tomos* of a new mystery" in the second homily on the Nativity of the Virgin (*PG* 96:692B) that is ascribed to John of Damascus, but probably was written by Theodore of Stoudios (C. van de Vorst, *BZ* 23 [1914–20] 128–32).

LIT. B. Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine* (Thessalonike 1971) 150–61. –A.K.

TOMOS OF UNION (τόμος ἑνώσεως), a document that formulated the decision of the local council of Constantinople of 920, convened to settle the conflict between the partisans of Patr. EUTHYMIOS and NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Solemnly proclaimed on 9 July 920, the Tomos attempted to terminate the long dispute over the TETRAGAMY of LEO VI by completely banning a fourth marriage and restricting the third marriage (with the penalty of four to five years' deprivation of communion). The statement satisfied the Euthymians, and later ARETHAS OF CAESAREA claimed to have coauthored the Tomos with ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS (*Scripta minora* 1:229-30). By 920, since Leo VI had been dead for eight years, the core of the conflict was no longer the fourth marriage but the validity of episcopal appointments—whether the nominees of Euthymios or of Nicholas were rightfully entitled to their sees. The latter question was not mentioned in the Tomos, but since Euthymios had died in 917 and Nicholas, after a short period of disfavor, gained the support of the *basileopator* Romanos, his partisans evidently had the upper hand. Absent from the first preserved version of the Tomos, dated ca.930, Euthymios's name appears only in a later version, ca.1000. The Tomos signified not only the unification of the Byz. church, very important for a government that was at war with Bulgaria, but also the restoration of the alliance with Rome, since the papal representatives approved of the Council of 920.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.669. L. Westerink in *Nicholas I, Letters* (Washington, D.C., 1973) xxiv–vi. –A.K.

TONDRAKITES (Arm. T'ondrakec'i), Armenian sect taking its name from the district of T'ondrak north of Lake Van. The founder of the sect, Smbat of Zarehawan, lived in the mid-9th C. The sect spread rapidly to Hark' and VASPURAKAN and other districts, penetrating all levels of society. The Tondrakite communities were generally destroyed by the end of the 11th C., though isolated groups may have survived as late as the 19th.

The extreme Iconoclasm characterizing the Tondrakites and their rejection of ecclesiastical authority and the sacraments suggest the influence of the later Byz. (Neo-)PAULICIANS with whom GREGORY MAGISTROS (*Letters*, p.161) explicitly identified them. Nevertheless, the ADOPTIANIST Christology set out in their manual, the *Key of Truth*, and their worship of their leaders as "Christs" links them rather to primitive Armenian Paulicianism.

LIT. F.C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth* (Oxford 1898). Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, esp. 98–102, 152–67. Eadem, "L'abjuration du moine Nil de Calabre," *BS* 35 (1974) 12–27. –N.G.G.

TONSURE (κουρά), the ritual of cutting the hair by which a lay person was admitted to the monastic or clerical state. Although the custom was

not prescribed by any canon, it was practiced as early as the 4th C. in the PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES, where it was prohibited to cut off hair without the permission of a superior. In the same century it is attested as a preliminary act to the admission to clerical status: St. Euthymios the Great is said (by a later author, Cyril of Skythopolis) to have been tonsured when he was ordained *anagnostes* in Melitene ca.379. In the 5th C. tonsuring regularly accompanied the taking of monastic vows, for example, in the case of the eparch Kyros in 441. A Justinianic novel of 535 (nov.5.2.1) ordered that a layman receive "the tonsure and the habit (*stole*)" after a three-year novitiate (see NOVICE). Canon 33 of the Council in Trullo forbade those who had not been tonsured to preach from the ambo.

The actual procedure of tonsuring varied. Pseudo-Sophronios (PG 87:3985D) prescribes a circular shaving of the hair in imitation of Christ's crown; hair might also be cut so as to form the sign of the cross. Another form, the so-called *tonsura more Orientalium S. Pauli* (cf. Bede, PL 95:172) consisted of a complete shaving of the head in imitation of St. Paul's baldness. The term *apokarsis* was also used: according to pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (PG 3:536A) the *apokarsis* indicated "a pure life." Another term for the tonsure was *epikouris*, but the difference between *epikouris* and *apokarsis* is obscure.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 15:2430–35. A.S. Alivisatos, "He koura ton klerikon kai monachon kata to kanonikon dikaion tes Orthodoxou ekklesias," *EEBS* 23 (1953) 233–39. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 108–11. Panagiotakos, *Dikaion* 49f, 79–88. –A.M.T., A.K.

TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS of the Byz. period continued the forms and functions of Roman examples but are less well known as a body. Many tools for stoneworking, METALWORK, and woodworking, as well as AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, were made of IRON, although some were of BRONZE. Sets of agricultural and carpentry tools—containing spades, hoes, axes, punches, chisels, and files—were found in the 7th-C. shipwreck at Yassi Ada off Asia Minor. Excavations at, for example, Corinth and Sardis have yielded others as well as domestic tools for kitchen use and spinning. Lists of surgical instruments (see SURGERY) survive from the 6th to 11th C., but few extant examples have been identified.

Excavations have produced varied examples of household fittings from the 4th to 13th C. Bronze and iron furnishings include LIGHTING fixtures, iron stool frames, feet, knobs, handles, and other attachments esp. for chests, LOCKS, and KEYS. Solid silver and bronze tripod tables survive from the 4th to 7th C. Written texts refer to (solid) bronze fountains with animal figures in the Great Palace, Constantinople, in the 9th C. (*TheophCont* 141.20–21; 327.4–5). A set of bronze kitchen UTENSILS with caldrons, pitcher, baking pan, and jug was found in the Yassi Ada shipwreck, and many loose bronze casseroles, kettles, ladles, and ewers have been found in Egypt. Large numbers of household utensils were excavated at Sardis in the Byz. shops where they had been on sale when the city was destroyed in the early 7th C. Archaeologists have unearthed a set of three bronze kettles (one inscribed) and jug of the 10th–11th C. at Corinth in addition to other metal vessels. Household utensils, PLATE were also made of silver, CERAMIC, and GLASS.

LIT. G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *Yassi Ada: A Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck*, vol. 1 (College Station, Tex., 1982) 231–73. G.R. Davidson, *Corinth XII. The Minor Objects* (Princeton 1952). J.C. Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). J.S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (Vienna 1904) 253–303, 307–12. A. Guillou, "Outils et travail dans les Balkans du XIIIe au XIXe siècle," *RESEE* 19 (1981) 443–49. –M.M.M.

TOPARCHA GOTHICUS, conventional title of an anonymous work, three fragments of which C.B. Hase published in 1819. The fragments describe journeys of a (possibly Byz.) commander in the Dnieper and Danube regions and his confrontations with barbarians; among others is mentioned "the ruler to the north of the Istros [Danube]," in whom many scholars have seen the prince of Kiev. The text is obscure and incoherent; neither its topographical and chronological data nor its astronomical observations permit a convincing solution concerning the place and date of its composition. Ševčenko (*infra*) put forth serious arguments demonstrating that *Toparcha Gothicus* was a forgery by Hase, but the majority of East European scholars have not accepted his hypothesis.

ED. *Die Fragmente des Toparcha Goticus (Anonymus Tauricus) aus dem 10. Jahrhundert*, ed. F. Westberg (St. Petersburg 1901; rp. Leipzig 1975).

LIT. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2.1:136–212. I. Ševčenko, "The Date and Author of the So-called Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus," *DOP* 25 (1971) 115–88. I. Božilov, "Hase's Anonym and Ihor Ševčenko's Hypothesis," *BBulg* 5 (1978) 245–59. A.N. Sacharov, "Vostočnyj pochod Svjatoslava i 'Zapiska grečeskogo toparcha,'" *Istorija SSSR* (1982) no.3, 86–103. –A.K.

TOPARCHES (τοπάρχης), term that in Hellenistic and Roman texts designated a medium-ranked official administering a district (E. Kiessling, *RE* 2.R. 6 [1937] 1716). Justinian I, in novel 128.21, understood *toparchai* as local magistrates in a broad sense, including both military and civil authorities. The term was eventually equated with king: a 6th-C. historian (Malal. 231.9) speaks of a *toparches* of the Jews; Prokopios (*Wars* 2.12.8) calls Abgar *toparches* of Edessa. The term reappeared in the 10th–13th C. as a nontechnical word designating independent rulers (of Sicily, Crete, Bulgaria, etc.) as well as Byz. governors, who normally enjoyed relative independence. Kekaumenos dwells at length on the relations between a Byz. general and the neighboring *toparches*. Cheynet (*infra*) assumes that by the 12th C. some TOPOTERETAI were identified as *toparchai*, that is, they became more independent; he interprets this as a sign of administrative disintegration. The attribution of the title of *toparches* to the author of the so-called TOPARCHA GOTHICUS is arbitrary, since the term is not employed in the text (M. Nystazopoulou, *BCH* 86 [1962] 321–26).

LIT. J.-C. Cheynet, "Toparque et topotérètes à la fin du 11e siècle," *REB* 42 (1984) 215–24. –A.K.

TOPONYMICS, the study of place names, encompassing inhabited and uninhabited sites as well as rivers, mountains, valleys, islands, etc. The etymology of toponyms can reflect social and economic relations (Ph. Malingoudis, *EtBalk* 21 [1985] no.1, 87–91) but has been primarily used to demonstrate continuity or change in ethnic substrata: the most obvious examples are the penetration into Greek place names of Frankish roots (O. Markl, *Ortsnamen Griechenlands in "fränkischer" Zeit* [Graz-Cologne 1966]) and esp. roots of Slavic origin—some of the latter appear as far east as Bithynia (Ph. Malingoudis, *Hellenika* 31 [1979] 494–96). Other problems in toponymics include the spread of Greek and Latin place names be-

yond the frontiers of the empire and the occurrence of Greek toponyms in southern Italy. Thus the Byz. gave the name Hagia Agathe to an *oppidum* (fortress) in the *tourma* of Salines (Calabria) when they founded a town and bishopric there (A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè* [*Oppido*] [Vatican 1972] 18f). Such renamings are evidently linked to ethnic movements, although they can rarely define the degree of assimilation. Less evident are those changes not caused by the settlement of newcomers. In the transition from late Roman to Byz. society, changes occurred in local nomenclature; sometimes these shifts had political causes (conferring an emperor's name upon a city, as in the cases of Justiniana Prima and Constantinople) or religious explanations (renaming a city in honor of a saint). In other cases, changes of name (e.g., from Kolossai to Chonai) lack an obvious rationale. Names of rivers and mountains seem to be less subject to change than those of cities or villages and may often be derived from pre-Roman nomenclature.

LIT. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg 1984). D. Georgacas, *The Names for the Asia Minor Peninsula* (Heidelberg 1971). O. Kronsteiner, "Rückläufiges Verzeichnis der slawischen Ortsnamen in Griechenland," *Österreichische Namenforschung* 7 (1979) 3–24. J. Zaimov, *Zaselvane na bǔlgarskite slavjane na Balkanskija poluostrov* (Sofia 1967). A. Bryer, "The Treatment of Byzantine Place-Names," *BMGS* 9 (1984–85) 209–14. M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (Berlin 1941; rp. Leipzig 1970). –A.K.

TOPOTERETES (τοποτηρητής). In 5th–6th-C. Egypt, the *topoteretes* was a deputy of the DOUX. The term seems to have fallen into disuse thereafter, but appears again in the TAKTIKA of the 9th–10th C., in the *De ceremoniis*, and on seals; at that time it designated a lieutenant of the commanders of TAGMATA, THEMES, or the navy. His functions were military: in theory he commanded a unit of 15 BANDA (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 252.136). In an enigmatic passage of Kekaumenos (Kek. 188.1–2) *topoteretes* is contrasted with STRATEGOS, but his functions are not defined. Circa 1100, *topoteretai* were in charge of small districts and fortresses; J.-C. Cheynet (*REB* 42 [1984] 222–24) suggests that *topoteretai* acquired some independence when the administrative system of the empire was disorganized. In the 15th C. *topoteretai* were patriarchal representatives in metropolitan sees outside the empire (Cyprus, Ankyra, Nikomedeia, etc.).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 52f. G. Litavrin in Kek. 453f. C. Kunderewicz, "Les topotérètes dans les novelles de Justinien et dans l'Egypte byzantine," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 14 (1962) 33–50. —A.K.

TORCELLO. On this island in the Venetian lagoon are two adjoining churches, the cathedral of S. Maria Assunta and S. Fosca. S. Fosca is a Byz. building type: a modified Greek-cross octagon, with a plan that accommodates the Western liturgy. S. Maria Assunta is a Latin basilica, decorated with mosaics closely related to some in S. Marco in VENICE. Preserved images include the Virgin Hodegetria and standing apostles in the main apse, a seated PANTOKRATOR with angels and saints in the right minor apse, and a LAST JUDGMENT on the inner west wall. Stylistic analysis reveals at least two medieval phases (mid- or late 11th and 12th C.) and the participation of Byz. craftsmen. More precise attributions are disputed. Andreescu, for one, attributes the Hodegetria to a Byz. mosaicist working around 1185. On the lower wall of the main apse are fragmentary frescoes, also ascribed to a Byz. master, dated to the late 10th or early 11th C.

LIT. I. Andreescu, "Torcello," *DOP* 26 (1972) 183–223; 30 (1976) 245–341 [title varies]. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 405f. R. Polacco, *La Cattedrale di Torcello* (Venice 1984). —D.K.

TORNESE (It., also tornesello, from Fr. *tournois*), the name given to the deniers of base silver struck by the abbey of St. Martin of Tours prior to the annexation of Touraine by Philip Augustus in 1206. Subsequently deniers tournois, with their characteristic type of a "castle" (châtel tournois), became one of the chief coinages of the French crown and the basis of the main French system of account. Imitations of them were issued on a vast scale by several of the Frankish states in Greece between the mid-13th and mid-14th C., so that the name came by extension to be applied to several denominations of low-grade billon coins of much the same value minted at Venice, in the Aegean area, and at Constantinople itself, though the Greek name for them is unknown. At Constantinople in the 1330s 8 tornesi were reckoned to the BASILIKON and 96 to the HYPERPYRON; and a century later the account book of BADOER (1436–40) shows the STAURATON, the standard silver coin then in use, as worth 96 tornesi.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris 1878; rp. Graz 1954) 308–11, 321. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 279–81, 298, 317f. Hendy, *Economy* 534f. —Ph.G.

TORNIKIOS (Τορνίκιος, also Τορνίκης, fem. Τορνίκινα), a noble family of Armenian or Georgian origin. According to Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 43.55–60), Abu Ghanim (Apoganem), brother of a prince of TARŌN, was brought to Byz. and granted the title of *protospatharios* in the early 10th C.; Abu Ghanim's son Tornikios came to Constantinople later and received the rank of *patrikios*. A marginal note on Paris, B.N. gr. 2009, explains that he was Nicholas Tornikios's father; Nicholas can perhaps be identified with the Nicholas Tornikios who, with Leo Tornikios, supported Constantine VII in 945. Their relationship with John Tornikios is unclear: John, a vassal of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO, settled eventually as a monk on Athos but later served Basil II as diplomat and general; in 979 he won the decisive victory over Bardas SKLEROS. John mastered both Armenian and Georgian: he erected a stone cross with an Armenian inscription near Karin (THEODOSIOUPOLIS) (Adontz, *Études* 309) and promoted the copying of Georgian MSS (P. Peeters, *AB* 50 [1932] 358–71). John's relatives served Byz. as military commanders; some took the name of John's brother Varazvače. In the Hermitage is a seal of the *strategos* Tornikios Varazvače; a certain Varazvače, whom Skylitzes (Skyl. 403.33) called *Iberos* (Georgian?), was governor of Edessa ca.1038; Kontoleon Tornikios served as *katepano* of Italy in 1017; J.-C. Cheynet (*BS* 42 [1981] 197–202) suggested that Leo Tornikios was *domestikos* of the West as well (see TORNIKIOS, LEO).

From the 12th C. onward the Tornikioi were predominantly civil functionaries: Demetrios, *logothetes tou dromou* in the late 12th C.; his son Constantine, *logothetes* after his father's death (ca.1201). Constantine's son Demetrios (died ca.1252) was *mesazon* in Nicaea, and his son Constantine *sebastokrator*; John Tornikios, governor of the Thrakesian theme in 1258, may have been the brother of the *sebastokrator* Constantine. The Tornikioi intermarried with many noble families including the PALAIOLOGOI and played important roles in the 14th C.: Demetrios Tornikios Palaiologos was *megas droungarios tes viglas*; Andronikos (monastic name Antonios) Tornikios Palaiologos was *parakoimomenos*; Michael Tornikios was *megas*

konostaulos. B. Schmalzbauer's hypothesis that a Slavicized branch of the family existed ca.1356 (allegedly Tornikios Rodosthlabos was *kephale* of Serres) is based on a misreading of the name (*Esphig.* 159). The family produced several 12th-C. literati: Euthymios Tornikios and two named George (see TORNIKIOS, EUTHYMIOS and TORNIKIOS, GEORGE). Maria Tornikina Komnene Akropolitissa, possibly the *sebastokrator* Constantine's niece, is represented on the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in the Tret'jakov Gallery (Moscow).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 47–57. G. Schmalzbauer, "Die Tornikioi in der Palaiologenzeit," *JÖB* 18 (1969) 115–35. —A.K.

TORNIKIOS, EUTHYMIOS, ecclesiastical official and writer; died Epiros after 1222. Son of the *logothetes tou dromou* Demetrios TORNIKIOS, he served as deacon in 1191. His preserved works are dated predominantly in 1200–05, although they include a poem dedicated to ISAAC II (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petr.* 188f). Tornikios's rhetorical works are very conventional, esp. his panegyric of ALEXIOS III, which describes the revolt of John KOMNENOS the Fat. Tornikios mentions an expedition of Alexios against the Bulgarians, but the data are too vague to identify it. Tornikios's monody for his father is more personal, describing both family characteristics and, tenderly, Demetrios's death. His monodies for Demetrios and for Euthymios MALAKES are full of respect for the eloquence of the deceased, but this respect is expressed by clichés: the honey-dripping tongue of Malakes (p.78.21–22), the fire-breathing tongue of Demetrios (p.94.23–24).

ED. J. Darrouzès, "Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikès," *REB* 26 (1968) 53–117.
LIT. Darrouzès, "Notes" 149–55. —A.K.

TORNIKIOS, GEORGE, writer; according to Darrouzès, born between 1110 and 1120, died 1156/7 (according to Browning, died in 1166/7). Tornikios's mother was apparently the niece of THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid. Tornikios made a career in Constantinople as *didaskalos* of the Psalms and Gospels; in 1153–55 he occupied the post of *hypomnematographos* (second to the *chartophylax*) in the patriarchal chancellery; in 1155 he was elected metropolitan of Ephesus. His letters addressed to various secular and ecclesiastical administrators

are important primarily for prosopographical information, because their content is conventional (e.g., ep.21 complains about the people of Ephesus who are wilder than leopards and more treacherous than foxes). Tornikios's eulogy of Anna KOMNENE presents a portrait of the princess and her desire for education. In a letter to the pope (written at the command of Manuel I), he defended the idea of a UNION OF THE CHURCHES to be achieved on the basis of the primacy of Constantinople. Unlike MICHAEL ITALIKOS, Tornikios was first and foremost a theologian; in his system of imagery, biblical borrowings are much more abundant than classical references.

ED. J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès, Lettres et discours* (Paris 1970).
LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 34–37. —A.K.

TORNIKIOS, GEORGE, *magistros ton rhetoron* in the 1190s. He has been confused by some scholars with his mid-12th-C. homonym; also his speech to Isaac II was wrongly dated to the end of 1186 (approximately at the same time as the discourses of John SYROPOULOS and Sergios KOLYBAS). Because these speeches provide unique information about the Byz. relationship with Bulgaria and Serbia, several events have consequently been misdated (the conflict between PETER OF BULGARIA and ASEN I, the marriage of STEFAN THE FIRSTCROWNED to Eudokia, daughter of Alexios III). The date of ca.1193 suggested by M. Bachmann (*Die Rede des Johannes Syropoulos an den Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos* [Munich 1935] 96, n.4) for the speech has been confirmed by later investigation. Tornikios's speech of 1192 to Patr. George II Xiphilinos (1191–98) is still unpublished.

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 254–80.
LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 37f. Darrouzès, "Notes" 163–67. A. Kazhdan, "La date de la rupture entre Pierre et Asen (vers 1193)," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 167–74. J.L. van Dieten, "Das genaue Datum der Rede des Georgios Tornikes an Isaak II. Angelos," *ByzF* 3 (1968) 114–16. —A.K.

TORNIKIOS, LEO, nephew of CONSTANTINE IX; born Adrianople, died after 1047. He was *patrikios* and *strategos* of Melitene according to Attaleiates, governor of IBERIA according to Psellos. The latter describes Tornikios as short, crafty, proud, and ambitious. Initially honored by Constantine, he became devoted to the emperor's sister Eupre-

pia, who opposed her brother. During Tornikios's governorship, his Macedonian supporters attempted a revolt in his name. Recalled to Constantinople, he was made a monk, but allowed personal freedom. On 14 Sept. 1047 he fled to Adrianople, where his Macedonian supporters (including John VATATZES, a man of heroic strength, says Psellos) rallied around appeals against Constantine's misgovernment. When Tornikios's forces reached Constantinople, a motley force attempted to defend a moat outside the city wall; after they were driven within the gates, panic spread among the defenders. With the walls and gates abandoned, Tornikios might have taken the city, but lacked resolution. That night, Constantine reinforced the defenses; Tornikios's men, repelled, began to desert. Tornikios was forced to lift the siege and withdraw westward. An attack on Rhaidestos proved vain, and many of his supporters abandoned him. Drawn from his refuge in a church at Boulgarophygon, he was blinded in Constantinople at Christmas 1047, along with Vatatzes.

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 251–56. J. Lefort, "Rhétorique et politique: Trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047," *TM* 6 (1976) 280–82. –C.M.B.

T'OROS I. See RUBENIDS.

T'OROS II (Θεόδωρος), prince of Armenian CILICIA (1145?–68). Youngest son of Prince Leo I, T'oros was taken prisoner with his entire family by Emp. John II Komnenos in 1138 and educated at Constantinople. He escaped and returned to Cilicia in mysterious circumstances ca.1145. He rallied the local Armenian nobles, retook the RUBENID seat of ANAZARBOS, and collaborated with the Latin principalities of Edessa and Antioch. T'oros routed the Byz. army sent against him in 1152 as well as the Seljuks allied with the empire, and he raided as far as Cappadocia in 1154. In 1158, however, he was overcome by the campaign led by Manuel I Komnenos in person, was forced to recognize Manuel as his overlord, and received from him the title of *sebastos*. Despite his submission and occasional friction with Byz. authorities in the region, T'oros continued to play an active political role until his death. It was he who successfully consolidated the control of the Rubenids in Cilicia.

The Armenian historian Vahram of Edessa (13th C.) relates that in Constantinople T'oros married a "Greek princess." This evidence is questionable. He was later married to Isabella, daughter of Joscelin II, Count of Edessa; their daughter (the name is unknown) married Isaac, the *basileus* of Cyprus.

LIT. Der Nersessian, "Cilician Armenia" 637–42. –N.G.G.

TORQUE (μανιάκιον, στρεπτός), a form of neck ring or collar. Probably of Scandinavian origin, it may first have served to shield the neck and could be made of bronze, silver, or gold. In the Byz. era *maniakia* were worn by slaves (PG 65:104A, 86:444B) and kings (e.g., the king of India; Malal. 457.13–20) alike. It was also a sign of military rank; in Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 91.7, 93.4, 127.19) it is an insigne awarded to the *kandidatos*, *spatharokandidatos*, and *protospatharios*. The torque is depicted in the ROSSANO GOSPELS (fol.8v) where it is worn by the officers flanking Pilate. It is also represented in images of certain military saints, for example, Sergios and Bakchos on a 7th-C. (?) icon (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B9); these torques are gold set with cabochon gems. According to their vita, their gold *maniakia* were removed when the saints were deprived of military rank (*AB* 14 [1895] 380.24–25). A member of the imperial bodyguard wears one in the Justinian mosaic at S. Vitale, RAVENNA. After the 6th C. the form consists of a loose necklace joined at the front by a medallion. The shape may have influenced gold NECKLACES, the chief ornament of which consisted of coins or medallions. From the time of Julian onward several usurpers were proclaimed emperors by setting a *maniakion* on their head as a form of crown. This custom seems to have disappeared after the 6th C.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:417–20, 473. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 20–22. *DOC* 3.1:122f. O.M. Dalton, "A Byzantine Silver Treasure from the District of Kerynia, Cyprus, now Preserved in the British Museum," *Archaeologia* 57 (1900) 159–62. –S.D.C., N.P.Š.

TORTURE, the intentional infliction of severe pain, was applied in Byz. as corporal punishment (see PENALTIES), to elicit confession or testimony, to extort the payment of taxes, and to take vengeance on an enemy, and as a means of trial by ORDEAL. In the early Christian centuries MARTYRS were often tortured in a vain attempt to force them to recant their faith. The ECLOGA speaks often of flogging (*typtein*) as punishment, although less frequently than MUTILATION. Torture, sometimes combined with EXILE, was imposed for THEFT, sexual crimes, or misdemeanors. The FARMER'S LAW prescribes flogging (sometimes 12, 30, or even 100 blows) primarily for stealing livestock or grain and for arson, but also for using false measures of grain and wine (par.70). Disobeying the rules governing commercial transactions also was punished by scourging, according to the *Book of the Eparch*.

Another reason for torture was the refusal to pay taxes or a fine. A 4th-C. historian (Amm.Marc. 22:16.23) reports that Egyptians were proud of the scars they bore for not paying taxes, and NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON described how on Cyprus the peasants in arrears were bound together with hungry dogs in order to extort their payments (F. Dölger, *BZ* 35 [1935] 14). A detailed description of torture is found in the vita of St. ANTONY THE YOUNGER: when he did not return money to the treasury, the *epi ton deeseon* Stephen gave him 50 heavy blows with a whip; the punishment took place in Stephen's house. The government also applied torture to religious dissidents: hagiographers present frequent cases, and a 14th-C. historian states that the opponents of UNION OF THE CHURCHES suffered from confiscation, exile, imprisonment, blinding, mutilation, and flogging (Greg. 1:127.15–17). –A.K.

TOTILA (Τουτίλας; on coins, Baduila), Ostrogothic king (from autumn 541); born after 511, died near BUSTA GALLORUM June/July 552. Offspring of a Gothic aristocratic family, the young Totila commanded the garrison in Trevisium, in northern Italy, when Ostrogothic affairs were in disarray following the capture of VITIGES. Totila was ready to negotiate with the Byz., but the Goths elected him king "so that he might gain power over the Italiotai" (Prokopios, *Wars* 7:1.26). Totila acted with great efficiency and readily attracted *coloni* and slaves to his army; many estates of Roman landowners were confiscated and conferred on Goths; the hatred of Totila expressed by churchmen, including Pope Gregory I, suggests that Totila was hostile toward the Roman church. Wolfram (*infra*) distinguishes three phases of the war:

1. *First Phase (541–43)*. Totila established Gothic power in the north with the victory at Faenza and moved to the south, occupying Naples, where anti-imperial sentiments were strong.

2. *Second Phase (543–50)*. After assuring the neutrality of the Franks, Totila besieged and took Rome (17 Dec. 546). He left the city when it turned out that its possession was no guarantee of success in negotiations with Constantinople, then—after BELISARIOS retreated—again besieged and captured it on 16 Jan. 550; in May he even encroached upon Sicily.

3. *Third Phase (550–52)*. GERMANOS and then NARSES led an expedition to Italy. Totila's attempts to wage war outside Italy (Kerkyra, Epiros, Sardinia, and Corsica) failed. At Busta Gallorum Totila was defeated; wounded, he died near the battlefield.

LIT. Wolfram, *Goths* 353–61. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 210–14. Z. Udal'cova, *Italija i Vizantija v VI veke* (Moscow 1959) 334–414. Stein, *Histoire* 2:567–602. –W.E.K., A.K.

TOULDOS (τοῦλδος or τοῦλδον, from late Lat. *tuldum*), a term first used in the 6th C. to denote the army's supply train. In the *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.*, bk.5) the *touldos*, under a separate commander, includes the army's nonmilitary personnel, pack animals, reserve horses, and frugal provisions for food and shelter. Similar notes on the composition of the *touldos* are found in the 10th-C. STRATEGIKA. They too emphasize frugality for the sake of the army's mobility, since most daily needs, food, fodder, or wood, could be collected by foraging parties. Specially assigned units guarded the *touldos* while the army marched or fought, and it was kept well inside the CAMP at night.

Imperial expeditions took lavish supplies (*De cer.* 455–81), but experienced soldiers warned of the disorganization and danger brought on by an overly large supply train, such as befell Manuel I Komnenos at MYRIOKEPHALON in 1176. A special transport corps, the OPTIMATOI, was created in the 8th C. to attend to the supply train and look after the imperial baggage if the emperor were on campaign (Haldon, *Praetorians* 223–27).

LIT. A. Dain, " 'Touldos' et 'Touldon' dans les traités militaires," *AIPHOS* 10 [= *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* 2] (1950)

161–69. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 186–89. Hendy, *Economy* 272–75, 304–15.
–E.M.

TOUPHA (τούφα, also τουφίον), tuft of hair from exotic animals used to decorate the helmets of cavalrymen and imperial crowns. The *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat.Maurik.* 1.2.10, 12B.4) refers to small *touphai* atop helmets; the passage is repeated in the *Taktika of Leo VI* (6.2). According to Kosmas Indikopleustes (*Kosm. Ind.* 11.5), officers ornamented their horses and standards with the so-called *touphai* made from the tail hairs of the Indian yak (*agriobous*); this *toupha* remained stiff and did not bend.

The crown (or helmet?) on the equestrian statue of Justinian I in the Augustaion (P. Lehmann, *ArtB* 41 [1959] 39.57; cf. C. Mango, ibid. 351–58) was surmounted by a *toupha*; when it fell off in the 9th C., it was replaced by a daring master roofer (*skalotes*) who from the roof of Hagia Sophia shot a cord attached to an arrow and then walked along the tightrope to reach the statue; Emp. Theophilos rewarded him with 100 nomismata (*Leo Gramm.* 227.3–11). *Clavijo* (ed. Lopez Estrada 44.19–20) described the *toupha* on this statue as so big it resembled a peacock's tail.

The term was subsequently extended to denote the headgear itself: thus Constantine VII (*De cer.* 188.10) equated *touphai* with tiaras, as did Tzetzes (*Hist.* 8.297–301), adding that this kind of *typha* surmounted the equestrian statue of Justinian. A 12th-C. historian (*Zon.* 3:566.16–567.2) says that *toupha* was a vernacular word for tiara; he derives it from the verb *typhoomai*, meaning "to be filled with insane arrogance."

LIT. Piltz, *Kamelaukion* 49, 57. Janin, *CP byz.* 74. *DOC* 3.1: 129f.
–A.K.

TOURKOI (Τοῦρκοι), Greek rendering of the name of the nomadic people Tür⟨ü⟩k. Chinese sources designate this people as *Tukiu*; thanks to the contemporary Byz. term *Tourkoi*, it becomes clear that they were the TURKS who founded a vast empire extending between the Chinese and the Persian frontier in the 6th C. Later the Byz. gave the name Tourkoi to several peoples originating primarily from Central Asia such as the KHAZARS, the HUNGARIANS and their offshoot, the VARDARIOTAI, etc. From the late 11th C. onward the Byz. used the term for the SELJUKS, for the

Anatolian emirates, and finally for the OTTOMANS. In the last three cases the term is used alternatively with the archaic *Persai*.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:320–27.
–E.A.Z.

TOURKOPOULOI (Τουρκόπουλοι, lit. "sons of Turks"), a body of Turkish soldiers in Byz. service, or, later, any body of lightly armed horsemen. The term passed into Latin sources as a loanword, *turcupler*. This kind of light cavalry existed in some Latin states of the Levant, such as Rhodes, Cyprus, and the kingdom of Jerusalem (cf. J.L. Lamonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291* [Cambridge, Mass., 1932] 136, 160–63).

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:327f. P. Wittek, "Yazijioghlu 'Alī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja," *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 639–68.
–E.A.Z.

TOURMA (τούρμα or τοῦρμα), term for a military detachment, in use (along with DROUNGOS) from the beginning of the 8th C., replacing the *meros* and *moira* listed in the *Strategikon of Maurice*. According to the *Taktika of Leo VI*, the *tourma* consisted of 3,000 men and three *tourmai* made up a THEME, but reality differed from these standardized figures. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, each theme consisted of two to four *tourmai* (Ahrweiler, "Administration" 80, n.5), while that of OPTIMATON was not divided into *tourmai* or *droungoi*. As part of a theme, *tourma* acquired the meaning of an administrative unit. The commander of a *tourma* was a TOURMARCHES; the *tourma* could be administered by an EK PROSOPOU (*Ivir.* 1, no.10.13, 29 [a.996]). As the designation of a district, the word was still used in an act of 1193 (*MM* 6:125.2).

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 210–12.
–A.K.

TOURMARCHES (τουρμάρχης), a military commander, described in the 10th-C. military tract *On Skirmishing* (DE VELITATIONE) as the first assistant of the STRATEGOS. In the writings of a 9th-C. historian (*Theoph.* 378.28–29), Christopher, the *tourmarches* of Thrakesion, acts independently; he was reportedly sent with 300 soldiers to Cherson by Justinian II in 711/12. On seals the *tourmarches* has the title of SPATHAROKANDIDATOS, KANDIDATOS, or SPATHARIOS (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, nos. 149–

51). It is generally accepted that the *tourmarches* commanded a TOURMA and held fiscal and judicial authority over the population in his region. The term is not mentioned in the latest of the TAKTIKA, that of Escurial in 971–75, but it appears in the table of contents of the work of a mid-11th-C. military writer (Kek. 656, par. 86), and there were *tourmarchai* in South Italy in the first half of the 11th C. It is unclear whether it was used after the 11th C. The term also designated commanders of naval units and of littoral districts.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 41f. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 83–85. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 117–20.
–A.K.

TOURNAMENT. See SPORTS.

TOYS AND GAMES. Toys (ἀθύρματα) were simple and predominantly made by children themselves; as the vita of Nikephoros of Medikion reports (F. Halkin, *AB* 78 [1960] 401, par.1.1–2), infants "compose" (a hapax is used—*kompostolousin*) their toys of "unshaped matter." Sand, clay, bones, sticks, and rags provided necessary materials: insects and plants were also employed as toys. A floor mosaic in the Great Palace (*Great Palace, 1st Report*, pl.29) shows children aping circus games, wheeling spoked disks around simulated *metae*. They also wrestled, played leapfrog, and pushed each other on swings (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 165–70). Board games, dice—esp. knucklebones (*astragaloi*)—and balls (*sphairai*) were popular with boys; dice were played for money, not only by children. Girls, who stayed mostly indoors, preferred dolls, *ninia* (*TheophCont* 90.23). Some children's games imitated important events or ceremonies, such as the liturgy (T. Nissen *BZ* 38 [1938] 361f; PG 25:ccxxiv AB), exorcisms (PG 82:1384CD), horse races, or battles. In popular perception, *athyrma* was a symbol of instability and of frivolous conduct, and hagiographers stressed that their heroes avoided playful BEHAVIOR. (See also GAMES, BOARD.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.1:161–84. M. Kuryłowicz, "Das Glückspiel im römischen Reich," *ZSavRom* 102 (1985) 197–200. L.Y. Rahmani, "Finds from a Sixth to Seventh Centuries Site near Gaza: I, The Toys," *IEJ* 31 (1981) 72–80.
–A.K., A.C.

TRABEA TRIUMPHALIS. See TOGA.

TRACHY (νόμισμα τραχύ, pl. trachea), Greek term for the type of concave Byz. coin (struck 11th–14th C.) that numismatists formerly and incorrectly described as SCYPHATE. Because another standard name existed for the gold coins (HYPERPYRA), the term *trachy* was normally limited to coins of electrum and billon (later copper), with either the context or some further descriptive term indicating which was meant in any particular case. The word means basically "rough" or "uneven" and was apparently applied to the concave coins in the sense of "not flat."

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 29–31.
–Ph.G.

TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS, a legal treatise probably written in the middle of the 11th C. Perhaps occasioned by an actual legal case, its aim was the demonstration that creditors not safeguarded by a PIGNUS are equal to each other (i.e., have the same position). Other questions regarding LOANS and, in an extended sense, claims are handled in textbook form, esp. the order of precedence of competing creditors who have each received a *pignus*. The *Basilika* with its scholia as well perhaps as the paraphrase of the *Institutes* by the 6th-C. jurist THEOPHILOS (3.14) and the *Peira* (6.2) are used as sources. Michael PSELLOS made the *Tractatus de creditis* the basis of verses 890–920 of his *Synopsis legum*. Zachariä doubted, probably incorrectly, that a section that follows the *Tractatus* (both in the independent transmission and in the 24th *paratitlon* of the PROCHIRON AUCTUM), which concerns exceptions to the rule "unus testis nullus testis" that are valid in cases of donations, belongs to the same treatise.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 7:346–54.
–L.B.

TRADE. See COMMERCE AND TRADE.

TRADE TREATIES. Trade clauses in TREATIES between Byz. and other states normally regulated the place and terms of the exchange of merchandise, often gave privileges (such as duty exemptions) to the merchants, and sometimes gave the MERCHANTS of other states quarters in Constantinople or other cities. Such commercial clauses were sometimes inserted in general treaties. The peace treaty with Persia, in 562, stated that all exchange of merchandise should take place at

specific trade stations (probably Nisibis, Kallinikos, and Doubios [Duin]), and that Saracen and other merchants should also trade only in Nisibis and Dara. The treaty of 907 with Rus' (see Treaties, Russo-Byzantine) stipulated that Rus' merchants in Constantinople would stay in St. Mamas, receive supplies for six months, and trade without paying duties. In 969, a treaty with the emirate of Aleppo included a clause that regulated the payment of duties at the frontier and the movement of caravans of merchants. Krum's peace embassy in 812 included clauses regulating commerce (Theoph. 497.24–26). There was also a trade treaty between Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Egyptian sultan Kalāwūn, as part of a peace agreement (M. Canard, Byzantion 10 [1935] 669–80).

The most famous commercial treaties are those the Byz. concluded with Italian maritime cities, starting with the treaty of 992 with Venice, and continuing with the treaties and privileges granted by the Komnenian emperors after 1082, and then by the Angeloi and the Palaiologoi to Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. The treaties gave the merchants of these cities free access to various Byz. markets, reduced or abolished the kommerkion on transactions of their merchants, and granted their merchants residential quarters and extraterritorial rights. These were full-fledged trade treaties, in the sense that their primary focus was on commerce.

lit. A.A. Vasiliev, "The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople," DOP 6 (1951) 219–23. M. Canard, Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazīra et de Syrie, vol. 1 (Paris 1951) 835f. R.-J. Lilie, Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (Amsterdam 1984). —A.L.

TRADITIO LEGIS (Lat. "transmission of the law"), the modern title for a group of 4th–13th-C. compositions, predominantly Roman, showing Christ holding a scroll and flanked by Peter and/or Paul. The Traditio legis emerges just after the edict of toleration of Christians in the early 4th C., and draws heavily on imperial imagery. The earliest version, found on "Passion" sarcophagi, shows Christ on the mount of Paradise, his right arm raised in a gesture of address and his left holding an open scroll, as Peter approaches from his right and Paul acclaims him on his left. This version, chosen ca.370 for the apses of St. Peter's (Buddensieg, infra, fig.13) and S. Costanza in Rome, was revered later in the Middle Ages as an image of Peter's primacy. Its initial meaning was probably apolitical, conflating Christ's eschatological appearance as a lawgiver with his post-Passion appearances (see Appearances of Christ after the Passion) as victor over death. A similar interpretation can be assigned to the variant version on the Junius Bassus sarcophagus (Volbach, Early Christian Art, fig.42) showing Christ enthroned like a lawgiving emperor above a personification of the Heavens. A third image, with Christ seated in a neutral setting giving a closed scroll to Paul, survives on sarcophagi in Ravenna. Sometimes interpreted as an anti-Roman variant of the compositions described above, it is regarded by Schumacher (infra) as an independent, probably Constantinopolitan, image showing the transmission of the Gospels to the Gentiles.

lit. T. Buddensieg, "Le coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et la Lateran," CahArch 10 (1959) 157–200. W.N. Schumacher, " 'Dominus Legem Dat,' " RQ 54 (1959) 1–39. —A.W.C.

TRAGEDY shared the fate of the theater and drama, which declined in imperial Rome. Tragedy was no longer produced as a theatrical performance; rather the author or an actor read the entire text to an assembled audience. This procedure was familiar to Ambrose and Augustine, who stressed that the actor (hypokrites) sang or declaimed tragedies on the stage (H.A. Kelly, Traditio 35 [1979] 35, 42). Classical tragedies were still known in the 4th–6th C., and quotations from them have been found in provincial inscriptions, such as one from 6th-C. Apollonia, Epiros (Al. Cameron, ClRev 81 [1967] 134). Tragedies continued to be written, and the Souda mentions a "tragodia" by a certain Timotheos of Gaza addressed to Emp. Anastasios I; it was devoted, however, to the theme of the chrysargyron, which makes it questionable that the work was a genuine play. The Byz. of the 7th–10th C. lost interest in tragedy; sporadic quotations appear in certain authors, e.g. Ignatios the Deacon (R. Browning, REGr 81 [1968] 401–10), but Photios, for example, ignored the great classical tragedians in his Bibliotheca. Interest revived in the 11th C. when Psellos produced a comparison of Euripides and George of Pisidia; probably in the 11th or 12th C. was written an anonymous treatise on tragedy that has survived in MS Oxford, Bodl., Barocci 131. Simultaneously began the transmission of the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, which culminated in the work of Demetrios Triklinios, who prepared the corpus of extant ancient tragedies. The word "tragedy," however, lost its classical meaning; the vernacular tragoudi and its derivatives denoted popular songs without any connection to the theater.

lit. Christ, Literatur 2.2:958f. R. Browning, "A Byzantine Treatise on Tragedy," in Geras: Studies Presented to George Thomson (Prague 1963), with add. by J. Gluckner, Byzantion 38 (1968) 267–72. —A.K.

TRAGOS (lit. "he-goat"), typikon for Mt. Athos drafted by the Stoudite monk Euthymios and signed by John I Tzimiskes between 970 and 972. Its name derives from the thick goatskin parchment on which the original document is written. It bears the signatures of the protos of Athos and 56 monks and is still preserved in the Protaton archives at Karyes. This first rule for Athonite monks was composed at a time of tension between independent groups of anchorites and the new koinobia on the Holy Mountain, as exemplified in the recently founded Great Lavra of Athanasios (963). The typikon confirmed the rights of hegoumenoi, thus ensuring the future predominance of cenobitic monasticism on Athos but, at the same time, protected the interests of hermits living in small groups or as solitaries. The number of annual assemblies at the Protaton was reduced from three to one, and the protos was forbidden to make any decision without the consent of the hegoumenoi.

ed. Prot. 95–102, 202–215.
lit. Dölger, Diplomatik 215–24. —A.M.T.

TRAGOUDI (τραγούδι), a song; though applicable to any type of song (e.g., love songs, which can exist either independently, as in the Erotopaignia, or embedded in a longer work, as in the romance Libistros and Rhodamne), the term is conventionally applied to short narrative poems (such as the Song of Armouris [see Armoures] or the Song of Porphyris) in the popular language, usually in political verse and ostensibly with historical allusions. Origins in the ancient and Byz. world have been claimed for many of the tragoudia collected orally or rediscovered in MS form in Greek-speaking lands during the 19th C. It has thus been argued that the Song of Armouris refers to the capture of Amorion in 838, the Son of Andronikos to Andronikos Doukas or Andronikos I Komnenos, while the Akritic Songs in general would refer to the wars of the 9th and 10th C. However, many of the motifs of these tragoudia (e.g., abducted brides, valiant younger brothers, precocious heroes) have the timeless nature of folk tale and cannot be tied to a precise Byz. context; nevertheless the 15th-C. MS of the Song of Armouris and threnoi like the Battle of Varna (which could be defined as a tragoudi) indicate that some tragoudia were certainly composed in late Byz., while there are signs (e.g., in Digenes Akritas or the Chronicle of the Morea) that short tragoudia were stitched together to form longer narratives. The length of this tradition, given the ephemeral nature of oral poetry, is hard to assess.

lit. Beck, Volksliteratur 48–63, 110f, 161–67. —E.M.J.

TRAJAN'S GATE, a narrow pass between Ikhtiman and Pazardčik, scene of a defeat of Basil II by Samuel of Bulgaria, 16/17 Aug. 986. Basil had attacked Serdica, but after 20 days was compelled to retreat. At Trajan's Gate the Bulgarians attacked Basil's forces from the mountainsides. Much of the army perished; the imperial tent and regalia fell into Samuel's hands. Basil's defeat encouraged Bardas Skleros to revolt once more and allowed Samuel to expand his state. Basil, however, was never again trapped in a mountain pass.

lit. P. Mutafčiev, Izbrani proizvedenija 2 (Sofia 1973) 478–606. —C.M.B.

TRALLES (Τράλλεις), now Aydın, city of Lydia on the north side of the Meander valley. The skins and cushions produced there were valuable enough to be included in the price edict of Diocletian, and its monumental aqueduct of the mid-4th C. was the subject of commemorative inscriptions. Tralles was a bishopric throughout the Byz. period, but its history is obscure. Under Justinian I, John of Ephesus based his missionary activity there and converted thousands of pagans in the neighboring mountains. In its final role as a bul-

wark against the Turks, Tralles, then desolate, was rebuilt by Andronikos II in 1280 and renamed Andronikopolis and Palaiologopolis. It contained, according to Pachymeres (ed. Bekker 1:470.12) 36,000 inhabitants. Because of its planners' failure to provide a water supply, the project was aborted and the Turks of MENTESHE took Tralles in 1284.

LIT. Foss, "Twenty Cities" 483. Laiou, *CP and the Latins* 24f. K.A. Žukov, *Egeiskie emiraty v XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow 1988) 20f. —C.F.

TRANSFIGURATION (μεταμόρφωσις), the appearance of Christ, accompanied by Moses and Elijah, to Peter, James, and John in the shining glory of his divinity (Mt 17:1–8), traditionally believed to have taken place on Mt. TABOR. This illumination, seen only by the three disciples, foreshadowed the complete transformation of Christ

TRANSFIGURATION. The Transfiguration; mosaic, 6th C. Apse of the Church of St. Catherine, Sinai.

at the Resurrection, after his suffering on the cross. The Transfiguration served as a prophetic sign foretelling the future transfiguration of all Christians.

A number of writers devoted homilies to the Transfiguration: from the early authors John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, pseudo-Proklos, and Andrew of Crete, up to later writers such as Joseph Bryennios and Patr. Gennadios II Scholarios. The main themes of sermons on this topic were the cardinal distinction between Christ and the two principal Old Testament prophets Moses and Elijah with whom he appeared to his apostles and the significance of the Transfiguration as a pledge of redemption: "Christ was transformed not without purpose but to show us the future transformation of nature and the coming second advent . . . bringing salvation" (pseudo-Chrysostom, PG 61:714.19–22).

The Transfiguration of Christ was a central paradigm for Palamite HESYCHASM and served as the principal example of any vision of the uncreated LIGHT (energies or grace), which embraces both the spirit and the senses, beheld by the natural eyes of man who is transformed, however, by the Spirit of God. By referring to the supposed consensus of the Greek fathers, Palamas sought to avoid in his doctrine the crude, sensate vision of light characterizing the Messalians; in his doctrine (outlined in the *Triads*) he attached the earlier effect of the Holy Spirit to the eyes of the body.

The feast of the Transfiguration (6 Aug.) was introduced at Constantinople even before the time of Leo VI, to whom it is attributed, probably at the beginning of the 8th C. at the latest (V. Grumel, *REB* 14 [1956] 209f). Constantinople borrowed the feast from Jerusalem, though its origins there remain obscure. It did not exist in the 4th C. (P. Devos, *AB* 86 [1968] 87–108) and probably derives from a ca.6th-C. Palestinian "Feast of Tabernacles." It has been suggested that it commemorated the dedication of the three basilicas on Mt. Tabor (M. Aubineau, *AB* 85 [1967] 422–27).

One of the 12 GREAT FEASTS of the Byz. church calendar, the Transfiguration has a *paramone* VIGIL plus a seven-day afterfeast. The emperor celebrated the feast in Hagia Sophia (Philotheos, *Kletor.* 219.12–23), but in the 14th C. he went to the church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY instead (pseudo-Kod. 245.7–10).

Representation in Art. The earliest depictions of the Transfiguration are from the mid-6th C.: the apse mosaic at the monastery of St. CATHERINE, Mt. Sinai, shows the classic composition with Christ in MANDORLA flanked by Moses and Elijah and with Peter, John, and James at his feet; the apse of S. Apollinare in Classe, RAVENNA, conveys the Transfiguration in symbols—sheep beneath a cross in glory. By replacing Christ with a jeweled cross—sign of his eschatological return—the Ravenna mosaic reveals the significance given the event by Christ himself, as a foretaste of the PAROUSIA when he will come in glory to consummate the law (Moses) and the prophets (Elijah). The scene, at first static and symmetrical, becomes more dynamic in the 12th C. For instance, Nicholas MESARITES interprets the disciples not as cowering in fear but hurled to the ground by the light. The light becomes an active force in Palaiologan imagery, blazing from Christ's mandorla

and hurtling the disciples down a precipitous landscape, for example, Paris, B.N. gr. 1242 (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.XXXIX), and thus illustrating the hesychast theology.

LIT. G. Habra, *La Transfiguration selon les pères grecs* (Paris 1974). M. Aubineau, "Une homélie grecque inédite sur la Transfiguration," *AB* 85 (1967) 401–27. Meyendorff, *Palamas* 172–78. G. Podskalsky, "Gottesschau und Inkarnation," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 5–44. J.A. McGuckin, "The Patristic Exegesis of the Transfiguration," *StP* 18.1 (1986) 335–41. M. Sachot, *L'homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne sur la Transfiguration* (Frankfurt am Main 1981) 22–37. Idem, *Les homélies grecques sur la Transfiguration: Tradition manuscrite* (Paris 1987). Millet, *Recherches* 216–31. E. Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe* (Cologne-Opladen 1964). K. Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West Around the Year 1200," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York 1975) 62f. —G.P., R.F.T., A.W.C.

TRANSHUMANCE. The Byz. kept their cattle (at least partially) in stalls and stables, but the limited size of meadows forced them to drive SHEEP to remote pastures. The distances varied: young boys might graze flocks nearby, returning home at night (I. van den Gheyn, *AB* 18 [1899] 214f); cattle could be pastured in the woods without herdsmen; but often shepherds went far from home with their flocks. A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:379.20–23) describes peasants in the Strumica region of Macedonia who left their homes in spring for the mountains and stayed there to milk their animals. There were also special winter pastures (*cheimadeia*)—thus, an Athonite act of 1333 mentions a *cheimadeion* in the area of Kassandreia, near which were located a field of 1,800 *modioi* and an oak grove, probably for the swine (*Xénoph.* no.22.5–6). Another monastery possessed a *cheimadeion* in the same area where several *demosiakoi paroikoi* had settled (*Chil.*, no.58.4–7). A contract might regulate the use of such a winter pasture: for example, two neighboring landowners were to feed their cattle on it during the winter, but from the beginning of the spring, when the grass began to grow, they had to avoid it (MM 4:181.19–25).

Sheep were esp. suited for long journeys, and large flocks accompanied by shepherds and dogs could be seen in Cappadocia. Some ethnic minorities, such as the Vlachs and Albanians, practiced transhumance in mountainous regions. The mass production of CHEESE was connected with this type of husbandry, which required the preservation of dairy products for long periods. —A.K., J.W.N.

TRANSLATION. Throughout the Byz. era neighboring cultures showed an awareness of Greek literature and made translations of Greek authors. The Byz., on the other hand, showed much less interest in translating works in other languages into Greek, except in the final centuries of the empire.

GREEK INTO LATIN. In the West interest in translation into LATIN concentrated around several types of literature: science (in 6th-C. Africa, Mustio translated the gynecological works of Soranos of Ephesus; in the 5th–6th C. a metrological treatise by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, written ca.392, was translated; a Latin version of Aratos's interpretation of meteorological phenomena appeared in the 7th C.); military exploits and adventures (alleged memoirs of the Phrygian Dares from the 6th C., the story of APOLLONIOS OF TYRE); theological, hagiographical, and church historical writings translated by JEROME, RUFINUS, etc. Already by 373 the vita of St. ANTONY THE GREAT by Athanasios of Alexandria appeared in Latin. Interest in contemporary Greek literature can be traced through the 9th C., when ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS rendered the *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor into Latin.

From the 9th C. onward attention focused on theological works, esp. pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (translated by Eriugena) and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (first translated into Latin in the 11th C., then into various "national" languages). In the 12th C. BURGUNDIO OF PISA's translations included John Chrysostom and John of Damascus, while MOSES OF BERGAMO translated a treatise attributed to Epiphanios of Salamis and a florilegium on the Trinity. From the 13th C. onward interest shifted toward ancient Greek philosophy on the part of both Greek and Latin scholars. WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE translated Aristotle and Proklos, while Robert GROSSETESTE headed a group of scholars at Lincoln who translated Aristotle and Byz. commentaries on Aristotle as well as works of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and John of Damascus. Byz. literati in Italy, such as John ARGYROPOULOS, Theodore GAZES, and GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS, made translations of Plato and Aristotle, in addition to some patristic writings, while Nicholas SEKOUNDINOS translated Demosthenes and Plutarch, among other authors. During the Renaissance scholars redis-covered Homer and other classics of ancient literature, while paying little attention to writings of the Byz. era.

LIT. L. Zgusta, "Die Rolle des Griechischen im römischen Kaiserreich," in *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit* (Cologne 1980) 135–45. W.J. Aerts, "The Knowledge of Greek in Western Europe at the Time of Theophano," in *Byzantium and the Low Countries in the Tenth Century* (Dordrecht 1985) 73–83. W. Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern-Munich 1980).
–A.K., A.M.T.

GREEK INTO SLAVONIC. The earliest surviving Slavonic translations of Greek texts date from the Christian period of the first Bulgarian Empire (864–971), since those made by Cyril (CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER) and METHODIOS for their Moravian mission (863–85) have been lost. The entire corpus of translations could be compared to the library of a large, provincial Byz. monastery: the Bible; homiletic and exegetic writings, but few dogmatic works; hagiography; liturgy; *gnomologia*; *florilegia*; popular world histories; canon law; and a few popular romances, such as the *Alexander Romance*. In the 12th to 15th C. more translations were made in Bulgaria, Serbia, and on Mt. Athos (e.g., at HILANDAR), but they were again mainly ecclesiastical, including the fathers who influenced the Hesychasts, so that the orthodox Slavs remained largely ignorant of Byz. (and classical) philosophy and science. Most of the translations, in keeping with the medieval theory of the need to preserve both content and form of the original, were literal. (See also RUS', LITERATURE OF; BULGARIAN LITERATURE; SERBIAN LITERATURE.)

LIT. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 56–72. F. Thomson, "*Sensus* or *proprietas verborum*—Mediaeval Theories of Translation as Exemplified by Translations from Greek into Latin and Slavonic," in *Symposium Methodianum*, ed. K. Trost, E. Völkl, E. Wedel [*Selecta Slavica*, vol. 13] (Neuried 1988) 675–91.
–F.J.T.

GREEK INTO LANGUAGES OF THE CHRISTIAN EAST. Translations of Greek texts played a very important role in the formation of the Eastern Christian literatures in Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopic. In some cases (Armenian, Georgian) translations from Greek and Syriac played a formative role, being the first productions in the native tongue. In other cases (Syriac, Coptic) the translations were vital for the full development of the local Christian traditions, even if an indigenous Christian literary tradition coexisted.

Translations from Greek are indicative of a common cultural heritage among Eastern Christians that is derived from the Hellenistic world. Not only did biblical, liturgical, and theological texts come in large part from Greek sources but it was through translations that Syrians, Armenians, and others participated in the general culture of their time in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East.

Although national literatures developed in languages that had no linguistic affinity (Semitic/Hamitic, Indo-European, Caucasian), there was a common pool of themes both Christian and secular. Thus cultural boundaries were not significant, and even theological differences did not prevent a great deal of translation from one language to another.

Syriac. The large number of translations and constant revisions of the Bible indicates Syrian preoccupation with authoritative foreign texts. Although native traditions, esp. poetry, developed along local lines (and in turn influenced Greek—cf. ROMANOS THE MELODE), translations from Greek theological, philosophical, rhetorical, and scientific texts formed the basis for Syrian learning in those spheres. Furthermore, the role of Syriac texts and of Syrian translators in the early transmission of Greek thought to the Muslim world is paramount (see below). (See also SYRIAC LITERATURE.)

Armenian. The first texts written in Armenian were biblical, liturgical, and theological works translated from Greek and Syriac. The translators were familiar with the contemporary literary culture of the Eastern Mediterranean, and translations of secular texts (philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, the sciences) rapidly augmented the growing body of native literature. Especially influential for Armenian historians were Eusebios of Caesarea (*Ecclesiastical History*, *Chronicon*), Sokrates, Philo, Josephus Flavius (though only a later, 17th-C. translation survives), and the *Alexander Romance*. Translations of Dionysios Thrax and David the Philosopher of Alexandria were significant for the development of Armenian grammatical and philosophical interests; in theology John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzos had the greatest influence. Translations from Greek (and Syriac, and later from Arabic, Persian, and Latin) continued to enrich Armenian learning throughout the Byz. period (e.g., pseudo-Dionysios the Areopa-gite and scholia in the 8th C.). (See also ARMENIAN LITERATURE.)

Georgian. As in Armenia, so in Georgia a native literature developed first from translations of biblical, liturgical, and theological texts. But even more than in Armenia, the influence of Palestine was noticeable in Georgia. Thus Georgian has preserved biblical and liturgical traditions associated with Jerusalem that were later subordinated to the Byz. rite. Continuing ties with Palestine after the Muslim conquest are evident from many translations into Georgian from Christian Arabic. Since the Georgians remained Chalcedonian, they associated with Greek scholars in monastic centers such as Mt. Athos (esp. IVERON), Mt. Sinai, and the Black Mountain. In the 10th and 11th C. many new translations from biblical, theological, exegetical, and philosophical texts were made. (See also GEORGIAN LITERATURE.)

Arabic. There is not always a clear distinction between Christian and Muslim translations from Greek into Arabic, given the interplay between the two literatures. The earliest transmission of Greek learning to the Muslims was effected by Christian translators working primarily from Syriac versions. Emphasis was given to philosophical, medical, and scientific works.

Writers of Christian texts in Arabic were also heirs to Greek traditions of learning. In the ecclesiastical sphere the first translations were of biblical and liturgical texts. Whether any of these predate Islamic times is a debated question. By the 9th C. translations of Greek patristic writers, augmented by versions of ascetic and hagiographic literature, were being produced in the monasteries of southern Palestine (see JUDEA, WILDERNESS OF and SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF) and the SINAI peninsula.

LIT.—General. G. Garitte, *Scripta Disiecta* 2 (Louvain 1980) 676–717. P. Peeters, *Tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels 1950).
LIT.—Syriac. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922). I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca* (Rome 1965).
LIT.—Armenian. V. Inglisian in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 7.1 (Leiden-Cologne 1963) 157–250. G. Zarp'analean, *Matenadaran Haykakan Targmanut'eanc' Naxneac'* (Venice 1889).
LIT.—Georgian. M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Vatican 1955). R.P. Blake, "La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIIIe siècle," *Muséon* 78 (1965) 367–80.
LIT.—Arabic. F. Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (London 1975). R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic* (Cambridge,

Mass., 1965). G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, 1: die Übersetzungen* (Vatican 1944). —R.W.T.

OTHER LANGUAGES INTO GREEK. Translations into Greek from other languages were infrequent in the late Roman Empire (Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:665, n.1), even though a few 6th-C. authors (John Lydos, Malalas) evidently had some knowledge of LATIN literature (B. Baldwin in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium* [Prague 1985] 237–41). The most important translations were not in belles lettres, but in the sphere of law and jurisprudence, that is, the translation of Justinian's legal codification. It is also possible to trace some translations of hagiographical works from Latin: thus, the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory I were translated by Pope ZACHARIAS or someone at his court; more difficult is the question of the Greek Acts of Pope SILVESTER and the date of their compilation or translation. The origin of the Greek vitae of some popes (Leo I, Martin) and Latin saints (Martin of Tours) is not certain. The influx of Latin literature, esp. theological (AUGUSTINE, Thomas AQUINAS), took place in the 14th and 15th C. through the translations of the KYDONES brothers and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, while PLANOUDES introduced secular authors, such as OVID and Cicero, to a Byz. audience. Some astronomical tables were also translated from Latin. Translations from Armenian into Greek were rare, but there are Greek versions of two recensions of AGATHANGELOS and of the NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE. Translations from Arabic and Persian were primarily of scientific texts, esp. on ASTRONOMY and to a lesser extent MEDICINE and PHARMACOLOGY.

The relation of certain Greek texts with their supposed Syriac, Arabic, or Georgian "originals" is unclear; one of the texts in dispute is BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. The situation began to change in the 11th C. when oriental texts such as *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (translated from Arabic by Symeon SETH) and SYNTIPAS (translated from Syriac by Michael Andreopoulos) penetrated Greek literature.

LIT. K.F. Weber, *De Latinis scriptis quae Graeci ad linguam suam transtulerunt* (Cassel 1852). D. Holwerda, "La code de Justinien et sa traduction grecque," *ClMed* 23 (1962) 274–92. —A.K., A.M.T.

TRANSLATION OF RELICS. See RELICS.

TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS, that is, transcribing UNCIAL MSS into a new script (MINUSCULE), occurred primarily in the 9th and 10th C. Neither the precise date of the beginning of transliteration (μεταχαρακτηρισμός) nor the place of its origin is well established. The first precisely dated minuscule copy is the USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK of 835, but Wilson (*infra* 66) considers a collection of astronomical texts in Leiden (Universiteitsbibliothek B.P.G. 78) as written between 813 and 820. The Stoudios monastery has been suggested as the site of the invention of minuscule, but the hypothesis is based on circumstantial evidence. Nevertheless, Constantinople is probably where the transliteration started.

It is difficult to establish the history of transliteration since many MSS have been lost and others are not dated. Dain (*infra* 127) thinks that the New Testament was the first type of book to be transliterated, but in the 9th C. the Byz. continued to produce some uncial MSS of the New Testament (e.g., the so-called Coridethi Gospel). The earliest dated Old Testament manuscript in minuscule is of 914 (Athens, Nat. Lib. suppl. 614), whereas the so-called Uspenskij Psalter of 862 (Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis* 224f) was still written in uncial. Liturgical texts continued to be produced in uncial, as were some works of the church fathers (the copy of pseudo-Dionysios sent to France in 827 was still in uncial), while other patristic works were transliterated as early as the 9th C. (e.g., Vaticanus gr. 503 containing the *Panarion* of Epiphanios of Cyprus). Scientific MSS (e.g., Ptolemy, Euclid, and collections of mathematical, astronomical, and medical writings) were among the works transliterated in the 9th C. as well as some treatises on philosophy, including Aristotle and Plato. Secular literature (poets, tragedians, historians) was rendered into minuscule somewhat later (10th C.) with the exception of Homer (for whom there is a 9th-C. minuscule MS). The process of transliteration left telltale signs in extant texts (e.g., errors due to misunderstanding of the uncial letters on the part of scribes making the transliteration into minuscule).

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 65–68, 85–88, 136–40. A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*² (Paris 1964) 124–33. Lemerle, *Humanism* 125–36. *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. H. Hunger, 2 vols. (Zurich 1961–64). —A.K., I.Š.

TRANSPORTATION. See DROMOS; TRAVEL.

TRAPEZA (τράπεζα, lit. "table"), a refectory in a MONASTERY. Monastic *typika* regulated in detail behavior "in the *trapeza*" where monks took their meals (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 67.788–89). Some *typika* emphasized that all the monks should eat together "in the *trapeza* of nourishment" (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 47.458–59), whereas the *typikon* of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY permitted some distinguished nuns to eat in their cells "beyond the apse of the *trapeza*" (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 37.315–16). The monk (or nun) in charge of the *trapeza* was called the *trapezarios* (or *trapezaria*).

Architecture of the Refectory. The refectory was often located opposite the KATHOLIKON, which it followed in the liturgical hierarchy of the monastery, since the common meals eaten there were seen to be a continuation of the liturgy. The three types of Byz. refectories were a rectangular hall, the same with an added transept, and a room cruciform in plan as at the Great LAVRA on Mt. Athos. The buildings were sometimes apsed and usually covered with wooden roofs. A long TABLE with benches might be placed in the middle of the refectory or a number of semicircular tables (*sigmata*) were placed along the walls, which were often frescoed.

LIT. P.M. Mylonas, "La trapéza de la Grande Lavra au Mont Athos," *CahArch* 35 (1987) 143–57. Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 43–60. —A.K., M.J.

TRAPEZITES. See BANKER.

TRAVEL. The geographic horizons of the late antique world remained broad and encompassed CHINA, INDIA, CEYLON, ETHIOPIA, and the British Isles. After the 7th C. the scope of Byz. travel significantly diminished; although we hear sometimes about journeys to India, in reality the Byz. rarely ventured farther than Baghdad and Alexandria in the southeast, France in the west, and the northern shore of the Black Sea. In the late Palaiologan period some venturesome travelers visited ENGLAND and the Baltic regions (MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, Laskaris KANANOS, Manuel CHRYSOLORAS). Constantinople attracted western and eastern travelers (esp. from the 11th C. onward); in comparison the Byz. did not travel as much.

Major purposes of travel were COMMERCE (the money-changer KALOMODIOS, said Niketas Choniates, often set forth on long journeys), official government business, EMBASSIES, PILGRIMAGE, and visits to shrines for HEALING; travel for EDUCATION or pleasure was rare. Although the principle of STABILITY was among the rules of monastic behavior, the saints' vitae often describe voyages of monks, esp. to Jerusalem and Rome.

Travelers were endangered by hazards such as PIRACY, BRIGANDAGE, and shipwreck, and inconvenienced by slow vehicles, poor ROADS, and underdeveloped facilities; they often preferred monastic hostels (XENODOCHEIA) to commercial INNS and MITATA. If choice was available, the Byz. opted to travel by SHIP because it was easier and faster. Travelers on land walked or rode HORSES, mules, and donkeys; occasionally horses and oxen were used to pull CARTS. Rich people were sometimes carried on a litter (by slaves in the 9th C. at least). Pious men usually journeyed alone or in pairs, whereas MERCHANTS preferred to travel in groups, hiring professional ass-drivers. The travel of state officials was facilitated by the department of the DROMOS, and local inhabitants were required to provide them with free transportation and lodging.

Some information on the length of journeys is preserved in both Greek and foreign sources (the Greek ones usually indicate shorter times): an uneventful sea voyage from Constantinople to Cyprus in the 12th C. took 10 days, and one could ride from Paphlagonia to the capital on horseback in eight days, although John Mauropous complained that his trip from Constantinople to Euchaita took two months. (See also GEOGRAPHY; TRAVEL LITERATURE.)

LIT. Ch. Angelide. "Emporikoi kai hagiologikoi dromoi (4ᵒˢ–7ᵒˢ ai.)—Hoi metamorphoseis tes taxidiotikes aphegeseos," in *He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1989) 675–85. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni," 170–83. A. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in *Charanis Studies* 97–99. —Ap.K., A.K.

TRAVEL LITERATURE encompasses numerous late antique and medieval genres (PERIPLOUS, itinerary, PROSKYNETARION, etc.) varying in their languages, goals, and approaches. Its principal

languages were Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Slavic. Main areas of attention were Palestine (sometimes together with Egypt), Constantinople, and Rome; other regions appear as way stations. Greek, Latin, and Slavic works were predominantly descriptions of pilgrimages and guidebooks (*hodoiporiai*) for PILGRIMS primarily interested in religious monuments (LOCA SANCTA) and relics. They could also be (or include) tales of wonder-working, descriptions of diplomatic missions, or the adventures of captives; there are also some narrative accounts of journeys for arranged marriages. Arabic texts were primarily guides for merchants and contained information about marketplaces and the goods produced at various locales. Some travel accounts take a personal approach, depicting fears and hardships, describing meetings with local celebrities, and expressing individual opinions; others are restricted to lists of sites, the distances between them, and concise indications as to what is worth seeing. Pilgrim attractions are standardized; material is often repeated in book after book without any concern for plagiarism. Linguistic difficulties sometimes led to misunderstandings, and medieval gullibility confused reality with legend; nevertheless, many travel accounts contain unique and precious information: the fresh, if naive, eye of a foreigner could observe phenomena that local people or a Constantinopolitan historian might neglect. (See also GEOGRAPHY.)

LIT. Beazley, *Geography* 1:53–242; 2:112–217. E. Honigmann, "Un itinéraire à travers l'Empire byzantin," *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 645–49. Van der Vin, *Travellers* 1:1–23. K.D. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur* (Munich 1976). Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 1–12. –A.K.

TRDAT. See HAGIA SOPHIA.

TRDAT THE GREAT (Τηριδάτης), first Christian Arsacid king of Armenia and saint. The dates of his reign are still disputed, but the years 298–330 seem most likely since the recently discovered Paikuli inscriptions, which name the Sasanian Narseh king of Armenia, make the previously proposed dates impossible. According to Armenian "received" tradition, Trdat was educated within the territory of the Roman Empire, having been taken there by his nurse after the murder of his father Chosroes I the Great of Armenia. Diocletian reinstated Trdat, probably after the peace of NISIBIS in 298. Obeying Roman

policy, he persecuted GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR, the virgin martyr Hřip'simē (see VAŁARŠAPAT), and Christians in general until the era of toleration was inaugurated after 313. Trdat then permitted Gregory to be consecrated as bishop and primate of Armenia, was baptized himself, and spread the faith throughout his realm. Little is known about the end of his reign because of the silence or disagreement of the sources. Trdat was still alive to send a representative to the First Council of Nicaea in 325 and probably fought against northern invaders. The account given of his death during a rebellion (MOSES XORENAC'I 2.92) is unsupported, however, and the tale of his visit to Constantine I the Great at Rome (AGATHANGELOS, ed. Thomson, pt.875–82) is certainly apocryphal.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, "The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids: A Chronological and Genealogical Commentary," *REArm* n.s. 6 (1969) 233–81. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 243–72. –N.G.G.

TREASON, HIGH (καθοσίωσις, Lat. *crimen laesae majestatis*), was during the Roman republic an offense against the state and its magistrates; in the empire it was defined as a crime against the ruler or the appropriation of his privileges (such as counterfeiting of coins or establishing a private prison). The standard penalty was capital punishment, followed by CONFISCATION of property, denial of proper burial, and DAMNATIO MEMORIAE. Legal procedure in the case of high treason was relieved of certain customary restrictions: slaves were allowed to bear witness against their masters and freedmen against their "protectors" (*patroni*), and the testimony of soldiers, women, and disreputable persons was considered valid. The *Ecloga* (17.3) defined high treason as an "association, conspiracy, or plot against the emperor or the *politeia* of the Christians" and left the final decision about punishment to the emperor. Preventive measures against high treason included MUTILATION of the emperor's relatives and OATHS of fealty. Several emperors succeeded in having potential rebels threatened by the church with ANATHEMA, though such attempts remained sporadic and controversial. The most elaborate description of a treason trial is that of the future emperor MICHAEL [VIII] PALAIOLOGOS.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 336f. B. Kübler, *RE* 14 (1930) 550–59. Troianos, *Poinalios* 10–12. K.A. Bourdara, *Katho-*

siosis kai tyrannis kata tous mesous byzantinous chronous (Athens 1981). –A.K.

TREASURES, SILVER AND GOLD (κειμήλια ἄργυρα καὶ χρυσά), are frequently alluded to in literature of the 4th–7th C. and about 30 survive from this period. They have been found in all parts of the empire—Italy and North Africa, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Byz. silver objects have also been found outside the empire, mostly in tombs, for example, at MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA. Nearly half of the treasures are of domestic silver PLATE; the other half have been identified epigraphically and/or archaeologically as containing LITURGICAL VESSELS belonging to village churches. In some cases treasures were found with gold coins and/or jewelry; the Second CYPRUS TREASURE included several bronze objects, and the VRAP treasure contained both gold and silver Byz. objects of the 5th–7th C. (Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 88, 103). Excavated treasures dating from after the 7th C. are virtually unknown. –M.M.M.

TREASURE TROVE (εὕρεσις θησαυροῦ). A technical term related to the state's interest in hoards of coins (see COIN FINDS), buried in times of uncertainty and later discovered. The state's approach varied considerably, taking into account first its sovereign rights and, second, the theory that treasures were the property of the dead. In the late Roman Empire and under the Macedonian and Komnenian dynasties, the government encouraged such discoveries and the return of the cash to normal monetary circulation by recognizing the rights of individuals over them, esp. the finder and the owner of the land where the money was found. In contrast, during the Iconoclastic period and under the Palaiologoi, the state faced financial difficulties and insisted on recovering whatever was hidden in the land: treasures found by individuals were confiscated either by the imposition of a very heavy tax (Nikephoros I) or by the state's claiming the whole find (Palaiologoi). In the Palaiologan period, a treasure trove was considered part of the AERIKON, a fiscalized fine, a regular fiscal obligation of the peasants.

LIT. C. Morrisson, "La découverte des trésors à l'époque byzantine: Théorie et pratique de l'heuresis thesaurou," *TM* 8 (1981) 321–43. M. Tourtoglou, *Parthenophthoria kai heuresis thesaurou* (Athens 1963) 119–44. –N.O.

TREATIES (sing. συνθήκη, συμβόλαιον, τρέβα) with other countries were of two basic types: those in the form of a unilateral privilege and those concluded between two theoretically equal parties; an intermediary variation was the exchange of two unilateral documents. The basic principles of Byz. DIPLOMACY determined the type of treaty used. The first type is by far better known because it was used in relations with the Italian republics (many entire treaties are preserved in archives, mainly in Venice and Genoa); it normally appears as a CHRYSOBULL sanctioning the agreement that the AMBASSADORS had negotiated and both states confirmed. A very few real bilateral treaties with Venice in the mid-14th C. are extant, written and countersigned by a Latin notary. The second type was used with the SASANIAN Persians, then the ARABS, and eventually the Bulgarians and the Rus' (see TREATIES, RUSSO-BYZANTINE).

An essential part of the treaties was the OATH, usually taken by the ambassadors, each according to his religion, after several translators (up to six from each party) had verified the accuracy of the two versions of the agreement. Until the 12th C., the emperor usually only confirmed the proceedings; later he had to take the oath himself. Most treaties concerned a limited number of years but some were "eternal." All were usually global agreements, covering all aspects of the relations between the two countries: political, military, commercial (TRADE TREATIES), legal (including the refugee problem), and religious. Sometimes long negotiations in Constantinople, in the other capital, or somewhere near the frontier and several exchanges of EMBASSIES were necessary before a treaty would be ready for signature.

LIT. Bréhier, *Institutions* 314–23. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 94–105. D. Miller, "Byzantine Treaties and Treaty Making: 500–1025 AD," *BS* 32 (1971) 56–76. W. Heinemeyer, "Die Verträge zwischen dem oströmischen Reiche und den italischen Städten Genua, Pisa und Venedig vom 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 3 (1957) 79–161. –N.O.

TREATIES, RUSSO-BYZANTINE, established the rules of relations between the empire and the Rus' in the 10th C., esp. the privileges and norms of behavior of Rus' merchants and envoys in Constantinople. The Slavonic texts of the treaties are preserved in the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET; their Greek versions, if indeed they were ever

produced, are lost. The *Povest'* mentions the treaty of 907 (whose authenticity has been hotly debated, along with the historicity of the expedition of OLEG against Constantinople in this year) and contains the texts of the treaties of 911, 944, and 971. All the treaties were concluded under similar political circumstances, after Rus' invasions in Byz. or Bulgaria; they are modeled on the charters of the imperial chancery and are important sources for the history of Byz. DIPLOMACY. Even greater is their significance for the history of Kievan Rus', since they show that the young state was negotiating with Byz. on equal terms. The treaties reveal that among the Rus' envoys were men with Scandinavian names; already by 944 some members of the Rus' elite were Christian.

LIT. A.N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1980). I. Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 2 (1961) 313–60, 447–75. H. Herrera Cajas, "Bizancio y la formación de Rusia (Los tratados bizantino-rusos del S. X)," *Bizantion-Nea Hellas* 6 (1982) 13–56. J.H. Lind, "The Russo-Byzantine Treaties and the Early Urban Structure of Rus'," *SlEERev* 62 (1984) 362–70. F. Wozniak, "The Crimean Question, the Black Bulgarians, and the Russo-Byzantine Treaty of 944," *JMedHist* 5 (1979) 115–26. —A.K.

TREBIZOND (Τραπεζοῦς, mod. Trabzon), the greatest city of Pontos, flourished because of its fine harbor and location at the head of the best route from the sea to the interior and Iran. Restored by Diocletian after a Gothic attack, Trebizond became a legionary base and a city of Pontos Polemoniakos (see PONTOS). In the reorganization of Justinian I, it was assigned to Armenia I. Justinian conducted his Armenian campaigns from Trebizond, restored its walls, and built an aqueduct. Trebizond had bishops from the 3rd C. onward; Eirenaios, responsible for the rebuildings of Justinian, played a major role in civic life. Trebizond became an archbishopric in the 8th C. and a metropolis of the diocese of Lazike in the early 10th. In the 7th C., Trebizond became a city of ARMENIAKON, and, in the early 9th C., capital of CHALDIA. A brief Turkish occupation after 1071 was followed by the rule of the GABRADES, nominally subject to the Komnenoi. The well-documented period after 1204 was one of great architectural and artistic activity. Two 15th-C. *ekphraseis* (by BESSARION and a shorter one by John EUGENIKOS) characterize the geographical position, climate, and trade activity of the city and describe its palace.

In 1204, Trebizond consisted of a small fortified enceinte on a steep hill, with market, harbor, suburbs, and separately fortified monasteries outside the walls. Much of it was exposed to Turkish attacks, which began in 1223. ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1297–1330), built a new wall that encompassed the harbor and lower city. It was strengthened in 1378; the citadel, which contained the imperial palace and government offices, was frequently repaired until the fall of the Trapezuntine Empire. The commercial district, with numerous churches and the separate fortifications of the Genoese and Venetians, lay beyond the walls. Names of many quarters are known from contemporary texts or later Turkish documents. In spite of its numerous monuments, Trebizond was surprisingly small, with only about 4,000 inhabitants in 1438. Powerful fortifications and an isolated location enabled it to survive numerous Turkish attacks until 1461.

Monuments of Trebizond include the fortifications, which manifest eight periods of construction, mostly of the 13th–14th C. Parts of the palace have also survived. Trebizond preserves the remains or memory of some 95 churches. Most important is the monastery of St. Sophia, probably founded by MANUEL I KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1238–63), and extensively rebuilt in the early 15th C.; a cross-in-square church with three apses, a narthex, and three porches, its interior was covered with frescoes. Also prominent are the Church of St. EUGENIOS of Trebizond (1291); the Cathedral of the Virgin Chrysokephalos, rebuilt in 1214 as the imperial coronation church; and the earliest church of Trebizond, the Basilica of St. Anne, restored in 885. Other churches are generally small and undatable, but their characteristic pentagonal apses and porches suggest that most belong to the period of the 13th–15th C.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 178–250. —C.F.

TREBIZOND, EMPIRE OF, one of the three successor states to the Byz. Empire, lasting from 1204 to 1461. It arose at the time of the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade. Unlike the empire of NICAEA and despotate of EPIROS, however, the empire of Trebizond was established not in response to the Latin occupation, but just prior to it as a continuation of the rule of the Komnenian dynasty, overthrown in 1185 by the Angeloi. Founded by ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS and DAVID KOMNENOS, grandsons of Andronikos I Komnenos, the new "empire" was restricted to a narrow strip of land along the southeast coast of the Black Sea and was isolated from Constantinople. Under the rule of the GRAND KOMNENOI, the empire of Trebizond survived for 250 years, despite its small size and the constant threat of conquest by the Turks. Its longevity can be attributed to the natural barrier of the Pontic Mountains, the strong fortifications of the capital city of TREBIZOND, the flourishing commerce of this port city, and the astute marriage diplomacy carried out by the Trapezuntine emperors, who sought alliances for themselves primarily with Byz. and Georgian princesses and married many of their daughters and sisters to Turkomans. For much of its history the empire was the vassal of successive stronger powers: the Seljuks of Ikonion (1214–43), the Mongols (after the invasions of 1243 and 1402), and the Ottomans (after 1456). It was the last outpost of Byz. civilization to fall to the Turks, being forced to surrender in Aug. or Sept. 1461 (F. Babinger, *REB* 7 [1950] 205–07) when besieged by Ottoman forces by land and sea.

LIT. W. Miller, *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire* (London 1926; rp. Amsterdam 1968). F. Uspenskij, *Očerki iz istorii Trapezuntskoj imperii* (Leningrad 1929). A. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London 1980). S.P. Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija i zapadnoevropejskie gosudarstva v XIII–XV vv.* (Moscow 1981). —A.M.T.

TREE OF JESSE, a metaphorical image of the GENEALOGY OF CHRIST, specifically his descent from the kings of Judah through his mother, Mary. It consists of a tree springing from the loins of Jesse, the father of DAVID, with the generations of David's lineage depicted in its branches, the Virgin Mary on its stem, and Christ at its crown. Based on Isaiah 11:1 and Matthew 1:1–17, it asserts both Christ's Incarnation and his messianic descent from the Old Testament kings. It is probably a Western invention. With the exception of the Crusader image at the Church of the Nativity at BETHLEHEM, the composition appears in Byz. only in the Palaiologan period, when it is incorporated into narthex programs showing Old Testament harbingers of Christ and PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin: Hagia Sophia, TREBIZOND; the Mavriotissa at KASTORIA (14th-C. layer); the HOLY APOSTLES, Thessalonike. The last is probably the earliest Byz.

example. It is closely akin to a group of elaborate Serbian examples in which the genealogy of the NEMANJID DYNASTY is brought into parallel with the genealogy of Christ.

LIT. M.D. Taylor, "A Historiated Tree of Jesse," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 125–76. A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London 1934). —A.W.C.

TREMISSIS (τριμίσιον, Lat. *tremis* or *triens*, from *tres* + *as*, "a third of a unit," formed by analogy with SEMISSIS), a small gold coin weighing 1.52 g, worth a third of a SOLIDUS, introduced in the 380s during the reign of Theodosios I. It continued as one of the main Byz. gold denominations until late in the reign of Leo III, but from the 740s onward tremisses were only rarely struck in the East, presumably for ceremonial purposes, and none are known after the reign of Basil I. In Italy and Sicily this coin continued in common use until the end of Byz. rule (fall of Syracuse 878). The later electrum TRACHY was the value equivalent of the old tremissis, being one-third of a HYPERPYRON, but was never called by that name.

LIT. O. Ulrich-Bansa, "Les premières émissions du *tremis aureus* (383–395)," *Bulletin du Circle d'études numismatiques* 5 (1968) 80–94. *DOC* 3:22. —Ph.G.

TRIAL (δίκη). Byz. inherited from Rome a system of trying lawsuits that was based on the principles of a fair trial, a competent judge (*prosphoros dikastes*), and legality of procedure and judgment—principles that of course had to be adapted to the conditions created by the "absolute monarchy" of Byz. In spite of relevant legislative activity in the 11th and 12th C., the rules for CIVIL PROCEDURE and CRIMINAL PROCEDURE remained as they had been laid down in the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Besides, the lawsuit was affected by peculiarities in the system of judicial administration, esp. the division, which never completely disappeared, between jurisdiction (*dikaiodosia*) and the actual delegated execution of a lawsuit (*dikazein*), as well as by the absence of any effective regulations for successive appeal. These circumstances meant the prolongation of civil lawsuits in particular, which the legislator tried to prevent through the reduction of court holidays (*apraktoi hemerai*), the establishment of procedural time limits, and by an ineffective prohibition on parties applying to the emperor during the course of the trial with a petition (*deesis*). Ecclesiastical penal and disci-

plinary procedure was regulated by CANON LAW. For actual Byz. trials, our richest sources are, in addition to historiographical information on *causes célèbres* and a series of decisions of civil and ecclesiastical courts, the PEIRA, the corpus of acts of Demetrios CHOMATENOS, the accounts of John APOKAUKOS, and the Acts of the patriarchate of Constantinople, which are well preserved for the 14th C. They owe their existence in the first place to the legally prescribed recording of the proceedings.

LIT. Troianos, *Ekklesiastike Dikonomia*. Idem, *He ekklesiastike diadikasia metaxy 565 kai 1204* (Athens 1969). Macrides, "Justice" 99–204. —L.B.

TRIBELON (τρίβηλον, etym. tri- + Lat. *velum*, curtain or door hanging [Tafrali, *infra*]), a rare term designating a part of a church. The *Miracles of St. Demetrios* (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:162.2–11) describes two supernatural persons entering "the *tribelon* of the holy shrine of the renowned martyr Demetrios." Later versions used instead the word *tribolon* that C. Ducange (*Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* [Lyon 1688; rp. Graz 1958] s.v.) suggested "correcting" to *peribolon*. The word evidently refers to the area at the entrance to the church, designating the "atrium or narthex" according to Tafrali (*infra* 43) or the narthex according to Lemerle (*supra* 1:159, n.3).

Art historians use the term conventionally to denote three arches carried on two intermediate columns between two piers. Triple-arched openings between piers are common in Byz. arcuate and domical architecture, notably in the EXEDRAE of S. Vitale, Ravenna, of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos, and of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. As a natural concomitant of the bay system, they are found in the nave of the east church at ALAHAN MANASTIRI, around the naos of the *katholikon* of HOSIOS LOUKAS, and in the south and west porches of Hagia Sophia, TREBIZOND. The term *tribelon* is usually reserved for the triple opening between the narthex and the naos.

LIT. O. Tafrali, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie byzantines* (Paris 1913) 40–50. —W.L., A.C.

TRIBIGILD (Τιρβίγιλλος, Τριγίβιλδος), a Goth and *comes rei militaris* in the East; died Thrace ca.400. He was a relative of GAINAS and commanded barbarian troops settled in Phrygia. After

a visit to Constantinople in 399, during which he was slighted by EUTROPIOS, his troops revolted. Valentinus, a local commander in Pamphylia, took charge of organizing resistance to the barbarians. He was assisted by local peasants and slaves. Tribigild was defeated near Selge. He barely escaped with 300 mounted soldiers (Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 1:170–72). Tribigild then conspired with Gainas, who had been sent to quell the revolt, and together the two Goths marched on Constantinople. While Gainas entered the capital Tribigild crossed over to Thrace, where he died shortly thereafter. The uprising stimulated anti-Germanic feeling in Constantinople and gave rise to the oration titled *On Kingship* by SYNESIOS.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:129–33. *PLRE* 2:1125f. Demougeot, *Unité* 224–29, 249. G. Albert, *Goten in Konstantinopel* (Paderborn 1984) 89–149. —T.E.G.

TRIBONIAN (Τριβωνιανός), jurist and high-ranking official at the court of Justinian I; born Pamphylia before 500, died probably 542 of plague. Justinian's protegé, he served as member of the emperor's commission appointed in Feb. 528 to draft a law code (CODEX JUSTINIANUS). According to Honoré (*infra*), he profited from the purge of the commission (pagan lawyers were dismissed) and became quaestor and its chairman; this Honoré connects with the shift in the focus of the commission from the practical need of lawyers for an established code to an antiquarian and scholarly approach as reflected in the DIGEST. Accusations of graft launched against Tribonian during the NIKA REVOLT compelled Justinian to dismiss him; although he eventually returned to the commission, he never regained his former authority. Evidence of Tribonian's fall from favor was the slow replacement of Latin by Greek in legislation (see NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I). A jurist with enormous knowledge of Roman law, Tribonian tried to retreat from the magniloquence of the CODEX THEODOSIANUS to the simplicity and clarity of Gaius, yet retained affectations for the sake of imperial propaganda.

LIT. T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (London 1978). D.J. Osler, "The Compilation of Justinian's Digest," *ZSavRom* 102 (1985) 129–84. W. Waldstein, "Tribonianus," *ZSavRom* 97 (1980) 232–55. —W.E.K., A.K.

TRICONCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

TRIESTE (Τέργεστ⟨ρ⟩ον), Roman port and fortress at the north end of the Adriatic Sea, economically and politically overshadowed by the neighboring Aquileia. Legends connect the activity of several martyrs with Trieste, for example, Servolus in the 3rd C. and Justus (San Giusto) in 303. After 488 Trieste was in the hands of the Goths, but in 539 the region was conquered by the army of Justinian I. Despite the attacks of the Lombards, Avars, and Slavs the city remained under Byz. authority, and a special military detachment, *numerus tergestinus*, protected northern Illyricum from barbarian invasions. Ecclesiastically, Trieste was linked with Aquileia and Grado and supported them in the conflict of the THREE CHAPTERS against Rome and Constantinople. In 752 Trieste fell to the Lombards, in 787 or 788 to Charlemagne, and thereafter stood outside the political sphere of Byz.

Monuments of Trieste. Two apses in the cathedral of S. Maria Assunta e S. Giusto are decorated with mosaics that Demus (*infra*) considers "Greek" rather than Adriatic in style. The cathedral was originally two separate buildings (like S. Maria Assunta and S. Fosca on TORCELLO): S. Maria Assunta, an 11th-C. basilica, and S. Giusto, a centralized church with a dome on squinches. In the main apse of S. Maria Assunta is an image of the Virgin enthroned between archangels, with the 12 Apostles below; in the main apse of S. Giusto, Christ between Sts. Justus and Servolus. The two mosaics, not necessarily contemporary, are variously dated to the 11th, 12th, or 13th C.

The cathedral treasury contains an image of St. Justus painted on silk, 119 cm high, also dated to the 11th–13th C. Though some scholars have identified the painter as Constantinopolitan, Demus believes he was "Veneto-Byz."

LIT. M. Mirabella Roberti, *San Giusto* (Trieste 1970). Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1.1:51; 2.1:213f. I. Andreescu, "Torcello," *DOP* 30 (1976) 258f. —A.K., D.K.

TRIGLEIA. See MEDIKION MONASTERY; PELEKETE MONASTERY.

TRIKEPHALON (νόμισμα τρικέφαλον, lit. "three-header"), sometimes abbreviated Γ^{κλ} (F. Dölger, *BZ* 27 [1927] 296, n.4); a word applied to the one-third HYPERPYRON or electrum TRACHY of the early 12th C., which had on it a total of three

"heads": that of the emperor, the Virgin, and Christ (in the form of a medallion held by the Virgin), in contrast to the hyperpyron, which had the figures of Christ and the emperor only. The three decades during which such trikephala were issued (1092–1118) resulted in *trikephalon* becoming one of the several names regularly used for this denomination even where it no longer accurately described the design of the coins.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Les monnaies tricéphales de Jean II Comnène," *RN*[5] 13 (1951) 97–108. Hendy, *Coinage* 31–34, 226. —Ph.G.

TRIKKALA (Τρίκ⟨κ⟩αλα, anc. Trikke, Trik⟨k⟩a), city in a fertile valley in northwest Thessaly. Trikkala was an important transit point, with roads running west across the PINDOS Mountains to Epiros and north to Grevena and Macedonia. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.3.5) names "Trika" among the Thessalian *poleis* whose walls were repaired by Justinian I. From the 4th C. onward, the city was a suffragan bishopric of LARISSA. The first known bishop, HELIODOROS, was thought to be the author of the *Aethiopica*. The old name Trikka survived in several anachronistic texts, while Trikkala appears first in Kekaumenos, who speaks of Trikalitan Vlachs. Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:31.27) cites *ta Trikala* as a geographic name without defining the character of the site. Al-Idrīsī described Trikkala as an important agrarian center with abundant vineyards and gardens. In Alexios III's charter of 1198 for Venice, Trikkala is mentioned along with other Thessalian cities. Its political role before 1204 is almost unknown: in 1082/3 Trikkala was for a short time captured by the Normans. It seems not to have been occupied by the Crusaders after 1204 (Nicol, *Epiros I* 36) but was controlled by Epiros.

After the victory at PELAGONIA in 1259, John Palaiologos, Michael VIII's brother, reached Neopatras and "Trikke" and took them without resistance (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:151.14). In the 14th C. (until 1332/3) Trikkala formed the center of the independent "fief" of Stephen GABRIELOPOULOS; after his death Trikkala fell under the control of John Orsini of Epiros, then of Byz.: a chrysobull of Andronikos III of March 1336 (*Reg* 4, no.2826) rewards the monks of the Zablantion monastery near Trikkala for their help in transferring the city to the emperor. The Serbs con-

quered Thessaly in 1348, and Dušan's general Preljub governed it from Trikkala. In 1359 SYM-EON UROŠ established his court in Trikkala, where he imitated the ritual of Constantinople. Trikkala was occupied by the Ottomans in 1393. In the 14th C. the bishopric of Trikkala gained increasing control over METEORA.

The fortifications on the acropolis are mostly of Turkish date, but traces of the Justinianic repairs have been identified on the south side (L.W. Daly, *AJA* 46 [1942] 507). A floor mosaic on the hill of Prophetis Elias is from the narthex of a basilica, probably of the 5th C., and the ruins of a church, presumably of Byz. date, are on the acropolis. The Church of St. Stephen contains an inscription naming Symeon Uroš and the Despoina Anna (D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 2 [1967] 483–88). Many small churches, esp. of the 12th–13th C., can be found in the villages around Trikkala.

LIT. *TIB* 1:277f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 132–35, 195f. Ferjančić, *Tesalija* 168–82. N. Nikonanos, *Byzantinoi naoi tes Thessalias* (Athens 1979) 75–98, 118–22.

–T.E.G.

TRIKLINIOS, DEMETRIOS, classical philologist; fl. Thessalonike ca.1300–25. He changed his name from Triklines to Triklinios (Τρικλίνιος) around 1316 or 1319. Triklinios studied with THOMAS MAGISTROS and Maximos PLANOUDES, and probably ran a school and scriptorium in Thessalonike. He copied MSS of Hesiod, Hermogenes, and Aphthonios in a fine calligraphic hand, but is better known for his editions of classical poets and dramatists. Owing to his understanding of ancient Greek meters, he was able to make emendations in the texts based on metrical principles. He also incorporated the scholia of his slightly older contemporaries Manuel Moschopoulos and Thomas Magistros. His most significant contribution was his preparation of new recensions of ancient Greek tragedies and comedies, esp. those texts that did not normally form part of the standard CURRICULUM. Thus he edited five plays of AESCHYLUS, including the previously ignored *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides* (an autograph MS survives), all seven extant plays of SOPHOCLES, and eight of ARISTOPHANES instead of the usual three. Especially important was his edition of all the plays of EURIPIDES including the "non-select" plays (i.e., those plays not selected for school use),

which were virtually unknown before the 14th C. Triklinios evidently also revised the *Anthologia Planudea* (A. Turyn, *EEBS* 39–40 [1972–3] 403–50). An essay on lunar theory (ed. A. Wasserstein, *JÖB* 16 [1967] 153–74) indicates his interest in astronomy.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 249–56. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:69–77. O.L. Smith, *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus* (Leiden 1975). Idem, "Tricliniana," *ClMed* 33 (1981–82) 239–62. R. Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle* (Paris 1949). G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965) 193–201. Schartau, *Observations*, vol. 1. M. Fernández-Galiano, "Demetrio Triclinio en su centenario," *Emerita* 53 (1985) 15–30.

–A.M.T.

TRIKLINOS OF JUSTINIAN (Ἰουστινιανός), a hall constructed by Justinian II (probably in 694) and richly decorated with mosaics by Theophilos. It is also called the Hall of Procession, and in the *De ceremoniis* is mentioned primarily in connection with processional routes (e.g., from CHRYSOTRIKLINOS via LAUSIAKOS and the Triklinos of Justinian to the gate of Skyla and the Hippodrome). It served also as a place for discussing state affairs. In 1289 Athanasios I was proclaimed patriarch there. Pachymeres relates that at the beginning of the 14th C. the building was destroyed by violent winds, leaving no trace; in 1345, however, Alexios Apokaukos built there a prison, or transformed into a prison the remnants of the formerly splendid edifice.

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:153f.

–A.K.

TRIMOIRIA. See ABIOTIKION.

TRINITY (τριάς). Although not mentioned specifically in the New Testament, the doctrine of the Trinity is supported by the unique relationship of Jesus to God, whom he calls "Abba," and by the resurrection, or the experience of Pentecost, on the basis of which his disciples confess him to be the Son of God whose Spirit they have received. BAPTISM, the CREED, and the DOXOLOGY were the original setting from which the doctrine of God as one, yet three, evolved.

The term *trias* occurred relatively early, even before it had been accepted as ecclesiastical doctrine. Even though he knew of the term's usage in Gnostic speculation, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, for example (*Stromata* 5.103.1, ed. O. Stählin, L.

Fruchtel, 395), associated the triad of Father, Son, and HOLY SPIRIT with Plato's *Second Letter* (312e); Clement also referred to "the blessed triad" of God in connection with the three prayer periods of the Christians (ibid. 7.40.3, p.31).

More important, however, was the doctrine of the three HYPOSTASES of PLOTINOS, and the terminology of ORIGEN because of its influence on the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS. Origen distinguished between God's substance and the hypostases of the Father and the LOGOS/Son (cf. HOMOOUSIOS). Around 260, the term was already part of ecclesiastical language. Dionysius of Rome (died 268), in his letter to Dionysius of Alexandria (died ca.264), used it to oppose MONARCHIANISM (Sabellianism) and Marcion (died ca.160; cf. ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, *De decretis Nicaenae synodi*, 26.3, 7, ed. Opitz, 22.10, 23.15), and Gregory Thaumatourgos (died ca.270) spoke in his *Ekthesis* of "the perfect triad" (ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO* 3:3, 10).

In the 4th C. the formula of one *ousia* (SUBSTANCE) of God and three hypostases was generally accepted. This involved both the use of imagery or examples and the formation of an appropriate terminology. Some images were seen in creation (e.g., the sun, its rays, and light; a spring, a creek, and its current; or, a wellspring, a fount, and a stream, respectively), and some, admittedly hidden, in the Old Testament as ALLEGORY or typology (e.g., ADAM AND EVE, Seth). A special example was the tradition of the three men who visited ABRAHAM under the oaks of MAMRE (Gen 18:1–8; cf. GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, or.28.18.7–9, ed. Gallay, 136; PG 36:49A), or the divine image of man. The words, "Let us create man in our image and according to our likeness" (Gen 1:26) were understood to have been spoken by the Father to the Son and Holy Spirit. In more sophisticated theological circles, however, these illustrations were met with reserve and their dissimilarities to the prototype were emphasized (e.g., Gregory of Nazianzos, or.39.11–13, ed. Gallay, 170–79; PG 36:169AC).

At issue was how three persons can be distinct from one another, and yet one. An important approach was discussion of the "inner man" as a union of soul, reason, and spirit (or, *nous, logos,* and *pneuma*), or of the soul as the subject of the three Platonic virtues, and the "inner man" became the paradigm par excellence from the time

of PHOTIOS to MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS (*Dialogues with a Persian* 17, ed. E. Trapp, 216.39–218.2).

Decisive for the formation of an appropriate terminology was Orthodox opposition to Sabellianism and so-called MODALISM. The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not simple "figures" (*prosopa* or *morphai*) in which the one God remains transcendentally aloof in encounters with man. Therefore they are not mere divine manifestations in accordance with the religious understanding of the Greeks. Rather, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit refer to distinctions *within* God himself (see THEOLOGY). Thus, the full divinity or consubstantiality of the Logos is defended against ARIUS, and the divinity of the Holy Spirit against the PNEUMATOMACHOI.

The doctrine of consubstantiality excludes subordinationism, a teaching that appeared in middle- or neo-Platonic theology (e.g., in the doctrine of the principles—*archai*) as the structure of intermediaries, that is, those principles that constitute the first difference. In this context, subordinationism was viewed as carrying the danger that the Logos or the Holy Spirit, as "intermediaries," would approach, or be placed in, the domain of creatures. Not until *ousia* (substance), or *physis* (NATURE), was terminologically distinguished from hypostasis in the formula "one *ousia*, three hypostases," could the Son be conceived as *homoousios* with the Father. Thus, the numerically one (single) essence, or being, of the Father and Son was maintained, while at the same time the divine nature of the Holy Spirit was confessed. For many in the 4th C., the formula adopted by the First Council of NICAEA (325) sounded Sabellian; modern translations, such as "consubstantial" or "of one essence," imply interpretations that are partly anachronistic and partly obscurant.

The term *hypostasis*, which for many in the 4th C. implied subordinationism because of its application in Origenism, must, in this context, be understood to indicate a distinction (*diaphora*), but not a division (*diairesis*), of three numerically distinct individuals, separate and independent from each other. A clever semantic resolution of this problem is found in the masterful formulation of Gregory of Nazianzos (PG 37:180AB): Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are each "an other," but "not others." Therefore, the hypostasis can be defined as a particular (*idikon*) that is distinguished from other particulars through a complex of individual

properties, while the *ousia* is conceived as that which is common (*koinon*) to many particulars. Although the Cappadocians were influenced by Platonism, their notion of the *koinon* (if one excludes GREGORY OF NYSSA, for whom the *koinon* is conceptual) is to be interpreted in the framework of Stoic ontology and logic. Hence, the meaning of *koinon* or *ousia* in theology is the reality of the one God, whose common essence stands in contrast to another common essence, that of created reality.

Although hypostasis, from 380 onward, was used as a synonym of PERSON (*prosopon*), in conformity with the Latin tradition, so that it is clearly distinguished from substance, no speculative advance was reached that would necessarily exclude TRITHEISM. Not until the distinctiveness inherent in individual particularity was achieved in NEO-CHALCEDONISM at the beginning of the 6th C. could this be realized. The distinctive individuality of concrete natures and the notion of person as existing in and for itself was directed against the MONOPHYSITES. It is not by accident that there appeared in the Monophysite camp a group who taught that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three distinct *ousiai*.

This tritheism, which found a philosophical basis in John PHILOPONOS, does not appear to have been without influence on the Byz. imperial church of the time (Anastasios I of Antioch, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Traditio* 37 [1981] 73–108). Against tritheism, it was not necessary to emphasize the numerical unity of the *ousia* while retaining the Three Persons. This involved reflection on the fundamentals of arithmetic: in particular, the distinction between the countable multiplicity of things and their basis or principle had to be shown and explained so as to permit exclusion of a univocal usage of number in *theologia* (MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, MONOTHEISM).

Such an undertaking can lead to nothing more than a purely homonymic concept of number, as is shown in Maximos the Confessor's attempt to incorporate into the tradition of the church both the Origenism associated with EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, which emphasized the knowledge of the unity of God that transcends all unity or multiplicity, as well as the doctrine of emanation and univocal concept of unity (taken from PROKLOS) of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. For Maximos, only apophatic theology is appropriate to the Trinity, since the triune God bears no trace (*ichnos*) in

creation, and "the infinite" cannot be grasped by thought (PG 91:1168A, 1188A). Here, the thought of Evagrios clearly predominates, and not the cataphatic theology of the Areopagite, which leads only to the (univocal) "one God" of monotheism.

This provides us with an indication of how Byz. theologians (such as NICHOLAS OF METHONE) would react to the so-called renaissance of Proklos in the 11th and 12th C.: either by maintaining that "unity is not canceled by difference or number," or by going beyond an arithmetic concept to "a unity that lies beyond number," or finally, by resorting to an extreme apophatic theology in which the multiplicity of all thought is overcome, as in the "essential gnosis" of Evagrios.

In the 8th and early 9th C., a new problem appeared in Byz.: the controversy with the Westerners concerning the FILIOQUE. Centuries later, DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE, upon returning from a delegation to the West in the 1160s, brought back a dispute that revived subordinationist themes. In the apologetic literature against JUDAISM and ISLAM, the relationship of monotheistic and trinitarian depictions of God occupied the foreground. An irenic position was presented by Manuel I who wanted to remove the denunciation of Muḥammad's God in the recantations required of Islamic converts, since such an anathema was directed against "the true God," a view out of favor among his contemporaries.   –K.-H.U.

Representation in Art. Until the 13th C. the Trinity was depicted only symbolically or in association with other images. Thus the Magi may appear each holding one of the three hypostases (Huber, *Heilige Berge*, fig.207). Thereafter the triad is found as an iconic group including the Son, who holds the dove in a disk, and is seated in the lap of the Ancient of Days.   –A.C.

LIT. J. Lebreton, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité*[7], 2 vols. (Paris 1927). G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*[2] (London 1952). M. Gomes de Castro, *Die Trinitätslehre des hl. Gregor von Nyssa* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1938). G. Kretschmar, *Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie* (Tübingen 1956). E. Corsini, *Il trattato De Divinis Nominibus dello Pseudo-Dionigi e i commenti neoplatonici al Parmenide* (Turin 1962). H.U. von Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie, Das Weltbild Maximus des Bekenners*[2] (Einsiedeln 1961). E. Bailleux, "Le personnalisme trinitaire des pères grecs," *MélScRel* 27 (1970) 3–25.

TRIODION (τριῴδιον), liturgical hymnbook "of three odes" containing the variable parts of the services for the mobile Lenten and Easter cycle,

from the pre-Lenten period beginning with vespers the eve of the tenth Sunday before Easter through *mesonyktikon* of Holy Saturday. The *triodion* originally also included the entire Easter season through to the end of the PENTECOST cycle, but from the 14th C. onward, this material, starting with Easter *orthros*, was sometimes relegated to a separate book, the PENTEKOSTARION.

The *triodion*, comprising chiefly hymnody for the liturgical HOURS, is basically a monastic book that first appears in MSS of the 10th C.; its name derives from the fact that some of the KANONES sung during this season do not have the standard nine odes but normally only three. The pristine Palestinian or "Oriental" monastic *triodion* of the 7th–8th C. was enriched over the next three centuries with hymns composed by the Stoudite monks of Constantinople and southern Italy; to it was also added a SYNAXARION, the liturgy of the PRESANCTIFIED, various fixed Sunday commemorations such as the feast of Orthodoxy (TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY) with its SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, and pre-Lenten weeks of preparation.

ED. *Triodion* (Rome 1879). *Triode de Carême*, tr. D. Guillaume (Rome 1978).

LIT. P. de Meester, *Rite e particolarità liturgiche del Triodio e del Pentecostario* (Padua 1943). Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 365–67. M. Momina, "O proischoždenii grečeskoj triodi," *PSb* 28 (1986) 112–20.   –R.F.T.

TRIPHIODOROS (Τριφιόδωρος), in some MSS Tryphiodoros, Greek poet from Egypt. Long thought to postdate NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, Triphiodoros is now revealed by P. Oxy. XLI, 2946.9f to belong to the late 3rd to early 4th C. A grammarian by profession, he is credited in the SOUDA with several epics (now lost), including the *Marathoniaka*, the *Hippodamea*, and a "lipogrammatic *Odyssey*." Some scholars conflate him with a second Triphiodoros listed (also by the *Souda*) as author of a verse paraphrase of Homeric similes. Triphiodoros's one extant piece is *The Capture of Troy*, detailing in 691 hexameters the stratagem of the Trojan horse and the bloody sack of the city. Quite its most interesting feature is the extent to which Triphiodoros shows direct knowledge of VERGIL, *Aeneid* 2 (G. d'Ippolito, *Trifiodoro e Vergilio* [Palermo 1976]).

ED. *La prise d'Ilion*, ed. and tr. B. Gerlaud (Paris 1982). *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, ed. A.W. Mair (London-New York 1928), 573–636 with Eng. tr.

LIT. L. Ferrari, *Sulla presa di Ilio di Trifiodoro* (Palermo 1962). Al. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the*

Court of Honorius (Oxford 1970) 478–82. *Lexicon in Triphiodorum*, ed. M. Campbell (Hildesheim 1985).   –B.B.

TRIPOLI, COUNTY OF, located on the Lebanese coast from Maraclea (Maraqīyah) to Gibelet (Jubayl) and inland to the Orontes valley. The territory around Tripoli was conquered by RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE and his forces after the First Crusade. Raymond's son Bertrand took Tripoli in 1109 and became the first count. Raymond's oath of allegiance to Byz. was renewed by his successors Guillaume-Jourdain, Bertrand (1109, 1112), Pons (1112), and Raymond II (1137, when John II threatened northern Syria). By the time of Bertrand, the oath was limited to Maraclea and Tortosa, formerly parts of the Byz. *doukaton* of Antioch. Alexios I strove to develop the county as a counterweight to the principality of Antioch: the Byz. sent material from Cyprus to build Mont-Pèlerin, the castle constructed for the siege of Tripoli (1103–09), and Byz. supplies and funds reinforced the Crusaders. Despite Alexios's efforts, Antiochene influence predominated after 1112. In 1160–61 Byz. envoys persuaded Raymond III (1152–87) that his sister Melisende would marry Manuel I. A large dowry was prepared. A document of Baldwin III (31 July 1161) calls her "futurae imperatricis Constantinopolitanae" (R. Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* [Innsbruck 1893; rp. New York 1960] no.366). When Manuel broke off the match in favor of MARIA OF ANTIOCH, Raymond, infuriated, ravaged Byz. coasts.

LIT. J. Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102–1187)* (Paris 1945).   –C.M.B.

TRIPOLIS (Τρίπολις, Ar. Ṭarābulus, modern Tripoli in Lebanon), port city in Phoenicia. Late Roman Tripolis is infrequently mentioned: according to a 6th-C. chronicler (Malal. 367.12–18), Emp. Marcian rebuilt an aqueduct and a summer bath adorned with many statues there. Legend ascribes the establishment of Christianity in Tripolis to the apostle Peter; in fact, the bishopric of Tripolis, under TYRE, is attested from 325 onward. By the 6th C., the most important pilgrimage center of Phoenicia was that of St. Leontios at Tripolis. Under Persian rule from 612 to 628, it was briefly regained by Herakleios; Tripolis resisted an Arab siege in 635, but finally the starving population was forced to ask the emperor to send rescue ships to evacuate the city by sea.

Muʿāwiya resettled the city with Jews and Persians and created a dockyard to build a navy to attack Constantinople. In 654/5 two Christian brothers, the sons of a trumpeter, reportedly broke the gates of the city jail, killed the emir of Tripolis, and fled (Theoph. 345.18–25). In the 10th C. the Tripolis region was constantly reconnoitered by the Byz.; when the Byz. launched attacks on Syria they tried to seize the city, but both Nikephoros II Phokas on 5 Nov. 968 and John I Tzimiskes in 975 could only burn its suburbs. Basil II was routed at Tripolis on 13 Dec. 999. Under Romanos III, the emir of Tripolis, Ḥassān ibn Mufarrij, surrendered to the Byz., but the city remained under the control of the Fāṭimids until the early 12th C. Arab geographers described medieval Tripolis as surrounded by fields and gardens and protected on three sides by the sea; it reportedly had 20,000 inhabitants in the 11th C.

In the aftermath of the First Crusade, the Crusaders founded the county of Tripoli (see TRIP-OLI, COUNTY OF) in 1102 but did not capture the city itself until 1109, after a five-year siege. (For Tripolis in North Africa, see TRIPOLITANIA.)

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1939) 205f. F. Buhl, *EI* 4:660. —A.K.

TRIPOLITANIA, modern name for the African region called Tripolis in Greek sources; in Latin texts (e.g., the VERONA LIST) it is called Tripolitana. Under Diocletian the Syrtic coastal cities of Oea (mod. Tripoli), Sabratha, and LEPTIS MAGNA and their hinterlands (northwest Libya), as well as Tacapes and Gigthis on the southern border of BYZACENA, were formed into the province of Tripolitania, protected by the Limes Tripolitanus. The area was never deeply romanized; strong Punico-Libyan cultural and religious influences were still evident in the late antique period. Christianity made little headway outside the cities. Indeed, at the inland settlement of Ghirza, the cult of Ammon was active into the 6th C. Roman military and administrative authority in Tripolitania was weakened by the rise of the tribal confederation of Leuathai (see MAURI) in the 4th C., whose control eventually extended over much of the province. A consequence of the decreasing Roman military presence in the countryside was the replacement of *opus Africanum*-style farms (which first appeared in the early Roman period) with *gsur* (fortified farms), but the precise role these played in the defense of the province remains unclear. Another consequence of the changes in Tripolitania was a general decline in olive oil exports. The Vandal conquest of between 442 and 455 (Courtois, *infra* 174) did not result in significant changes in the condition of Tripolitania.

The Byz. reconquest in 533 affected only the coastal cities. A rebellion of the Leuathai caused by the massacre of 79 subchiefs of the tribe by Sergios, the Byz. *doux,* took four years to quell. A Byz. reprisal may account for the destruction of the temple at Ghirza at about this time. In the late 6th C. Tripolitania was separated from the newly established African exarchate and annexed to the diocese of Egypt, although it may have been briefly reattached to the former during the rebellion of GREGORY, the exarch of Carthage (646–47). Tripolitania was overrun by the Arabs in 642–43; the Byz. were able to recover Tripolis temporarily, but a permanent Arab garrison was established there in the 660s.

LIT. D.J. Mattingly, "Libyans and the 'Limes': Culture and Society in Roman Tripolitania," *AntAfr* 23 (1987) 71–94. Pringle, *Defence* 23, 45f, 63f. R.G. Goodchild, "Byzantines, Berbers and Arabs in seventh-century Libya," *Antiquity* 41 (1967) 115–24. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955) 70–79, 93–95. —R.B.H.

TRIPTYCH, tripartite icon made of wood, bronze, or ivory and composed of wings, the same size or shorter than the central panel, that close over the main image. The principal subject matter—often the Deesis with apostles and saints or the Crucifixion—is thus revealed only when the wings are opened, an effect that has been compared to the opening of the doors of a templon barrier (K. Weitzmann, *DChAE⁴* 4 [1964–65] 16–18). Wooden triptychs are known from the 6th C. onward, but most such assemblages, painted on wood or carved in ivory, date from the 10th or 11th C. Their size (up to 33.6 cm, fully open) and iconography suggest that, at least at this period, the triptychs rested on tables or ledges as objects of veneration in private houses. Only a few complete sets of panels are preserved, among which the "Harbaville Triptych" (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *infra,* no.33) is the most celebrated. This is one of a group of three very large triptychs that also includes an example in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome

(ibid., no.31), with a long inscription addressed to an emperor Constantine, perhaps Constantine VII, who is protected and adorned with virtues by the martyrs represented about him. Here the reverse of the main panel exhibits a flowering cross. On the backs of other triptychs, and sometimes on the outside of the wings, the cross is accompanied by the legend IC XC NIKA.

LIT. Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, nos. 10–23. E. Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," *JWarb* 5 (1942) 56–81. Kalavrezou, "Eudokia Makrem." 319–25. —A.C.

TRISAGION (Τρισάγιον, lit. "thrice-holy [hymn]"), Byz. name for the biblical *Sanctus* (Is 6:3, Rev 4:8) chanted from the 4th C. onward in the ANAPHORA. Byz. used the same name for the TROPARION "Holy [is] God, holy [and] mighty, holy [and] immortal! Have mercy on us!" sung at the beginning of all Eastern and some Western EUCHARISTS.

The origins of the *Trisagion* are disputed. Monophysites claimed it originated in Antioch (Severos of Antioch, PO 29:62, 246f); the bishops of that region chanted it at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 (*ACO* II.1, 195). But an oft-repeated Byz. legend attributed it to a heavenly vision in the time of Patr. Proklos (B. Croke, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 127–31).

The interpretation of the *Trisagion* was another point of dispute with Monophysites who conceived the *Trisagion* to be directed to Christ. The Byz. "Prayer of the Trisagion" that accompanies the *Trisagion* in the liturgy (Brightman, *Liturgies* 369f) interprets it as addressed simply to God without distinguishing the persons. Canon 81 of the Council in Trullo in 691 (Mansi 11:977DE) condemned the theopaschite clause, "Who was crucified for us," which the Monophysites had added to the *Trisagion* under PETER THE FULLER between 468 and 470. The Monophysite formula is preserved among others in an inscription found near Antioch (*CIG* 4, no.8918). This additional clause directs the *Trisagion* to Christ, whereas all Byz. COMMENTARIES, from that of Germanos I onward, interpret the hymn as addressed to the three persons of the Trinity, transforming "mighty" and "immortal" into substantives modified by "holy": "Holy God (Father), holy mighty one (Son), holy immortal one (Holy Spirit), have mercy on us."

The *Trisagion* first appears in Byz. liturgy as a processional chant during a LITE in 438/9 and was a frequently used processional *troparion* in Constantinople, probably as a refrain sung after the verses of an antiphonal psalm (PSALMODY). Often used as the chant accompanying the procession into church at the beginning of the Eucharist, by the 6th C. it had become a permanent part of the service (*ACO* 3:71–76; Job, *On the Incarnation,* in Photios, *Bibl.* cod. 222).

LIT. Mateos, *La parole* 91–118. V.-S. Janeras, "Les byzantins et le trisagion christologique," in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di sua eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro,* vol. 2 (Rome 1967) 469–99. —R.F.T.

TRITHEISM (τριθεΐα, lit. "three divinity"), an accusation often made in theological disputes of the late 3rd–7th C. against those who emphasized the "individuality" of *hypostaseis* rather than the unity of the Trinity. Among those accused of Tritheism were the following: the opponents of Sabellianism for rejecting MONARCHIANISM; the Orthodox who were criticized by the PNEUMATO-MACHOI for accepting the Holy Spirit as an individual deity; the followers of EUNOMIOS for underscoring the independence of the Son; the Nestorians; and esp. John PHILOPONOS and his adherents such as Eugenios and Konon of Tarsos. In 616 the synod of Alexandria condemned Tritheism. —A.K.

TRIUMPH (θρίαμβος, τὰ ἐπινίκια, ἐπινίκιος ἑορτή), a victory celebration inherited from Rome that featured a triumphal parade into the capital of troops, captives, booty, and the victorious emperor. It was often accompanied by triumphal circus games, religious services, largess, and banqueting. Triumphs exemplified imperial ideology, since the *imperator*'s military origins implied that victories demonstrated the emperor's right to rule; emperors alone celebrated them from the time of Augustus. From the 4th to the 7th C., numerous triumphs in various capitals saluted real or imagined victories over usurpers or barbarians by emperors whose victory permeated the reaction of imperial PROPAGANDA to a deteriorating military situation. In the 5th–7th C., the circus absorbed this ceremony, as successful generals and defeated enemies paraded in the HIPPODROME and honored the triumphant emperor ensconced in the KATHISMA. Special coin issues, panegyrics, mon-

uments, anniversary races, and provincial celebrations marked these late Roman triumphs. The defeat of a usurper sometimes introduced his ritual divestiture or trampling (*trachelismos*; Lat. *calcatio colli*) into the ceremony. Although the triumph quickly shed its pagan trappings, Christianity was slow to fill the gap, as parallel, independent rites like thanksgiving services and litanic processions emerged.

Victorious generals eroded the imperial monopoly of triumph by staging their own celebrations in the provinces. From the 8th C. onward, generals might even dominate triumphs celebrated at Constantinople, culminating in the *sebastophoros* Stephen Pergamenos's triumph (1043). Emperors nevertheless continued to celebrate triumphs themselves between the 8th and 12th C., when the parade through Constantinople's streets again prevailed, though circus triumphs and victory games still occurred. The parade often followed the MESE from the Golden Gate to Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace; its religious content increased steadily from the 7th C. onward. Thus the calculated gesture of John I Tzimiskes, who paraded in 971 behind an icon mounted in a triumphal carriage, was imitated and embellished by John II Komnenos in 1126 and Manuel I Komnenos in 1167. No triumphs have yet been detected after the ceremony marking Michael VIII's reconquest of Constantinople in 1261.

LIT. M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge 1986). Koukoules, *Bios* 2:55–60. —M.McC.

TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY, the final defeat of ICONOCLASM in 843, celebrated as the Sunday of Orthodoxy on the first Sunday of Lent. After Emp. Theophilos died in 842, the eunuch THEOKTISTOS overcame the reluctance of Empress THEODORA to permit the restoration of icons by arranging that Theophilos would not be condemned. He deposed Patr. JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS, secured the appointment of METHODIOS I, and conducted a series of meetings (some in his own house) that, using OIKONOMIA, definitively ended the controversy. On 11 Mar. 843 Theodora, Theoktistos, and Methodios made a symbolic triumphal procession from the Church of the Theotokos in Blachernai, an Iconophile center, to Hagia Sophia, formerly in Iconoclast hands,
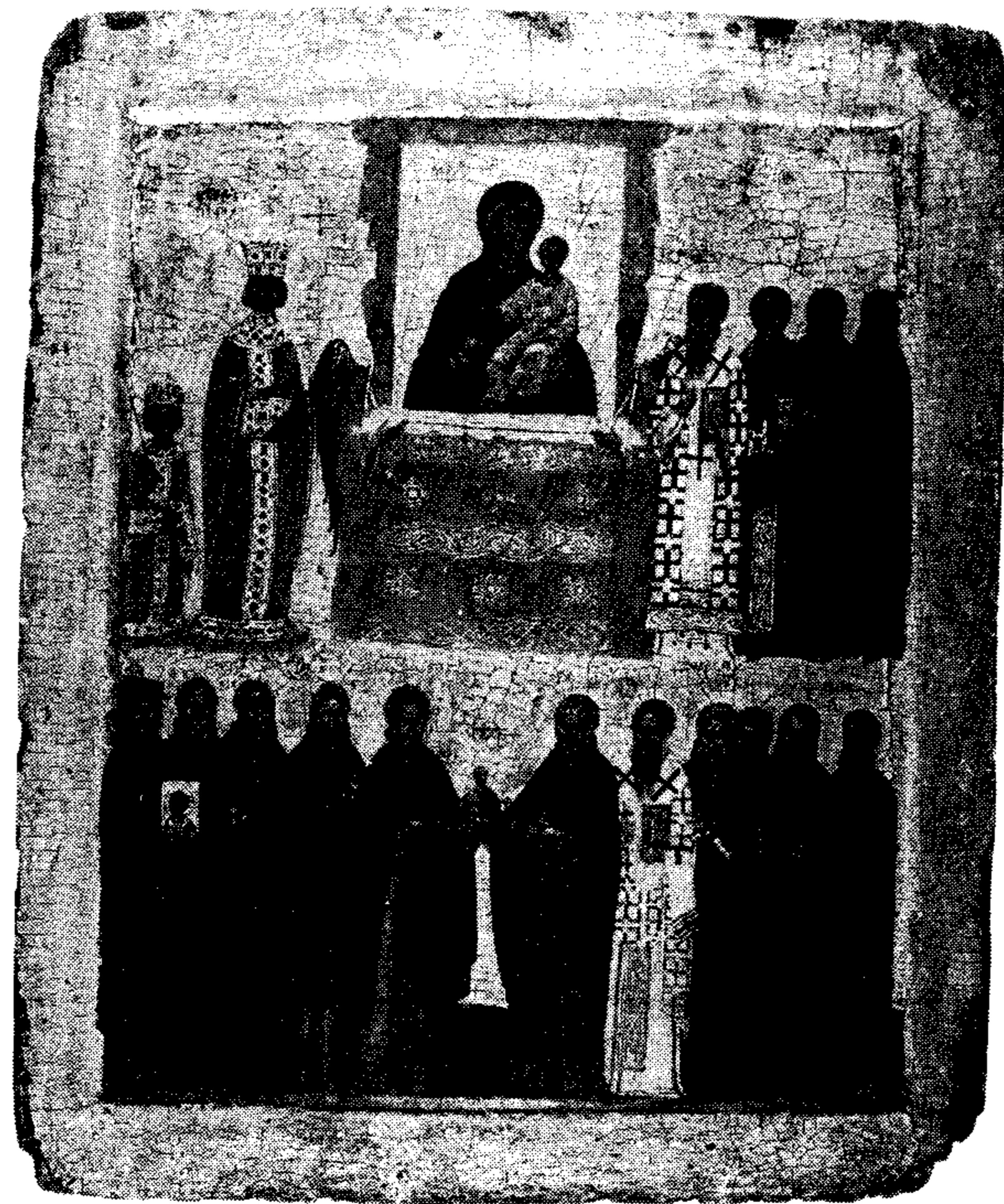
TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY. The Triumph of Orthodoxy; painted icon, 14th C. National Icon Collection, no.18; British Museum, London. The empress Theodora and her son Michael III stand next to an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria. To the right of the icon is the patriarch Methodios. The other figures are also heroes of the struggle against Iconoclasm.

and there celebrated a liturgy to mark the occasion.

An annual feast was established by the end of the 9th C.; it is mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos and described in the *Book of Ceremonies* (*De cer.* 1:156–60) but does not exist in the *Typikon of the Great Church*; the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 460.48–50) admits it only in a later addition. The celebration included a procession from the Blachernai to Hagia Sophia, where the emperor joined the assemblage and a banquet was given either by the patriarch or the emperor. A church service devoted to the "triumph over heretics" included a reading of the anathema of 843 and the singing of the *kanones* composed by THEOPHANES GRAPTOS and Patr. Methodios. The feast was called the day of ENKAINIA, or dedication of churches, since churches were to be construed not only as splendid sacred buildings but as communities of the pious (J. Gouillard, *infra* 45.5–9).

Over the centuries numerous panegyrics, hymns, and sermons were composed for the holiday (BHG 1386–94t).

The personalities associated with the Triumph in 843 were celebrated in Palaiologan art: an icon of ca.1400 now in the British Museum shows the Hodegetria attended by Theodora and Michael III on one side and Patr. Methodios on the other, while a row of monastic saints below includes Theodore of Studios holding a circular image of the sort represented in the marginal PSALTERS produced shortly after 843.

LIT. J. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie," *TM* 2 (1967) 129–38. J.F.T. Perridon, "De Zondag der Orthodoxie in de Byzantijnse Kerk," *Het Christelijk Oosten* 9 (1956–57) 182–200. Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy* 212–15.
—P.A.H., A.K., A.C.

TROCHOS (τροχός, lit. "wheel" or "disk"), word that came to signify a circular layout for a set of chronological synchronisms, the best known being the four *trochoi* contained in the Vatican MS of the CHRONICON PASCHALE and depicted by a hand of the 12th–13th C.: I (*Chron. Pasch.* 25) presents a lunar cycle; II (p.27) a solar cycle; III (p.372) a lunar cycle for explaining the chronology of the conception of John the Baptist; and IV (p.534) a lunar cycle with Easter dates. The structure of a typical *trochos* (IV) is a circle divided into 19 segments representing successive years of the lunar cycle from 344 to 362, with each segment further divided into three compartments. The outer contains the year of the cycle, the epact, or day of the lunar cycle at 1 Jan., and the date of Easter for that year according to the Roman calendar; the middle contains the Easter date according to the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars; the inner the year of the DIOCLETIANIC ERA. The space in the center of the circle is filled with an explanation of how the cycle works and where it begins and ends. Another *trochos* is that ascribed to a certain George (F. Diekamp, *BZ* 9 [1900] 32f, 50f).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 73–84, 232. J. Beaucamp et al., "Temps et histoire I: Le prologue de la *Chronique pascale*," *TM* 7 (1979) 227, 292–95.
—B.C.

TROGLITA, JOHN, general and hero of the epic poem *Johannis* by CORIPPUS; born probably Trogilos, Macedonia, died after 552. Perhaps commander of the *foederati* during the Vandal war in Africa, Troglita may have taken part in the battle of Scalae Veteres (537) against STOTZAS. Under general SOLOMON, Troglita was probably *doux* of TRIPOLITANIA or BYZACENA; after 541 he served in Mesopotamia. It is uncertain if he is the same John, *doux* of Mesopotamia, said by Prokopios to have nearly lost a battle. Corippus credits Troglita with the successful defense of Theodosioupolis and Daras. *Magister militum* for Africa from 546 onward, Troglita defeated the MAURI at Castra Antonia and restored the military frontier in Byzacena. The Mauri rebelled soon thereafter, lured Troglita into the desert, and crushed him at Marta (Marath) in 547. With a refurbished army, Troglita advanced against the Mauri and decisively defeated them at Latara in western Tripolitania in the spring or summer of 548. He was probably rewarded with the title *patrikios*. After an unsuccessful expedition in 551, Troglita succeeded in 552 in seizing Sardinia. Nothing is known of his career after 552.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 33–39. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:146. Y. Moderan, "Corippe et l'occupation byzantine de l'Afrique," *AntAfr* 22 (1986) 195–212. —R.B.H.

TROJAN WAR, the conflict between the combined forces of the Hellenes and the inhabitants of Troy that culminated in the Greek conquest of Troy after a ten-year siege. It is recorded in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of HOMER as well as in the poems of the Epic Cycle and is referred to constantly by the poets and historians of the ancient world. The war is focal in the legendary histories of Rome and hence of its successor state, the Byz. Empire. Constantine I, perhaps influenced by these legends, reportedly hesitated between the sites of Troy and Byz. for his new capital (cf. Zosim. 2:30.1–2, Theoph. 1:23.22–27). The Trojan War, a pivotal point in the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, figures prominently in Byz. chronicles (e.g., those of John MALALAS and Constantine MANASSES). In short, the war lent itself to the historical understanding of the past as a sequence of world empires, though the synchronistic date attributed to it varied from the time of Moses to the reign of David. The war figures in Byz. literature, too, in compositions like the *Homerica* of John TZETZES or the essay on Homeric characters by Isaac KOMNENOS the Porphyrogennetos, and

in commentaries like those of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. References to the war appear also in popular literature, for example, in the ACHILLEIS, the TROY TALE, and the WAR OF TROY. There the idea of the importance of the Trojan War has probably been derived from the chroniclers and from the significant place given to the Homeric poems in Byz. education, but little detailed knowledge is shown. The work with the most circumstantial information (the *War of Troy*) draws upon its French source.

LIT. Browning, "Homer," 15–33. Jeffreys, "Chroniclers." –E.M.J.

TROPARION (τροπάριον), the earliest and most basic form of the Byz. HYMN. Originally a short prayer in rhythmic prose inserted after each verse of the psalms sung during Orthros and Vespers, later the *troparion* became strophic in character and more closely connected to individual feasts. Numerous *troparia* were written. *Troparion* came eventually to mean simply a stanza (the basic strophic unit of any hymn, whether KONTAKION or KANON or STICHERON), an inserted set of lines. A *troparion* can be classified according to its contents (as, e.g., *anastasimon*, "On the Resurrection"), the moment of performance (as, e.g., *apolytikion*, sung at the DISMISSAL at the end of Vespers), its melody (as either *idiomelon*, sung to a unique melody, or *prosomoion*, sung to an existing melody), or the type of verse to which it is attached (e.g., *apostichon*, developing the verse of a psalm).

LIT. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 72–77. Szövérffy, *Hymnography* 1:100–10. –E.M.J.

TROPES (τρόποι) and *schemata* were considered by ancient rhetoricians as the two categories of RHETORICAL FIGURE. Both aimed at the ornamentation of speech: even though the distinction between them was not always consistent, *schemata* did not entail a change of meaning and remained within the category of *kyriologia* (proper meaning of words); a trope, on the other hand, was defined as an expression that contained in itself an alteration (*metatrope*) of character, hence its name (*RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:215.10–12). Several works on the tropes have survived but their chronology is obscure: some tracts are anonymous, some ascribed to ancient grammarians such as Tryphon

(1st C. B.C.) or an otherwise unknown Kokondrios, and two bear names of Byz. rhetoricians—George CHOIROBOSKOS and Gregory PARDOS (whose dates are themselves under discussion). Moreover, while A. Kominis (*Gregorios Pardos metropolita di Corinto* [Rome-Athens 1960] 77–80) attributes a treatise on the tropes to Pardos, M.L. West (*CQ* n.s. 15 [1965] 230–48) sees it as a work of Tryphon. At any rate, examples in these tracts are drawn predominantly from ancient writers, even though "Choiroboskos" (*RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:251.19) once refers to Metaphrastes (Symeon Metaphrastes?).

Most ancient theoreticians listed 10–14 *tropoi* (Martin, *infra*), whereas "Choiroboskos" and "Pardos-Tryphon" established a longer list of 27 tropes (it is unclear whether this list is classical or Byz.), including ALLEGORY, METAPHOR, SIMILE, HYPERBOLE, metonymy (replacement of the word by a related one), synecdoche (putting a part for the whole, the whole for the part, species for the genus, etc.), RIDDLE, irony, and so forth. This list also includes pleonasm and ellipsis, which were considered by other rhetoricians as *schemata*, not tropes, and omits EPITHET, which others did classify as a trope.

The church fathers introduced and broadly used the term *tropologia* to define the tropological or figurative method of demonstration, esp. important for such subtle topics as the substance of God (Basil the Great, PG 29:544C). The difference between *tropologia*, allegory, and metaphor remained unclear. Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his commentary on the *Iliad* (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 1:478.20), cites various *tropikai diatheseis* unknown from ancient texts and probably originating from everyday vocabulary ("talons of a mountain," "twigs of rivers"); in one case at least he states that the expression "the eyes of plants" (1:479.1–2) is borrowed from "the peasants' language."

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 261–69. –A.K.

TROUSERS (ἀναξυρίδες; also *braka*, a term of Germanic origin) were known among the later Romans, and *braccarii* ("breeches makers") are mentioned in Diocletian's Price Edict and in some papyri. The fashion was introduced under barbarian influence, and Prokopios of Caesarea speaks of *anaxyrides* as an element of Slavic costume. A 4th-C. tomb painting in Silistra (A. Frova, *Pittura romana in Bulgaria* [Rome 1943], figs. 1, 9, 11)

shows servants approaching the deceased with various articles of clothing, including trousers with a simple BELT, and a much larger and more ornate belt, probably to be worn over a tunic.

The use of the garment after the 6th C. is suggested by the discovery of BELT FITTINGS in Constantinople and Asia Minor, although belts were worn over tunics as well as to hold up trousers. Except for images of DANIEL and the THREE HEBREWS, trousers are rare in Byz. painting; unusually, either long or short underwear covers the legs and loins of the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA in 10th-C. ivories in Leningrad and Berlin (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, nos. 9–10). In the 12th C. Eustathios of Thessalonike was still critical of the fashion of wearing trousers; Niketas Choniates used the words *anaxyrides* and *braka* but does not define them. By this time the expression "to wear trousers" seems already to have become synonymous with manliness.

LIT. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 76f. A. Brzóstkowska, " 'Anaxyrides' u Prokopa z Cezarei na tle greckiej i rzymskiej tradycji literackiej," *Eos* 68 (1980) 251–65. –G.V., A.K., A.C.

TROY TALE (Διήγησις γεναμένη ἐν Τροίᾳ) or the "Byzantine Iliad" is an anonymous poem in 1,166 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, written at an unknown date, probably in the late 14th C. It presents an idiosyncratic account of the TROJAN WAR, independent both of the WAR OF TROY and the *Iliad* of Constantine HERMONIAKOS. It falls into three sections: the first (lines 1–779) covers events preceding the war (centering on Paris and his romantic childhood when, following an ominous dream before the child's birth, Priam has Paris first placed in a tower, then cast out to sea in a chest, etc.); the second (lines 780–1,138) concerns the war itself, with a brief catalogue of ships and battle scenes but with most emphasis on Achilles; the third relates the aftermath of the war and the mourning for Achilles. The material would seem to derive ultimately from the Byz. chronicle tradition, esp. Constantine MANASSES. Some lines are also found in the Appendix to the ACHILLEIS, in the Naples MS. The text survives in one 16th-C. MS.

ED. *A Byzantine Iliad*, ed. L. Nørgaard, O.L. Smith (Copenhagen 1975).
LIT. A. Kambyles, "Beiläufiges zur byzantinischen Ilias des cod. Paris Suppl. Gr.926," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 263–73. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

TRUE CROSS, the term used for the wooden cross (τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ) on which Jesus was crucified or, more often, for fragments supposed to derive from it. It was reportedly discovered in Jerusalem by Empress HELENA—an event that was celebrated at the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (see CROSS, CULT OF THE). The historicity of this event is questionable—at any rate, Eusebios of Caesarea says nothing about such a discovery (H.A. Drake, *JEH* 36 [1985] 21). Nevertheless, particles of the True Cross were in circulation by the mid-4th C.: CYRIL of Jerusalem stated that the entire *oikoumene* was filled "with the wood of the Cross" (PG 33:469A), and an inscription of 359 records the deposit of a particle of the Cross in Mauretania (*CIL* VIII, supp. 3, no.20600). The pilgrim EGERIA observed the veneration of the Cross in Jerusalem in the 380s, and by the end of the 4th C. the legend about Helena's discovery was already known.

Helena is said to have divided the relic: one section of the Cross was sent to Constantinople, while another remained in Jerusalem, in the shrine of the Holy SEPULCHRE. Numerous pilgrims came to see it, and despite the constant watch of special guardians pieces of the holy wood were frequently removed from Jerusalem; moreover, fragments of the Cross were given by officials of the Holy Sepulchre to certain monasteries, for instance, to that of St. Euthymios near Jerusalem; Melania the Elder received a piece of the Cross from John, the bishop of Jerusalem. In 614 the relic was captured by the Persians who conquered Jerusalem, but Herakleios's eventual victory allowed the Byz. to recover the Cross: on 21–22 Mar. 631 it was solemnly brought back to Jerusalem (V. Grumel, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 139–49). In 635, however, in the face of the Arab invasion, Herakleios transferred it to Constantinople. Much later, RAYMOND OF AGUILERS related that the Cross was buried in Jerusalem and rediscovered at the time of the First Crusade; other legends continued to report examples of holy fragments preserved in Palestine.

Numerous parts of the Cross ended up in Constantinople; besides those sent by Helena, Justin II ordered the transfer of a substantial piece from Apameia in Syria, and in 635 the Jerusalem section was appropriated. These relics are reported to have been kept in various locations. The church historian Sokrates says that a piece was sealed in a column in the Forum; Patr. Nikephoros I locates

the relic in Hagia Sophia; some sources speak instead of the Great Palace. Strangely enough, the ceremonial of the Great Palace omits any reference to the relic unless we accept with Frolow (*infra* [1961] 238, no.143) that "three [*sic*] venerable and life-giving crosses" (*De cer.* 549.6) allude to the particles of the holy wood. Other ecclesiastical institutions, both in Constantinople (EUERGETIS MONASTERY, PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY) and outside the capital, claimed possession of the precious wood. Despite the looting of scores of fragments in and after 1204, a 14th-C. Russian pilgrim states that the Cross was still at Hagia Sophia (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 13of, 222).

The True Cross was used primarily to guarantee the truth of statements and oaths, and for such a purpose it was exhibited at sessions of councils (e.g., in 869—Mansi 16:309C, 321B). Skylitzes' account of oaths taken on the True Cross in 917 by generals of various themes is represented in the Madrid MS of this text (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.286). It was paraded around the walls of Constantinople during sieges and, appended to a golden lance, served as a talisman in battles. It was carried during imperial and ecclesiastical processions and fragments were used as diplomatic gifts; a notable example was that enclosed in the jeweled cross sent by Justin II to the pope John III (561–74), now in the Vatican (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, fig.71). Most relics of the True Cross that went to the West (see LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY) as well as others that stayed longer within the empire, were enclosed in precious RELIQUARIES, the creation of which, as much as their contents, occasioned epigrams by poets such as John Mauropous and Nicholas Kallikles. Private persons wore phylacteries (ENKOLPIA) containing fragments of the True Cross.

LIT. A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris 1961). Idem, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris 1965).
—A.C., A.K.

TRULLA (τροῦλλα), Lat. term designating a small ladle, trowel, or basin; it is preserved in the list of table implements translated from the jurist Paul (*Digest* 33.10.3) in the *Basilika* (44.13.3). The 5th-C. historian Olympiodoros of Thebes, however, uses the word for a grain measure (1/48 of a *modios*) and relates that the Vandals called the

Goths Truli because they bought grain from the Vandals at one solidus per *troulla* (Blockley, *Historians* 2:192, fr.29.1). The word was not used by the Byz. save for lexicographers, who understood it as a spoon (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2 [1948] 102). It is applied by E. Dodd (*Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 1, 14, 30, 50) and other scholars to two types of dish with long handles: a broad, flat *patera* and a narrow, high "saucepan." Not only is the ancient name of these objects uncertain, but their function is open to question. While comparable objects from the Greco-Roman period ornamented with diverse subjects are considered variously as libation- or saucepans, the Byz. objects, decorated with aquatic images of Aphrodite, Poseidon, Okeanos, fishermen, and Nilotic scenes, were probably restricted to washing, for example, *chernibeia*. A series of such dishes is dated by SILVER STAMPS to the period 491–651 (see CHERNIBOXESTON).

LIT. Shelton, *Esquiline* 68, n.15. D. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, N.Y.–London 1966) 145–48, 166–70, 192f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:102.
—M.M.M.

TRULLO, COUNCIL IN. The council was convoked by Emp. JUSTINIAN II between the end of 691 and 1 Sept. 692 to complete the work of the fifth and sixth ecumenical councils (Constantinople II, III; see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which had failed to issue any disciplinary canons; hence the Byz. title of the council, *penthekte* ("Fifth-Sixth," Lat. Quinisextum). The assembly considered itself ecumenical. Its 102 decrees, which alone survive with an address to the emperor, are a milestone in the history of Byz. ecclesiastical legislation. The corpus is divided into two broad sections, one dealing with the clergy and monasticism, the other with the laity. The latter concerns such matters as marriage (53, 54, 72); prostitution (86); manumission of slaves, which required three witnesses (85); religious representations, which must depict Christ "in his human form" (82); as well as general abuses and superstition (61). The earlier section addresses numerous ecclesiastical matters including ordination (see CHEIROTHESIA) (14), clerical dress (27), SIMONY (22, 23), monastic STABILITY (46), and the alienation of monastic property (49). The council's references to Constantinople's patriarchal privileges (36) and its explicit condemnation of such

Latin practices as clerical celibacy and Saturday fasting in Lent (13, 55) explain its partial rejection by the West.

SOURCES. Mansi 11:929–1006. F. Lauchert, *Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien* (Freiburg 1896; rp. Frankfurt 1961) 97–139. P. Joannou, *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques* (Rome 1962) 98–241.

LIT. F. Görres, "Justinian II. und das römische Papsttum," *BZ* 17 (1908) 432–54.
—A.P.

TRYPHIODOROS. See TRIPHIODOROS.

TSAKONES, or Tzakones (Τζάκωνες), first mentioned by CONSTANTINE VII (*De cer.* 696.4), and described as APELATAI; some versions of the text identify the Tsakones as Laconians. Michael VIII transferred loyal units of Tsakones to Constantinople and its environs, where they staffed garrisons under their own *stratopedarchai*; others served in his fleet. By the 13th C. "Tsakonia" designated Lakonia with the Crusader city of Geraki as capital and Monemvasia as port. Mazaris and Isidore of Kiev termed the local Greek dialect barbarous. Palaiologan sources, arguing from the assonance of the names and the Tsakones' supposed Peloponnesian origin, identify Tsakones as ancient Lakonians. Earlier scholarship considered Tsakones Slavs or Greeks from southern Italy (P. Charanis, *DOP* 5 [1950] 139–60). Present scholarship views the term as a military designation that became an ethnographic and topographic name. Caratzas (*infra* 316–48), referring among others to George METOCHITES, speculates that the ethnonym Tsakones-Lakones-Makedones was connected with the heretical Paulicians settled in the Balkans.

LIT. S. Caratzas, *Les Tzacones* (Berlin-New York 1976). Ch. Symeonides, *Hoi Tsakones kai he Tsakonia* (Thessalonike 1972). H. Ahrweiler, "Les termes τσάκωνες-τσακωνίαι et leur évolution sémantique," *REB* 21 (1963) 243–49.
—S.B.B.

TSAMBLAK. See CAMBLAK, GRIGORIJ.

TUGHRUL BEG (Ταγγρολίπηξ), Seljuk sultan (1055–63); born ca.993, died Raiy, Iran, 4 Sept. 1063. After occupying much of Iran and Iraq (after 1040), Tughrul encouraged his Turkoman followers to ravage Armenia and the Byz. borders. The Turkish raids, sporadic since ca.1021, now

gave way to large-scale expeditions, such as that led by Tughrul's half-brother Ibrahim Inal (ca.1048–49) into the region of Erzurum, where he defeated the Byz. under Aaron, KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS, and the Abchazian Liparit IV (see LIPARITES). Liparit, captured, was released by Tughrul without ransom at the request of Constantine IX. In 1054 Tughrul attacked Byz. He was, however, frustrated in a siege of Mantzikert. Despite negotiations, Turkoman attacks continued.

LIT. C. Cahen, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London 1974), pt.I (1946–48), 10–21. Vryonis, *Decline* 82–89. W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1981) 165–81.
—C.M.B.

TŪLŪNIDS, first independent Muslim dynasty in Egypt and later in Syria (15 Sept. 868–Jan. 905). Its founder, Ahmad ibn Tūlūn, took advantage of the weakening 'ABBĀSIDS. He controlled the finances of Egypt by 872 and occupied Syria in 878 on the pretext of protecting Islamic frontiers against Byz. The Tūlūnids first raided Byz. Anatolia in 878. Ahmad ibn Tūlūn strengthened the fleet, developed efficient fiscal controls, and built an army of 100,000, including many Christians, Turks, and Sudanese. In 882 Muslims at Tarsos rebelled against the Tūlūnids and established local independence. Ahmad's son Khumārawayh succeeded him in 884. Tūlūnid rule in Tarsos was restored in 892. After raiding Byz. territory in 893 and 894, the Tūlūnids negotiated a truce in late 895 and arranged the exchange of 2,504 Muslim prisoners on 16–20 Sept. 896. Khumārawayh, who wasted funds, was assassinated in Dec. 896. Tarsos drove out the Tūlūnid governor in 897 and received an 'Abbāsid governor in Apr. 898. The Tūlūnids defeated the Byz. fleet that year. The dynasty ended with the assassination of Khumārawayh's brother Hārūn in 905. The dynasty divided Islam. It temporarily threatened Byz., but internal disturbances and the location of its center in Egypt hampered it in that struggle.

LIT. Z.M. Hassan, *EI*² 1:278f. H.A.R. Gibb, *EI* 4:834–36. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:87–99, 100–03, 120–33.
—W.E.K.

TUNIC (χιτών). Wool, linen, or cotton tunics, short or long, short-sleeved or long-sleeved, were the basic garment of most citizens of the empire,

men and women alike, from the highest to the lowest, whether laymen, ecclesiastics, or monks. Tunics were often worn one atop the other: under a toga, for example, would be a linen tunic with sleeves, topped by a broader short-sleeved COLOBIUM. After the 7th C. long tunics were the rule for anyone of rank, at least to judge by artistic representations: short tunics were reserved for people in active professions, such as shepherds, seamen, builders, executioners, etc., and for soldiers under their armor.

The number of terms for such garments is bewildering. A *kamis(i)on* was perhaps the simplest kind, worn by monks and lower orders of the clergy (below the level of deacon). Purple *kamisia* were worn by *psaltai* or SINGERS; those of the *protopsaltes* and *domestikos* were white (pseudo-Kod. 190.2–5). Monks at the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople were issued two *hypokamisa* a year (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 65.608); these were probably undershirts. The *kamision* was also worn by low-ranking court officials and its decoration might reflect the office: for example, the *kamision* of a NIPSISTIARIOS was made of linen and bore a decorative panel in the form of a basin.

Chiton is the word generally employed for the classical tunic worn by Old Testament figures, as well as by Christ and the apostles, throughout Byz. art. At court it was worn by officials of higher rank than those wearing the *kamision*; these *chitones* were embroidered with gold panels on the shoulders. (In monastic documents the term *chiton* appears only as an archaism, in place of the customary *kamision*.)

Courtiers of even higher rank wore the silk SKARAMANGION. The emperor himself had two primary silk tunics, the DIVETESION and the *skaramangion*, though the distinction between the two is difficult to define. It is also uncertain whether he wore any other sort of tunic under either of these: the gold cuffs and hems visible on imperial portraits may have been detachable from the main tunic and do not necessarily indicate the existence of an undergarment. By the 14th C., the favored robe was a KABBADION, more coat than tunic.

Tunics were often gaily patterned, with special stripes or CLAVI to indicate the rank of the wearer, or fancy hems and collars. The shorter belted knee-length tunics worn by ordinary people were sometimes adorned with *segmenta* (rectangular ornamental panels) or with plain black squares. The basic tunic worn by the clergy of all ranks was the STICHARION.

LIT. L.M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore 1938) 55–75. N.M. Beljaev, "Ukrašenija pozdneantičnoj i ranne-vizantijskoj odeždy," *Recueil d'études, dédiées à la mémoire de N.P. Kondakov* (Prague 1926) 213–28. H. Mihăescu, "Les termes byzantins *birryn, birros,* 'casque, tunique d'homme' et *gouna,* 'fourrure,'" *RESEE* 19 (1981) 425–32, with add. A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 33 (1983) 15. Oppenheim, *Mönchskleid* 88–104. G. Fabre, "Recherches sur l'origine des ornements vestimentaires du Bas-Empire," *Karthago* 16 (1973) 107–28.   –N.P.Š.

TUR ʿABDIN (Syriac for "mountain of the servants [of God]"), a plateau known also as Mt. Masios or Mt. Izla in the province of MESOPOTAMIA; from the early 6th C. it was part of southern Mesopotamia. The *Notitia Antiochena* of 570 first lists a bishop of Turabdion, who may have sat at Hah, where there is a large 6th-C. church; the exact location of the fortified Rhabdios mentioned by Prokopios (*Buildings,* 2.4.1–13) is unclear (E. Honigmann, *BZ* 25 [1925] 83f). The Tur ʿAbdin is noted for Monophysite and Nestorian monasteries and numerous surviving churches built on either single-nave or transverse plans. Many are decorated with elaborate architectural sculpture (e.g., DEIR ZAʿFARAN MONASTERY). Having suffered from the Byz.-Persian wars and the Monophysite persecutions, the Tur ʿAbdin enjoyed a period of marked prosperity under the Arabs, starting in the late 7th C.

LIT. Bell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin* iii–x, 159–64. G. Wiessner, *Christliche Kultbauten im Ṭūr ʿAbdīn,* I–II (Wiesbaden 1981–83). A. Palmer, "A Corpus of Inscriptions from Tur Abdin and Environs," *OrChr* 71 (1987) 53–139. Idem, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Ṭur ʿAbdin* (Cambridge 1990). M. Mundell Mango, "Deux églises de Mésopotamie du Nord: Ambar et Mar Abraham de Kashkar," *CahArch* 30 (1982) 47–70.   –M.M.M.

TURKOMANS (Τουρκομάνοι), a term first appearing in Islamic texts during the 10th C. and used alternatively with Oghuz, i.e., the Turkic nomadic people that one century later and after a long migration invaded Asia Minor. More precisely, *Turkoman* came to mean the Muslim Oghuz in contrast to the pagan, shamanist, or the Christian Oghuz, a minority group. The term had already passed into Greek in the first half of the 12th C.

LIT. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1945) 62, 82. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:327.   –E.A.Z.

TURKS. Turks in general are peoples living in or originating from Turkestan, the vast region between the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains, which from the 6th C. onward is also called Turan. From the end of the 11th C. the term *Turks* meant only those Turks living in the region of present-day Turkey. From the early Middle Ages several Turkish peoples migrated as nomads or advanced as warriors, reached the east European and the Mediterranean regions, and came into contact with the Byz.

The Turks practiced a variety of religions, being Buddhists, Manichaeans, Christians (mainly Nestorians), even Zoroastrians; but initially the most popular religion was shamanism, the religion of the steppe. With the Arab conquest of Transoxiana (705–15), Islam spread successfully among the Turks.

Most probably the earliest Turks known to history are the HUNS. The first people whom the Byz. called TOURKOI, however, were governed by a KHAGAN, who in 568 sent ambassadors to Constantinople, seeking alliance with Justin II against the Persians. In the following year a Byz. ambassador, ZEMARCHOS, reached the *khagan's* nomadic court; the account concerning his mission is a precious source. On the other hand, the 8th-C. Orkhon inscriptions, the earliest historical monument made by Turks who call themselves Turks, contain a short history of their state extending from the Chinese to the Persian frontier. The northern Black Sea regions attracted several Turkic peoples such as the AVARS, the BULGARS, the KHAZARS, etc., while the lower Danube remained an area of confrontation between the Byz. and Turks. In the 12th C. this area was occupied by the CUMANS.

Around 960 the first Turco-Islamic state appeared, that of the Karakhanids or Ilek-khanids. Established in the cities of Balasagun and Kashgar (eastern Turkestan), they soon conquered the region of Transoxiana. A member of the Karakhanid family was the scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī, who wrote (ca.1075) an encyclopedia concerning the Turks.

Shortly after the Karakhanids, another Turco-Islamic dynasty appeared in Ghazna. The Ghaznavid sultan Maḥmūd (998–1030) was glorified for his long and victorious holy war (*jihād*) against India. The end of his campaigns left the warriors of the faith, the GHAZIS, unemployed and seems to be one of the reasons for the great migration of the Oghuz Turks in the 11th C.

The Oghuz people living around the year 1000 south of Lake Aral included 22 of 24 tribes; Byz. sources mention some of these (e.g., the Avshar or the Čepni). The first Oghuz tribe that headed towards the west and reached the Danube regions was the PECHENEGS. A second wave of Oghuz reached the territories of Rus'; the Byz. mention them by their real ethnic name, Ouzoi (see UZES). For the Byz. Empire, the most significant Oghuz migration was that guided by the family (later dynasty) of the SELJUKS. The Seljukid TUGHRUL BEG, sultan of Baghdad from 1055, unable to control the Oghuz nomads, dispatched them as *ghazis* against the Christians. This policy led his successor ALP ARSLAN to open confrontation with the Byz. and the victory at MANTZIKERT.

During the 12th C. the Turks of Asia Minor were divided and established several states, the most important of which, after the Seljuks, was that of the DANIŞMENDIDS. After the Seljuks defeated the army of MANUEL I in 1176 near MYRIOKEPHALON, the Byz. were obliged to regard the Turkish occupation of Asia Minor as permanent.

When the MONGOLS conquered Asia, they caused a new large Turkish migration into Anatolia, which the Mongols invaded in 1243. Population pressure, need for pasture lands, and political oppression obliged many Turks to settle in the frontier zones between the Seljuk and Christian territories and to carry out holy war. Resistance against them was weak. The Christian rulers (Byz., Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, and Cilician Armenians) tried to save their domains by maintaining good relations with the Mongol conquerors, who actually undertook some campaigns to pacify Islamic Anatolia, but with ephemeral results. The government of Constantinople neglected Byz. Anatolia and the AKRITAI abandoned their posts. During the gradual dissolution of the Seljuk sultanate a series of Turkish states were established in the vicinity of the Christian territories: KARAMAN, GERMIYAN, MENTESHE, AYDIN, SARUHAN, KARASI, etc., and the emirate of Osman, the nucleus of the OTTOMAN Empire.

Turks in Byzantine Service. From the 11th C. onward, the Byz. hired Turkish peoples (Pechenegs, Cumans, Seljuks) as mercenaries, and some groups of Turks settled on Byz. territory. According to the chroniclers of the First Crusade, the

TOURKOPOULOI formed a substantial and effective contingent of the Byz. army, and IBN JUBAYR counted 40,000 Turkish horsemen in the ranks of the army at the time of Andronikos I (Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 32f.). Eustathios of Thessalonike praises Manuel I's tolerance toward foreigners and relates that significant "Persian" colonies were established within the empire. Several Turkish families (AXOUCH, Samouch, Prosuch) reached high ranks and supplied the empire with generals; it is possible that TATIKIOS and the founder of the family of KAMYTZES were of Turkish stock. After the 12th C., however, the Turks appeared in the empire as allies rather than settlers, and finally as overlords and conquerors.

LIT. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1945). Vryonis, *Decline*. C. Brand, "The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 43 (1989) 1–25. —E.A.Z., A.K.

TŬRNOVO (Τίρναβος), city on the river Jantra in northern Bulgaria. Site of a Roman fort probably destroyed by the Visigoths in the late 4th C., Tŭrnovo was by the 6th C. a modest Byz. city. Captured by KRUM ca.809, Tŭrnovo remained in Bulgarian hands until the late 10th C. In Tŭrnovo Peter and Asen began their revolt against Byz. rule in 1185, and it became the capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire, seat of the exarch, and from 1235 seat of the patriarch of Bulgaria. On 17 July 1393 the Ottoman Turks captured and burned Tŭrnovo and deported many of its inhabitants to Asia Minor.

In the 14th C. Tŭrnovo was a center of trade and industry and of Slavic literature and scholarship, particularly under Patr. EVTIMIJ. After the capture of Tŭrnovo many Bulgarian scholars sought refuge in Russia and contributed to the development of Russian literature. Of Tŭrnovo's medieval monuments, there survive the Church of the Forty Martyrs, which was built by JOHN ASEN II to celebrate his victory over Theodore Komnenos Doukas at KLOKOTNICA in 1230 and which contains a Greek inscription of Omurtag and a Slavic inscription of John Asen II, and perhaps the tomb of St. SAVA OF SERBIA, who died in Tŭrnovo in 1251; the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul (Holy Apostles), a 14th-C. reconstruction of a 12th-C. building, severely damaged by an earthquake in 1913; the Church of St. Demetrios of 1185/6, which has the characteristic Bulgarian form

of an aisleless, barrel-vaulted hall pierced by a tall drum supporting a dome; and the vast complex of ruins of the royal palace.

LIT. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 249–53. S. Bossilkov, *Tŭrnovo: Its History and Art Heritage* (Sofia 1960). *Carevgrad Tŭrnov*, 3 vols. (Sofia 1973–80). A. Popov, "Târnovgrad selon les études archéologiques," *BHR* 9.4 (1981) 42–57. *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, 4 vols. (Sofia 1970–85). P. Dinekov, "Tŭrnovskata knižovna škola (Istorija, osnovni čerti, značenie)," *Starobŭlgarska literatura* 20 (1987) 3–19. —R.B., A.C.

TURSUN BEG, Ottoman historian; died after 1499. Tursun was financial secretary (*defterdar*) to the Ottoman sultans MEHMED II and Bayezid II (ca.1481–1512), and author of the *Tarih-i Ebu'l Feth*—primarily an account of Mehmed II, but also covering the first six years of Bayezid II's reign (i.e., to 1487). Unlike AŞIQPAŞAZADE and the popular historians, Tursun expressed himself in learned Ottoman, with ornate syntax. He depicts Mehmed II as an ideal ruler, the embodiment of all virtues, whose actions ensured good order in society. Overall, Tursun's tone is remote and often abstractly panegyrical. Beneath the rhetoric, however, Tursun conveys valuable information, reflecting in part his own experience in sultanic circles. Tursun participated, for example, in Mehmed's capture of Constantinople in 1453, and his account of the sultan's reactions to the splendors of Hagia Sophia is particularly vivid.

ED. *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, facs. ed. by H. İnalcık, R. Murphey (Minneapolis 1978), with Eng. tr. *Tursun Bey, Tarih-i Ebü'l Feth*, ed. M. Tulum (Istanbul 1977). Ital. tr. in Pertusi, *Caduta* 1:307–31.

LIT. Bombaci, *Lett. turca* 352–54. —S.W.R.

TYANA (Τύανα, now Kemerhisar near Niğde), city on the main route between Constantinople and the Near East, about 30 km north of the beginning of the CILICIAN GATES. A bishopric attested at the Council of Nicaea, Tyana became civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of CAPPADOCIA II in 372; it sometimes appears with the additional name Christoupolis. A frequent goal of Arab attack, Tyana was taken and severely damaged in 708, 806, and 831. Arab control of Tyana provided an advance base against Byz. Asia Minor, but after 933 Tyana fell into permanent decline, retaining only its ecclesiastical rank. Remains of the Byz. city are insignificant.

LIT. *TIB* 2:298f. —C.F.

TYCHE (τύχη), fate, fortune, or chance, a complex concept inherited from antiquity. As a symbol of prosperity and success, *tyche* (as popular superstition) was often connected with cities, including Constantinople (Janin, *CP byz.* 438). The emperors were also considered to have their *tyche*, the survival of the Roman concept of an individual's genius, as embodiment or special protector. Hagiography developed the topos of martyrs who refused to swear an oath to the imperial *tyche*. At the same time there were some attempts to adjust the pagan concept of *tyche* to the Christian empire. In the Forum of Constantine, there was a sculptural group representing Constantine, Helena, a cross, and the personified Tyche of Constantinople (Dagron, *Naissance* 44f.). A legend has it that Constantine had a cross engraved on the forehead of the Tyche of Constantinople, but it was removed by Emp. Julian the Apostate (SOUDA, ed. Adler, 3:395.24–29). Justinian I (nov.105.2.4) proclaimed that the *tyche* of the emperor was above all limitations, since it was a "living law" granted by God.

Tyche was also construed as an impersonal agent or cause of events evolving independently from human FREE WILL; this concept, reflecting pagan and popular DETERMINISM, was rejected by the church fathers. Thus, Eusebios of Caesarea described it as an empty word: there is no place for change or fate in a world ruled by divine law and order (*Constitutio ad coetum sanctorum* 6). It was similarly rejected by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*HE* 3.16), Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 4.5), and Isidore of Pelousion (*Epist.* 3.154).

On the other hand, Prokopios (like his classical models) as well as many later historians referred to the concept of *tyche*. Michael Psellos emphasized the element of irregularity and chance in *tyche*, but sometimes the distinction between *tyche, ananke, heimarmene*, and even *pronoia* is quite vague. In his work on providence, Isaac KOMNENOS the *sebastokrator* (12th C.) sought to neutralize the much admired and influential Neoplatonist Proklos by introducing into his pagan writings numerous citations from pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and Maximos the Confessor as well as by adding Christian touches to his terminology (particularly with respect to *tyche* and *heimarmene*). The idea that *tyche* directs human success and failure can also be seen in such historians as Kinnamos (A. Kazhdan, *BS* 24 [1963] 29) and Leo the Deacon (M.

Sjuzjumov, *ADSV* 7 [1971] 132). Theodore Metochites ascribed particular significance to Tyche (the personification of fortune). She could be of greater or lesser importance, in the former case dealing with the destiny of countries, in the latter with individual lives; she could act beneficially (*agathe tyche*) but is usually a fickle, unreliable whore, shifting from one to another.

LIT. A. Anwander, " 'Schicksal'-Wörter in Antike und Christentum," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 1 (1948) 316–22. Podskalsky, *Theologie* 120, n.554. E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite* (Amsterdam 1987) 157–81. Hunger, *Reich* 358f. I.P. Medvedev, *Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1976) 104–23. —G.P.

Representation in Art. As in literature, the figure of Tyche in art could personify both the fortune of cities and that of individuals. In both cases this image is scarcely known after the 10th C. Holding a globe, rudder, or wheel to symbolize her regulatory function, she represents the operation of cosmic forces. Depicted as an Amazon or an older woman, often with a mural crown and attributes of a specific place, the local Tyche survived longer than the image of personal fortune but became ever more syncretistic in form and function. Images of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch personified in this fashion all may be shown with a cornucopia as an emblem of abundance; other aspects of their iconography likewise became nonspecific. On the *sella curulis* of consular DIPTYCHS, running Tyche figures represent provinces paying homage (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.19) or, as busts, are associated with NIKE (ibid., no.21). Tychai appear in monumental painting, in books such as the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, and on SILVER STAMPS and other metalwork as well as on honorific COLUMNS. The decline of the type is evident in the JOSHUA ROLL, where the personified cities of Jericho, Ai, and Gibeon differ not only from each other but from other personifications of the same cities. In later periods the Tyche's role was in part assumed by local epithets, such as "Tiberiadiotissa," applied to types of the Virgin Mary.

LIT. K.J. Shelton, "Imperial Tyches," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 27–44. T. Dohrn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia* (Berlin 1960). —A.C.

TYPIKON, LITURGICAL, a liturgical CALENDAR to which have been added instructions for each day's services. This type of *typikon* (τυπικόν) is one

of two Byz. LITURGICAL BOOKS with rules governing the celebration of services: where the DIATAXIS gives the rubrics regulating the ordinary structure of services, the *typikon* indicates what is proper to each day of the year. There are three types of liturgical *typikon*: the "cathedral" TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH for the rite of Hagia Sophia and other secular churches, and two "monastic" forms, the STOUDITE and SABAITIC TYPIKA, which regulated services in monasteries.

Liturgical instructions of this sort first appear in the 9th–10th C. either as directions (*kanonaria*) added to liturgical books for special services and feasts of the church year (e.g., Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:172–221) or as rudimentary regulations (*hypotyposeis*) for the monastic HOURS and PSALMODY added to monastic *typika* (ibid. 1:224–56). The term *typikon*, of monastic origin, is not found in the earliest MSS and was applied to these liturgical regulations only from the 11th C. onward (NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, *Taktikon*, ed. Beneševič 21).

Fully developed liturgical *typika* such as that of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople, designed esp. to regulate what happens when feasts of the fixed and mobile cycles of the church calendar fall on the same day, comprise two lists giving the feasts and commemorations of both these cycles, filled out with more or less complete information concerning the place ("station") of the celebration and the "proper" (variable) elements of the service such as the lections, *prokeimena* and alleluia verses, ANTIPHONS, TROPARIA, etc., as well as particular ceremonies (e.g., a LITE). Later liturgical *typika* also have appendices and chapters explaining general principles and rules.

LIT. I. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav (Tipik)* (Moscow 1885). M. Skaballanovič, *Tolkovyj tipikon*, 3 vols. (Kiev 1910–15). Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 359–61.   –R.F.T.

TYPIKON, MONASTIC, a set of regulations prescribing the administrative organization and rules of behavior of a cenobitic monastery as well as its liturgical observances (see TYPIKON, LITURGICAL). *Typikon* has become a conventional term designating a wide variety of foundation charters and monastic testaments, which bear such titles as *diatheke, hypotyposis, thesmos, diataxis,* and *hypomnema,* in addition to *typikon*. Around 50 of these documents (often referred to by scholars as *ktetorika typika,* i.e., *typika* of the KTETOR or founder) survive. They range in date from the 9th to the 15th

C., but the majority are concentrated in the 11th to 14th C. Fifteen of the preserved *typika* are for foundations in Constantinople, 18 for monasteries in Greece (including Mt. Athos), the others for institutions in Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syro-Palestine, the northern Balkans, and Italy.

Since there were no monastic orders in Byz., each monastic community needed its own formulary; in some cases, however, a *ktetor* would model his *typikon* on an earlier example, such as that of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople. *Typika* vary greatly in length, format, and content. Typically they contain rules about election of the HEGOUMENOS and appointment of other officials, enclosure, novitiate, diet, clothing, discipline, and commemorative services for benefactors of the monastery. They may also include a biography (or autobiography) of the founder and a BREBION (inventory) of monastic property, both movable and immovable. C. Galatariotou (*infra*) has suggested a distinction between "aristocratic *typika*," which emphasize family connections, and "nonaristocratic *typika*," written by a member of the monastic community, which stress bonds of spiritual kinship. The aristocratic *typika* usually provide more detail on the administrative structure of the monastery.

In addition to the light they shed on the structure and administration of the KOINOBION and on MONASTICISM in general, *typika* are invaluable sources of information on varied topics such as monastic property holdings, philanthropic institutions like hospitals and *gerokomeia*, monastic food and clothing, books and sacred vessels, prosopography, and ecclesiastical lighting. *Typika*, however, prescribed an ideal form of monastic life, and other sources indicate that many of the rules were not always observed.

ED. For list of ed., see Galatariotou, *infra* 137f.

LIT. K.A. Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diathekai* (Athens 1970). I.M. Konidares, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens 1984). C. Galatariotou, "Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study," *REB* 45 (1987) 77–138.   –A.M.T.

TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, liturgical ordinal of the rite of HAGIA SOPHIA of Constantinople, the earliest complete liturgical TYPIKON of the BYZANTINE RITE. It is preserved in seven MSS of which two—Jerusalem, Hagiou Staurou, cod. 40 (10th–11th C.), and Patmos, cod. 266 (10th C.)—contain the relatively complete text,

although without a title. The 14th-C. MS in Oxford (Bodl. Lib., Auct. E 5 10) does, however, bear a title, "Synopsis of the ecclesiastical *akolouthiai* for the liturgy, *litai*, and vigils of the entire year." Other MSS are of the 11th–14th C., mostly incomplete. The text of the Patmos version of the Typikon was produced between 950 and 959 (it mentions the translation of the relics of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, on 25 Jan. 950). The date of the Jerusalem text is debatable: A. Baumstark (*OrChr* 2 [1927] 11f) theorized that it was based on two independent sections—one (the *typikon* proper) created ca.802–06, another (the *synaxarion*) produced between 878 and 893; Mateos rejects the hypothesis of two sources and dates the production of the entire text to the end of the 9th or early 10th C. The mention of the late patriarch Ignatios makes 878 a firm *terminus post quem*.

The Typikon gives the description of services for each day, first for the cycle of immovable feasts, secondly for that of movable feasts, beginning with the Sunday of *apokreos* (the second week before Lent). Each entry lists the saints, feast, or celebration celebrated on that day, as well as other memorable events (fires, etc.); the entry also indicates where a SYNAXIS or procession should take place and establishes which *akolouthia* should be sung and which biblical text read.

The Typikon is essential for the study of liturgical practice in Constantinople of the 9th–10th C., even though some omissions remain enigmatic—for instance it does not include the celebration of the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY. The *Typikon of the Great Church* fell into disuse at Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade but remained in force in Thessalonike until the end of Byz. (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:553D, 625B).

ED. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols. (Rome 1962–63). Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:1–163.

LIT. A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Drevnejšie patriaršie tipikony: Svjatogrobskij Ierusalimskij i velikoj Konstantinopol'skoj cerkvi* (Kiev 1909), with rev. I. Sokolov, *ŽMNP* 34 (Aug. 1911) 300–32. A. Baumstark, "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus," *OrChr* 2 (1927) 1–32. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," nos. 31, 36, 40, 46.   –R.F.T., A.K.

TYPOLOGY, a system in which explicit iconographic parallels were drawn between characters and events in the Old Testament and those in the

New Testament, played a less prominent role in Byz. than it did in the later medieval West (12th–15th C.). Yet, in a somewhat different sense, PREFIGURATIONS and other typological relationships had a profound impact on Byz. piety, and through it, on art—both as the foundation of ICON veneration and as the basis of a universal guide to Christian behavior. Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:500f) noted that "every artificial image . . . exhibits in itself, by way of imitation, the form of its model (*archetypon*) . . . the model [is] in the image, the one in the other, except for the difference of substance." Much earlier, though as a guide for conduct, Basil the Great had invoked "types" and mimesis (ep.2, ed. Deferrari, 1:14–15): "the lives of saintly men, recorded and handed down to us, lie before us like living images of God's government, for our imitation . . ." (see IMITATION). Such concepts were central not only to belief in the power of icons, but also to the stylistic and iconographic conservatism that characterizes their history. Moreover, the Basil passage helps explain the typological parallels that were often drawn in art and literature, for example, between emperors and Old Testament kings (as on the DAVID PLATES) or between Holy Land pilgrims and the Magi (on pilgrims' AMULETS). (See also SYMBOLISM.)

LIT. G. Vikan, "Pilgrims in Magi's Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art," *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. R. Ousterhout (Urbana-Chicago 1990) 97–107.   –G.V.

TYPOS OF CONSTANS II, an imperial edict of 648 requiring adherence to Orthodoxy. To mollify opposition to the EKTHESIS and end debate over MONOTHELETISM, Patr. PAUL II persuaded Constans II to sign a "*typos* concerning the faith." Monotheletism was not directly condemned by the Typos, but the text of the Ekthesis was ordered removed from Hagia Sophia. The Typos did not define official dogma but sought confessional unanimity by forbidding discussion of Christ's wills and energies and by commanding acceptance of Scripture and the doctrinal definitions of the five ecumenical COUNCILS. Reaction to the Typos was strongest in the West; Byz. sources do not even mention it. The text is preserved in the acts of the LATERAN SYNOD, which, despite the presence of the exarch OLYMPIOS, denounced the Typos, excommunicated Paul, and wrote to Constans blaming the patriarch for condoning Monothele-

tism. In late 649 Pope MARTIN I anathematized Archbp. Paul of Thessalonike (then under papal jurisdiction) for not signing a letter explicitly rejecting the Typos. Constans considered resistance to the Typos as treason; the charge figured in the trials of both Martin and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR. Pope VITALIAN took a more conciliatory position, and the issue subsequently subsided.

ED. Mansi, 10:1029C-32E. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles* 3.1:432–71.
LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:94–130. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 92–103, 113f. —P.A.H.

TYRE (Τύρος, Ar. Ṣūr in Lebanon), Phoenician seaport. Tyre consisted of two parts, one on the seacoast, another on an island, connected by a bridge. The walls rose straight out of the sea. An ancient aqueduct supplied the city with water. Tyre was an important commercial city with developed silk, purple-dyeing, and glass industries. The PIACENZA PILGRIM was astonished by its luxury and public brothels. Its circus and actors were famous in the 4th C. Christianity had to overcome the resistance of the pagans (PORPHYRY was a native of Tyre) and Jews. In 314–17 Bp. Paulinos built a basilica in Tyre, the most splendid in Phoenicia, described in detail by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA.

Between 381 and 425, the province of Phoenicia Maritima was created and Tyre became its civil capital and ecclesiastical metropolis (with the exception of BERYTUS, which was autocephalous); Tyre later served as the *protothronos* see of the patriarchate of ANTIOCH. In 335 a church council in Tyre was dominated by the Arians; a Monophysite synod was held at Tyre in 514 (Stein, *Histoire* 2:173). Tyre was also a seat of KOMMERKIARIOI at the end of the 6th and early 7th C. (Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 158).

During the Persian war of the early 7th C., conflicts between the Jews and Orthodox led to a Jewish attack on Tyre and the massacre of 2,000 Jews on the city walls, as related by EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA. In 635 the Arabs took Tyre through treachery, and the city became a base for their maritime expeditions. After coming under Fāṭimid rule, Tyre resisted the Crusaders until July 1124, but then remained in their domain until 1291. Greek metropolitans of Tyre are known from 11th-C. seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:365–69), but the Crusaders established a Latin archbisho-

pric there as well. The marriage of Manuel I Komnenos and Maria of Antioch was solemnized in the church of Tyre in 1167.

LIT. W.B. Fleming, *The History of Tyre* (New York 1915) 74–122. J.P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr. I. Inscriptions de la nécropole* [= *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 29] (Paris 1977). —M.M.M.

TZACHAS (Τζαχᾶς, Turk. Çaka), Turkish emir and usurper; died Abydos ca.1093. According to Tzachas's alleged statement, he had been a Turkoman raider, but was captured in the reign of NIKEPHOROS III. Pledging allegiance to Byz., he was created *protonobelissimos* and given rich gifts, but lost everything on the accession of ALEXIOS I (An.Komn. 2:114.11–13). Circa 1088–91 Tzachas employed Christians to construct a fleet at SMYRNA; he captured Phokaia, Mytilene, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. Circa 1090/1 Constantine Dalassenos recovered Chios. Circa 1091, with a new fleet, Tzachas reasserted his sway, ravaging many islands. He proclaimed himself emperor and sought alliance with the PECHENEGS in Thrace. In 1092 John DOUKAS recovered Mytilene and most of Tzachas's territories, but ca.1092/3 Tzachas attacked ABYDOS. At Alexios's urging, KILIC ARSLAN I (Tzachas's son-in-law) advanced to Abydos, enticed Tzachas to a banquet, and allegedly killed him (An.Komn. 2:166.13–15). Circa 1097 John Doukas constrained a "Tzachas" holding Smyrna (the same person, or a son?) to surrender it.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 184–86. A.N. Kurat, *Çaka Bey, Izmir ve civarindaki adalarin ilk Türk Beyi: M.S. 1081–1096³* (Ankara 1966). A. Savvides, "Ho Seltzoukos emires tes Smyrnes Tzachas," *Chiaka Chronika* 14 (1982) 9–24; 16 (1984) 51–66. —C.M.B.

TZAMANDOS (Τζαμανδός, mod. Kuşkalesi), site in CAPPADOCIA, on a high peak overlooking the road between Caesarea and Melitene. It first appears in the historical sources in 908 when MELIAS built its fortress in a region that had been a no-man's land between Byz. and the Arabs. It became a bishopric (attested only in the 10th C.) and a KLEISOURA in the theme of LYKANDOS. After surviving the attacks of SAYF AL-DAWLA, Tzamandos was colonized by Jacobite Syrians who established their own bishopric (ca.955–1180). It willingly joined the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS in 976. Tzamandos was given to David, son of Senacherim

ARCRUNI, in 1022, and to Gagik of Kars in 1065; it then became an Armenian bishopric. Attacked by the Seljuks in 1068 and 1070, it fell to them after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The fortress, with its well-preserved double circuit of walls, is largely Byz.

LIT. *TIB* 2:300f. —C.F.

TZAMBLAKON (Τζαμπλάκων), a family of military commanders, landowners, and courtiers known from the mid-13th C., when John III granted the *megas domestikos ton scholon* Tzamblakon an estate in the region of Christoupolis (Kavalla); one of his relatives was TATAS ca.1272. Alexios Tzamblakon, son of the *megas domestikos*, served Andronikos II as *megas tzaousios* and governor of Serres but then sided with Andronikos III and was rewarded with the office of *megas papias* and an estate near Thessalonike. He took the monastic habit as Antony ca.1330. His son, known only under his monastic name Arsenios, also *megas papias*, supported John VI during the Civil War of 1341–47 and was tonsured after John's failure. His sons were the *megas doux* Asomatianos and the *megas stratopedarches* Demetrios. The family intermarried with the Palaiologoi, Tornikioi, and Kaballarioi; the Kaballarioi Tzamblakones were active from the 1370s. Alexios Tzamblakon Kaballarios is mentioned in MAZARIS. The Tzamblakones were closely connected with the Slav neighbors of Byz.: some documents from Dubrovnik of 1344–46 mention merchants who visited territories subjected to a certain Zamblacus, and Grigorij CAMBLAK, Bulgarian and a disciple of Metr. KIPRIAN, became metropolitan of Kiev (1415–19); as a writer he was very critical of the Byz. court.

LIT. G.I. Theocharides, "Hoi Tzamplakones," *Makedonika* 5 (1961–63) 125–83. N. Bănescu, "Peut-on identifier le *Zamblacus* des documents ragusains?" in *Mél.Diehl* 1:31–35. J. Holthusen, "Neues zur Erklärung des Nadgrobnoe Slovo von Grigorij Camblak auf den Moskauer Metropoliten Kiprian," *Slavistische Studien zum VI. Internationalen Slavistenkongress in Prag 1968* (Munich 1968) 372–82. —A.K.

TZANGION (τζαγγίον), boot or sandal. In the late Roman period the word acquired the connotation of an elegant shoe; thus EPHREM THE SYRIAN (ed. J.S. Assemani, 1 [Rome 1732] 42CD) envisages a man who is barefoot today and tomorrow requires *tzange* or *caliga*, who is today

garbed in coarse wool and tomorrow wants fine silk.

The word was usually applied to the emperor's purple shoes, one of the most revered INSIGNIA of imperial authority. The tradition probably came to Byz. from the East: a 6th-C. chronicler (Malal. 413.17–18) relates that when the king of Lazika was crowned by Justin I he donned Roman imperial garb; however, he wore *tzangia* decorated with pearls in the Persian manner, which he had brought from his native land. A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 168.26–27) adds that they were red (*rousia*). A 14th-C. ceremonial book describes *tzangia* as high boots ornamented with images of EAGLES made of precious stones and pearls; the emperor wore them on ceremonial occasions (pseudo-Kod. 171.11–17).

As a basic element of the imperial costume, the *tzangia* replaced the boots called *kothornoi*; this shift, at an uncertain date, is perhaps connected with the increasing role of the cavalry in military operations. Justinian I still wore *kothornoi* in the 6th C., but by the 10th C. the custom of wearing *tzangia* was firmly established; Leo Grammatikos viewed the *tzangia* as an essential part of the emperor's garb during his coronation (Leo Gramm. 246.19–21). A rebel's putting on red shoes signified his USURPATION of the throne.

In the 12th C. the word was used to denote a boot issued to workmen serving the monastery of the Kosmosoteira (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1906] 49.28). A SHOEMAKER was sometimes called a *tzangarios*, and *tzangareia* were bootmakers' shops, while a maker of imperial boots was called *tzangas*.

LIT. L. Wessel, *RBK* 3:445f. —A.K.

TZAOUSIOS (τζαούσιος), an enigmatic court office in the 13th–15th C. The term is of Turkish origin, from çavuş, meaning "courier" (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:308f), and was rendered in Greek as *angelophoros* (Mercati, *CollByz* 2:325.13–14). The formulary of appointment of a *tzaousios* (Sathas, *MB* 6:647.16–26) considers him the commander of the garrison of a *kastron*; H. Ahrweiler (in *Polychronion* 37) sees the SEBASTOS-*tzaousios* as chief of the MELINGOI in the Peloponnesos. A *tzaousios* of the *droungos* of the Melingoi is known in the 14th C. Some *tzaousioi* served as officers of the *mega* ALLAGION.

The first known *megas tzaousios* was Constantine

Margarites under John III Vatatzes; Guilland surmised that the *megas tzaousios* had ordinary *tzaousioi* under his command, successors of the earlier MANDATORES. In the 14th-C. hierarchical list of pseudo-KODINOS he occupied the place after the TATAS; the *megaloi tzaousioi* are described as being responsible for maintaining the order of the imperial retinue. The *megas tzaousios* of Morea, Eliavurco (Elias Bourtzes?), is mentioned in the *Chronicle of the Tocco* (A. Kazhdan in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 171).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:596–600. M. Bartusis, "The megala allagia and the tzaousios," *REB* 47 (1989) 195–204. –A.K.

TZATOI (Τζᾶτοι, Τζᾶθοι, etym. unknown), Armenians who belonged to the Greek church. The Armenian version of Basil the Great's *Hexaemeron* uses the word *cayt'* to render "Valentinians." After the 10th C. it was applied to Armenians who were Chalcedonian, in opposition to the Gregorian Monophysite church. (See also IBERIANS.) The Armenian historian Uxtanes (10th C.?) promises to discuss the Cayt', but the relevant part of his *History* is lost. The term is more common in the 12th–13th C. In Greek the Tzatoi are first mentioned in the 11th-C. *Taktikon* of NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN (ed. Beneševič, 11.7).

LIT. N.Marr, "Ark'aun, mongol'skoe nazvanie christian," *VizVrem* 12 (1906) 32–38. P. Peeters, "Sainte Sousanik," *AB* 53 (1935) 256–58. –R.T.

TZETZES, JOHN, poet; born ca.1110, died between 1180 and 1185. According to his own statement, Tzetzes (Τζέτζης) was Georgian on his mother's side (P. Gautier, *REB* 28 [1970] 207–20), which accounts for his interest in the Black Sea region (M. Bibikov, *EtBalk* 12 [1976] no.4, 116–20). Even though he boasts that his grandfather was rich (albeit illiterate), Tzetzes had no substantial fortune. He earned his living by his literary work (ep.75, p.109.19–20) and thus belonged to the group of professional literati. Neither his writing nor his attempts at teaching brought him sufficient salary, and the theme of the poverty of intellectuals permeates his works: he had to sell his library, the patrons who commissioned his works were slow in payment, etc. His major work is unique in genre: it consists of a collection of letters accompanied by poetic SCHO-

LIA entitled *The Histories* (or *Chiliads*). Tzetzes' letters often deal with political events (e.g., J. Shepard, *ByzF* 6 [1979] 191–239) and historical personages and provide vivid scenes of everyday life (e.g., description of a priest's family that lived above Tzetzes and kept swine indoors), while *The Histories* emphasize the antiquarian trend of Tzetzes' interests, frequently citing ancient and biblical data and names. Tzetzes' works dedicated to contemporary events are rare (among others, a poem on Manuel I's death and iambics mocking contemporary education—P.A.M. Leone, *RSBN* 6–7 [1969–70] 135–44). He composed voluminous commentaries on Homer (*Allegories to the Iliad and Odyssey, Exegesis, Antehomerica, Homerica,* and *Posthomerica,* in which he claimed to be more consistent than Homer), Hesiod, tragedians, Aristophanes, Lykophron, and Oppian. In Tzetzes' Life of St. Lucia (O. Garana, *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 1 [1955] 15–22) he apparently alludes to the Byz. war against a coalition of Normans, Hungarians, and their Russian allies.

ED. *Epistulae,* ed. P.A.M. Leone (Leipzig 1972). *Historiae,* ed. P.A.M. Leone (Naples 1968). See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 814–17, also B. Konstantinopoulos, "Inedita Tzetziana," *Hellenika* 33 (1981) 178–84.

LIT. C. Wendel, "Tzetzes," *RE* 7A (1948) 1959–2011. –A.K.

TZIKANDELES (Τζικανδήλης), also Tzykandeles or Kykandeles, an aristocratic family name deriving from Latin *cicindela,* "glowworm," according to E. Trapp (*JÖB* 22 [1973] 233). The family is known from the late 11th C. (Leo, governor of Kibyrrhaiotai) and included high-ranking military commanders intermarried with the Komnenoi: (another?) Leo married the *sebaste* Anna, daughter of a Komnene (V. Vasil'jevskij, *VizVrem* 3 [1896] 580.6–12); Goudelios, *sebastos,* who was married to Eudokia, Alexios I's granddaughter (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," no.103.17–19, 26–29), attended the council of 1166; Basil was Manuel I's general. Later their position declined: the *vestiarites* Manuel addressed Patr. Michael (perhaps MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS) about problems of marriage law (*RegPatr,* fasc. 4, nos. 1208, 1211); Manuel PHILES described a certain Demetrios Tzikandeles Doukas as "born a Komnenos" (Κομνηνοφυής), but nothing is known about the man. George Doukas Tzikandeles was a judge in Thessalonike ca.1375. Manuel Tzikandeles was an

active scribe in 1358–70; another scribe, Demetrios Kykandyles, lived ca.1445 (*PLP,* no.11712).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 186f. –A.K.

TZOUROULLOS (Τζουρουλ⟨λ⟩ός, mod. Çorlu), fortress in Thrace, north of Herakleia, on the road from Adrianople to Constantinople. Greek authors describe it variously as a *phrourion* (Prokopios, *Wars* 7.38.5), *polichnion* (An.Komn. 2:123.18), *kome* (An.Komn. 1:81.15), *asty* (Akrop. 55.10), and *polis* (Theoph.Simok. 249.14). An inscription names a certain Sisinios, *kourator* of Tzouroullos, who died in 813 (I. Ševčenko, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 564–74). An imperial estate (KOURATOREIA) was probably established in this area. Because of its proximity to Constantinople, Tzouroullos was subject to frequent attacks: in 559 Slavs and Hunnic Bulgars reached Tzouroullos and Arkadioupolis (Theoph. 234.1); during the reign of Maurice, the Avar khan besieged PRISKOS in Tzouroullos; in 813 Krum attacked it; in the time of Alexios I the region was pillaged by the Pechenegs. In 1235 John III Vatatzes took

Tzouroullos from the Latins. John Asen II's attempt to occupy the fortress failed; in 1240 the Latins seized it again, but John III regained Tzouroullos in 1246.

Tzouroullos appears as a suffragan bishopric of Herakleia ca.800 (*Notitiae CP* 2.140). In the notitia of Andronikos II it is listed as an archbishopric.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2012. V. Velkov, *Gradŭt v Trakija i Dakija prez kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959) 102. Fine, *Late Balkans* 130–35, 156. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:235f. –A.K.

TZYKANISTERION (Τζυκανιστήριον), word of Persian origin, meaning a place for throwing a ball. It designated a polo field (see SPORTS) constructed within the precincts of the GREAT PALACE. The first stadium called Tzykanisterion was built under Theodosios II; Basil I demolished it in order to erect the NEA EKKLESIA and build a larger one. The new Tzykanisterion was connected with the Nea by two galleries.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 118f. –A.K.